

**THE PLACE OF FOLKLORE IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL LANDSCAPES:  
NARRATIVES AND IDENTITY IN MEDIEVAL TO MODERN BRITAIN**

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## DECLARATION

I, Tina Paphitis, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where work is derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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## ABSTRACT

*This research explores the relationship between archaeology and folklore through folk narratives about sites and landscapes in Britain and their association with changing socio-political contexts from the medieval period to the present day. Whilst the potential for folklore to contribute to archaeological investigations has been noted by a number of researchers in recent years, and projects and publications in this field have increased, a vast majority focus upon the problems of undertaking such work, yet fail to address these by developing explicit theoretical and methodological approaches. The use of folklore in archaeological research thus remains a marginal and often mistrusted exercise, seen here to rise in part from a lack of understanding of the development of folklore as a discipline and how folklorists approach and interpret their materials.*

*Taking an interpretive approach to legends and landscapes, a strategy for examining historic and contemporary folklore is developed in order to scrutinise changing engagements with archaeological sites and landscapes through time, and the role of archaeological sites in the development of narrative traditions. Using the folk figure Arthur as a thematic focus of this thesis, and employing archaeological, folkloric and historical data, as well as primary data gathered from the completion of questionnaires by site visitors and local residents, ethnographic archaeologies of case study sites across England, Scotland and Wales were undertaken. As well as reorienting Arthur studies away from debates about his historicity towards discussions over meanings of his representation, this investigation reconstructs the complex biographies of these sites to reveal their political appropriation through folklore in the construction of local and national identities. Further, this thesis sets out an agenda for the use of folklore in archaeological investigations as a form of reciprocal, retrospective and interpretive public archaeology, engaging and assessing multiple voices through time and their connections to place.*

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. Overview

This research aims to create a new understanding of the relationship between archaeology and folklore through their mutual developments and connections to British sites and landscapes. The potential for folklore to contribute to various areas of archaeological research will be examined, and the ways in which archaeological sites figure in local and national identity-construction through such folklore will be explored. As a result, it is seen here that the folklore of archaeological sites draws them into their broader socio-political contexts, illustrating the engagements of various groups with these places through time, thus adding to their biographies. In turn, we can also see how archaeological sites themselves contribute to the development of particular narrative traditions, demonstrating their significance to historical studies beyond straightforward archaeological narratives and making connections with other, seemingly unrelated, sites.

This thesis will set out a methodology for the concurrent study, analysis and interpretation of the folklore and archaeology of places across Britain, examining their life-histories from the medieval period to the present-day. Such a methodology is intended to form a basis from which researchers can approach folklore in archaeological investigations, both broadening the ranges of data with which they can work, and taking a holistic approach to archaeology through the acknowledgement of the dialogue between people, places and context, considering how the folklore of archaeological sites might be presented today by engaging with how the public perceive this folklore and how it fits into broader concepts of 'heritage'.

In order to fulfil the above aims, a detailed case study will be employed to produce a focused discussion through a working example, assessing the theoretical and methodological approaches taken here. The case study theme is the folk figure Arthur and folklore associating him with archaeological sites in Britain, examining this specifically at five case study sites across England, Scotland and Wales. The archaeological, historical and folkloric background of each of these sites are examined and the latter interpreted in light of the particular socio-political contexts in which narratives were reproduced and recorded, charting the development of such folklore and considering the potential meanings they may have to various groups in relation to their specific historical contexts. Primary data was gathered to ascertain knowledge of and attitudes towards folklore and these archaeological

sites today, conducting questionnaires with local residents and visitors to these sites. Analysis of both sets of data will in turn demonstrate the meaningful nature of folklore to social groups through time, and thus meaningful engagements with archaeological sites, particularly with respect to the construction and development of local, regional and national identities through the invention, recontextualisation and perpetuation of traditions. Folklore, archaeology and the social, political and cultural contexts in which they are manifested are therefore intertwined, and it is therefore hoped that this research will highlight the contribution of folklore to the construction of archaeological life-histories and public engagement with sites and landscapes.

### **1.2. Archaeology and Folklore**

Although often studied and viewed today as separate spheres of human activity and interaction, archaeology and folklore have close connections, not least observed in the enactment and reproduction of various customs and traditions at archaeological sites. It has often been asserted that folktales about archaeological sites arise when previous knowledge about them has been lost (Hayman, 1997:23; Symonds, 1999:115; see Fleure, 1948:74), although this view is here considered too simplistic, since folklore arises from meaningful engagements with sites in particular contexts (below), rather than ignorant explanations for the presence of a site. The meaning of archaeological sites to various people through time is well-expressed in folklore warning of (typically supernatural) retribution for their disturbance (see various examples in Grinsell 1976a). Such folklore can be considered to have acted as a form of preventative conservation, since many sites might have been destroyed had such superstitions not been in place, and instances where monuments have been destroyed have also resulted in the persecution of the destroyer by the local community (see for example Hayman, 1997:21-2 on the destruction of the Stone of Odin). There is therefore a close connection between sites and social groups enacted through the reproduction of folklore, and these may not necessarily be restricted to beliefs and superstitions, but may also represent wider world-views such as concepts of time, which can be overlooked or disregarded by archaeologists. The connections between archaeological sites and folklore, then, are evident in the everyday consciousness and experience of certain groups, but the study of this is often marginalised by archaeologists (Wallis and Lymer, 2001a:xiii).

Archaeology and folklore, as distinct disciplines, have endured a turbulent relationship over the past two centuries. Yet, at one time, the two subjects had not been as discrete as they

appear to be today. Indeed, between the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, they were one and the same thing (Harte, 1986:5; Burström, 1999:36; Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf, 1999a:8), encompassed within the study of ‘Popular Antiquities’, later antiquarianism, studied by antiquarians. The relationship between archaeology and folklore since the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century roughly reflects Burke’s (2004) ‘Three Ages’ of interactions between history and folklore in Britain, yet the development of both disciplines can be seen to have run in similar trajectories, particularly in their theoretical developments and the appropriation of both subjects by politicians and other social groups for the legitimisation of identities, claims to land and other nationalistic agendas (Wood, 1997:95; Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf, 1999a:19; Moore, 2008:8; see also Dorson 1968; Trigger 2006). A history of the two subjects and their interactions will be considered, and the potential uses of folklore to archaeology examined, in order to contextualise this research and its secondary data.

#### 1.2.1. Popular Antiquities

The concurrent study of materials of what would later become ‘archaeology’ and ‘folklore’ was pursued since at least the 15<sup>th</sup> century by individuals such as John Rous (1411-1491) and William Worcestre (1415-1482) (Gerrard, 2003:5-6; Trigger, 2006:84), although a medieval interest in the remains of the past is evident (see Semple 2013) in events such as the excavations by monks at Glastonbury Abbey of the supposed bodies of King Arthur and Guinevere in 1191 (Gerrard, 2003:5), the general historical narratives of writers such as Geoffrey of Monmouth, and the recording of prehistoric monuments and their associated folktales in local chronicles by priests (Trigger, 2006:81). Priests often linked megalithic monuments to Biblical and Classical characters (Trigger, 2006:82; see Schnapp, 1993), validating these tales by linking them to features of the landscape, but also demonstrating the monopoly of the ‘official’, documented past by members of the Catholic church.

The reign of Henry VIII (1509-1547) saw a change in how the past was collected, recorded and disseminated, and this change and heightened engagement with the past can be seen to have emerged from the “the loss and shock” of the Dissolution (1536-1541) (Gerrard, 2003:5-6). The destruction of familiar monastic landmarks (and social and religious systems) spurred ‘scholars’ to record these and other monuments (Trigger, 2006:84), marking that history was no longer the domain of monks (Dorson, 1968:2), and ushering in an era of studying ‘popular antiquities’. This term not only signifies the subject matter of interest to the new kind of historical scholar – the antiquarian – but also implies that such history was no longer restricted to an elite religious class. One of the earliest systematic collectors of



popular antiquities was John Leland (c.1503-1552), King's Antiquary from 1533 (Dorson, 1968:3; Trigger, 2006:85), who published his collections in works such as *Concerning Britaine, Remaines of a Greater Worke*, and his *Itinerary*. Leland was followed, and a more refined methodology created, by William Camden (1551-1623) (Schnapp, 1993:139), whose *Britannia* and other publications prompted nobles and gentry to collect and preserve antiquities (Dorson, 1968:4).

Camden worked under a topographical methodology, starting from a Romano-British geography in order to construct local histories (Schnapp, 1993:140), employing the 'walking tour' as a means of retrieving information, visiting sites and interviewing local people (peasantry) (Dorson, 1968:3). Camden had thus created a framework within which to work – regional history – and an observation method – literary and oral investigation in combination with detailed description of the landscape (Schnapp, 1993:141). Such investigative practices reflected the view that popular antiquities went beyond the physical remains of the past, but that oral traditions and other customs related to ancient monuments and objects could be found among living people.

The study of popular antiquities and changing views of history led to the interpretation that these peasants and their traditions represented remnants of the distant past, whilst commenting on, and contributing to, the present. Although some of these customs were dismissed as 'rude' or 'vulgar', others had some influence on the interpretation of sites and landscapes, and, by extension, the history of the nation, particularly if they could be used to demonstrate the sovereignty and natural relationship of the monarch over the land (Abrahams, 1992:36-7). Peasants thus represented the 'tradition-bearers' of the nation, and many of their customs were not only incorporated into its historical narrative, but imitated by elite groups in, for example, pageantry (see Abrahams, 1992:37). Such ideas were continued and expanded by John Aubrey (1626-1697), who saw popular antiquities as part of 'natural history', and living peoples as stores of tradition (Dorson, 1968:5). Aubrey introduced the concept of 'comparative antiquity' (Schnapp, 1993:192; Trigger, 2006:106), constructing a method comparing type and chronology in order to understand prehistoric and historic objects and monuments as part of a 'scientific antiquarianism'. This approach to antiquities, and the view that they could be placed within a structure of 'natural development', lay down views of ancient remains and their associated tales and customs within a cultural evolutionary framework, which continued and developed into the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### 1.2.2. The Creation of Disciplines

The 19<sup>th</sup> century saw the construction of solid disciplinary distinctions between archaeology and folklore. A chair of archaeology was created in Leiden in 1818, and a professorship founded by John Disney at Cambridge in 1851 (Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf, 1999a:8). Increasing use of the term ‘archaeology’ during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century represented a shift in the role of the past in the present, and the use of knowledge of the past (Schnapp, 1993:275). An emphasis on material culture distinguished it from other historical disciplines.

Folklore also developed its distinct disciplinary identity during this period, with the coining of the term by William Thoms in a letter to the *Athenaeum* on 22 August 1846:

...what we in England designate as Popular Antiquities... would be most aptly described by a good Saxon compound, Folk-Lore – *the Lore of the People*...

(Thoms, 1846:882, original emphasis)

Describing the term ‘folklore’ as a ‘good Saxon compound’ suggests the ethnic and nationalistic impetus behind the collection and study of such material, which was an ever-increasing aspect of folklore collection (and archaeology) at this time. Indeed, one of Thoms’s aims in his letter was to propose to rescue these materials in the hope of achieving the equivalent of a Grimm mythology in Britain, claiming that such a collection would not only benefit the British nation, but also that of Germany, since both nations’ tales were so closely connected (Thoms, 1846:862).

The development and employment of an evolutionary approach to the past was widespread by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, which was both influenced by the Enlightenment and gained supposed scientific backing by biological evolutionism in the wake of Darwin’s *On the Origin of Species* (1859) (Dorson, 1968:160; Trigger, 2006:166, 170-1). Edward Burnett Tylor’s theory of mythology in the anthropological school of folklore (1865) saw folklore as the “tattered remnants of savage myths” preserved by peasants (Dorson, 1968:191). Following Adolf Bastian’s ‘psychic unity’ (see Köpping 2005), Tylor argued that such myths fit into an evolutionary system, where the earliest were animistic nature myths constructed by savages, and higher levels of sophistication were represented by philosophic and historic myths explaining the mysteries of the universe (Dorson, 1968:187-197; see Tylor 1865, 1871). It was thus considered that one could work backwards in time from peasant to savage, a view echoed in archaeology by John Lubbock (Lord Avebury), who argued that, just as elephants can provide information on extinct mammoths, “modern primitive societies can

shed light on the behaviour of prehistoric human beings” (Trigger, 2006:171; see Lubbock 1865, 1870) by way of direct analogy.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century later saw the rejection of cultural evolutionary models in favour of migratory or diffusionist theories of cultural development and emphasis on particularism. Culture-historical archaeology is considered to have arisen as a result of the growing awareness of geographically-distinct technologies, concerns with uniform time, the development of a chronological-typological approach, the professionalization of prehistoric archaeology and an increase in national fervour (Burström, 1999:37; Trigger, 2006:211). In contrast to the notion of independent development as inferred by the cultural evolutionary approach, culture-historians argued that it was the migration of people and diffusion of ideas that accounted for differences, similarities and changes in material culture. Early culture-historical archaeology was often concerned with the movement of Germanic, Slavic and Vedic peoples (see Kemble 1863), an interest that was echoed in folklore and sustained until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Based on comparative philology, Max Müller (1856) developed his ‘comparative mythology’, through which elements of ‘barbarism’ in the mythology of ‘civilised’ cultures could be explained by tracing myths back to their apparent Vedic roots. According to Müller, as Aryan peoples migrated, stories and gods from this mythology altered as a result of the ‘disease of language’, but, by tracing these alterations in folklore, movements and common Aryan ancestries could be proposed. Both archaeological and folkloric approaches thus took the view that peoples from a superior civilisation migrated, and it was by this mechanism that various cultural indicators, such as myths and material culture, expressed similarities and variations. A number of points of origin of migrations were proposed, including Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Indus (for example, G.E. Smith 1911, 1915, 1933; Childe 1925, 1926, 1928), but, whatever the source, it was often considered that ruling classes and particular nations represented the purest descendants of these ancestors, thus justifying the control and colonisation of supposedly lesser peoples, and legitimation over land (see Trigger 1984).

Both archaeology and folklore during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries sought to trace common ancestries (notably, and most prominently, with Aryan peoples) through their respective materials, contributing to wider nationalist agendas. These developments led to the overt manipulation and appropriation of archaeological and folkloric work for nationalistic agendas, most famously in Germany, although it is important to note that such practices and views were not restricted to this country, but were widespread across Europe, supporting romantic ideologies, notions of racial superiority and arguments for ethnic cleansing (Trigger, 2006:236). The work of the Brothers Grimm and Johann Herder were

employed by writers such as Leopold von Schroeder (1851-1920), paralleled by Gustav Kossinna's (1853-1931) archaeological work (Dow and Bockhorn, 2002:11; Arnold 2006:11), supporting notions of an Aryan origin and pure descent, thus superiority, of the German people (see Arnold 1990, 2006 for an examination for totalitarian archaeology in Germany, and Dow and Lixfeld 1994a on folklore in Nazi Germany).

At the same time as the scholarly search and reconstruction of nations' ancient ancestors through archaeological and folkloric material, the establishment of regional and national folk museums in Britain (Wingfield, 2011:255-6) and the rest of Europe provided settings in which such traditional culture and inheritance could be displayed to the public in tangible form. The representation of the past through the merging of archaeology and folklore to a public audience could also be seen in the publication of short stories in magazines such as Grant Allen's *Pallinghurst Barrow* (1892), which 'fictionalised' concepts from contemporary work aiming to demonstrate folkloric survivals archaeologically, or theorising that living folklore retained strains of prehistoric memories (for example, MacRitchie 1839; Allen 1881; Johnson 1908; Fleure 1932, 1948; MacCulloch 1932; Sayce 1934). These representations to a (limited) public not only allowed for a degree of popular dissemination of such ideas, but could also instil the nation with a sense of its deep-rooted indigenesness.

Thus, whilst William Thoms announced his desire to collect English tales in the interest of connecting with the country's Saxon past, there continued to be an appeal in an ancient, unbroken past, which was best exemplified by the invention of the 'Celts' (see James 1999). The use of the word 'Celt' in modern culture has an affiliation with an 'ethnic heartland' such as Wales, Scotland or Ireland (Dietler, 1994:585), and concepts of an ancient Celtic past plays an ideological role in both British and European unity and identity (Dietler, 1994:584). The concept of the insular 'Celticness' of Britons was introduced in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century by Edward Lhuyd (1707), and the idea quickly became 'established fact', with the term 'Celtic' being applied to archaeological remains of ancient Britons (James, 1999:44-7), particularly of the pre-Roman Iron Age, and British folktales being recorded and published as such (see Jacobs 1892, 1894).

That Britain underwent successive invasions of peoples was known as early as the medieval period, and thus scholars and other groups interested in employing the past could not claim unbroken descent from a 'pure', indigenous people; instead, these invasions represented the incoming of superior peoples and retention of their best features, in addition to Celtic traits, meaning the British embodied the best stock in Europe (Trigger, 2006:214), transforming the notion of the Celts from a cultural label to an ethnic one (James, 1999:18). Therefore, although the idea of the Celts defined them as 'not-English', and thus a tool with which

groups such as the Irish and Scottish could resist English domination, the English ruling class were able to appropriate the concept of the Celts, particularly through the annexation of Wales and Scotland, and assertion of Celtic traces in English blood (Hingley, 2000:86-95; see J. Davies 1879a, 1879b). The idea of the Celts, with a “deep indigenous ancestry”, fulfilled a British need to create and promote national identity and unity at this time (James, 1999:47), fulfilling nation- and empire-building agendas.

Burke identifies the period between the inception of ‘folklore’ as a distinct term and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (around World War I) as the ‘Age of Harmony’ between history and folklore (Burke, 2004:134). This age could also be applied to archaeology and folklore, beginning slightly earlier to when the former discipline was beginning to be identified as distinctly concerned with material culture. Such ‘harmony’ can be seen to exist through the similarities in their methods, theories and goals, both evolutionary and diffusionist, as well as their uses in political and national agendas. Archaeology’s use of ethnology for cultural evolutionary explanations relied heavily on the materials of folklore, mirroring the anthropological school’s focus on ‘survivals’ in modern groups, whilst methods and perspectives in comparative mythology’s interpretation of folklore mirrored those of culture-history through philology and material culture respectively (see Bronner 1984). Yet in a remarkably cogent commentary for the time, Laura Hibbard Loomis (1931) argued in a paper on megalithic monuments in Arthurian romance that medieval folklore pertaining to archaeological sites can only tell us something of the medieval people who reproduced it, and not of the prehistoric people who originally built and used such sites. This view, however, was both atypical of the time and did not appear to enhance the contemporary emphasis on the study of prehistory, thus was largely overlooked. The two disciplines can be seen to agree in their aims and techniques until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, when archaeology began distancing itself from folklore (Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf, 1999a:8), especially after the Second World War.

### 1.2.3. Structure and Boundaries

Out of the criticisms of the culture-historical approach and responses to its uses in regimes culminating in the Second World War, a New Archaeology arose, marking a decided shift in the interaction between archaeology and folklore, to the point where the latter was regarded by the former with suspicion (Burke, 2004:135). It has been suggested that historians’ reluctance to engage with folklore is due to its perceived origins in romantic nationalism – but, of course, history (and archaeology) can be criticised on the same

grounds (Ben-Amos, 1975:4; Hopkin, 2001:218; Burke, 2004:135). The legacy of folklore's association with romantic nationalism can be considered as a factor in the distancing between archaeology and folklore at this time, as well as the significant theoretical shifts in both disciplines, especially archaeology.

The New Archaeology of the 1960s was largely influenced by and borrowed from other disciplines such as anthropology, biology and mathematics, which also developed new approaches after the War (Clarke, 1973:8), and emphasised the role of scientific observation and hypothesis testing in archaeological investigation. One aspect of the New Archaeology was the call for ethnographic observation in order to make anthropological inferences from archaeological material (see Binford 1962; Longacre 1964). Such observations were different to the ethnological studies in archaeology (and folklore) in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which used such observations to infer 'mentality' and belief systems: the New Archaeology aimed to understand ancient systems of technology, economy and social organisation. Furthermore, developments in technology (see Clarke, 1973:9-10) allowed for more and varied observations to be made, reducing or eliminating the need for written and oral data – indeed, such information could be deemed 'unscientific'. Models derived from this empirical data were generated that sought to explain processes that resulted in archaeological materials and the archaeological record, giving rise to a 'processual' archaeology. Thus, material culture was no longer a marker for cultural similarities and differences arising from diffusion and migration, but a functional response to systemic factors such as the environment (Binford 1962).

Folklore also underwent theoretical shifts in the 1960s, again predominantly looking to other disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, psychology and linguistics (Glassie, 1977:25; see Dorson 1963). Material culture studies were largely precluded in folklore from a rejection of its use as a 'tracing device' in earlier paradigms (Löfgren, 2012:171). Likewise, a reaction against earlier evolutionary approaches led to the development of a structuralist approach to folklore (Bronner, 2006:406; see, for example, Dundes 1962, 1976), whereby folklore was considered a process developed within a system of cultural invention (Abrahams, 1992:40). It was therefore these structures that governed what folklore was reproduced and how it operated; thus, like archaeology, folklore attempted to provide explanatory models for observations in its respective dataset.

Another approach that developed within folklore studies (predominantly in the US) at this time was the notion of 'boundary-work', advocated chiefly by Richard Dorson. Although boundedness was largely atheoretical, its construction and implementation marked an attempt to firmly discipline folklore in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The emphasis of boundary-work

was on keeping non-academics and non-specialists out of folklore studies (Briggs, 2008:92), ironically at a time that saw a revival in interest in, and practice of, folk traditions (see Abrahams, 1993a:380-1). Dorson attacked amateurs, popularisers, mass media and academic interlopers, arguing that pure folklore was that collected and studied within academically-trained folklorist circles, whilst all that lay outside of the folklore boundary was termed 'faklore' (W.S. Fox, 1980:245; Stetkert, 1986:180; Briggs, 2008:94-5; see Dorson 1950, 1959; Dorson, 1973:199). The idea of 'faklore' is akin to the concept of 'folklorism' prevalent in Europe (particularly Germany and Eastern Europe) at the time, which presented the notion that folklore was recontextualised and represented in a way 'foreign' to the original tradition (for various definitions, uses and traditions of this see Šmidchens 1999): for example, the reconstitution of folklore elements in elite art or literature, or 'folksy' art marketed as commodities for the culture industry. The notion of folklorism has been seen to have originated from Soviet studies into cultural development informed by Marxist ideology between the 1930s and the 1960s (Šmidchens, 1999:52-3; see Oinas 1984) and developed in the 1960s and 70s, particularly in Western Europe, into perspectives considering the 'inauthenticity' of folkloric reproductions in secondary contexts, such as political and economic arenas, particularly in non-democratic societies (Roginsky, 2007:42). The latter view of folklorism can, again, be seen as a response to the use of folklore within the German National Socialist Party (Dow and Lixfeld 1994a), but this particular episode in folklore studies was little explored in the years following the War (Dow and Lixfeld 1994b).

As well as leading to a distancing from archaeology, the creation and use of boundedness in folklore excluded the general public from its studies and gave academically-trained folklorists an authoritative and exclusive commentary on the materials of folklore, a criticism that can also be levelled at the New Archaeology when it moved away from collaborations with folklore (Burström, 1999:45), and, more importantly, its implementation of scientific, highly specialist, knowledge (see below). Contemporary reaction against the increased focus on science and scientific presentation is exemplified by Jacquetta Hawkes's (1968) rejection of the language used to analyse and describe the past, representing early calls for an accessible presentation of archaeology to the wider public.

Henry Glassie (1977) noted the commonality in the aims and methods of archaeology and folklore, but his calls for a closer relationship were largely ignored and the coming together of the two disciplines remained an "uncommon encounter" (Glassie, 1977:23) in the 1960s and 70s. Glassie's work (1968, 1975), based on a structural approach to folklore, inspired archaeologist James Deetz (1977, 1988) in examining vernacular architecture and domesticity in the colonial south of the United States, and the legacy of these writers

continues in studies in this field today (Upton and Vlach 1986; Beck 1998). The collaboration of archaeology with folklore can be seen to be useful to historical studies of the relationship between dominant, colonial elites and oppressed/enslaved groups, and of their material signifiers, since they can gain an insight into cultures of resistance and/or enculturation in a more nuanced way than by examining historical accounts and the remains of 'Big Houses'. These interactions have recently culminated in the publication of Mark P. Leone's (2005) work on the Anapolis project, illustrating that the engagement between archaeology and folklore continues to produce fruitful investigations into American colonial history, but has not been so keenly employed elsewhere.

Despite emphasis on the 'scientific' in archaeology, and the idea of 'boundedness' in folklore, there were two significant forms of collaboration between the two disciplines. Firstly, collections of folklore associated with archaeological sites were made, most notably by the archaeologist Leslie Grinsell (for example, Grinsell 1937, 1939, 1976a, 1976b, 1978). Grinsell's *Folklore of Prehistoric Sites in Britain* (1976a) provides an excellent example of such a study, and was undertaken under the auspices of the Folklore Society and supported by the Prehistoric Society (Grinsell, 1939:323). Grinsell's preliminary thoughts on such material reflected that of his contemporaries: that, just as archaeology can tell us of the material culture of prehistoric groups, folklore can tell us something of their mentality (Grinsell, 1937:246; compare Fleure 1932, 1948). Grinsell's view was subdued after the War, which delayed collection and publication (Grinsell 1939). Such projects can be seen to have been hang-overs from before the War, and, as approaches from this time were since rejected, these went little beyond collecting and cataloguing, stretching only to some commentary on folkloric themes commonly encountered with site types (see Grinsell, 1976a:16-75). After undertaking his survey, Grinsell (1978) concluded, like L.H. Loomis (1931) before him, that one can only learn about later attitudes towards archaeological sites through their folklore – it was not possible to use folklore to 'project back' and discern the thoughts of earlier peoples (see also Hutton, 2003:22).

A second collaborative development undertaken by a number of archaeologists between the 1930s and 80s are represented by projects attempting to assess the historical accuracy of folklore at archaeological sites (see Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf, 1999a:11-12). The most notable of these endeavours was Leslie Alcock's Cadbury/Camelot investigations (1972), which, alongside a more 'traditional' archaeological investigation of the site, emphasised the search for the folk hero Arthur and considered the location of legendary and folkloric events at this site. The project attracted the attention of folklorists (Foster 1966), and captured the public imagination, but there was no collaboration between archaeologists



and folklorists on this investigation, which was carried out entirely by archaeologists. It can be seen that such studies, and Alcock's investigation in particular, were motivated by strains of nationalism responding to the Second World War, in this case foregrounding a 'British' folk hero claiming British land and, legendarily, defending it from Germanic invaders (Chapter 6.3.1).

Despite these examples demonstrating the use of folklore in archaeology, the period after the two World Wars to the end of the 1970s saw a growing distrust between the two subjects – archaeology's distrust of folklore was largely due to the emphasis on 'science' within archaeological enquiry, whilst folklore's distrust of archaeology was based on the reaction against the use of material culture that supported notions upholding ultra-nationalist and fascist regimes, and views that other disciplines should not attempt to engage with the materials of folklore to avoid the collection and production of fakelore or folklorism.

#### 1.2.4. Interpretive and Meaningful Approaches

By the 1980s, both archaeologists and folklorists found dissatisfaction with their studies, since successful integration between method, theory and data had not been achieved (Glassie, 1977:26). There also came a realisation that there was little engagement with the wider contexts in which these disciplines were practiced, including dialogues with the public. The discipline-building agendas of archaeology and folklore, with emphases on science and professionalization, resulted in the exclusion of other voices and a distancing from direct public engagement. The language of 'scientific' archaeologists meant that non-specialists were excluded from understanding their work, a criticism that was similarly levelled at structuralist folklore. In the case of boundary-work, it was implied that tradition-bearers and practitioners could not consciously analyse their own traditions, and were therefore 'outside' of folklore's boundary (Briggs, 2008:99)! It was now seen that the distinction between folklore and folklorism/fakelore was not as simple as proponents of this divide supposed, since public (folk) demand was largely responsible for which traditions were reproduced, and could not be solely put down to commercialism or economic manipulation (Stetkert, 1986:180; Malina and Vašíček, 1990:10-11; Hayman, 1997:10; Šmidchens, 1999:59; Wallis and Lymer, 2001:xiii). Instead, an examination of variants in traditions reflected the folklore process at work (Dégh, 1994:32-3) rather than representing distinctions between 'true', primary traditions and secondary ones; as Šmidchens (1999:53) notes, "the distinction between 'primary tradition vs. folklorism' is based more in the beliefs

of folklorists than the European folklore traditions to which it is applied". Boundary-work and its constricted theoretical basis were thus seen as discipline-preservation, rather than discipline-building (Bendix, 1997:22-3; Briggs, 2008:95), maintaining the field's elitist origins in the aesthetic (W.S. Fox, 1980:244) and romantic (see also Voigt 1980; Bendix 1997; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998 for further critiques of and responses to folklorism/fakelore).

Likewise, the functionalist and systemic approaches to archaeology and folklore were viewed as limiting, with emphasis on explanation rather than interpretation (Shanks and Tilley, 1992:29-45; Bronner 2006; Bronner 2012). Both disciplines, influenced by social theorists such as Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu, increasingly considered individuals to actively respond to, and sometimes conflict with, social structures, rather than passively adhering to and reflecting them. Folklorists found a renewed interest in material culture, considering its production and consumption to be an active, meaningful practice that represented the semiotics and symbolism of a particular group (Löfgren, 2012:172), as did other forms of folklore. This approach to material culture is of course identical to that of contextual/interpretive archaeologists, where objects are not a passive expression of past systems but meaningfully constituted, that could be read as a text (Shanks and Tilley, 1992:105-117; see especially Hodder 1982, 1989). Interpretive archaeologists rejected positivist approaches to archaeology, and the false divide between data and theory, since data are always theory-laden. The archaeological process was now recognised as a subjective and contextual activity, with many voices making claims to multiple pasts, challenging archaeologists' sole authority over narratives of the past (Collis, 1999:129).

Both archaeologists and folklorists considered the approaches to their respective materials formed in the 1960s and 70s to have had little interest in the socio-political significance of the contexts in which they worked and, indeed, to have perpetuated the status quo (W.S. Fox, 1980:244; Shanks and Tilley 1989; Tilley 1989). This is aptly demonstrated by Dorson's (1962:163) claim that, "the democracies of course do not use folklore as propaganda, but for knowledge and insight". Little attention was paid to the socio-political implications and appropriation of folklore in 'non-authoritarian' societies (W.S. Fox, 1980:245), yet, as Noyes (2012:21) observes, "Functionalist social theory turned nationalist ideology into science by positing that the world was naturally divided into organic self-containing collectives" (see also Abrahams 1993b), an argument similarly levelled at processual archaeology's environmental and structural determinism. The critique of 'fakelore' based on considerations of practice was taken further with the 'performance turn' in folklore, which focussed on practices in context and its consciousness of the contribution historical research might make in resolving or addressing contemporary conflicts (Noyes, 2012:25-6;

for example, Herzfeld 1997). Archaeologists likewise noted that the past is always created in the present, with interpretations reflecting current ideologies and motivations, and archaeology can be and is a form of socio-political action in the present (in particular Tilley 1989).

As such, both archaeologists and folklorists attempted to resituate their disciplines within the contexts in which they are practiced and to reinstate dialogues with the public. Yet, ironically, both highly theoretical, interpretive, post-structuralist approaches could be considered to be as exclusive as the structural-processual frameworks they criticised, since the language of such theory is that of exclusive, academic groups (Hodder, 1991:8; Briggs, 2008:97). In recognising this conflict, attempts were made to remedy the shortfall, through archaeologists implementing reflexive and multivocal positioning (Hodder 1991; see, for example, Hodder 2000; Bender et al 2007), and 'public folklorists' noting public and tradition-bearers' challenges to folklorists' 'authority' (Briggs 1999; Kodish 2012). Although such an approach to archaeology has been charged with reducing the discipline to a hyper-relativist discourse (Renfrew 1989), in practice uncritical acceptance of all interpretations is not sanctioned; instead support is offered for a critical, contextual appreciation of different pasts that represent meaningful discourse to those who reproduce them (Shanks and Tilley, 1989:10; Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos, 2009:72). The consideration of 'history from below' can be seen in archaeology with the examination of agency in the past on the one hand and interactions with the public in the present on the other, and has led to the rediscovery of popular culture by historians (Burke, 2004:135-6) and archaeologists.

These reflexive, holistic and interpretive developments in archaeology and folklore led to a degree of 'rapprochement' between the two disciplines (Burke, 2004:135-7), leading to various reconsiderations of folklore in archaeological research, with a significant increase in research and publications, as seen in volumes such as Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf's *Archaeology and Folklore* (1999b; see also Wallis and Lymer 2001b; Falk and Kyritz 2008), and conferences and sessions exploring the subject.

With the reconsideration of material culture in folklore studies came the concurrent exploration of folk material culture in archaeology, a trend set by Glassie (1968, 1977) decades earlier. Although Ralph Merrifield's (1987) study on the archaeology of ritual took an archaeological approach to folk objects that considered interpretive archaeology's refocus on aspects of past experience neglected by processual archaeology (such as ritual and religion), these were often discussed in terms of 'survivals', suggesting a lack of understanding on the part of an archaeologist of how folklorists' perspectives on such materials had changed. Gazin-Schwartz's (2001) investigations of folk material culture from

the Scottish Highlands aimed to reassess archaeological approaches to 'ritual' within the context of the utilitarian and every day, whilst Herva et al (2010) considered how ritual objects can provide an insight into perceptions of and engagement with the world in post-medieval Europe. Other projects have examined archaeological materials according to folkloristic semiotics (VanPool and VanPool 2009; see also Shanks 2012 considering antiquarian encounters according to Propp's (1968 [1928]) semiotic approach to folktales), or folk material culture in archaeological perspective (M.O. Jones 1993; Wingfield 2010), particularly the Pitt-Rivers Museum's 'The Other Within' Project on English ethnographic objects, which underscore archaeology's focus on tangible material culture and ethnographic object analysis. Wallis and Blain (2003; Blain and Wallis 2004) have examined residual material deposits resulting from activities of contemporary pagan groups at archaeological sites ('ritual litter'), and attempt to reconcile contestations over sites between such groups and archaeologists, whilst Carroll et al (2004) and David (2009) have examined material culture in the context of the myth and folklore of the landscapes with which they are associated.

Other examinations of folklore of archaeological sites have explored how such narratives and customs have come about (Clark 1994, 2002), or considered how folklore in the past influenced how and why certain sites were located in particular places (Brown and Bowen 1999). In particular, medieval archaeologists have considered the role of folklore in landscape narratives and engagements in examining customs and world-views (Semple 1998; T. Thompson 2004; Franklin 2006; Falk and Kyritz 2008; Reynolds 2009a; MacGregor 2010; Reynolds and Langlands 2011; see also Rippon and Gardiner, 2007:234); Sarah Semple (1998, 2013) in particular has examined the medieval perception of prehistoric sites in this context. As such, folklore enhances archaeological knowledge about the past in the context in which folklore was reproduced, rather than taking a direct-historical approach (for example Strong 1936) in making connections to an earlier period. In addition to folklore supplementing archaeological material, it may also be considered as a means of interpretation where 'traditional' archaeological avenues have failed to provide adequate explanation and interpretation. This can be seen in cases where the stratigraphic record has presented an interpretive problem, such as finding prehistoric flint tools in medieval contexts (E.E. Evans, 1971:138; Gazin-Schwartz, 2001:277-8); here an understanding of the belief that such objects were thought to be 'thunder-bolts', resulting in the custom of placing them within houses, particularly in roofs, to protect from thunder-strike (see Balfour 1929; Grinsell 1937:249) aids explanation and interpretation. Excavators found African-American deposits in a Virginia plantation house kitchen difficult to interpret in themselves, but an understanding of African conjuring deposits allowed the investigators to

come to a satisfactory conclusion about their purpose and meaning (Leone and Fry 1999). Leone and Fry's project also emphasised the contribution of archaeology to folklore studies, rather than simply the one-sided 'enhancement' of archaeology by folklore.

In other cases, folklore has provided a more accurate interpretation of remains than that made by archaeologists, as illustrated, for example, in the case of a Norwegian 'cairn field' being misinterpreted by archaeologists as 19<sup>th</sup> century clearings for grass production or Iron Age cemeteries, whereas local tradition correctly identified them as pre-Black Death cereal fields, as corroborated by later excavation (Holm 1999). The correct identification of such features can be considered to be due to local farmers recognising these traces, even though the actual practice that would have produced this particular signature was no longer in use. Such cases, of course, are not typical, but do demonstrate considering that local knowledge through multiple narratives may make contributions to research, if only in considering a range of possibilities in interpreting a site, since it is the local people who have most direct experience of the sites and landscapes they inhabit.

Engaging with local communities through folklore is also a strategy archaeologists might employ when investigating sites and landscapes. Powell and Dockall (1995), for example, were able to diffuse a potentially volatile situation between contractors, archaeologists and descendent communities involved in the development of an African-American burial ground by involving descendent groups in the investigation of the site through their folklore (see also Shankland 1999; Glazier 2005; Riley et al 2005). In this vein, Matsuda (2010) has considered how both archaeological findings and folkloric narratives of a site may be presented to the local community in a way that related the archaeological interpretation without discrediting the validity of producing their own folklore (see also Matsuda, 2009:141-2, 242-56). Comparably, Orange and Lavolette (2010) have explored the conflicting archaeological presentation of Tintagel, Cornwall, its renown as an Arthurian site, and public responses to these (also Orange 2006). Folklore thus provides a means by which archaeologists can interact with the public in a dialectical fashion, challenging archaeology's monopoly on the interpretation of the past (Michlovic, 1990:103) in a constructive way, pulling back from its exaggerated emphasis on 'science', which can further estrange the public from archaeology (T. Thompson, 2004:349) and does not necessarily accord with their own experiences of archaeological remains.

The many possible interpretations of a site and its assessment by the public was engaged with by a collaborative team at the University of Bournemouth in 1996 (Darvill et al 1999). An 'enquiry' into the age of the Cerne Abbas hill figure conducted before a public audience gathered experts from a range of disciplines, in particular from archaeology and folklore,

who presented their 'evidence' in accordance with their own fields in order to assess the age of the figure. The Cerne giant was, for the most part, presented archaeologically as prehistoric, whilst folkloric examinations produced a post-medieval estimate. However, the third group of contributors to the enquiry argued that the age of the giant is irrelevant, since it is the continuing relevance the figure has to social groups today that is of importance. The argument presented by the third group not only stresses the importance of re-situating archaeological sites and landscapes into the present, but also demonstrates that the combination of archaeology and folklore, whilst at times conflicting, can also be reconciled through the meaningful, contextual examination of place, and that engagements with such places are enacted today.

The 'performance turn' in folklore and the meaningful approaches taken by archaeologists to landscape has also contributed to studies of place in other disciplines. Mike Pearson (2006) takes a novel approach to the study of performance through considering a range of subjects, including archaeology and folklore, within the context of landscape, in order to demonstrate the significant connection people have to place and so that disciplinary boundaries may be broken down. Such an approach also moves away from conventional locales (for example, 'heritage'-oriented) examined in studies of landscape, as the focus of Pearson's study is the landscape of his childhood (Pearson, 2006:4). Such work further reinforces the point that non-specialists interact with and construct meanings about place, which can be examined past and present through collaboration between archaeology and folklore.

With some archaeologists recognising the limitations of the archaeological record and of interpretations came the recognition that archaeology cannot be relied upon to tell us about the 'actual' past (Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf, 1999a:5), which is often a criticism levelled at folklore, thus leading to a dismissal of its use in archaeological research. However, instead, archaeologists might consider the *meanings* of such folklore as significant to archaeology, since meaning is also what is viewed as important by folklorists (Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf, 1999a:13; Holtorf 2005b:1, 5; Wolf-Knuts, 2010:2). Folklore can thus represent a form of 'metaphorical history' of those who produce and reproduce it (Voss 1987) that is meaningful and symbolic, as well as providing archaeologists with a more 'holistic' approach to their investigations (T. Thompson, 2004:340). When in relation to archaeological sites, these narratives and customs represent an aspect of that site's 'life-history' (Bender 1993a, 1998; Holtorf 1997, 1998, 2005a) that does not necessarily leave a material trace, but is nonetheless just as significant as tangible remnants of later activity

(see C. Evans, 1985:82). These are fundamental themes of this thesis and will be developed throughout.

A cross-examination of the origins, growths and approaches of archaeology and folklore can reveal the similarities between the two disciplines in their aims, theories and (mis)uses. Such work can aid in breaking down barriers between the two, since archaeologists may be unaware of the methods and approaches of folklorists (Hopkin, 2001:218) and thus wary of the possibilities folklore might offer, viewing it instead as dead, irrelevant, and a remnant of a less intelligent age (Symonds, 1999:115). Whilst, on the whole, past attempts at verifying folklore through archaeology have been predominantly unsuccessful (Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf, 1999a:4), it should not be expected that this should be otherwise, since we can see that folklore is often related to social meaning rather than historical accuracy. Of course, past cultural evolutionary and diffusionist approaches have led to dangerous assertions and justifications for appalling actions, but these are rather down to the misappropriation of such materials and their study than exemplifying the limitations of these collaborations. Archaeologists should be wary of employing folklore at face value, since folklore, like *all* archaeological materials should be *analysed* to assess their interpretive worth (Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf, 1999a:5). In this vein, it is argued here that folklore should not be seen as an 'alternative' to archaeology and archaeological interpretation, but a reflexive *part* of interpretation, thus opening up avenues of investigation and interpretation. Such a view will be developed in this thesis by expanding upon some recent approaches to archaeology and folklore outlined above, particularly archaeological life-histories, identity and public engagement (Chapter 2), employing the folk hero Arthur as a case study; this figure will be explored more closely in the next section.

### **1.3. The Figure of Arthur**

We can see in the preceding brief history of archaeology and folklore that the figure of Arthur frequently features in the development and interaction of the two disciplines in Britain, particularly in the context of the legitimation of power and the construction of nation and identity. Many of these exercises, and almost all studies of Arthur, tend to emphasise or assess the historicity of the folk figure, and in the case of such studies these are often tedious re-examinations of pre-Galfridian literature in which he is mentioned, and sometimes attempts to tie him to particular places in Britain. The linking of Arthur to particular places in the landscape is, of course, not novel, and is inextricably part of some of the earliest folklore about the hero.

Both the popularity of Arthur and the archaeological attention he receives make him a useful thematic focus for the investigation of the relationship between archaeological sites and their folklore, and their connections to local and national identities. However, the theoretical and methodological approaches employed here might be similarly applied to the investigation of other folklore and sites. Unlike many historical and archaeological studies, this research does not aim to assess Arthur's 'historicity', or aim to locate an 'Arthur' or comparable historical figure at archaeological sites. Nor, as in literature studies, does this research aim to chart the literary progress of the character in various chronicles, poems and romances. This research instead seeks to examine how and why such folklore emerges about archaeological sites, and what role these sites play in the development of traditions in the historical contexts in which they are produced and reproduced, in order to consider the role of folklore in archaeological research.

It is well beyond the scope and purpose of this research to examine the literary occurrence of Arthur and the assessment of his historicity, and there is, in any case, no use in covering ground already well-trodden (for example, Padel 1994; Barczewski 2000; Higham 2002; T. Green 2007; Halsall 2013); however, a brief outline of the history of examining Arthur, his links to archaeology, and key texts that are useful in examining the relationship between Arthur, folklore and archaeological sites will be given here in order to provide a background to the figure and contextualise this research within previous studies (see Appendix A).

### 1.3.1. Textual Sources

The earliest reference to 'Arthur' has long been the subject of debate (T. Green, 2007:45-92), mainly due to arguments over how long poems and narratives were in oral circulation before being committed to manuscripts. Gildas's *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae* ('On the Ruin and Conquest of Britain') of c.540 is sometimes given as a near-contemporary 'Arthurian' text, since it describes the conquest of Britain by the Saxons and the British resistance in conflicts such as the Battle of Badon. However, the narrative does not refer to Arthur but Ambrosius Aurelianus as leader of the Britons. Further, Gildas's text is generally considered a metaphorical and polemical piece, rather than an accurate representation of history (Higham, 2002:47-50; Pryor, 2004:23).

The earliest datable text to mention Arthur is the *Historia Brittonum* ('History of the Britons') of c.829, where he appears in Chapter 56 and in the *Mirabilia* (Chapters 67-75), though Padel (1994:2) suggests that the nature of this text indicates that the legend of Arthur was already well-known by the time of its composition. Chapter 56 is the first



narrative to describe Arthur as a historic figure, in which he is a British *dux bellorum* (military leader) or *militis* (warrior) (Charles-Edwards, 1991:22; Padel, 1994:2; Higham, 2002:4). Arthur in this text leads Britons in the fight against invading Saxons in a series of twelve battles that has come to be known as the 'Battle-List'. Here is not the place to assess the historical accuracy of this narrative (see Dumville 1977; T. Green 2007; also Higham 2002 for historical context and motivations for the *Historia's* composition), although many writers arguing for a historical Arthur have largely used the *Historia* as a foundation for their arguments, often attempting to locate these battles at specific sites, predominantly through etymological connections (for example, Gidlow 2010). An entry for the years 72 (c.516) and 93 (c.537) in the *Annales Cambriae* ('Annals of Wales', earliest manuscript from the 12<sup>th</sup> century, thought to be a copy of a 10<sup>th</sup> century manuscript) reiterate part of this account of Arthur (Charles-Edwards, 1991:25), which has led some to use it as supporting evidence for the existence of the figure (J. Morris 1973), but this is untenable. The *Annales* were made centuries after the events they describe apparently took place, using texts such as the *Historia Brittonum* as their source.

The *Mirabilia* of the *Historia Brittonum* present a very different Arthur, and in a different context. Two of the wonders described in the *Mirabilia* involve Arthur and link him to specific landscape features. One describes Carn Cabal, Powys, where the uppermost stone bears the impression of Arthur's dog made whilst hunting, and if anyone carries this stone from the cairn it appears back on the pile the next day. The second wonder describes a place called Ercing (Wormelow Tump, Herefordshire), where Arthur killed and buried his son Amr; the grave fits whosoever tries it, and any who measure it never gets the same measurement twice (the mound was destroyed in 1896). The former wonder points to a knowledge and circulation of a narrative such as that given in *Culhwch ac Olwen* (below), in which Arthur is hunting the magical boar Twrch Trwyth, and it was during this hunt that Arthur's dog imprinted his paw upon the stone in the chase (Padel, 1994:2-3; T. Green, 2007:67). The *Mirabilia* are therefore noted as being at odds with the presentation of Arthur in Chapter 56 of the *Historia Brittonum*, since they are of a magical, supernatural nature, whilst the Battle-List is presented as 'historical' (Padel, 1994:2-3; T. Green, 2007:67); however, such views may not have been incongruous to an early medieval audience, who might not have necessarily distinguished between the two.

Akin to the *Mirabilia* is a description written in 1145 (*Liber Floridus*) of a journey taken by French canons through Britain in 1113. When travelling through Devon and Cornwall the visitors were informed that they were in *terra Arturi*, and were shown an 'Arthur's Seat' and an 'Arthur's Oven' – the latter possibly the *furnus regis* ('King's Oven') recorded in boundary

charters in 1240 (Padel, 1994:5). An 'Arthur's Palace' is recorded in central Scotland around this time in Lambert of St Omer's 'encyclopaedia' of 1120, which might be identified with Arthur's O'on in Stirling, a Roman structure destroyed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Padel, 1994:6). All of these texts point to popular local traditions identifying places in the landscape with the hero, and inferring certain attributes about him. French texts composed in the 12<sup>th</sup> century also relate the belief amongst the Welsh that Arthur never died and will one day return (Padel, 1994:8-12).

The medieval Welsh poem *Y Gododdin* is recorded in a 13<sup>th</sup> century manuscript (the Book of Aneirin), although it is frequently dated to at least the 9<sup>th</sup> century, and sometimes to the 7<sup>th</sup>, based on its subject matter, structure and linguistic details (T. Green, 2007:47). The poem recounts a battle fought at a place called Catraeth (often identified as Catterick in Yorkshire) in the 7<sup>th</sup> century by the Brittonic kingdom of Gododdin in the north of England against the Angles of Deira and Bernicia. There are two versions of the poem (A and B) recorded in a single manuscript, each written by different scribes. The B-text was written down some time after the A-text, and presents some variants to the stanzas of the preceding poem, as well as some passages that do not appear at all (T. Green, 2007:51). The famous line that alludes to Arthur only appears in the B-text, in a stanza that describes the feats of the warrior Gwawrddur:

He fed black ravens on the rampart of a fortress  
Though he was no Arthur  
Among the powerful ones in battle  
In that front rank, Gwawrddur was a palisade

(trans. Jarman, 1988:64)

Bromwich et al (1991:6) suggest that this passage indicates the existence of an Arthur tradition independent of the *Historia Brittonum*, but it seems likely that the author was familiar with the description of Arthur in Chapter 56 of this narrative, as did their audience, and draws on this representation of the hero as a notorious warrior (Higham, 2002:183), or that both references derive from a well-known legend about the folk hero.

A number of 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century Welsh *Vitae Sanctorum* ('Saints' Lives'), semi-biographical hero-tales of 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century saints, also make reference to Arthur (Roberts, 1991a:82), where he is often used to illustrate the power and virtue of the saint (Padel, 1994:7). These likewise point to unusual landscape features, or describe how the saint came to establish a church in a particular place, typically as a result of some miraculous performance.

Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* ('History of the Kings of Britain', c.1136) is arguably one of the most influential texts in the development of the Arthurian legend. Here, Geoffrey presents a history of the early Britons as descendants of the Trojan Brutus, and where Arthur is the focus of the *Prophetiae Merlini* ('Prophecies of Merlin') concerning the fate of Britain. Geoffrey presents a biography of the king's life and deeds, emphasising his role as Britain's last native king and the king who will return in what Roberts (1991b:106) calls, "the personification of British history". Anglo-Saxon history was ill-suited to promoting the Norman regime and instead a joint descent of the Britons and Normans from Trojans was presented to suggest that the current rule was from an ancient, royal, prestigious and legitimate stock (see Chapter 4; Barczewski, 2000:15; Higham, 2002:223; although see R.R. Davies, 2000:40 where the first version of Geoffrey's text can be seen as a threat to Anglo-Norman kingship). Geoffrey's presentation of Arthur is the progenitor of the popular image of the chivalrous king we see today, as a more appropriate figure for the contemporary cultural and political context, whilst providing a defence against accounts of Britons as incompetent and degenerate as presented in Gildas's *De Excidio* and Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* ('The Ecclesiastical History of the English People', c.731). Whilst Geoffrey's *Historia* draws on earlier sources such as the *Historia Brittonum*, Gildas, Bede and, indeed, Welsh and Breton traditional literature and motifs (Roberts, 1991b:100; Higham, 2002:233), many have commented that this narrative is largely the product of his imagination, where Arthur is a culturally constructed icon serving contemporary political circumstances (A.B. Ferguson, 1993:84; Higham, 2002:222-6; see R.R. Davies 2000 for historical context).

According to Higham (2002:88), *Culhwch ac Olwen* represents the earliest extant vernacular prose text pertaining to Arthur (and is, indeed, the earliest surviving Welsh prose narrative). The complete story is preserved in the Red Book of Hergest (c.1400) and in fragments in the White Book of Rhydderch (c.1325), though linguistic analysis suggests that the tale may date from the 11<sup>th</sup> century (R. Howell, 2000:391; S. Davies, 2007:xvii). In this tale, which is predominantly concerned with how Culhwch of Arthur's court wins the hand of Olwen, daughter of the giant Ysbaddaden, Arthur and his men ride through a magical landscape in the hunt of the boar Twrch Trwyth, during which Arthur's dog made the imprint at the place that came to be known as Carn Cabal related in the *Mirabilia*. *Culhwch ac Olwen* is collected within the corpus of medieval Welsh prose narratives referred to as the *Mabinogion*, also taken from these manuscripts, although they do not necessarily represent a cohesive whole, and are the result of their translation and compilation by Lady Charlotte Guest in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It has been suggested that other narratives in the *Mabinogion* were similarly circulating centuries earlier, which is significant, as this could

reassess an understanding of the development of the Arthur legend and their potential influence on Geoffrey's work, but the overall consensus is that works such as *De Excidio*, the *Historia Brittonum*, Geoffrey's *Historia*, as well as earlier Welsh traditions and 12<sup>th</sup> century French romances (below), all contributed significantly to the tales found in the *Mabinogion* (S. Davies, 2007:xix). The influence of Geoffrey's work is particularly seen in the so-called 'three romances' (*Peredur Son of Efrog*, *The Lady of the Well*, and *Geraint Son of Erbin*), in both the presentation and geographical location of the figure. Similar magical themes as those found in tales in the *Mabinogion* and concerning the character of Arthur are found throughout medieval Welsh poetry in manuscripts such as the Black Book of Carmarthen (13<sup>th</sup> century) and the Book of Taliesin (14<sup>th</sup> century) (see Sims-Williams 1991), for example, in *Preiddeu Annwn* ('The Spoils of Annwn'), which recounts Arthur's expedition to Annwn (the Otherworld) to carry off a magical cauldron (Higham, 2002:87).

Gerald of Wales's *Journey through Wales* (1191) and *Description of Wales* (1193) also refer to Arthur's presence in the landscape. In the former, Gerald describes the itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin's travels through Wales in 1188, whom he accompanied, though the *Journey* describes less of Baldwin's mission and preaching than it does the wonders and ways of life of the places they visited. Here Gerald records the peak called Cadair Arthur ('Arthur's Chair') in the Brecon Beacons and describes Caerleon, which Geoffrey had made Arthur's principal court. Gerald's view of Geoffrey appears to generally be uncomplimentary (L. Thorpe, 1978:280), but he nonetheless draws heavily on the *Historia*, particularly in his *Description*. Gerald does not distinguish between Arthur of legend and the supposed Arthur of history in his *Journey* and *Description*, although his account of and reflections on the Glastonbury Abbey excavation of 1191 suggest that the 'evidence' of Arthur's body both proves his reality and extinguishes the "fairy-tales" (L. Thorpe, 1978:285) of his return (see L. Thorpe, 1978:280-8).

The adjustment of the presentation of Arthur and his legend according to contemporary political contexts can also be linked to cultural influences and developments in literature (Barczewski, 2000:15). In France this is especially prevalent, with Wace's (1155) *Roman de Brut* (which tells the history of Britain as given by Geoffrey in verse), Chrétien de Troyes's Arthurian romances (1160-80) and Marie de France's *Lais* (1170) employing earlier histories and folkloric (see Guerreau-Jalabert 1992) and literary themes transferred into a world of chivalry and courtly romance, at the height of the Crusades. Layamon's *Brut* (1190) is composed in Middle English alliterative verse based on Wace's poem, which expands upon the history and exploits of King Arthur (see Le Saux 1989), embodying the historical and ideological view of Arthur as one coherent entity. By the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Arthur had been

firmly incorporated into English historical ideology, further seen in illuminations of the manuscript for the *Flores Historiarum* ('Flowers of Histories', c.1250), a historical chronicle that includes depictions of the coronations of English kings from Edward the Confessor to John, with the only king depicted preceding Edward being Arthur (R.R. Davies, 2000:1), illustrating the place given to Arthur as a principal king of England. Such histories were subsumed into 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century romantic literary compositions such as *Sir Tristrem*, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and the *Alliterative Morte Arthure*, further embellishing the Arthurian legend. All of these works of course culminated in Thomas Malory's *Le Morte D'Arthur*, first published by William Caxton in 1485, which in turn influenced subsequent fictional prose narratives, drama and poetry (see Barczewski 2000), and in which the chivalric view of Arthur is cemented.

The explosion of the chivalric and kingly view of Arthur at the end of the later medieval period is framed in the context of successive contested claims to the English throne. In particular is the claim and eventual success made by Henry Tudor, ascending to the throne as Henry VII in 1485 after defeating Richard III at Bosworth. Although little qualified for kingship (Griffiths 1986), and having spent little of his life prior to becoming king in England, Henry gained huge Welsh support, emphasising his Welsh lineage and claiming descent, and thus right to the throne, from Arthur through his grandfather Owen Tudor (Griffiths and Thomas, 1993:214-5). He further famously named his first son and heir, the Prince of Wales, Arthur, cementing this connection with the once and future king. Arthur and his literary and pseudo-historical representation continued to be of use to the Tudor Dynasty (A.B. Ferguson 1993; Utz 2006), particularly in the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, as well as to the early Stuart reign (Chapters 4-6).

Such romances were not confined to France and England, but Arthur narratives appear in Irish and Scottish Gaelic later medieval and early modern literature, where Ceann Aistear (Scottish), Kil Arthur, Caoin Artúr and Cing Artú(i)r (Irish) appears as *Rí Breatan* ('King of the Britons'), *Rí an Domhain* ('King of the World') or is sometimes the King of Ireland/son of the King of Ireland (see Gillies 1981, 1982; also Stiùbhart 2008). Such literature, inspired by Continental romances (Gillies, 1982:40), assimilated Arthurian narratives and 'normalised' them according to its own conventions and traditions (Stiùbhart, 2008:86). Whilst it is difficult to ascertain which motifs in these tales are strictly Arthurian or derive from other sources, due to similarities in motifs and tale types in Europe at the time (Stiùbhart, 2008:86), an examination of the Gaelic tales indicates that English sources were used owing to linguistic elements such as names, tale-type, the nature of Arthur as a chivalrous king, and elements found in later developments of the Arthurian legend, such as

Camelot (Gillies, 1982:63). There is little evidence that there was a direct Welsh influence on these Gaelic texts (Gillies, 1982:62-3), although, “there are hints of Gaelic acquaintance with a pre-romantic Arthur, and, in Scotland at least, with the Arthur of popular tradition” (Gillies, 1982:75).

The Arthurian textual sources can thus be seen to be a complex amalgam of folklore, literary tradition and pseudo-historical narratives, which constantly influence and affect each other, and are renegotiated in changing social, political and cultural contexts. In addition to these texts outlined above, local records and later antiquarian and folk narrative collections present an array of tales about and onomastic associations with Arthur, often linking him to specific sites and other landscape features. Such references to Arthur are sometimes part of larger collections of folklore that aim to describe a particular group of people/region/state, or specific collections about Arthur (Chapter 3.1), illustrating the continuing interest in the figure and his usefulness to the development and presentation of ethnicity and identity (Higham, 2002:4). The Arthur of early literature has been described as predominantly belonging to a world of legend/mythology rather than a world of history (Bromwich and D.S. Evans, 1992:xxix), although these may not have been seen as distinctly different worlds in medieval conceptions as we may consider them today. The legendary/mythological Arthur is often compared with the ‘historical’ Arthur of the *Historia Brittonum*, the *Annales Cambriae* and even Geoffrey’s *Historia Regum Britanniae*, which are constantly reassessed in the exploration of the figure’s ‘historicity’.

### 1.3.2. Arthurian Scholarship

As Thomas Green (2007:7) notes, Arthur is possibly the predominant folk figure whose ‘reality’ is most often explored, and, excepting literary studies of Arthurian romances (for example, J.D. Merriman 1973; Barczewski 2000), most research involving the figure centres on assessments of his historicity. Here is not the place to present arguments ‘for’ or ‘against’ a historical Arthur, since his historicity is not of concern to this research. It is, however, worth briefly considering some of these approaches here, since some such work attempting to verify the existence of the figure can be influenced by or inspire or popularise folklore at certain sites (see Higham, 2002:10-36 for a more in-depth discussion of the various approaches to Arthur and the contexts in which they were practiced; what follows is based upon this).

The *Historia Brittonum* is often identified as the first text to historicise the figure of Arthur (Higham, 2002:4), and is most frequently employed as a foundation from which those

arguing for a 'historical' Arthur work (for example, Gidlow 2010). This, along with Gildas's *De Excidio* and pre-Galfridian Welsh sources, have been the bases for such work from the earliest developments of history as an academic discipline, though disputes over Arthur's historicity can be seen as early as the later medieval and early modern periods (A.B. Ferguson, 1993:85-100; Wood, 2005:11; see Chapter 6.3.1). Alongside critiques of Galfridian history, English writers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century emphasised Saxon inheritance as the basis for insular history. Welsh and Scottish writers came to present and assess the above early medieval sources as evidence for the valiant British resistance to Saxon invasions, inevitably leading to discussions on the historicity of figures such as Ambrosius Aurelianus, Vortigern and Arthur. The consideration of such texts and folklore study – which, as we have seen, gained momentum and disciplinary distinction at this time – were the seeds of what later came to be known as the 'no smoke without fire' approach to history (Dumville, 1977:187), and saw researchers attempting to tie these narratives and Arthur to specific places in the British landscape. Scottish writers such as Skene (1868), Glennie (1869) and Burton (1873) favoured locating the 'historical' Arthur in northern England/southern Scotland, and Welsh writers such as Lloyd (1911) argued against the feebleness of the native British resistance against their invaders.

The development of folklore research in the 19<sup>th</sup> century allowed for the expansion of available sources on the figure, and folklorists such as John Rhys (1891) developed the concept of dual Arthurs: one as the heroic British leader of the 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> century, and the other as a Brittonic culture-hero to be conceived of within a mythological context – it is this concept that may have an underlying influence on later writers that early medieval sources present 'two' Arthurs, whereas, as discussed above, this may not have been a separation made by contemporary people. E.K. Chambers was the first to consider Arthur as a literary and cultural phenomenon within the context of the 'historical imagination', but, although tentative, was inclined to maintain the position of his contemporaries of the likelihood of the existence of an Arthur figure, and disputed that Arthur's origins were mythological (Chambers, 1927:205-232).

Despite traces of the persistence of emphasising England's/Britain's Saxon history, Anglo-German hostilities in the years leading up to World War I resulted in a refocus on the nation's Roman past, which simultaneously served to legitimate British imperial expansion (Hingley 2000). However, a reconsideration of Arthur was mostly side-lined until the later inter-war years, when his historicity was especially pertinent to the contemporary climate. R.G. Collingwood's reconsideration of Roman and sub-Roman Britain (Collingwood and Myers 1936) saw Arthur as 'the last Roman' and upholder of Roman ideals, civilisation and

warfare (Collingwood and Myers, 1936:324). Such renewed championing of Arthur was maintained and boosted after World War II (below, and Chapter 6.3.1), with the ‘no smoke without fire’ approach espoused by scholars such as Collingwood upheld until the late 1970s, after the publication of two major works on the historicity of Arthur: Leslie Alcock’s report on his excavations at Cadbury Castle (1972) and John Morris’s *The Age of Arthur* (1973). Critiquing both of these publications, Dumville (1977) reassessed the reliability of the pre-Galfridian textual sources on which so many arguments were based, and Alcock’s translation of them into the archaeological record, as well as refuting the ‘no smoke without fire’ approach as an illegitimate and ill-founded argument. Dumville’s work has come to define academic views on the Arthur debate, whilst mainstream publications still frequently engage the concept of a historical Arthur; nonetheless, in both cases, the consideration of Arthur’s historicity (whether rejected or accepted) lies at the core of Arthur studies in history and archaeology.

Nick Higham’s (2002) examination of Arthur and the pre-Galfridian literature takes a more novel approach to examining Arthur in history, in that the texts are viewed and assessed within the ideological and socio-political contexts in which they were written, highlighting the role of the *idea* of Arthur in these texts and contexts. However, the underlying thesis of this work still remains that such texts cannot be used to verify the existence of Arthur, since their composition was political and ideological action rather than the passive recording of historical events. More recently, Thomas Green’s (2007) investigation of pre-Galfridian texts aims to demonstrate that Arthur originated as a mythological, even divine, figure, which was later historicised. Green further points to onomastic and topographic lore to support the notion of Arthur’s origins as a mythological figure (see also T. Green 2009), where the extraordinary nature of his feats marked on the landscape underscores his superhuman origins.

Whilst much of the examination of Arthur’s historicity relies on pre-Galfridian textual sources, archaeology also plays a role in the debate. Glastonbury Abbey is, as we have seen, arguably the first location at which Arthur as a historical figure is ‘substantiated’ through supposed archaeological evidence. However, more can be discerned from this event than simply a wish to historicise the figure, since Henry II’s order to excavate the remains after an apparent tip-off from a Welsh bard (and re-excavation by Edward I) simultaneously aimed to demonstrate the irrefutable mortality of Arthur, so that he would not return as frequently expressed in Welsh legend. A number of writers (for example McColl 1999; Higham, 2002:230; also compare Carley 1994) have commented that the discovery of Arthur’s tomb was in part made with the intention to quash Welsh rebellion by subduing



anticipation that their hero will one day return to emancipate them and overturn English rule, and, further, that the increased fame of the Abbey as a result of discovering the remains of Arthur brought in funds that aided in financing its restoration after a disastrous fire in 1184. Additionally, the locating of Arthur's grave in England could be seen to have claimed the hero as English, rather than Welsh, and thus legitimising the English crown through supposed descent from the legendary king. We can therefore see the uses of such legends and folk heroes in the development of power-relations and identity-construction.

Such meanings and motivations behind an archaeological search for Arthur can also be seen in 20<sup>th</sup> century investigations at Cadbury Castle in the 1960s and 70s (Chapter 6.3.1). More recently, archaeological investigations of Tintagel by the University of Glasgow in 1998 uncovered an inscription which read *Pater Coli Avi Ficit Artognou*, translated as 'Artognou, father of a descendent of Coll, had (this) made' (Barrowman et al, 2007:191-200). Although the excavation team did not attribute this inscription to the legendary Arthur (see Barrowman et al, 2007:199-200), and English Heritage staunchly repudiated the link with the figure (English Heritage, 2001:37), a suggestion that 'Artognou' could be related to, and thus evidence of, Arthur caused a media sensation (Orange and Laviolette, 2010:99-100).

Throughout the above survey, we can see that Arthur is closely linked to, and employed in, exercises pertaining to identity-construction and social, cultural and political ideologies and legitimisation. This may be attributed in part to his supposed history and exploits, but also to the association of Arthur with particular regions and places in Britain, and the malleability of the folk figure, who is portrayed in various guises.

### 1.3.3. The Nature of Arthur

An examination of the textual sources outlined above and various folk tales can reveal that, like many other folk heroes (see Segal 2000), Arthur is a varied character, both in physical form and personal nature. Contrary to Guy Halsall's (2013) assertion, after Rhÿs, that there are 'two Arthurs' – the supposedly 'historical' and the 'mythical/legendary' – there are a myriad of manifestations of the figure, each of which having particular qualities and serving specific purposes. Some of these personalities and traits are not necessarily unique to Arthur, but can be seen in other folk characters and creatures when sharing similar geographical, historical and other contextual circumstances. This draws Arthur into a wider tradition of folk narratives, and thus shares a place in a number of folktale types (see Uther 2004) and motifs (see S. Thompson 1966). In considering the multi-faceted nature of Arthur, we might not only see what roles the figure takes in various historical contexts, but

also how these might vary according to sites with which he is associated, in order to consider the reciprocal relationship between site, folk figure and wider traditions.

**Warlord.** One of the most widespread and enduring presentations of Arthur, and one of the earliest attested in extant records, is the idea of Arthur as a warrior of the sub-Roman period – the notionally ‘historical Arthur’ (see Pryor, 2004:16-42 for a summary of this legend). In essence, this Arthur was a native British/Romano-British warlord who led the fight against invading Saxons in a series of battles, including the Battle of Badon, where he slew over 900 enemies single-handed whilst bearing an image of the Virgin Mary on his shield, culminating in the Battle of Camlann, where he killed and was killed by his treacherous nephew Mordred. In some accounts he was taken to ‘the Isle of Avalon’ so that his death-wounds might be tended to, and this in turn is suffixed with the notion that he is not dead, but sleeping, and will one day return to aid his country when it is in need of him. Arthur is here a ‘mighty defender’ of Britain, as seen in medieval Welsh poetry (Green, 2007:94), as well as subsequent folk beliefs of his return.

**Sleeping King.** The theme of the returning hero is a common folk tale motif (A580), and is often found with the motif of the culture hero asleep in a mountain (A571). These are akin to motif D1960.2, where a king, sometimes accompanied by his retinue, is not dead, but lies in magical slumber in a cave beneath a hill or mountain until his people are in need of him, at which time he will rise to aid them and reclaim the throne. The tales are also often connected to other motifs, including The Sleeping Army (E502), and Sleepers as guardians of treasure (N573) (T. Jones, 1966:175-6; see Rhys, 1891:465-479). The motif of the sleeping king has been suggested to have been developed from a Celtic myth, recorded by Plutarch (c. 46-120), of the banished god Kronos asleep in a cave on a western island, later adapted and applied to Arthur and other figures (R.S. Loomis, 1958:13-14; Ashe, 1995:7). The motif is found across Europe, where the sleeping hero might be Siegfried, Barbarossa, Charlemagne and others (T. Jones, 1966:175).

The first recorded association of Arthur as the king inside a hollow hill is found in Gervase of Tilbury’s *Otia Imperialia* (c.1210-14), where his abode is, curiously, Mount Etna. In this tale, a groom of the Bishop of Catania was searching for his master’s lost palfrey and entered the mountain via a smooth path, which led to a beautiful plain in which a palace was situated. Inside the palace, he discovered the reclining Arthur, who informed the groom that he had lived in the palace a long time but was still recovering from his battle-wounds, which break out annually (echoing the state of the popular Arthurian character, the Fisher-King). When the groom informed the king of the purpose of his coming there, Arthur had the palfrey restored (see Oman, 1944:12-13). A tale recorded by Welsh chronicler Elis

Gruffydd “in the region of Gloucester” in the 15<sup>th</sup> century is a variation of this tale, resituated in the south-west of England; Gruffydd also reports that Arthur lies sleeping in “a hill near Glastonbury” (Chapter 6.3.2).

In Britain, Arthur is the usual figure with which the motif is associated; in England, he appears to be the only *named* king in tales, with the possible exception of Gwynn ap Nudd in south-west England, who predominantly appears in Welsh mythology. Within Wales, Arthur also shares the accolade with Hiriell, Cynan, Cadwaldr, Owain Lawgoch (Yvain de Galles) and Owain Glyndŵr (T. Jones, 1966:175; see Rhŷs 1891; Gwyndaf, 1989:89), whilst in Scotland his rival for sleeping quarters in an enchanted cave is typically Thomas the Rhymer or Fionn Mac Cumhaill (the latter is also found sleeping in mountains in Ireland, and is the chief figure in Irish and Scottish mythology). It has been noted that many of the characters attached to this motif are historical figures; whilst Ashe (1995:8) asserts that this lends itself to the argument that Arthur himself was a historical figure, such a connection cannot be taken as evidence, since it might be the case that historical figures were associated with this motif because of the mythological and legendary figures that are connected with it in order to underscore their special or meaningful nature by certain groups. D1960.2 is frequently found in folklore recorded in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, often associated with hills (including hill forts), mountains and castle foundations (see Chapters 4-6, 8 and Appendix B).

***Chivalrous King.*** The concept of Arthur as the sleeping king also typically presents him as the chivalrous king of courtly romance, since he is often described as being surrounded by accoutrements such as ‘the Sword of the Stone’/Excalibur and the Round Table, as well as his knights, all of which are seen in the literature of the later Middle Ages, and maintained in later popular culture representations of Arthur (Figure 1.1). In this guise, he is King of Britain, rather than a local chieftain as inferred by the ‘historical Arthur’, with all the necessary features and paraphernalia of a medieval court. In other medieval tales, such as in the *Mabinogion*, however, he is sometimes described as an ‘emperor’, reflecting his status as an overlord or chief of kings. The image of Arthur as a chivalrous king is sustained in later medieval and early modern Gaelic romances, as well as in later literature into the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.



Figure 1.1. Iconography of Arthur in modern popular culture: (a) *King Arthur* Comic, DC, 1936; (b) King Arthur Flour; (c) *Artus* board game, Ravensburger; (d) First edition of *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, Mark Twain, 1889; (e) Disney's *Sword in the Stone*, 1963; (f) *Dracula vs. King Arthur*, Adam Beranek, 2005; (g) *Monty Python and the Holy Grail*, Terry Gilliam/Terry Jones, 1975; (h) King Arthur's Arms, Tintagel; (i) King Arthur and Merlin Stamp, Royal Mail Arthurian Legends Collection, 1985; (j) *King Arthur*, Charles Ernest Butler, 1903; (k) *King Arthur* computer game, NeoCore Games, 2009 (see List of Figures for image credits)

**Wild Huntsman.** Another popular motif associated with Arthur is that of the Wild Hunt (E501, tale type 766). The Wild Hunt is typically a spectral or Otherworldly event usually involving the souls of the dead, although the motif is employed in various contexts across Europe. The god Odin is often cited as the 'original' leader of the Wild Hunt, although it is also associated with other gods and mythological figures, including Brán the Blessed and

Fionn Mac Cumhaill (see Stone 1989). Many such figures, including Arthur, share similar traits, such as their association with battle and their transformations into ravens (T. Green, 2007:259 n.6).

The first extant record of the motif in Britain is found in the Peterborough continuation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for the entry of the year 1127, which describes the controversial appointment of Henry of Poitou by Henry I to the abbacy of Peterborough (Appendix C:1). The use of the motif here illustrates the overturning of order by the appointment of this abbot, and indicates that the Wild Hunt was a well-known motif that could be used to furnish such commentaries. The Hunt is often accompanied by unpleasant or disastrous consequences (E501.18), such as insanity (E501.18.6) or death (E501.18.10) of the viewer, or portends doom (E501.20), though the effects of seeing the Wild Hunt can sometimes be remedied (E501.19).

In western France, the Wild Hunt has been known as *la Chasse Artu* since at least the 12<sup>th</sup> century, which Green (2007:259 n.6) suggests spread from Brittany. Gervase of Tilbury records that royal foresters from both Britain and Brittany claim that they frequently see a host of knights and hunting dogs riding through the forest at noon and on nights of the full moon, and hear hunting-horns; those who ask who they are receive the answer that they are *familia Arturi*, 'Arthur's household' (Oman, 1944:13; T. Green, 2007:259 n.6). Higham (2002:272), however, notes that passages such as the *Mirabilia* in the *Historia Brittonum*, and any oral traditions from which these potentially derive, indicate that Arthur can be defined as a huntsman-hero in Britain by the 9<sup>th</sup> century, with iconography perhaps being incorporated into extant British traditions via migrations from northern Europe in the preceding centuries. The tales of Arthur's Hunt, however, appear to be closely linked with Brittany, south-west England and Wales. In the latter region, Gwynn ap Nudd is often presented as the leader of the Hunt when it is not Arthur, as in the *Life of St. Collen*, where Gwynn rides out of Glastonbury with his *cwn Annwn*, or 'hell-hounds' (Westwood, 1985:8; T. Green, 2007:159, 259 n.6). The blending of Germanic Wild Hunt motifs and Welsh tradition can be further seen in the folklore of archaeological sites as locations of Arthur's hunt in the *Mabinogion* for the magical boar Twrch Trwyth (see Appendix B). Arthur as a Wild Huntsman is also found in 16<sup>th</sup> century Scotland, where, in *The Complaynt of Scotlande* (1549), a shepherd relates that 'Arthur knyght he raid on nyght vitht gylin spur and candil lycht' (J.A.H. Murray, 1872-3:63). This is retained into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, where it is recorded as a Shetland charm:

Arthur Knight  
He rade a' night,  
Wi' open swird  
An' candle light

(Bruce, 1912:192)

Wild Hunts involving Arthur were recorded at various sites in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (see Chapter 6.3.3 and Appendix B); likewise, tales of Odin's Hunts were widespread in Germany and Scandinavia at this time, and were popularised in Britain by writers such as Benjamin Thorpe in his *Northern Mythology* (1851), who also described practices associated with the tale, such as country people in Sweden leaving sheaves of corn for the hunters' horses (B. Thorpe, 2001 [1851]:264).

**Slayer of Wondrous Creatures.** Akin to the concept of Arthur as a hunter is that of Arthur fighting various magical (near-)humans and creatures, including a witch and a monstrous sea-cat in *Pa gur yv y porthaur?* ('What man is the gate-keeper?', Black Book of Carmarthen) (T. Green, 2007:100-6) and dragons in, for example, the *Life of St Carranog* (Roberts 1991a). In these and other early Welsh poems, as well as a number of folktales, Arthur frequently contends with giants, in games (typically quoits), or in battle; in the latter case he is always the victor (see Grooms 1993). National Library Wales MS. Peniarth 118, written by Sion (John) David Rhys in around 1600 provides a wealth of information on Welsh giant-lore in the early modern period, including the dwellings, lives and deaths of giants (see Owen 1917). In this manuscript, many of the abodes of giants, or locations where events involving giants took place, are to be found in north Wales, with a particular focus in and around Snowdonia. Remains of strongholds and fortifications are often described as giants' residences, whilst hills and mountains mark where giants engaged in conflicts or were killed. Many of the giants in Peniarth 118 are killed by Arthur – most famously the giants Rhitta and Idris – and this is often the result of the giant challenging Arthur to combat. Landscape features often testify to these events; Snowdon, for example, is a cairn Arthur ordered his men to raise over Rhitta's body (Gwyndaf, 1992:46). Further, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century Hugh Thomas records that it was Arthur who was responsible for ridding Wales of giants (Grooms, 1993:xlvi; T. Green, 2007:243).

Giants are frequently responsible for certain stones such as rocky outcrops and megalithic monuments, which they dropped or flung across the landscape, the latter often in relation to a throwing contest they are having with another giant, or because of some irritation the stone or a certain target is causing them. Such tales are, again, often found in south-west England (particularly Cornwall) and Wales, and, at some sites, the (often nameless) giant is interchangeable with Arthur. Such folklore was extensively recorded in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>

centuries (see Grinsell, 1976a:25-9; Westwood and Simpson, 2005:628-9), but it is likely that such lore was in circulation before this time, considering that popular tales about giants and their effects on the landscape can be seen from the medieval period.

**Giant.** As well as being depicted as a giant-killer, Arthur is also himself presented as a giant in various folktales, particularly in relation to landscape features, where he is seen to have been responsible for various stones, as with other giants described above. In other tales, however, he appears to be represented as a human with superhuman strength. The concept of Arthur as a giant linked to particular landscape features can be seen in Wales from at least the 12<sup>th</sup> century, where Gerald of Wales, in his *Journey Through Wales* (1188:96), describes the Brecon Beacons as,

a range of hills the chief of which is Cadair Arthur, or Arthur's Chair, so called from two peaks which rise up in the form of a throne... [In] the minds of the simple folk it is thought to have belonged to Arthur, the greatest and most distinguished King of the Britons.

Thomas Green (2007:244) suggests that Cadair Arthur and other such features ('chairs', 'seats', 'ovens') in the rest of Britain demonstrates the popular pre-Galfridian conception of Arthur as a giant continuing into the later medieval period and beyond (Chapters 5 and 7). A number of stones, hills and caves associated with Arthur as a giant are frequently found in south Wales and the south-west of England in the medieval period (Appendix B), whereas such traditions appear to be recorded in the north of Wales slightly later.

**Tyrant.** The notion of Arthur as a giant reveals a more temperamental and aggravating side to the figure. Whilst in many popular representations Arthur is a wise, valiant and beneficent hero, in a number of *Vitae Sanctorum* he is portrayed as a proud and arrogant king, humbled by God through the power of the saint (Roberts, 1991a:82; see Challoner 1745; Baring-Gould and Fisher 1908). In the *Life of St Cadoc*, the holy man intervenes in a feud between Arthur and another local king who killed three of his men, teaching Arthur peace and humility. In another *Life*, Arthur demands a beautiful coat of St Padern, which the latter acquired from Jerusalem (C773.1.0.1); the saint, angered by such insolence, causes the earth to swallow the king whole, with only his head above ground (F960.4; F942). Arthur apologises, upon which the saint releases him. Having learned his lesson, or, in the case of the *Life of St Carranog*, received satisfactory evidence of their sanctity, Arthur usually takes up the saint with whom he has had an encounter as his patron, thus establishing the figure as a Christian defender as a result of the saint's work.

**Religious Figure.** As well as being humbled and enlightened through encounters with saints, Arthur can also be seen as a champion of Christianity in later medieval romances, where he is wise, honourable and devout, and holds a court comprised of virtuous knights, who are, in the case of romances such as Chrétien's *Perceval*, in search of the Holy Grail. However, Higham (2002:141-4, 150-7) further identifies Arthur as a Biblical, Joshua-like figure in the *Historia Brittonum*, where a comparative analysis of this text and passages in the Bible (Book of Joshua, Book of Judges) reveals similar themes and narrative elements, including the need of the people for a *dux bellorum*. Like the Children of Israel beseeching the Lord for a leader in battle against the Canaanites in the Book of Judges, in the *Historia Brittonum* the people of Britain similarly had a need for such a figure to defend them and their promised land against pagan, Saxon invaders (Higham, 2002:142).

Arthur can also more recently be seen to have been subversively taken as an icon of New Age Celticism and paganism from the 1960s and 70s onwards, due to his own 'Celticness' and links with places that have come to symbolise Celtic and pagan identities, such as Glastonbury (Hutton, 2003:50). This has more recently been embodied by the self-proclaimed Chief Druid and reincarnation of Arthur, King Arthur Uther Pendragon (born John Timothy Rothwell, name changed by deed poll in 1986), who asserts that his avatar was pagan rather than Christian, appropriated by the latter group for their own purposes (Berens 1994). His aim is to "unite the Celts and fight for truth, honour and justice", predominantly in environmental and other political campaigns, including the recognition and rights of contemporary pagans (The Loyal Arthurian Warband n.d.; Berens 1994; see also S. Morris 2011 for an example of his conflict with English Heritage).

**Shape-shifter.** Finally, Arthur is frequently connected in early Welsh literature with carrion-birds, particularly ravens, which often appear in relation to passages describing battles. Such associations are also seen in folktales, which sometimes describe Arthur *as* a raven, for example:

It is an act of gravest misfortune for any one to kill either a raven or a chough. A Mr. Mucculloch of Guernsey relates a curious anecdote of a circumstance that occurred to his father while shooting at a raven on Mariazon Green, near Penzance, about the year 1770. An old man on the spot observing the bird that was aimed at, severely rebuked the sportsman, telling him that he ought not to have shot at a raven, for that King Arthur was still alive in the form of that bird.

(Whitcombe, 1874:144)



Folk narratives such as these not only illustrate the various beliefs about Arthur and his nature, but also demonstrate that such perceptions of Arthur can further affect the behaviour of particular groups by developing specific superstitions and customs.

The association of Arthur with ravens, as well as many of his other incarnations, connects the figure to other mythological, legendary and folk figures, such as Odin, Gwynn ap Nudd and Fionn Mac Cumhaill. Arthur is frequently compared with the latter in particular (Padel 1994; Higham, 2002:82-7; T. Green, 2007:8), since they share almost identical traits, including their fights with invaders, giants and other creatures, occasional giant-like and superhuman qualities and their occupations in war and hunting. Descriptions of Arthur's retinue who ride with him are not unlike presentations of the *fianna* in Gaelic mythology, as groups of warlike men outside of normal society, residing in and riding through wild, magical landscapes (Padel, 1994:13; Green, 2007:246). Yet other presentations of Arthur relocate him to 'civilised' locales befitting his role and status, or see him responsible for certain features of the landscape. These connections between the varied nature of Arthur and certain places are evident in literature and folklore outlined above, but they have not been presented or explored in a coherent narrative or comparatively investigated in light of their wider contexts and as part of the interactions between the life-histories of archaeological sites and the development of folk traditions.

#### 1.3.4. The Place of Arthur

The figure of Arthur in his various guises, then, is inextricably linked to both landscape features and to wider regions in Britain (specifically south-east England, Wales and southern Scotland) and Brittany (Padel, 1994:14), though these have not developed in isolation, and are both influential on, and influenced by, other myths, legends and folk narratives. It is evident that in both the pre- and post-Galfridian literature Arthur is inextricably linked with the landscape, suggesting the active engagement of social groups with their surroundings. How, when and why we may see a shift in the types of places has been little explored, though this has a bearing on the continuing renegotiation of engagements between people, archaeological sites and traditions.

Arthur's legendary presence in the British landscape is second only to the Devil (R. Simpson, 1990:68; Ashe, 1996:458). It has been estimated that 600 places in Britain and Brittany have been associated with the figure of Arthur (Lacey, 1996:157). These places include both archaeological sites and places commonly termed 'natural' (lakes, mountains, and so on). Of these approximate 600 locations, it has further been estimated that 160 of

these are places in Britain and Brittany that are found in local folklore or legend; the remainder of these represent “attempts [that] have been made to establish [Arthur’s] historical presence” (Ashe, 1996:455), referred to in this research as ‘scholarly suggestions’. A few of these sites fall into both categories (Ashe, 1996:455) – that is, they are either sites found in local folklore that have later been claimed by historians to represent locations at which Arthur is considered to have ‘existed’, or, more often, they are suggestions made by historians, usually based on medieval chronicles, that have later been ‘folklorised’ and incorporated into local (or national) tales. As Green (2009:2) points out, antiquarian and later attributions cannot be discounted for a number of Arthur associations with particular places, however, it is still significant that these have continued to be reproduced by subsequent groups (Chapter 3.2).

Despite these estimates, the long history of associations with Arthur, and the popularity of the figure, little research has been undertaken in coherently examining the topography of Arthur folklore (T. Green, 2009:1). Fairbairn’s *A Traveller’s Guide to the Kingdoms of Arthur* (1983) and more recently Green’s ‘A Gazetteer of Arthurian Onomastic and Topographic Folklore’ (2009) both provide extensive lists of sites and sometimes the tales attached to them – in the former, sites associated with the broader Arthurian legend are also given – but these do not examine how or why these associations came about, what they mean to various people, or how certain places and tales are related to each other. This research therefore examines topographic associations with Arthur, examining how, why and (where possible) when these associations developed and were reproduced, in what historical contexts, and how these might be perceived by both archaeologists and the public in terms of archaeological biography and the contemporary relevance of archaeological sites and traditions to various groups. In order to do this, research questions must be established, and a clear methodology developed, set within an appropriate theoretical framework.

#### **1.4. This Research**

Whilst much work has been undertaken on researching the figure of Arthur, either from literary or historical/archaeological perspectives, it is evident that there are lacunae in such studies, partly owing to a lack of marriage between archaeology and folklore in light of particular geographical and historical contexts. Further, the focus on assessing Arthur’s historicity in previous research has often led to stale and repetitive examinations on what is evidently a popular and influential figure in a period spanning over a millennium, across Britain and beyond. Whilst the efforts of historians and archaeologists “debunking myths”

(Halsall 2013) – in fact, they are legends (Chapter 2.3) – are welcome in the attempt to present an archaeologically-accurate picture of the 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries in Britain, they do not go any further in considering why such legends emerge, and what they say about the representation of the past. The question of Arthur's historicity is therefore an irrelevance to this study (that is, it is not one that is pursued here), although it is recognised that considerations of his historicity is sometimes a factor in the development and perception of traditions about the figure. Arthur is here considered a folk figure of legend and folktales, and the interest in him here thus relates to ideologies and appropriations of the figure, rather than to any perceived 'reality'.

However, while Arthur is employed as a thematic focus of this research, the following chapters are intended to lay out a theoretical and methodological basis from which further research into the relationship between archaeology and folklore can be undertaken, by taking a holistic and contextual approach to landscape and public engagement with archaeology. This thesis therefore aims to create an understanding and appreciation of the usefulness of folklore in archaeological investigations, particularly in relation to interpretive approaches to landscape history and the active engagement between landscapes and various groups through changing historical contexts. Whilst there have been sporadic archaeological investigations referring to or partially employing folklore, as we have seen above, there has not been an explicit consideration or development of broader methodologies in this field.

This research therefore seeks to answer the following questions concerning the methodology by which we might study folklore and archaeology, and the implications for such a study to both disciplines more broadly:

1. How might folklore be considered in the examination and interpretation of archaeological sites?
2. What role do archaeological sites play in the development of traditions?
3. In what ways might the inclusion of folklore in archaeological research contribute to the narratives related about sites, and what implications does this have for public archaeology?

This will be conducted through the case study of Arthur by considering the following:

4. How and why is the folk figure Arthur used in folklore from the medieval period to the present day as an agent associated with archaeological sites and landscapes in Britain?

5. How is such folklore linked to the engagement of various social groups with archaeological sites and to broader regional and socio-political contexts?

In order to answer these questions, appropriate theoretical and methodological approaches will be established and considered in relation to particular case study sites. Chapter 2 will therefore present a broader review of relevant theoretical approaches, many of which have been identified above, and how these may assist in or be developed by the concurrent study of archaeology and folklore. In light of the theoretical approaches outlined in Chapter 2 and the background to the topic and research questions presented in the present chapter, Chapter 3 will set out the methods by which this research will be undertaken, beginning with how folklore and the main type of folklore considered here (folk narratives) are defined and approached. This chapter will detail how sites pertaining to the folklore of Arthur will be compiled into a site catalogue and how case study sites will be selected for detailed study. It will then present the results of analysis of the site catalogue and the selection of case sites, followed by how these sites will be investigated.

Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 will each present the case study sites of Caerleon Legionary Fortress and Amphitheatre (Newport, Gwent), Arthur's Seat (Edinburgh), Cadbury Castle (Somerset), Arthur's Quoit (Gwynedd) and Richmond Castle (Yorkshire), relating their historical and archaeological backgrounds and analysis of the development of the particular folklore pertaining to Arthur at each of these sites. The primary data collected for each site will also be presented, analysed and interpreted in relation to the archaeology and folklore of the site, in order to consider how groups today engage with such folklore and sites. A site-by-site approach allows for a fuller exploration of particularistic narratives within their specific geographical and socio-political contexts, thereby allowing for thematic explorations. Chapter 9 will present a discussion comparing findings of the sites to each other, to the site catalogue and, more broadly, to the relationship between archaeology and folklore. This will in turn discuss approaches to folklore in archaeology, particularly with regards to interpretive and public archaeologies. The final chapter will briefly present a reflection on and assessment of this study, its limitations and possibilities for further research.

## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

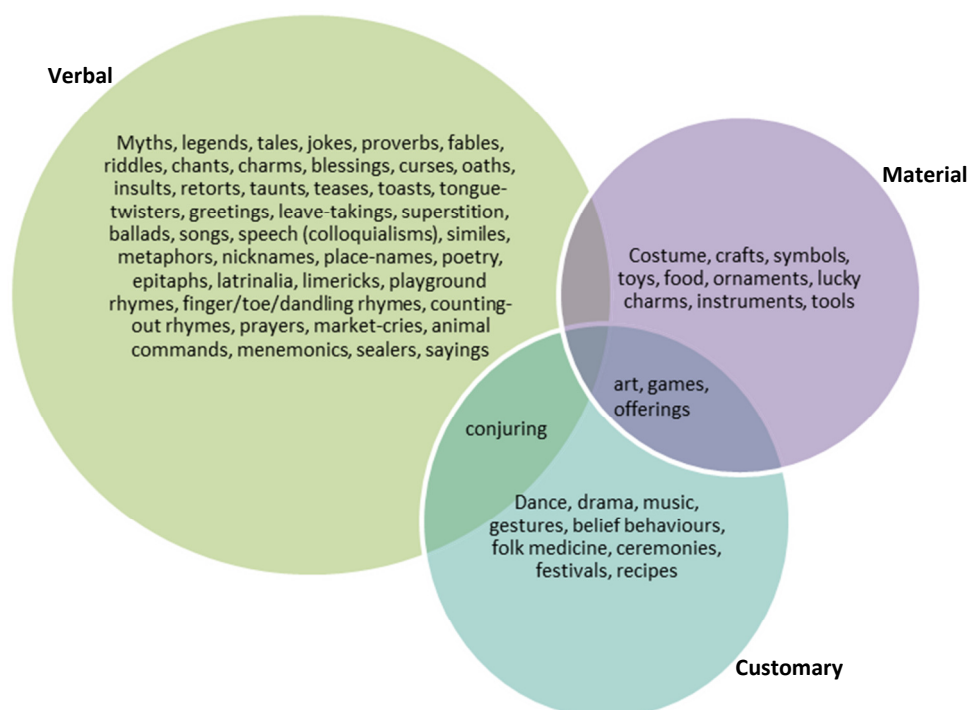
In line with the background and aims of this research as outlined in Chapter 1, this chapter will present the theoretical framework and arguments of this investigation, through an examination of approaches to folk narratives and landscapes within folklore research, and to landscapes and the public in archaeology. As well as expressing the theoretical perspective according to which this research will be undertaken, this chapter will demonstrate the similarities in current approaches of archaeologists and folklorists to their respective materials and further bridge the gap between the two disciplines by suggesting how folklore can be incorporated into archaeological research and interpretation. Specifically, this chapter will explore concepts of tradition, identity, historical consciousness and landscape in folk narratives and connect these to ideas of life-histories of, and public engagement with, archaeological sites and landscapes. In this way, it will draft a holistic and multivocal approach to archaeology. First, however, it is necessary to consider how 'folklore' is used here, since it is generally agreed amongst folklorists that the term 'folklore' is a difficult one to define (see Ben-Amos, 1975:4), with various researchers in the field offering differing definitions.

#### **2.1. Folklore, Tradition and Identity**

##### 2.1.1. Definitions and Concepts

There is no room here to assess the various definitions of folklore in any depth, but an outline of approaches is given in order to create a working definition here. Appendix F provides a Glossary of folkloric terms to clarify use and differentiation between, for example, types of folk narratives. It is not suggested that the following provides a comprehensive definition of folklore but merely clarifies its scope and usage in this study, drawing upon existing definitions and approaches. Many folklorists (see Dundes 1965) suggest that the most effective way to communicate the scope of folklore is to present a list of items or traditions it entails. Such lists can be further divided into what folklorists refer to as 'genres' (Figure 2.1), which can give researchers a common language and starting-point, and may help in focusing the examination of a particular group that only performs a certain type of folklore, comparative studies, or the specialism of an individual practitioner

(Sims and Stephens, 2011:18). However, one limitation to the genre approach is that some traditions might not be easily categorised, and in reality many of the items not only cut across genres but are also performed in tandem with other items. An emphasis on genres can further obscure the investigation of the active performance of folklore and communication between people within and across certain groups (Sims and Stephens, 2011:19). As such, genres have a use but are limited to item classifications and provide little or no contextual or interpretive value. It is the articulation of these items that are of interest to folklorists today (Gwyndaf, 1994:228; Sims and Stephens, 2011:19) and, of particular interest here, the spatial and temporal context of their performance.



**Figure 2.1. Folklore genres (after Dundes, 1965:3; Sims and Stephens, 2011:12-18)**

Folklore is thus conceived of here as the creation, enactment and reproduction of traditions of a group of people sharing one or more commonalities in relation to social, cultural, religious, political, economic and/or environmental contexts (see Noyes 2012), transmitted orally, visually, by imitation or by other practice-based and active means (after UNESCO 1989). ‘Folklore’ may also be used as a shorthand reference to ‘folklore studies’ or ‘folkloristics’ – the collection, study, analysis and interpretation of this material. The word ‘folklore’ is used here, therefore, as a reference to the discipline and the materials of study of that discipline (Sims and Stephens, 2011:1).

Before looking more specifically at the type of folklore that is central to this research, it is worth considering two fundamental features of folklore: tradition and identity. Although the concept of tradition may be greatly theorised, it is here broadly regarded as a set of customs (such as those in Figure 2.1) performed and passed on to successive generations within a particular group. Edward Shils (1981:15) proposes that a tradition is established once something has been transmitted for at least three generations, although the timespan of these generations vary between groups: three generations of first-year university students, for example, has a shorter temporal span than three generations of a family. Shils's (1981) concept of tradition, informed by Weberian notions of the 'traditional society', is based on a model of core and periphery, where, in industrial, capitalist societies, the traditional is extant in the periphery and the core is characterised by 'rational' behaviour. Shils's view is here considered to be inaccurate, since *any* social group can have its own traditions. Indeed, a group might appropriate the folklore of another in order to legitimise its own position, as noted in Chapter 1.2.1, where the so-called 'core' of early modern Britain – royalty and aristocracy in urban centres – imitated customs of the rural peasantry in formal pageants in order to demonstrate their lengthy and natural relationship with the land.

The establishment of traditions by a particular group has been considered by a number of modern historians in what is termed the 'invention of tradition' (see Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Studies on the invention of tradition have examined the ways in which groups create apparent traditions for the establishment of identities or for other political motivations in attempts to link to a "suitable historic past" (Hobsbawm, 1983:1). Such traditions often appear old, but are actually of recent origin (Hobsbawm, 1983:1), as has been demonstrated, for example, by Hugh Trevor-Roper (1983, 2008) in his study of the invention of Scottish Highland costume and mythical literature in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries in an interplay between Irish and English associations before, during and after union with the latter state, and by Peter Burke (1992:275-7) on the folk 'revivals' in 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century Britain in what he synonymously calls the 'discovery of popular culture' (see also Samuel, 1998:65).

Such exercises in traditionalisation are not limited to the creation of entirely new customs, but often appropriate elements of, or entire, traditions in what Ó Giolláin (2005) calls 'retraditionalisation', where "the creation of new traditions, the re-circulation of dead or moribund cultural traditions, the reorientation of traditional cultural production to modern contexts or the heightened definition of existing cultural materials" (Ó Giolláin, 2005:12) symbolically or practically strengthen a sense of identity or cultural specificity. This concept has been considered particularly by Pertti Anttonen (2005; see also Ó Giolláin 2005) in light

of increased globalisation and of perceived homogenisation in Europe as a result of the activities of the European Union in the 20<sup>th</sup> and early years of the 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. It has been suggested that the more European countries become integrated with each other, the more each brings out its uniqueness and idiosyncrasies, best exemplified by their traditions (Knuuttila, 2003:151), although Barth (1966, 1998) contends that increased interaction results in decreased emphasis on difference, since interaction “requires and generates a congruence of codes and values” (Barth, 1998:16). Anttonen takes the notion of the invention of tradition further to say that it is not enough to ‘reveal’ that apparently old traditions have been recently invented, but,

we must be alerted to the selective and politically and morally argumentative nature of all traditions... as social practices all traditions have a historical foundation and point of origin... We should consider all traditions both inventions and human interventions in the sense that they are socially constructed categories with which people structure their experience and reproduce the social world.

(Anttonen, 2005:106)

Invention/traditionalisation is thus the result of both the entextualisation and recontextualisation of traditions by various groups, illustrating that, whilst folklore is context-dependent, it can be detached from one context and applied to another (Anttonen, 2005:26). Yet emphasis on traditionalisation should not lead to the conclusion that all traditions are ‘fake’ or ‘inauthentic’, but should instead be viewed as a form by which (dis)continuity is established by social groups according to their own politics of time and tradition (Anttonen, 2005:107). To say that a tradition has been invented or recontextualised, therefore, is not to diminish the significance of that tradition, but often underscores the active political dimensions in which that tradition is created/renegotiated, and the visions of the past, present and future of that group.

Retraditionalisation is seen to be most important at the local level, but is supported by laws and conventions at the national or international level (Ó Giolláin, 2005:17). This is most pertinently illustrated by UNESCO’s 1989 ‘Recommendation for the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore’ and 2003 ‘Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage’ (below). Thus, despite increasing internationalisation over the past half century, there still persists a social expectation to anchor oneself into a particular place through the enactment of specific traditions, illustrating the continuing value of national identification (Anttonen, 2005:98-9). In this sense, Anttonen (2005:103) argues, cultural identity is political identity, which can lead to a nationalist sentiment and rhetoric characterised by inside/outside, self/other, us/them (Bell, 2003:64). As such, nationalism



legitimises states as administrative organisations with the idea that their inhabitants 'belong together' by sharing, for example, history, language and culture (Anttonen, 2005:83).

Thus, central to discussions of traditions and their invention and recontextualisation is the concept of identity. Since folklorists deal with the traditions of particular groups, however that group is defined, studies of identity are inherent in folklore studies, although the 'social base' of folklore was not explicitly discussed by folklorists until the 1970s and 80s (Bauman, 1975:31; see Noyes 2012), when researchers considered that real social base was in the communicative interaction between people (Bauman, 1975:33). The concept of a social base can now be taken further as a contextual social base, considering the act of reproduction in relation to the physical and socio-political context of its enactment. Affiliation with a particular group may be life-long or temporary (Bauman, 1975:31), and boundaries of identification may be set at different levels according to purpose and context: for example, an individual from the Shetland Island of Whalsay might identify themselves as British/Scottish/Shetlander/Whalsayman depending on with whom they are interacting (Cohen, 1982:10; Badone, 1987:162). Folklore might also be shared and performed *across* social groups as well as within them (Bauman, 1975:34; see, for example, Jordan and De Caro 1996) in a network of identity creation, enactment and differentiation with conflicting motivations for reproduction.

Whilst the invention of traditions have often been considered in relation to identity-construction of dominant groups, promoting conservative values of normalcy and continuity and often linked to the 'rise of nationalism' (Burke, 1992:293-4; Barczewski, 2000:28; see Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Bell 2003), traditions can also be invented/appropriated by other groups as acts of subversion and resistance in a counterculture to dominant narrative in the construction of alternate identities, such as in the 'making of the working class' (Burke 1992:298; see E.P. Thompson 1968). As Regina Bendix (2002:112) has claimed, historians such as Shils, Hobsbawm and Ranger have not taken the work of folklorists, who often take a bottom-up approach, into account when discussing the invention of tradition. Raphael Samuel (1994:17) argues that we should view the invention of tradition less as an event imposed by elites/social structures, and more as an ongoing process which people adopt and adapt themselves. It is therefore profitable, he states, to focus on "the perceptions of the past which find discriminations in everyday life" (Samuel, 1994:17; below). These can be seen in the everyday places encountered by people, and the narratives they associate with them. In this sense, myths and legends are "ideologically chameleon", since the same narrative may be adopted and adapted by both

the Left and the Right (Samuel and P. Thompson, 1990:3). Manifestations of the idea of the past in the present can be seen in what has come to be known as the ‘archaeological imagination’ (Shanks 2012; see Finn 2004; Wallace 2004; Schwyzer 2007).

### 2.1.2. British Identity

As this research examines the folklore of archaeological sites in Britain, it is necessary to consider the concept of ‘British identity’ here. The notion of a British identity is complex, and much can be said, with numerous publications on the subject. Here a brief consideration is presented, in order to contextualise this study, with more specific expressions of the varied identities within Britain demonstrated in the case studies (Chapter 4-8). As with any discussions of identity, definitions of British identity can alter according to whether the focus is political/governmental, geographical, ethnic, religious, and so on.

The traditional historical views on the origin of Britain as a recognised nation-state tend to begin with the early modern period, with the establishment of the Tudor dynasty, the end of feudalism (Samuel, 1998:3), the Acts of Union of 1535 and 1542 (passed 1536 and 1543 respectively) which saw the legal and administrative system of England extended to Wales, and the Dissolution of the Monasteries (1536-41) and subsequent Reformation. As we have seen in Chapter 1.2.1, these factors gave rise to antiquarianism with the expressed interest in recording the antiquities and current practices of the peoples of England and Wales (Leland 1535-43) or, more explicitly, ‘Britannia’ (Camden 1586). Further, most definitions of British identity after 1600 are intrinsically linked with colonialism and imperialism (A. Green, 2003:56), illustrating the generalised approaches taken towards British identity in modern scholarship.

Legendary narratives reflecting the concept of a ‘British’ identity act as a prelude to state formation (Samuel, 1998:11), with the conceptualisation of Britain (that is, England and Wales) as a unified whole seen in the medieval period, such as in Geoffrey of Monmouth’s grand insular historical narrative *Historia Regum Britanniae*, where the founding myth of Brutus and the legendary reign of Arthur emphasised the unity of the people of these lands. Indeed, Arthur’s ‘empire’ encompassed Scotland and even extended to Rome. Yet the presentation of Scotland as such a domain contrasts with its own origin myth attributing its founding to the Egyptian pharaoh’s daughter, Scota (see Cowan, 1984:111; Wood, 2005:10), whose arrival to the land that was to bear her name supposedly predated Brutus’s coming to Albion. The Scota narrative asserts Scotland’s sovereignty and cultural as well as ethnic independence. Whilst the myth is explicitly detailed in narratives in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century

(see Hay 1955-6), Cowan (1984) traces its reference in the *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* (The Book of the Taking of Ireland), arguing that the Scota myth was extant in the 11<sup>th</sup>, or possibly 10<sup>th</sup>, century. This not only stresses the idea that Scotland was founded independently from England and Wales, thus having a separate history and descent from these peoples, but can often problematize the concept of Arthur in Geoffrey's *Historia* as 'King of all Britain'. However, as Wood (2005:10) notes, Geoffrey's narrative was still malleable enough to accommodate Scottish notions of history that gave it a distinct geo-political identity so that, although the Galfridian Arthur could be seen as a threat to Scottish sovereignty, the *Historia* and Arthur were still incorporated into medieval and early modern Scottish historiography (Purdie and Royan 2005; see Cowan 1984; note, for example, John Leslie's 16<sup>th</sup> century *A Historie of Scotland*), as well as literary and popular narratives (Chapter 1.3.1). Thus, whilst the idea of Britain was originally conceived as 'non-English', it was successfully appropriated by Anglo-Norman and subsequent rulers to legitimate expansion across the whole island.

Although frequent claims to Scotland were made by the English throughout medieval and early modern history (including many on the basis that Arthur once conquered it), and the 1603 Union of the Crowns under James VI and I saw England, Scotland and Ireland ruled by a single monarch, it was not until the 1707 Acts of Union that the English and Scottish parliaments, along with the domains of Wales and, after the 1800 Union, Ireland, integrated and formed the United Kingdom of Great Britain in what the UK Parliament (n.d.<sup>a</sup>) refers to as the "development of British identity" within the 'Living Heritage' section of their website (below). Today, the term '(Great) Britain' is used to refer to the nation-state comprised of England, Scotland and Wales and associated islands, whilst 'United Kingdom' includes these states and Northern Ireland.

As Samuel (1998:22) notes, the concept of the unity of the British Isles is an exceptional one, with all 'four nations' only being united within the last 200 years. In recent years, the instability of this unity has been seen to have increased in what commentators on the Right have termed 'break-up Britain', with devolved parliaments in Scotland and Wales, debates on Scottish independence and the upcoming Referendum on the issue (September 2014), as well as perceived threats from 'the outside' in the form of increased integration with the European Union and its resulting free movement of peoples (see Nairn 2003). Such developments have led to extreme cultural xenophobia on the Right and condemnation of this xenophobia on the Left (M. Johnson, 2003:18). These and other frustrations with contemporary life are often expressed through the creation and reproduction of contemporary ('urban') legends (Kvideland and Sehmsdorf, 1988:36; see Gunnell 2005).

Such xenophobia may not only result from perceived threats to borders, but also to identity constructions based on ethnicity, where, popularly, Britain is seen to consist of the English of Anglo-Saxon descent, the Irish as an ethnically distinct group, the Scottish descended from Scots/Picts/Celts and the Welsh as Celts or Britons (although see Chapter 1.3.2 on the 'mixing' of these groups in the 19<sup>th</sup> century). The Britons are perceived to be the indigenous inhabitants of Britain, with Welsh referred to as 'the British tongue' until the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when the tribal Britons became the imperial British (Samuel, 1998:46), and the 'Celts' fulfilled the previous concept of the 'Britons'.

Such early national-identity constructions also highlight the differences in self-identification and identification from 'the outside', as illustrated in the case of Anglo-Norman/Welsh interactions during the Middle Ages. To this effect, it can be said that there never was a 'Welsh Wales'. Since the latter group, as an 'indigenous' population, identified themselves as British/Britons (R.R. Davies, 2000:44), the concept of Wales as an ethnoregional entity can be seen to have been an Anglo-Norman invention, with the 'Welsh' identified as 'the other'. Whilst 'British' traditions and founding mythologies can be seen to have been appropriated by Geoffrey in promoting the unity of the Island of Britain, the distinction made between the Welsh/Britons and England was apparent by the 13<sup>th</sup> century (R.R. Davies, 2000:44-6).

It is also therefore necessary to consider changing boundaries when discussing the notion of identity-construction based on the occupation of particular regions of Britain, whether from city-level to county- and country-level. This has further implications for historical claims to land and culture once previously considered the domain of another group, or, indeed, provide a sense of group cohesion across newly-formed boundaries (see, for example, Reynolds and Langlands 2006 on the political uses of the Wansdyke).

Such notions of ethnic identity are, as Samuel (1998:45) describes, mythopoeic, since in reality the peoples of Britain historically and currently comprise a multitude of ethnic backgrounds, and concepts of British ethnic identity are, as with other identity-markers, relational. Indeed, the concept of 'Britishness' as it is understood today has been demonstrated by Colley (1996:5-6) to have originated during the 18<sup>th</sup> century wars with France, where 'being British' was defined as 'not being French'.

Furthermore, the emphasis on the idea of a cohesive British identity often overlooks the complex and conflicting identities that comprise the people of Britain; this complexity is best expressed today in multi-cultural urban contexts (Census 2011). Whilst differential identity is frequently noted across the 'four nations' of England, Northern Ireland, Scotland

and Wales, internal differentiation is little-explored. As Badone (1987:162) notes, the majority of anthropological studies of, say, Bretons, Welsh, Basques and other such ethnoregional divisions are often viewed as homogenous groups in comparison to the rest of the nation-states to which they are annexed, with little consideration of the variation and conflicts within these smaller units. Such oversight of internal differentiation might be seen to be particularly true of Wales which, as a comparatively small region of Britain, is often discussed in homogenous terms, especially since it has been the domain of England for centuries. In this regard, Gwyn Williams (1982:200-1) considers ‘When Was Wales?’, concluding that a totalising search for identity is a search for an almost mythical realm.

The lack of consideration of internal variation at small-scales, Lawrence (2003:2) has argued, is due to the emphasis on studies of British colonialism, since these are easier to relate to a world system, with less focus on insular colonial dynamics, although these themselves have a part to play in wider global contexts. Such insular conflicts in identity are pertinently seen in the ideology and activities of the Cornish Stannary Parliament (CSP), set up in conflict with the UK Parliament with the aim of,

ensuring that the people, land and heritage of Cornwall is treated fairly in the eyes of the UK legal system that appears to be failing in it’s [sic] capacity to recognise Cornwall’s distinct and lawful position.

(CSP, n.d.<sup>a</sup>)

Considering Cornwall and the Cornish to be politically, culturally and ethnically distinct from the rest of Britain, especially England, the CSP have lobbied for an independent parliament, such as in Wales and Scotland, and protested against “English cultural aggression” in Cornwall, in what it views as the theft and suppression of Cornish heritage, culminating in their removal of English Heritage signs at a number of historic and archaeological sites across the county (CSP, n.d.<sup>b</sup>; see Figure 2.2). Lobbying from Cornish interest groups has recently culminated in the announcement made by the UK Parliament on 24 April 2014 that the Cornish are to be granted national minority status along with the UK’s “other Celtic people” (that is, the Irish, Scottish and Welsh) (HM Treasury and Department for Communities and Local Government 2014; see also S. Morris 2014), under the Council of Europe’s *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* (Council of Europe 1995).



**Figure 2.2. Removal of English Heritage signs at Tintagel (left) and The Hurlers (right) by the CSP (<http://www.cornishstannaryparliament.co.uk/heritage-signs.html>)**

‘National mythologies’ (Bell 2003), such as the legend of King Arthur, are often examined in terms of ‘British’ ideology (see Barczewski 2000), or, at most, in relation to a particular country of the United Kingdom. The nationalisation of these legends can be used to smooth over contradictions and peculiarities of history and create a ‘simplistic’ and ‘univocal’ story (Barczewski, 2000:7; Bell, 2003:75), emphasising the collective identity of Britain and/or its countries. Yet many narratives from which national mythologies derive are often highly localised and expressive of more specific identities and engagements (Gunnell 2009; below). It is thus necessary to deconstruct these grand, over-arching narratives and examine the particular for both a better understanding of individuals’ and social groups’ engagements with national trends (see, for example, A. Green 2003) and for an understanding of the development of traditions and their associated identities between local and national scales.

It is therefore a mistake to approach Britain (and other nations) as encompassing a homogenous identity (Samuel, 1998:50; Beaudry, 2003:293; A. Green, 2003:72), since all markers of ‘identity’ are relational. It is more useful to consider identity in terms of individuals socialised within a particular system with practices and views shared between others within the same system (S. Jones, 1999:225-7; Lawrence, 2003:4; see Bourdieu 1977) that might be considered in a wider context. Whilst scholarship on British identity has often focused on global historical comparisons, as made popular by James Deetz in the 1990s (Deetz 1991, 1993), these studies are decontextualized grand narratives, with no consideration of the conflicts imperial states have within their own nations as well as their colonies (Beaudry, 2003:291). Beaudry (2003:294) thus argues that we must go beyond

“bland generalisations about ‘colonial’ and ‘imperial’ material culture and colonial interactions” to contextually examine specific interactions which, in turn, affect how identities might be conceived, created and enacted. The examination and contextualisation of insular conflicts will be undertaken in this research through the investigation of the interaction between people, places and folklore – in particular, folk narratives.

## 2.2. Folk Narratives

Much of the folklore dealt with in this research are folk stories or narratives (Figure 2.3), described by Apo (1992:62) as, “the most common category of discourse in folklore materials”. In particular, the kinds of narratives of interest here are folktales and legends. Place-names and, where found, other traditions connected with the sites of study, including songs, superstitions and other customs, such as offerings and ceremonies are also considered. Such folklore will be examined within the particular social bases, landscapes and socio-political contexts in which they are reproduced, in order to assess the relationship between folklore, archaeological landscapes and identity.

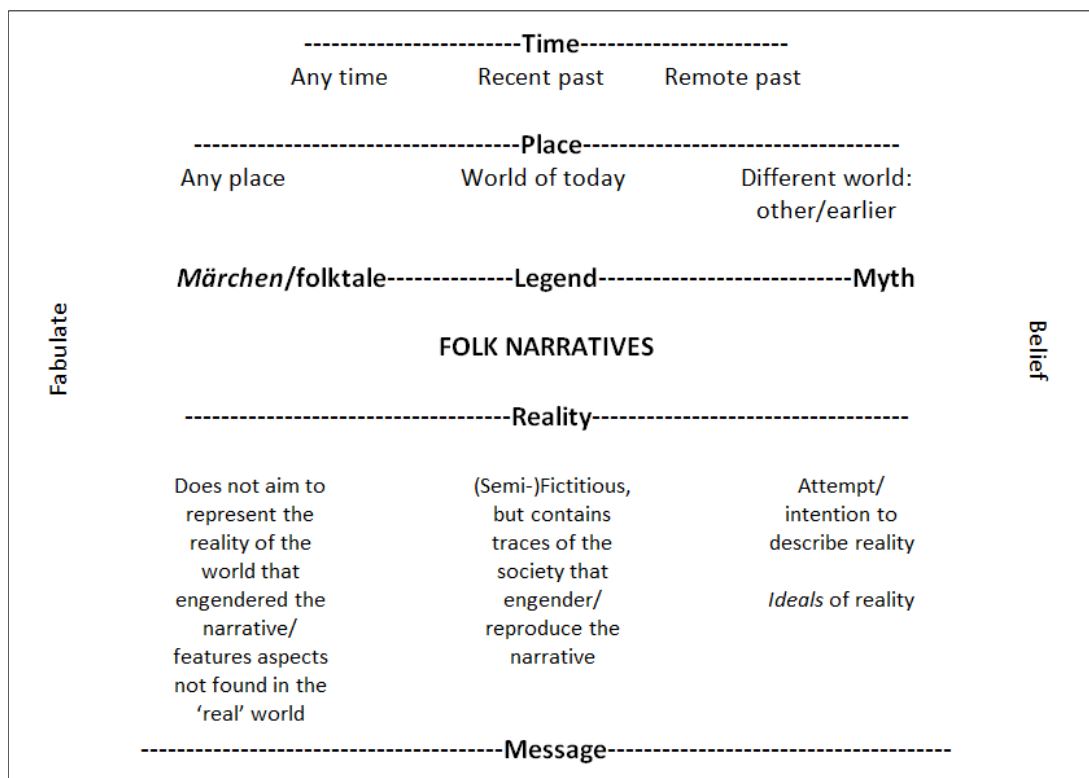


Figure 2.3. Types of folk narratives and their contexts (after Bascom 1965; Propp 1984; Gwyndaf 1994)

### 2.2.1. Identity and Early Folk Narrative Collection

As noted in Chapter 1.2.1 and above, the construction of national identities in early modern and modern Europe was inextricably linked with folk narrative collection. Early folklore collections were often presented as national, rather than individual or local, expressions of identity, belonging to the amorphous body of ‘folk’ comprising the nation (Gunnell, 2009:317). Folk narrative collection in early modern Europe played a role in nation-building exercises, with elites at first trying to understand the people they governed (as a form of insular colonialism), then appropriating their customs as vehicles for political ideologies (Bausinger, 1992:73). Collection as part of 19<sup>th</sup> century national romantic ideology attempted to locate “the heart of the nation” in the ‘folk’ of the countryside in a “manufactured ‘national heritage’”, with selected folktales and legends rewritten and edited for publication according to political agendas of collectors, their benefactors and publishers (Gunnell, 2009:306). Anttonen (2005:88) remarks that the national significance of traditional narratives only comes about through their adaptation and entextualisation into literature and literary collections and then displayed as national objects. The promotion of national mythologies can be seen to have been adopted by peoples of that nation and differentially distributed, performed, perceived and understood (Bauman, 1975:38), and maintained by subsequent scholarship (Abrahams 1993b). As Hopkin (2003:67) observes,

To this day it is almost impossible to find a folktale collection which does not claim to be in some way expressive of a region or nation. The primacy of collective identities, be they ethnic, cultural or geographic, is the legacy bequeathed by romantic nationalism to folklore.

Gunnell (2009:319) thus argues that there is a need to reconnect ‘national’ legends with the local environments from which they derive, since this can give researchers greater insight into particular identities and their construction in relation to local and wider socio-political contexts, and understanding of how traditions develop according to such identities and contexts. Such reconnections can be achieved by examining the relationship between particular narratives and archaeological sites, as in this research.

### 2.2.2. Orality, Literature and Narrative Transmission

In his study of orality and literature in early modern England, Adam Fox (2000) emphasises that narratives about the past as expressed in stories and songs demonstrate an awareness of the importance of history and traditions at all levels of society (below), albeit with variations in perceptions of these across communities. These narratives can be drawn upon



to inform and justify actions in the present, producing specific tales that are shared and manipulated. Narratives may be reproduced orally and in written form and, as we have already seen, the mode of reproduction recontextualises these traditions. An examination of the popular construction of the past reveals the synchronic relationship between oral and written culture, as seen in the association of popular characters found in both reproductive modes with conspicuous features of the landscape, regardless of their antiquity. 'Most prolific' of these characters, observes Adam Fox (2000:226-7), is Arthur, but his ubiquity does not necessarily represent the ignorance of the local people who (re)produced such narratives, but was the result of the transmission, interpretation and recontextualisation of elite literature read aloud by the literate in public places (A. Fox 2000), itself influenced by oral traditions, extant narratives and engagement with the landscape.

As such, there can be no differentiation between oral and written sources in providing people with historical knowledge and imagination (A. Fox, 2000:214), an argument also made by Sautman et al (1998:3-4) with regards to medieval folk, literary and popular culture. There is thus an influence and interplay between oral and written culture (A. Fox, 2000:258; see also Morgan, 1983:47), with neither form of communication and expression restricted to a particular group of people. We might therefore challenge Barczewski's (2000:19) claim that the Arthurian legend was 'elite property' for the first 1000 years of its existence; such legends might have often been appropriated by elites at particular times, but this does not reflect an exclusive creation and use by such groups. The proliferation of the use of the Arthurian legend by various social groups can be especially seen in the connection made between landscape features and these legends, which are often highly particularistic to local environments (below). Such a view on the exclusivity of particular narratives might in part be attributed to research traditions, where medieval and other scholars' interests in 'high culture' (seen as literary) have marginalised and belittled studies in folk and popular culture, which were "branded mediocre, bastardized versions of high culture, and generally unworthy of consideration" (Sautman et al, 1998:1). In the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, scholars have considered the role of folklore in medieval literature, examining how literary works have been informed and influenced by folklore (Sautman et al, 1998:3; see Rosenberg 1976, for example), although Sautman et al (1998:5) warn that, in order to chart the influence of folklore in literature, scholars must avoid generally equating orality with folklore, since folklore might be transmitted by other means, and not all that is transmitted orally is folklore.

It is important to note here the difference between oral history and oral tradition, since the two are often used interchangeably, but actually represent different things. 'Oral history' is

the personal experience of an individual communicated first-hand by that individual (often termed 'memorates' by folklorists), whilst 'oral tradition' represents a body of belief or other narrative held collectively by certain groups passed down through word-of-mouth (Sautman et al, 1998:5; Hutton, 2003:19); thus, the narratives that are of interest here represent oral *tradition*. Whilst oral history/memorates are narratives of personal experience, these are often found to still be composites of such experience and of local traditions (Honko 1989; Gunnell, 2009:311), and, likewise, oral histories may in turn be reproduced by other individuals within a certain group and become oral tradition. Both oral histories and oral traditions may be committed to written form, often by those wishing to preserve and/or study them in various disciplines. Archaeologists have often engaged with oral history in, for example, the archaeology of indigenous groups (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Lane 2008; see various papers in Layton 1994; C. Smith and Wobst 2005; Bruchac et al 2010), or of the Second World War (Moshenska 2007), and whilst there has been a longer convention of involving indigenous groups and their traditions in the archaeological process (Pendergast and Meighan 1959; Watkins 2000; David 2012; also Layton 1994; C. Smith and Wobst 2005; Bruchac et al 2010), folklore of non-indigenous groups, including 'majority' cultures in Western societies and post-colonial and diasporic communities, is largely ignored. This failure to consider such narratives is seen here to ignore a large body of archaeological data, predominantly because of a lack of understanding of legends, their study and their potential to contribute to archaeology.

### 2.3. Legends and Folktales

Post-structuralist approaches to folk narratives taken by some folklorists are considered here to be useful to archaeologists in the study of sites and landscapes. Tangherlini (1994:22) describes a legend as,

a traditional, (mono)episodic, highly ecotypified, localized and historicized narrative of past events told as believable in conversational mode. Psychologically, legend is a symbolic representation of folk belief and reflects the collective experiences and values of the groups to whose tradition it belongs.

Folktales can be similarly defined, but differ in that they are often told in entertaining contexts, whilst legends are usually related in conversational mode (see Kvideland and Sehmsdorf, 1988:12), and, although both may contain supernatural and fantastical elements, the latter is sober and realistic in tone (J. Simpson, 1991:25). Like legends, folktales are also localised and meaningful narratives, but are told as pure fabulates, and their 'historical'

representation is non-specific and reflective of a differing conception of time (Figure 2.3). It is this feeling of agelessness and antiquity that is considered to be one of the principal appeals of folk narratives (Tolkien, 1947:128), and, in turn, their applicability to a variety of historical and geographical contexts, as Barczewski (2000:14) notes with the legends of Arthur and Robin Hood. Yet it is precisely this lack of historical veracity and difficulty in ascertaining the origins of such narratives to a specific point in time that archaeologists have found difficult to reconcile with their studies, dealing principally in linear chronologies and historical verifiability.

In addition to setting and plot, stories comprise of evaluation and moral, reflecting the narrator's interpretation of the story and its manipulation in presentation to the receiver (Apo, 1992:63). Narratives are considered to contextualise and reflect the beliefs, moral judgements and everyday preoccupations of the social group (J. Simpson, 1991:25; Apo, 1992:65-6; Brednich, 1992:78; Dégh, 1996:34; Siikala, 2008:59), and thus the persistence of a tale is reliant on its ability to perform some function to those who tell and hear it (J. Simpson, 1991:29). The persistence and recontextualisation of tales results in variations of stories found across different groups or places at the same time, or within one social group or place over a period of time. Folk narratives are often classified according to tale-types (Uther 2004) and are typically composed of identifiable motifs (S. Thompson 1966; Chapter 3.2). The interchangeable details in a story occupying the same functional slot between variations have been termed by Jacqueline Simpson (1991:33) 'allomotifs', where, for example, an impression on a rock is said to have been made by Arthur's dog in one tale, but his horse in another.

Tales can therefore alter over time, gaining or losing certain elements according to changing meanings and contexts in what Tolkien (1947:125) calls a folkloric 'Pot of Soup' or 'Cauldron of Story'. The reproduction of folk narratives is therefore an active process performed by social actors (Tolkien, 1947:128), who select elements according to source, memory and context, contributing to the eclectic collection of traditions comprising a social group, "like the pearls which have rolled off a broken necklace string" (Morgan, 1983:47). Legends thus have life-histories (Dégh 1990) which can be contextually analysed in order to reveal their meanings to those who reproduce them, and can be paralleled with the changing views and interpretations of archaeological sites, which are themselves contextually-bound and meaningful (below).

In recent years, social historians have turned to folklore in order to gain more contextual information on the societies they study (Gunnell, 2009:317; for example, Hopkin 2003), since legends and folktales are considered to be (re)produced in order to perform certain

functions and convey particular messages (Gunnell, 2009:317). Samuel (1994:15) argues that legendary history is just as legitimate a study as, for example, Elizabethan foreign policy, since it can give greater insight into social ideals and their location in time and place. The historical study of folklore collections can tell historians about who told, listened to, recorded and read these accounts (Gunnell, 2008:16-17), as well as their world-views (Brednich, 1992:78), and thus engagements with wider geographical and socio-political contexts.

It is therefore argued here that it is short-sighted for archaeologists to reject folk narratives on the basis that they do not necessarily reflect 'actual' history. A number of aspects of legends that are apposite to archaeological research are highlighted in the above definition, which will be dealt with in more detail here and discussed further within the context of archaeological approaches to sites and landscapes. These are primarily notions of history and historicity, place and landscape, and engagement, which influence and are influenced by concepts of identity within particular socio-political and historical contexts.

#### **2.4. Historical Consciousness**

Pertinent to the place of archaeology in interpreting folk narratives is the concept of 'historical consciousness'. Because of their frequent concern with the past, it can be seen that legends reflect the historical consciousness of a given society (Gunnell, 2008:16; Siikala, 2008:39, 48), which differs from 'history'. Historical consciousness is a particular group's views on "the shape of time and the relationship of events in the past, present and future" (Stewart, 2012:2), where the ideals of the best future, based on ideologies of the present, are often inverted as a mythical past (Knuuttila, 2003:152; see also Barczewski 2000). Charles Stewart (2012:3) describes the study of historical consciousness as an 'anthropology/ethnography of history', as it is expressly concerned with how individuals and societies construct and relate to the past in the present in relation to their own motivations, systems of belief, organisation, identity and so on. Historical consciousness is strongly linked to ideology, which is taken here to be the articulation of the world as perceived and lived by social groups into a system of belief (Althusser, 1977:252; Hirst, 1994:116); it is not a 'false' consciousness, but a signification of how groups relate to the world (see Barthes 1973), that can be expressed through various means, including narratives and material culture.

Concerns with alternate notions of historicity were considered in Vladimir Propp's 1928 structuralist treatise *Morphology of the Folktale* (Propp 1968 [1928]), where the concept of history

lies in the people's expression of its historical self-awareness and in its attitude towards past events, persons and circumstances rather than in the... correct depiction of historical persons or relation of events considered real. Historical significance is an ideological phenomenon.

(Propp, 1968 [1928]:51)

Such conceptions may be activated in the present by means of affective images and symbols (Stewart, 2012:2; see Lévi-Strauss 1966), resulting in, for example, the production of folk narratives which may draw on remnants of the past rearticulated in the present. Sociological writings on the agency of the individual in the 1970s and 80s took this approach to historical consciousness beyond structuralism in considering the socialisation process and unconscious motivations of individuals derived from past experiences in order to develop meaningful narratives pertinent to a particular social group (Stewart, 2012:215-6; see Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1979; after Freud's (2005) psychoanalytical approach to the unconscious). Current interests in historical consciousness are primarily derived from a post-modern rejection of Western historical notions of linear chronology and an acknowledgement of multiple, often conflicting, views of the past. A number of studies of the perception of the past and how it pervades the present in non-Western societies such as Columbia (Taussig 1984), Madagascar (Lambeck 2002) and the Sudan (Larsen 1998) have been conducted, from which Stewart (2012:7) observes that people may produce histories and approaches to history that differ from Western historiography, the documentation of evidence, and its objective scrutiny. As Stefan Brink (2013:33) observes, "in many cultures there is no dividing line between mythology and history" (see also Nyberg et al 1985). It is therefore futile to separate the two in a people's understanding and creation of the past, from which it constructs its present.

Yet alternate views of history are not solely restricted to 'non-Western' societies, but can also be produced by various social groups in 'the West'. As Woolf (1988) has demonstrated, the use and decline of 'the common voice' by scholars in early modern England does not mean that alternate histories were not created by people, but that they were not incorporated into official historiographies, which ignored and overshadowed these narratives, and were themselves politically and ideologically motivated. Discussing within a European folklore context, Niedermüller (1999:251) states that, "folk culture does not refer... to historically existing reality, but much more to its politically motivated image"; thus the

study of the historical veracity of folk narratives is not what is important, but the meanings these tales have to those who reproduce them in the present through their representation of the past (Tolkien, 1947:128).

The political image formed from conceptualisations of the past, present and future as represented by narratives referring to specific places in the landscape has been termed by some writers the 'mythscape' (Bell 2003; Knuutila 2003). Archaeological and other landscape features, as physical manifestations of the past in the present, are used to substantiate the narrative and message related in a form of 'mental bridging' (Utz, 2006:27). Jacqueline Simpson (2008) presents the concept of the ghost story as a prime example of the pervasion of the past in the present, as ghosts are not only by their nature remnants of the past, but also haunt places that survive from the past, such as houses, monuments and ancient sites. Their presence at a particular place (or the creation of a place through the presence of a ghost) both humanises the past (and place) and connects it to direct experience in the present. Through an examination of the place of English ghost stories, Simpson (2008:33) concludes that such narratives are "evidence of a community which identifies itself by reference to history, *even if that history is bogus*" (my emphasis). These historical links, Anttonen (2005:106; also Tolkien, 1947:152) argues, are not whimsical distractions, but are active and goal-directed, even if seemingly absurd and knowingly spurious. Such creation of historical narratives underscores Samuel's (1994:8) assertion that 'history' is a form of social knowledge, not solely the prerogative of the historian, which can be accessed through local lore.

The construction of the past through legends and folktales therefore not only reflect the historical consciousness of a given society, but also the real experiences of their own local topography (Dégh, 1996:41). Folk narratives are thus intrinsically connected to specific landscapes, which will be explored in greater detail next.

## **2.5. Legends and Landscape**

Places not only serve as basic referents to or 'proofs' of the contents of tales (Gunnell, 2009:308), but folk narratives predominantly grow out of the world the tellers inhabit and experience (Dégh, 1996:41; Gunnell, 2008:14). This can be seen in variations of folktales, which reflect variations in place, leading to basic plots found in a number of places reformed according to specific environmental and ideological contexts, allowing for tales' continued relevance and, therefore, survival (Dégh, 1996:39; Sveinsson, 2003:63; Gunnell, 2009:318-9). It is frequently observed that similar sites are associated with similar narratives,

but this has been little examined and interpreted, and may be seen to be due to particular physical, locational, ideological or other features of these sites, combined with the relevance of the narratives to local people.

Folk narratives can therefore, in a number of ways, reflect the world-views of the societies that reproduce them, through the landscapes they encounter. Hopkin's (2003:79) analysis of Breton oral traditions exemplify how legends, as meaningful and moralising narratives, tie history to geography; thus, the landscape is itself an instruction in the values of the community. In the tradition of Tolkien (1947), Gunnell (2005:70) describes legends as a 'map':

On the one side, they reminded people of place names and routes, and gave historical depth to these surroundings, populating them with ghosts and other beings of various kinds. On the other, they served as a map of behaviour, underlining moral and social values and offering examples to follow or avoid. Simultaneously, they reminded people of the temporal and physical borders of their existence... If the map was followed, you had a good chance of living in safety. If you broke it, you stood an equally good chance of ending up in a folk legend yourself..

The meaningful and moralising nature of such narratives and their relation to place can be seen, for example, in Icelandic outlaw legends, which underscore the differential meanings given to different places: tales begin with heroes leaving the organised cosmos of their own society (represented by the immediate landscape of the tradition-bearers) and enter a chaotic wilderness inhabited by outlaws, trolls, ghosts and elves (represented by the wider landscape that may be perceived as being outside of that society's boundaries) (see Gunnell 2009). Legends are thus not only referential to landscapes but are based on experiences and perceptions of them.

The interdependence of legend and landscape is aptly demonstrated by Andrew Reynolds and Alex Langlands (2011) in their examination of early medieval travel in England, and the resulting narratives developed through direct and associative experiences of the landscape. Here, Anglo-Saxon naming practices of landscape features reveal more than the creation of mnemonics for the purposes of travel (see Brink, 2013:33 on this), but further illustrate the anthropomorphising and zoomorphising of the landscape, reflecting Anglo-Saxon world-views that saw the landscape as 'living' (Reynolds and Langlands, 2011:418-9). Landscapes composed of and represented by legends are, therefore, real and alive, rather than something on which tales hang (see also Whyte 2009 for this perspective on early modern England).

'Mythologisation' of place, as Brink (2001, 2013) suggests, domesticates landscapes through the development of narratives and place-names, as reflected in medieval Scandinavian texts such as the 12<sup>th</sup> century Icelandic *Landnámabók* (Book of Settlement), detailing the Norse settlement of Iceland in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, including the place-names and narratives that constituted part of this colonisation (Kvideland and Sehmsdorf, 1988:23). People thus manipulate, whether through changing or charging, the landscape in order to cope with phenomena ('real' or 'imagined') they could not control (Brink, 2001, 2013).

The association of tales with specific landscapes and locales means that places are innately composed of tales (Gunnell, 2008:14-15, after de Certeau, 1984: 108-123). As Gunnell (2008:14, 2009:308) points out, legends are one of the features that turn 'spaces' into 'places', since they are both representative of human engagement with the landscape and bestow it with character and historical depth. As such, seemingly innocuous features may be imbued with meaning and significance to those familiar with the landscape (Siikala, 2008:58); in this way, so-called 'natural' features are just as humanised and enculturated as archaeological or constructed ones. The experiences of, identification with, meanings given to, and feelings evoked by, the landscape has been termed the 'sense of place' by cultural geographers (Relph 1976; Tuan 1977), as an intangible component of encountering places. This 'invisible landscape', as Ryden (1993) calls it, is reflected in the folklore of a place, and is often intrinsically connected to its physical dimension. Such senses may be pleasant or affectionate (*topophilia* – Tuan 1990), or inspire fear or aversion (*topophobia* – Tuan 1980). Folklore emerges from and expresses sense of place (Ryden, 1993:63), as well as being inextricably linked to a group's sense of history (Brink, 2013:33; see Chapter 2.4). As Brink (2001:81, 2013:34) notes, landscape destruction or enforced removal of people from a particular place is to erase their history, because of the deep connection between people, place and narrative.

Whilst legends and folktales are demonstrably highly localised in their relation to specific landscapes and places, and therefore connected to particular groups of people, they can be shared across social groups in various ways through their connection to the landscape (see Reynolds and Langlands, 2011:416), and we have seen how they can be appropriated, relocated and generalised by various groups for particular agendas. As well as this, explosions in contemporary media (such as literature, television, film and radio) have expanded the realms of everyday life for many people (Gunnell, 2008:13), meaning that such tales feature in more diverse contexts and that even more varied groups may indirectly engage with these places through their legends. Furthermore, exploitation of folk narratives by the heritage industry for economic gains through tourist interest means that places and



their tales reach even wider audiences (J. Simpson, 2008:31), though there has been almost no consideration of how the specific combination of places and tales are perceived by visitors. These sites therefore have lives through their various representations in folk narratives and, in turn, engagements with particular social groups. The life-histories of archaeological objects and sites are thus central to considerations of the use of folklore in archaeology posited in this research, and will be explored in greater detail next.

## **2.6. Archaeological Life-Histories**

### **2.6.1. The Concept of Material Culture Biographies**

Just as the critique of processual archaeology demonstrated the polysemic nature of archaeological interpretation, so have some interpretive archaeologists considered the varied life-histories, or biographies, of archaeological remains. Archaeological life-histories/biographies examine what archaeological remains mean and have meant to different groups of people through time (Holtorf, 1997:56; Holtorf, 1998:24), from the period of their manufacture/construction to the present day – if they survive (Moreland, 1999:209). The examination of life-histories broadens the study of archaeological materials, rather than limiting investigation to a single point or period in time. As Holtorf (1998:24) notes, most archaeologists are purely concerned with “the birth and early childhood [of archaeological remains], as well as how to dissect and preserve” them, but these remains have other lives beyond archaeology (Hollowell and Mortensen, 2009:1) that do not necessarily conform to linear sequences (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos, 2009:71; Joy, 2009:543), or what Holtorf (1996:119) calls ‘chronographies’.

Many approaches in processual archaeology often consider the past as a thing that has ended and is contained in the archaeological record – that is, it is its behavioural context that gives it life, so when this is gone, things go back to a static state (J. Thomas, 1996:57; see Schiffer 1972; Schiffer 1987). Whilst Binford (1981) criticises the suggestion that the archaeological record is a frozen social system (the so-called ‘Pompeii Premise’), he still considers the record as representing a past that is severed from the present, and thus is just as dead as Schiffer’s past (J. Thomas, 1996:58). Conversely, in some interpretive archaeologies, it is argued that material culture is meaningfully constituted (see papers in Hodder 1989 for example) and can be read as a ‘text’. Further, the past and its remains do not just ‘end’, but are “handed down as heritage” (J. Thomas, 1996:61; see Shils, 1981:63-9), gaining some aspects and meaning whilst losing others according to particular contexts.

Material culture is therefore not signifying of itself, but it is its varied relationships with other things and people that give it its meaning (J. Thomas, 1996:60).

From this position, it is argued that things can have biographies just as people do (J. Thomas, 1996:55; Holtorf, 1998:23). The idea of object biographies was popularised by Igor Kopytoff (1986), whose examination of object commoditization illustrated the changing interpretation of objects across varied contexts, through time, although Shils (1981) considered this extensively with respect to traditions and how they develop and are reproduced with reference to items from the past. In his analysis, Kopytoff (1986:66-7) argues that, in constructing the biography of things, we must consider them in sociological terms, so that we understand an object's 'status' in particular periods and cultures, how this is shown, where the object is from, who made it, what its career has been so far, what the cultural markers for its life are, how it changes with age, and what happens to it when it is of no more 'use' to a particular group. It is therefore vital that, in constructing archaeological biographies, one must situate themselves in the context of that 'episode' they are exploring. In examining the biography of an Anglo-Saxon stone cross from Bradbourne, Dorset, John Moreland (1999:196) emphasises the need to understand late 8<sup>th</sup> and early 9<sup>th</sup> century views of the world, where demons and other supernatural entities were a complete reality, in order to understand the cross's origins and meanings, which are instrumental to the subsequent treatment of the cross. Material culture in this regard thus has an influence on its environment and on people beyond symbolism, such as in the 'real presence' of the divine through representations of the Crucifixion and erection of stone crosses (Moreland, 1999:200, after Camille 1989). Subsequent contexts, as shown in Moreland's study of the Bradbourne Cross, lead to differing perceptions of, engagements with, and effects on archaeological remains.

As we can see, interpretive considerations of material culture as symbolic (Hodder 1982), as text (Tilley 1992) and reifying the conceptual/intangible (Moreland 1999) can be conducive to the construction of material culture biographies, and such a study of objects provoked early interest in archaeological life-histories, with processual archaeologists examining the use-life of objects, although mostly neglecting the meanings of objects and their effects on social interactions (Gosden and Marshall, 1999:169). Whilst concepts such as the *chaîne opératoire* consider the cultural impacts on the manufacture process of objects, through their use, reuse and deposition, this does not go far enough in exploring the potential life-history of the object in contexts beyond its deposition, and the reciprocal relationship between person(s) and object (Gosden and Marshall, 1999:170; MacGregor 1999; Deltsou, 2009:178; Joy, 2009:541).

Objects can not only be 'read' biographically in their own right, but also provide connections to the reuse/biographies of archaeological sites. Richard Bradley's (1987) analysis of the reuse of prehistoric sites in Ireland not only demonstrates that later activity occurred at these places, but also that they were especially significant because of the type of material culture found at them. For example, Beaker-type material found at Knowth and Roman material at Newgrange are both rare material culture types in Ireland, and thus their deposition at these sites attest to later groups' high regard for, and meaningful interaction with, them (Bradley, 1987:13).

Whilst some have noted that it might seem more difficult to reconstruct the life-histories of static material culture (such as monuments), particularly if they have not been physically modified (Gillings and Pollard, 1999:179), many writers on archaeological biographies have argued that certain remains', such as megaliths', monumentality lend themselves to continual (re)negotiation of meaning millennia after their initial construction (Edmonds, 1993:109; Holtorf, 1997:81; Gillings and Pollard, 1999:185). As with objects, the study of monuments need not be restricted to the circumstances of their origins (Holtorf, 1997:55), but can be 'read' as active and meaningful to different groups through time. The meaningful, contextually-dependent perspective of monuments can be seen more broadly in interpretive approaches to landscape archaeology, where landscapes play vital roles in meaning-making to groups in various contexts.

#### 2.6.2. Life-Histories of Landscapes and Monuments

It has long been acknowledged that landscapes are inscribed with layers of actions of various people through time (for example, Hoskins 1955), in what has been famously labelled the 'palimpsest' of landscape (especially prevalent in the writings of Carl Sauer – see Denevan and Mathewson 2009). It has been argued that the processual archaeology of the 1960s and 70s predominantly treated landscape as a utilitarian backdrop to human activity, with an emphasis on economic structure and adaptation to the environment (for example, Binford, 1962:1). Comparatively, interpretive archaeologists argue that landscape is a medium, rather than a container, for action, both influenced by and influencing social groups and relationships. Such activity is often said to transform 'space' into 'place', where the latter represents pause in time in the landscape (Tuan, 1977:179; C. Evans, 1985:81; Tilley, 1994:11; J. Thomas, 1996:83), in what Holtorf (1998:27) calls 'timemarks'. As such, landscapes are physically and conceptually created by people through experience and engagement (Bender, 1993b:1; Tilley, 1994:27; Brown and Bowen, 1999:259; J. Thomas, 2001:171) and are

therefore strongly linked to particular identities (Tilley, 1994:11; Schama 1995; J. Thomas, 2001:173; and see below).

Thus, as seen in the interaction between legends and landscapes above, archaeological sites are imbued with their own unique sense of place. A report by English Heritage (2009) concluded that historic environments and public knowledge of them enhance sense of place, with archaeological and historic sites giving locales their particular character. Concepts of sense of place within archaeology are often discussed with reference to contemporary engagements and heritage practices (English Heritage 2009; Schofield and Szymanski 2011). Although frequently mentioned in passing in archaeological literature on landscape (for example, David and Thomas 2008), especially with reference to experiential approaches (note especially Tilley 1994), explicit explorations of this in the past are limited. Recently, sense of place has been explored in the context of Anglo-Saxon England (R. Jones and Semple 2012), particularly as reflected by place-names. There is thus the potential to expand the archaeological exploration of sense of place in the past, as well as the present, through folklore research, the material of which, as discussed above, strongly represents sense of place.

However, such views of places outlined above are not restricted to 'archaeological sites', as it is argued that the dichotomy between 'nature' and 'culture' is a false one, since 'nature' itself is a human invention or artefact (C. Evans, 1985:82; Schama, 1995:6; Dwyer, 1996:157; see Bradley 1998, 2000). Human construction of landscape thus means that landscapes are not static but are in a constant process of production and reproduction (Bender, 1993b:3; Ingold, 1993:152). As with material culture, then, landscapes can be read as a text in order to construct a story or biography (Ingold, 1993:252; Tilley, 1994:33-4; Children and Nash, 1997:1).

'Places', often in archaeological terms explored as 'sites' (see C. Evans 1985), have become the focus of archaeological life-histories, but in constructing such biographies it should be remembered that sites must not be considered as divorced or isolated from the landscapes of which they are part. Many studies of life-histories of archaeological sites often focus on megaliths (especially prevalent in the work of Holtorf 1996, 1997, 1998, 2005a), since, by their physical nature, they are enduring and highly visible features of landscapes. For example, it has often been noted that the site of Stonehenge provides an excellent example of the long life-histories of some sites (Bradley 1991; J. Thomas 1996:62-3; see Grinsell 1976b; Chippindale 1983; Bender 1993a; Castleden 1993; Bender 1998), from early physical modification, through depositions of objects and the dead, to avoidance, renaming, creation and reproduction of tales and, to this day, conflicting views of and claims to the monument.

It must also be noted here that site biographies need not be treated in isolation, but can be linked to wider regional 'trends', such as the replacement of timber with stone at many sites, including Stonehenge, during the Early Bronze Age (Bradley, 1991:215; also C. Evans, 1985:89).

The site of Stonehenge in particular – but not exclusively – also underscores the notion that not all groups who interact with the monument and the landscape concur with interpretations that are made of it (below). Contemporaneous views of a single monument may be greatly contested across differing groups or subversive to dominant interpretations or institutions (J. Thomas, 1996:91), and further highlight wider social, political and religious tensions both locally and nationally (see Bender 1993a, 1998). As a result of these conflicts, there may be some unevenness in the degrees to which certain groups might be heard through time (Bender, 1993a:249), owing to, say, the survival of past sources, or the primacy given to particular points of view or social group. Bender (1993a), in a Marxist approach to the biographies of Stonehenge, argues that archaeologists must 'go beyond' multivocality in order to understand social groups and their struggles. Stroulia and Sutton (2009) term the incongruity of interpretation and meaning between archaeologists and groups local to archaeological sites 'landscape dissonance', emphasising that archaeologists should strive to understand and engage such views, from which we can situate narratives in wider socio-political contexts.

Archaeological biographies therefore consider "how subsequent societies dealt with the relics of the past" (Holtorf, 1998:24), in an approach that views history not only in terms of what happened but how it is also 'remembered' (Holtorf, 1997:59; Holtorf, 2005a:5). The constructed 'remembrance' of the past is akin to Jörn Rüsen's (1994) 'history culture'– the articulation of historical consciousness in a given society (Holtorf, 1997:51; above), and is seen in 'cultural memory' (Holtorf 1996, 1997, 1998). Cultural memory is a term applied to a group of people's understandings of the past, constructed with respect to particular social and historical contexts (Holtorf, 1996:125; Holtorf, 1997:50) or, as Julian Thomas (1996:52) puts it, the "representation of the past to oneself". The idea of cultural memory is therefore strongly linked with individual and group identity, in this case in relation to the physical manifestations (monuments, sites, landscapes) of the past. Furthermore, such memory can be seen to also be promoted by wider institutions to reproduce and reinforce ideas of a shared identity; as sociologist Duncan Bell (2003:70) has noted,

the notion of shared ideas, values and interpretations concerning either real events (slavery, the First World War, the Holocaust) or narratives of ancient origins or of prelapsarian 'golden ages' (the epic Finnish Kalevala, or King Arthur and the Round

Table) locates the collectivity inside a shared history, a history constantly reaffirmed and reproduced through resonant rituals and symbols.

Bell (2003), however, disputes the use of the term ‘memory’ in many contexts, as an over-used and under-theorised word, which cannot be possessed by people who have not experienced what is being remembered. We cannot have a memory of the slave-trade, he contends, by looking at a slave ship, because “*we were not there*” (Bell, 2003:73, original emphasis). There is no doubt that memory has a significant role to play in the transmission of culture (Rowlands 1993), but when we look at societies’ later engagements with the past and its remains, the term memory carries with it the inference of remembering, of being there. The conflation of the term ‘memory’ in academia to refer to both collective experience and to collective awareness can also be seen to be a result of the lack of differentiation between oral history and oral tradition (above), and the desire to ascribe vogue and emotionally affecting terminologies in order to legitimise or substantiate research. We might therefore pose the same rhetorical question as Richard Bradley (2003:298) when he asks, “are... achievements [of the past] remembered or are they recreated?” We have clearly seen above the frequent deliberate construction of a particular group’s past, and the connections such pasts make to archaeological sites; with this in mind it is suggested that the term ‘reuse’ might be more appropriate than ‘memory’ (Bradley, 2003:299; Bradley 2010; see Figure 2.4) as an alternative term to what is described above, or, more appropriately, the invention or recontextualisation of tradition. Furthermore, when discussing folklore in particular, the term ‘cultural memory’ connotes earlier notions of a continuous ‘folk memory’ (for example, W. Johnson 1908), and related dangerous assertions made on this basis. In any case, we can see here that by examining such views of the past we can construct meaningful archaeological biographies that are relational to their historical contexts.



Figure 2.4. The relationship between memory and invention (after Bradley 2010)

We can therefore appreciate that the investigation of site biographies is not restricted to the examination of physical traces of later activity, and the interpretations that might be constructed from an analysis of these remains. Whilst, for example, later medieval or early

modern finds might be rare or entirely lacking at megaliths and other sites, this does not necessarily indicate that such sites were ignored or meaningless to groups during these periods. Rather, engagement with these sites may be seen in associated tales and naming (Bender, 1993a:252-4; Holtorf, 1998:33; Gillings and Pollard, 1999:189-90; see also Brown and Bowen 1999; Reynolds and Langlands 2011). A number of medieval archaeologists have recently emphasised the usefulness of folklore as a source and as interpretation for understanding how medieval groups perceived and interacted with landscapes, particularly with earlier archaeological sites. The use of prehistoric barrows, for example, as execution sites and places for deviant burials in the early medieval period (Reynolds 2009b) suggest that these sites were stigmatised or feared, as further evinced by the naming and tales of barrows (Franklin, 2006:147; see Semple 1998, 2013 for an excellent survey of this). In the case of Stonehenge, nick-naming the stones ‘the Devil’s Stones’ (which in turn inspired folktales about the site, or was derived from popular tales about it) imbued them with a malignance promoted by the medieval Church, whose distinctive world-view of the strict dichotomy between good and evil replaced the previously morally ambiguous attitude towards the ruins (Bender, 1993a:253-4), and represent the Church’s attitude towards the past it perceived to be represented by this site. Such strong views of the site do not leave tangible ‘archaeological’ signatures, but are nonetheless significant to the site’s history and to social, political and religious developments of the period. Indeed, it has been noted that,

it is an unfortunate fact of the archaeological record that pits, for example, have greater prominence than trees, even though their *social value may be totally disproportionate to their archaeological visibility*

(C. Evans, 1985:82, my emphasis)

Absence of physical material thus need not infer absence of or less meaningful engagements, but can even underlie more meaningful ties with archaeological features. Further, folklore may not only provide the researcher with extensive, often meaningful, tales about sites, but might also record more ephemeral actions, such as the offerings of foodstuffs at monuments or crawling around them to produce a certain effect (see Grinsell 1976a). Whilst folklore cannot tell us about intangible interactions with sites in prehistoric periods, medieval and later records do contribute much folkloric evidence related to archaeological sites, and can be used in conjunction with, where available, physical evidence. Indeed, current contributions to the biographies of sites can also be made through the employment of ethnographic archaeologies (below), which demonstrate the usefulness in engaging with non-material narratives in understanding archaeological engagement.

An understanding of how people in the past interacted with landscapes can thus not only be seen in archaeological remains, but are also gained at through non-tangible aspects. Intangible or ephemeral cultural practices, such as the (re)production and enactment of folk traditions – particularly legends – grow out of inhabiting particular landscapes (Gunnell, 2008:14). The investigation of folk narratives in conjunction with archaeological landscape studies by medieval archaeologists has demonstrated that tales can provide information on the layers of mythical structures and world-views of those that inhabited them as well as customs associated with inhabiting a particular place (for example, Franklin 2006; Rippon and Gardiner, 2007:234; Reynolds 2009a), in what Parcero Oubiña et al (1998) call ‘rewriting’ landscape. Such studies can therefore give landscapes greater “character and historical depth” (Gunnell, 2009:38) and, moreover, provide information on varied experiences, ‘real’ or ‘imagined’, of people with the landscape (Dégh, 1996:41; see Franklin, 2006:146).

The turn to folklore as a source for the construction of site biographies may lead some critics to suggest that such a resource may be used to infer or project back continued ‘ritual’ activity at sites from the prehistoric period to later periods, an obviously precarious and sometimes dangerous assertion (Chapter 1.2.2). However, the examination of literary and oral sources need not be in order to make such projections and infer supposed continuity, as antiquarians and early archaeologists might have had it, but merely unearth the ‘reuse’ of a site in different contexts. We can therefore see that the ‘invention of tradition’ is also pertinent to archaeology (Bradley, 1987:4), where, in the past, continuity through physical remains is implied rather than actualised, to support nostalgic or ideological positions (C. Evans, 1985:89; Bradley, 1987:4). We can take the idea of retraditionalisation and its ideological implications further to suggest that this is an ongoing facet of archaeological sites, throughout the medieval, early modern and modern periods to the present day, extant in folk narratives about such places through engagement with them and the social and political world.

Through detailed examination and contextualisation of archaeological and non-archaeological evidence, we can attempt to reconstruct the life-histories of remains from their origins to the present-day. These biographies consider subsequent engagements with archaeological materials in the past in what Holtorf (1996, 1997, 1998, 2005) calls cultural memory, or what might more appropriately be called reuse (Bradley 2003, 2010). As well as looking at *how*, archaeological life-histories ask *why* such interactions occurred/occur in the way they did/do, and what their meanings might be. In some instances, these can be closely traced to the invention/recontextualisation of tradition and associated identities. The



investigation of life-histories greatly broadens the scope of archaeological thinking and enquiry, and can create multi-threaded narratives more meaningful to both archaeologists and the public. As Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos (2009:71-2) have stated,

Conventional histories of archaeology often produce a teleological and linear narrative, portraying a scientific field that emerged out of earlier antiquarian practices. More importantly, and more problematically perhaps, they assume a singular version of archaeology, relegating earlier engagements with the material past as pre-archaeological mnemonic practices at best, and at worst superstitious and ignorant folk tradition.

We can move beyond this view, they suggest, through ethnographic archaeologies and, it is suggested here, archaeological biographies. Ethnographic archaeologies and other multivocal approaches can be a major contribution to the construction of biographies, situated in the historical contexts from which they derive or from which they are constructed. We can not only construct meaningful life-histories in this way, but such biographies also distinguish, say, a particular monument from other monuments of the same period and type (Brown and Bowen, 1999:261), or create cultural links with other kinds of monuments (see also C. Evans, 1985:89). Whilst most monument life-histories concentrate on a particular area or site and type, we can broaden their investigation by approaching monuments and their biographies in different ways, such as examining various monuments of differing periods, types and locations through their connection with particular folk traditions, as considered in this research. By considering such aspects to archaeological sites and landscapes, archaeologists can further reconnect their research to the public through multivocal and ethnographic approaches, explored in the following section within the context of public archaeology.

## **2.7. Public Archaeology**

Public archaeology has been defined as the field of archaeology “concerned with any area of archaeological activity that interacted or had the potential to interact with the public” (Schadla-Hall, 1999:147). Whilst Ascherson (2000:2) puts forward a more restricted definition, where archaeology enters the ‘real world’ of economy, politics, and ultimately, ethics, it is considered here that a broader definition like Schadla-Hall’s is useful, because of the wide-reaching and complex engagements the public have with archaeology, including the ‘archaeological imagination’ (Finn 2004; Wallace 2004; Schwyzer 2007; Shanks 2012), representing a diverse range of people, interests and approaches.

On the whole, the 'public' in 'public archaeology' is used as shorthand for the general but diverse population who are not archaeologists (N. Merriman, 2004:2), but, on closer inspection, two distinct concepts of 'the public' emerge. One view of the public is that of the state and its institutions, whereby the state acts on behalf of its citizens through 'public bodies' and so on. It is this approach to the public that is employed in professional contract archaeology, in state legislation to protect archaeology in the 'public interest' (Matsuda, 2004:66-8; N. Merriman, 2004:10), and as represented by archaeological bodies such as English Heritage. It has been noted that the state-based approach to 'the public' excludes the vast majority of the non-archaeological public from engagement with archaeology (Schadla-Hall, 1999:150; Matsuda, 2004:69), as might be seen in the examination of Cultural Resource Management (CRM) below.

The other use of the term 'public' is to denote a group of individuals as consumers and producers of 'public opinion'. This public is not a homogenous group of people, but as active and conflicting agents with differing views and agendas (N. Merriman, 2004:1-2). This group and its setting, also termed the 'public sphere', is principally derived from the work of Habermas (1989), whose study of Britain, France and Germany in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries showed an emergence of this sphere as a place where private people critically engage in debates over common issues in relation to authorities (Habermas, 1989:27-31; Matsuda, 2004:69-70). Whilst state administration for archaeology claims to act in the public interest, the creation of a public sphere in archaeology can lead to more non-archaeologists interacting with archaeology which, Matsuda (2004:70) argues, is the aim of public archaeology.

These two notions of 'the public' – the state and the people – are in constant tension, which has effects on archaeology, both in its practice and in engaging with the public. In Britain and elsewhere, no state apparatus is in place to register public interest or opinion on the past and its remains, potentially leading to disenchantment with state-provided archaeology, since it does not necessarily reflect the interests of the public (N. Merriman, 2004:2). Further, the growth of the heritage industry over the past three or four decades – often the result of archaeological work – has created a demand from a non-specialist public, with high levels of interest in the past (Schadla-Hall, 2006:76). Public interest in archaeology can be seen through increased production and viewing of archaeologically-related television programming, and high visitor numbers to archaeological attractions such as the Jorvik Viking Centre in York (Copeland, 2004:133; Schadla-Hall, 2006:75).

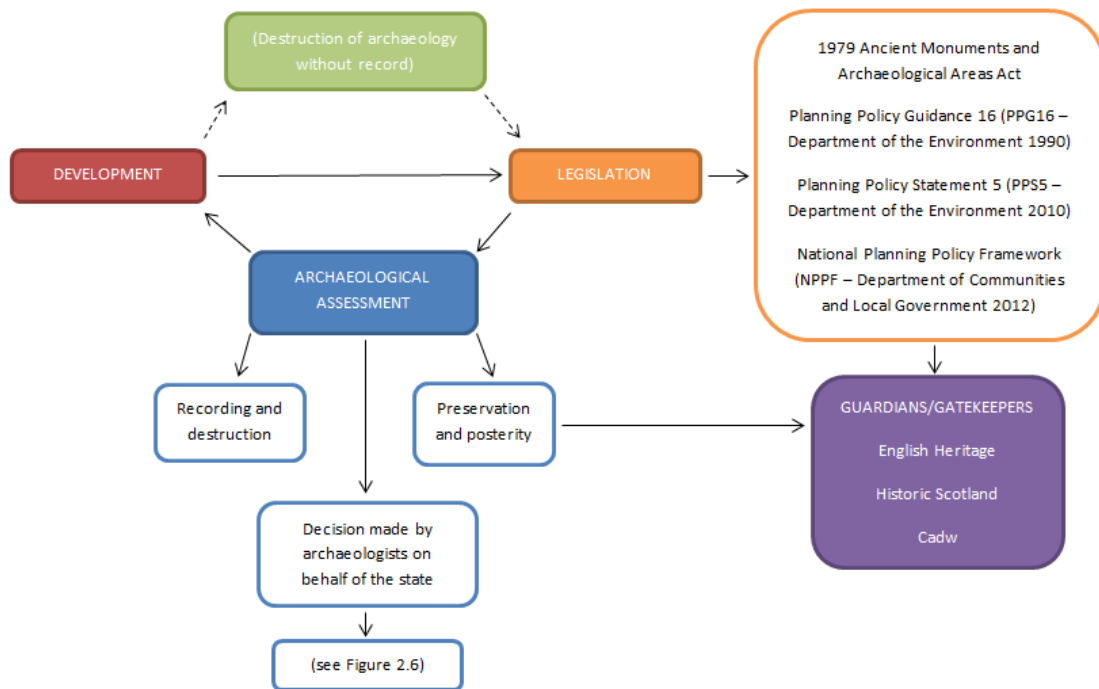
Both attitudes to the public have led to differing approaches to public archaeology. Whilst it is the latter approach to the public that is of principle concern to the theories and methods

of this research, the former state-led approach also has a major impact on the focus of study, such as in the preservation and presentation of archaeological sites by heritage managers and the decisions for listing or not listing historic sites and monuments. In order to contextualise the theoretical and methodological approaches of this research, we shall briefly consider the effects of both approaches to the public on the practice of public archaeology, and more closely examine facets of public archaeology pertinent to this thesis.

### 2.7.1. The Development of Public Archaeology

It can be seen that archaeology has always had a public dimension, from antiquarian pursuits (Chapter 1.2.1) to amateur enthusiasts (N. Merriman, 2002:542; Schadla-Hall, 2004:269), but public archaeology as a distinct field within academic and professional archaeology is a relatively recent development. A number of factors have led to an interest in the public, not least the realisation that undertaking archaeological work to support the interests of archaeologists is not justifiable (N. Merriman, 2002:254).

It was the concern for the material preservation of archaeological remains that sparked debates between archaeology and the public, with the term ‘public archaeology’ becoming widespread with the publication of Charles McGimsey’s *Public Archaeology* in 1972 (Schadla-Hall, 1999:147-8; McManamon, 2000:5; Matsuda, 2004:67; Merriman, 2004:3; Schadla-Hall, 2006:80). McGimsey’s concern was with the preservation of archaeological heritage for the “public right to knowledge” (McGimsey, 1972:5), supporting the notion that professional archaeologists, through legislation, acted in the interests of the public in preserving archaeological sites and presenting their interpretations to a wider audience (see also Wheeler, 1954:224 on the importance of communicating archaeology to the public two decades earlier). The representation of archaeological work to the public established a framework for Cultural Resource Management (CRM – also called Archaeological Heritage Management (AHM) in the UK) as expressly concerned with developer-led preservation and recording. This move can be seen in Britain with the rise of rescue archaeology in the 1960s and 70s through contracted archaeological units, again predominantly arising as a result of large-scale destruction without record (Faulkner, 2000:22; see Figure 2.5).



**Figure 2.5. Documents and processes of AHM in Britain (N. Merriman 2004; R.M. Thomas 2004; see also Samuel, 1994:274-6)**

The CRM approach to public archaeology can be seen to most commonly employ a deficit model, whereby the public are considered to lack an understanding of archaeology and therefore must be educated: the ‘education model’ (Holtorf, 2007:152). This in turn will assist professional archaeology, since public understanding leads to public support and preservation of archaeological remains (N. Merriman, 2004:5-6; see McManamon 2000 for this kind of approach; also Austin, 1987:234-5 on relating public understanding with preservation) in what Holtorf further calls the ‘Public Relations (PR) model’.

The main problem with these models for a ‘public archaeology’, and with the CRM approach in general, is that there is next to no actual public (in the broader sense) involvement in the planning process, scheduling, or the ‘education’ received. In the USA the collection of indigenous local knowledge is undertaken before the destruction of sites in what has been called ‘salvage ethnography’ (Hollowell and Nicholas, 2008:66), but this can be seen to be more for record than for the interest in engaging non-archaeological perspectives. Whilst such models provide a legitimate role for archaeologists as educators about archaeological information based on expert knowledge, archaeologists should also encourage the public’s own interest in and views of the past rather than only force-feeding ‘official’ information (Holtorf, 2007:154). Further, CRM and its associated models can be seen to take a limited view of how the past should be approached and presented, and does not address the interests of the public, other than what it believes them to be. Since state

and archaeological officials responsible for making decisions on archaeology and its management are often from similar, largely elite, social and educational backgrounds (R.M. Thomas, 2004:195), it can be argued that they are not necessarily representative of the people, and therefore of the people's interest in the past. Faulkner (2000:23) argues that such official, bureaucratic approaches reduce public involvement in archaeology, a view echoed by Nick Merriman (2004:3), who notes that the increased professionalization in archaeology from the 1960s onwards has seen a decline in public involvement, ironically at a time of increasing public interest (Copeland, 2004:133; Schadla-Hall, 2006:75). Faulkner (2000:22) describes this official approach, characterised by practices employed in contract archaeology, state legislation and archaeological bodies, as 'archaeology from above', which sustains elite access to archaeology and ignores non-archaeologists.

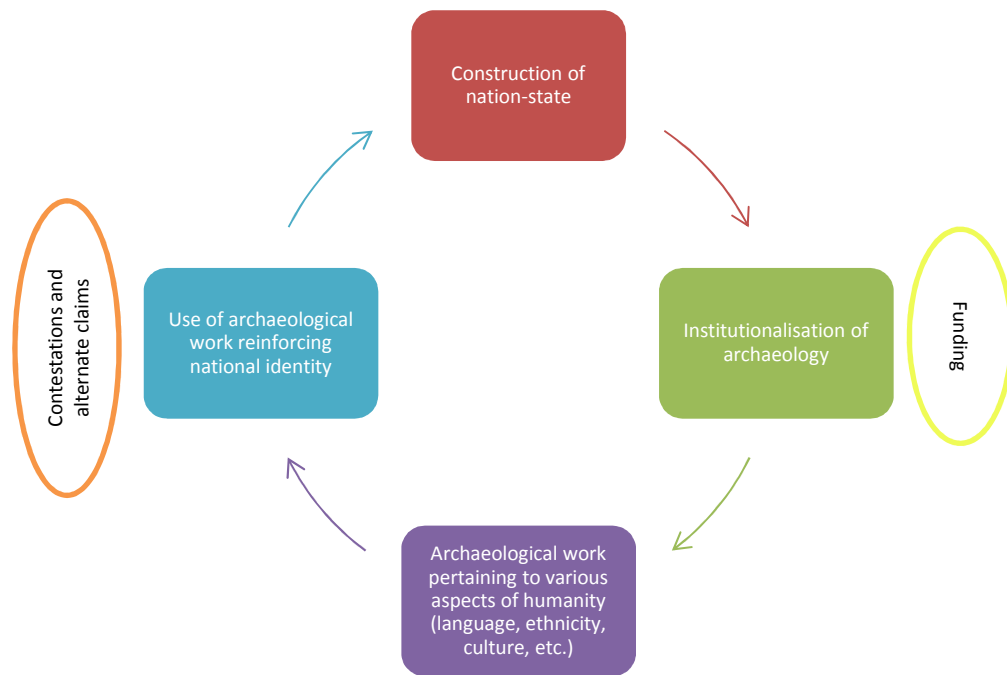
The CRM approach can broadly be seen to fall within the New and processual paradigms of the 1960s and 70s, whereby an elitist knowledge gained through scientific endeavour might be disseminated to the public as an 'official' past, sustained by state legislation and by keeping the public and its opinions at a distance. Contrary to the deficit/educational/PR models of CRM is the multiple perspective or democratic participation model, which argues that archaeologists should actively engage with the public, listening to diverse perspectives and interpretations and addressing desires, concerns and interests (N. Merriman, 2002:549, 2004:6-7; Holtorf, 2007:158; see also Holtorf 2000; Copeland 2004). The realisation of the inadequacies of the CRM approach, and the development of a multiple perspective approach, can be seen to have predominantly arisen from changes in archaeological theory (Chapter 1.2.4), the nature of interpretation and considerations of the contemporary role of archaeology (Hodder, 1991:14; N. Merriman, 2004:3), as well as the rise of indigenous and other minority movements asserting their rights to their own pasts (N. Merriman, 2002:543, 2004:3).

New Archaeology and processualism, advocating a scientific methodology and employing scientific techniques, can be seen to have attempted to fulfil calls for archaeology to reinvent itself for the modern world, lest the modern world could do without it (Fritz and Plog, 1970:412). As such, practitioners were in some way aware of the necessity for archaeology to interact with and show relevance to the wider world. However, archaeologists intentionally and unintentionally distanced themselves from the public and public involvement with the discipline: intentionally because of their assumption as sole authorities on the past (Shanks and Tilley 1989) and unintentionally because they failed to adequately communicate their findings in publicly accessible ways (Hawkes, 1968:258; see also Shanks and Tilley 1989). Post-processual critics attacked processualism's 'scientism'

(Tilley, 1989:105), suggesting that the notion of a scientific, objective view of the past was a false one. This was expanded upon in two ways: firstly, that the creation of the archaeological past is always made in the present, and therefore influenced by the present, and, secondly, that this emphasis on apparent objectivity and authority excludes and even dismisses other viewpoints about the past. Both of these are directly concerned with the public and this research.

In critiquing the processual approach to the past, interpretive archaeologists emphasised that data are always theory-laden (Shanks and Tilley, 1992:42), meaning that the collection, analysis and interpretation of archaeological data is situated within theoretical presumptions that are based on the archaeologist's own position within particular social, cultural and political contexts (Tilley, 1989:110). Archaeologists must recognise that they produce the past in the present (Shanks and Tilley, 1992:7; Holtorf, 2005b:548), questioning who produces the past, for whom, and why (Shanks and Tilley 1989:9). Processual archaeologists, in overlooking this, produced a past that often passively reflected contemporary society (Tilley 1989; Shanks and Tilley, 1992:46-67; N. Merriman, 2002:543; Castañeda and Matthews, 2008:2). The politically-charged nature of the past and its uses can be seen in a number of contemporary examples, including the active destruction of sites during conflicts as an act of ethnic/cultural cleansing (N. Merriman, 2002:544-4), and the construction of a past to legitimate claims to land or assumed ethnic superiority (Chapter 1.2.2; see Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Meskell 1998).

Archaeology, then, like folklore, is inextricably linked to concepts of identity. As others have commented, the past is integral to a sense of identity (Tuan, 1977:197; Lowenthal, 1985:41; Yoffee and Sherratt, 1993:1; J. Thomas, 1996:53; and see Chapter 2.2.4 above) and, as presented in Chapter 1.2, the construction of the past by nation-states employ archaeology to substantiate its identity claims (Figure 2.6).



**Figure 2.6. Archaeology in the historical construction of national identities (after Díaz-Andreu and Champion, 1996a:5-6)**

As we have seen in previous sections, archaeology is not only employed as a basis on which national identities are constructed, but also personal and local identities; thus archaeological objects and sites are constantly appropriated, contested and renegotiated, but, as the dominant narrative and major fiscal source for archaeological work, the nation-state is at the forefront in the construction of identity based on archaeology, and presented to the public ‘officially’ as such.

Archaeological places previously considered innocent vehicles of education are thus viewed as institutions for “the empirical substantiation of national mythology” (Leone, 1973:129; see also Tilley, 1989:113-4; Shanks and Tilley, 1992:68-100) – a mythology that can be seen to be perpetuated by the CRM model. Although it has been noted that the CRM approach to public archaeology in the 1970s predominantly treated archaeology as a ‘resource’ and had little political dimension (N. Merriman, 2002:542), the notion of archaeology as a resource exemplifies a capitalist ideology of commodification, consumption and ownership, and one specifically that archaeological and political elites have access to. Some interpretive archaeologists take this further to argue that the past can be used as “a basis for strategic intervention in the present” (Tilley, 1989:111), whether through challenging certain ideologies and power relations (N. Merriman, 2002:542; see Miller et al 1995), or redressing injustices exacted by colonial action (T. Murray, 1993:108).

A corollary of the rejection of objectivity, scientism and univocality is the argument that archaeologists must advocate a pluralist, rather than a singular objectivist, approach to examining the past and its remains, recognising that multiple pasts are produced according to various social, cultural and political backgrounds (Shanks and Tilley, 1992:245). The processual approach (and CRM) was found to belittle or even completely ignore non-archaeologists' views of the past, particularly of marginal groups such as women, children, indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities (N. Merriman, 2002:543). Such views are considered to be "valuable and meaningful and should be respected as such" (T. Murray, 1993:107), and could even be incorporated into archaeological research. Yet despite early critiques of processualism ignoring many other perspectives, Hodder (1991:8; 1997:691) noted the relative lack of method in interpretive archaeology for employing a varied perspective to interpretation – this has since been rectified by a number of projects developing reflexive and multivocal approaches at the centre of archaeological research (see, for example, Hodder 2003; Leone 2005; Bender et al 2007).

#### 2.7.2. Multivocality and Ethnographic Archaeology

In noting that there are multiple pasts created by various interest groups – including archaeologists – vying for their rights to access and interpret the past (N. Merriman, 2002:544; see Bender 1998), interpretive archaeologists developed approaches in the conduct of archaeological research whereby the researcher noted their own position and how this affects their collection of data, methods and interpretation, based on ethnographic 'researcher positioning' (see Castañeda, 2008:42). This reflexive approach to archaeological research, as predominantly developed by Ian Hodder and colleagues at the Neolithic site of Çatalhöyük, Turkey, prompted researchers to recognise "the value of multiple positions, and multivocality" (Hodder, 2003:58). Multivocality is not unique to the field of archaeology, and is often considered in literary studies, which is also pertinent here. Discussing the concept of multivocality in the context of Fyodor Dostoevsky's novels, Mikhail Bakhtin (1984:6) describes the narration of polyphony as the presentation of independent voices, each "with equal rights and each with its own world". Such voices may combine in the narration of an event, but are not *merged*. Individuals are thus 'autonomous subjects' rather than objects, ultimately leading to "the profound organic cohesion, consistency and wholeness of Dostoevsky's poetics".

A multivocal approach to archaeology is open to the active participation in the discourse about the archaeological process by various groups of people (Hodder, 1997:694) in order to



ascertain the various views of the past and its remains as held by these people. Although a multivocal approach often looks at 'the local' (Hodder, 2003:62-5), it can also include non-local groups that may make claims to the archaeology through cultural or other affiliations, as with Mother Goddess groups at Çatalhöyük (Hodder 2003; see also Meskell 1995).

Proponents have further claimed that reflexive, multivocal approaches are an 'ethically conscious' archaeology, particularly in giving indigenous and post-colonial groups a voice (Hodder, 2003:56) where they have previously been ignored or suppressed by dominant archaeological narratives. The First World Archaeological Congress (WAC), held in 1986, was a benchmark in enhancing collaboration between archaeologists and indigenous peoples (see Ucko 1987), and this engagement was boosted by the advocacy for a multivocal approach to archaeology that respected and considered the views held by such groups. Engaging with indigenous and descendent communities is now a widespread practice in the pre-colonial archaeologies of countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (see, for example, Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; see also Marshall 2002). It is important to note that not all archaeologists advocate indigenous engagement with archaeological research (for example, R.J. Mason 2000), but on the whole many archaeologists are receptive to this kind of interaction. The idea of multivocality is, as we have seen, not restricted to engagement with indigenous groups, and Holtorf (2007:162) has re-stressed that non-indigenous groups should also be given attention by archaeologists, since they too are stakeholders in archaeology. As noted above, however, most interactions of this kind consider oral histories rather than oral traditions.

With whatever groups archaeologists are working, some have called for the need to work closely with ethnographers in order to understand 'the local' so it can be incorporated into reflexive, multivocal approaches (Hodder, 2003:64; see Shankland 1996, 1999, for example) in a form of participant-observation (Edgeworth, 2010:55), or to employ ethnographic methods in engaging with the public in archaeological research. The advocacy of a reflexive, multivocal approach to archaeology has led to the development of a specific field within public archaeology, which in recent years has come to be called 'ethnographic archaeology' (Edgeworth, 2010:53).

The concept of 'archaeological ethnography' originated in processual paradigms, whereby ethnography is used to make inferences about past behaviour – this is now more commonly referred to as 'ethnoarchaeology' (see David and Kramer 2001 for an overview of this approach). Ethnoarchaeology later developed into an approach that emphasised varied experience of everyday life in the remote or recent past, characterised by 'thick description' (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos, 2009:66; see, for example, Tilley 1996). Today, in what

Castañeda (2008:25) calls the ‘ethnographic turn’ in archaeology, it has acquired another meaning, whereby ethnographic methods are incorporated into archaeological investigations to examine the epistemological, social and ethical nature of archaeological practice (Edgeworth 2003, 2006), or, more commonly, “in order to explore the contemporary relevance and meaning of the material past for diverse publics, the politics of archaeological practice, and the claims and contestations involving material traces and landscapes” (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos, 2009:66; also Castañeda and Matthews, 2008:1). Ethnographic archaeology, therefore, examines the public’s understanding of archaeology and heritage (Hollowell and Matthews, 2009:1; McGill, 2010:469), or more often, and more interestingly, their relationships with and perceptions of archaeological sites and landscapes. Ethnographic archaeology thus not only gives voice to multiple interpretations, but also to multiple meanings of the material remains of the past and the “intangible archaeological heritage” (Castañeda and Matthews, 2008:2), reflecting multiple interactions that do not leave material traces. Ethnographic archaeology further provides a means by which archaeologists interact with the public (Castañeda, 2008:54). In this way, ethnographic archaeology not only has implications for archaeology, but also for the public (Hollowell and Mortensen, 2010:1). Relationships between archaeologists and local people is strengthened (McGill, 2010:469), and ethical, political and social issues may be addressed (Castañeda and Matthews, 2008:2-3).

Whilst much ethnographic archaeology is conducted as part of a wider archaeological research project (typically excavation), there is opportunity to undertake ethnographic archaeology as a research project in its own right, since non-archaeology groups continuously reflect on archaeology/the past outside of the presence of a traditional archaeological research project. Such investigations need not be restricted to contemporary engagements, but may also be constructed through sources such as folklore collections in a historical perspective (Chapter 3). Through such ethnographies, an additional dimension to how remains of the past might be approached is developed. Although the principal aim of archaeologists has traditionally been to interpret material remains in order to ‘reconstruct’ the past, the approaches to public archaeology outlined here underscore the concept of life-histories outlined above, and thus ethnographic archaeology can be employed in constructing such biographies.

An excellent example of the presentation of both archaeology and local views at an archaeological excavation, and one particularly relevant to this research, is that given by Matsuda (2010; see also Matsuda 2009:141-2, 242-256). In this study, which was based on Matsuda’s doctoral research of public engagement with the Japanese-led excavation of the

'Villa of Augustus' at Somma Vesuviana, Italy, archaeologists were asked by many of the visiting local residents if they had found Queen Giovanna's tunnel and golden coach (Matsuda, 2010:450). The archaeologists had previously been unaware of this popular account of the site, so interviews with visitors and a study of local histories were conducted in order to understand the legend and its context, so that archaeologists could deliver a formal response to visitors (Matsuda, 2010:451). The archaeology indicated outright that there was absolutely no substantiation of the story of Queen Giovanna at the Villa; as such, the team considered the following: (a) various stories, both historically attested and 'fictional', were amalgamated into the legend; (b) the legend was not an 'indigenous belief' told by people identifying themselves as ethnically distinct; (c) those believing in the legend were not marginalised by the socially dominant; and (d) the archaeologists had a professional duty to communicate accurate archaeological information. As such, it was decided that the archaeologists would give the information that was deemed 'archaeologically accurate', but, because the legend was not considered 'harmful' and had existed for centuries, it was not dismissed outright by the team. A statement was therefore issued that presented both archaeological findings and the legend in its various forms, declaring that they had found no evidence for the legend, but in a way that did not rule out its legitimacy (Matsuda, 2010:461-2). The team's approach was taken with the sensitivity of the local population's belief in the legend in mind, since the archaeologists were aware of their intervention in local people's lives, and lest the tale be completely eradicated (Matsuda, 2010:262). Such a dismissal might also have distanced local residents from the archaeologists by suggesting that their knowledge was false or unimportant, which would have been counter-productive to the public engagement component of the project.

The most frequent criticism of a pluralist, multivocal approach to archaeology is that acceptance of all views would reduce archaeology to a hyper-relativist discourse, and damage the legitimacy of the subject (Hodder, 1991:9; see Renfrew 1989). However, in practice uncritical acceptance of all interpretations is unacceptable (N. Merriman, 2004:7), and no archaeologist of any theoretical persuasion would argue for such an approach. Instead, archaeologists should have a context-specific, "critical appreciation of different pasts... not just anything goes" (Shanks and Tilley, 1989:10; Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos, 2009:72). It is important to distinguish between acceptable and unacceptable interpretations (see below), celebrating and being sensitive to local and other views whilst maintaining archaeological integrity and providing archaeologically-accurate information (Matsuda, 2010:448-9, 463) based on data collected and interpreted within a clear framework. It also is important to remember that many members of the public may (and do) genuinely wish to fully accept a more mainstream/academic archaeological

interpretation of sites or the past, and expect expert archaeologists to inform them of their findings. Not all members of the public will necessarily have views conflicting with archaeologists; projects taking a multivocal approach to archaeology may reveal this, and this form of engagement can also be seen in other public archaeologies, such as community archaeology, where the emphasis is working *with*, rather than *on*, social groups (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson, 2008:1-9; La Salle 2010; see Moshenska and Dhanjal 2012).

### 2.7.3. Alternative Archaeologies

Whilst it has been argued that archaeologists should engage with multiple views of the past, they may and should distinguish between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ archaeologies in the promotion of active participation with various interest groups. This can most clearly be seen in approaches to so-called ‘alternative archaeologies’. Alternative archaeology, also labelled ‘pseudo-’, ‘fanatic’, ‘fantastic’, ‘fringe’, ‘cult’ and ‘lunatic’ archaeology, might generally be characterised as narratives that make wild or ludicrous claims about the past. Schadla-Hall (2004) has identified general themes and presentational methods in alternative archaeology, which include hyperdiffusionist views, claims of extra-terrestrial influence, assertions of archaeologists ‘hiding the truth’ and selective quotation from academic publications (see Schadla-Hall, 2004:257-261), however any view not found in the archaeological mainstream might be deemed by some as ‘alternative’, though they need not necessarily possess all of these extreme features or views, as seen in the example given above.

Despite being able to identify some characteristics of alternative archaeology, it is important to note that there are no definite parameters, as these might shift according to changing attitudes in archaeology (Schadla-Hall, 2004:265). It is also important to note here that folklorists themselves speak of ‘alternative’ approaches to folklore (see Harte 1998; a recent example of this might be seen in Bird 2009, which takes such an approach to both archaeology and folklore), so it is necessary to realise that the notion of an alternative approach is context- and subject-specific. The works of writers such as William Stukeley or Margaret Murray have been taken to be leading in both academic and alternative archaeology, whilst archaeoastronomy, once taken to epitomise alternative views, is now a major area of academic interest (Holtorf, 2005b:547), albeit in a rather different form. The content of publications by some antiquarians and archaeologists of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries would now be considered ‘alternative’ if repeated today, but at the time of writing these were considered to be highly ‘scientific’ and sophisticated observations of the past.

These publications might remain in the public domain, such as in public libraries, and so some may not readily distinguish ideas that are out of date or outright absurd (Schadla-Hall, 2004:265). However, contemporary 'mainstream' alternative archaeologies employing some of those elements outlined above are often those that receive the most attention and interest from the public. A possible reason for the development and success of these alternative archaeologies is that academic and professional archaeologists are too involved with publishing works of academic value rather than of public accessibility, and thus alternative writings fill a gap in the market (Schadla-Hall, 2004:263) by providing an interested public an exciting, readable story of the past.

Rebuttals of alternative archaeology by professionals and academics have ranged from mockery (for example, Daniel 1992) to serious countering backed by archaeological evidence (for example, R.B. Dixon 1928; Wauchope 1962), however some argue that finding accommodation or dialogue with alternative archaeology is more useful than outright rejection (Schadla-Hall, 2004:264-7; see Holtorf 2005b). We have seen how various 'non-archaeological' views might be accommodated in archaeological discourse, but this is not to argue that all 'alternative' views should be similarly dealt with. Some alternative archaeologies can be found to be of a "racist, ultranationalist or other fundamentalist" nature (Schadla-Hall, 2004:255), for example in the assertion that civilisation had a single point of origin from a superior race of people. Such views must be 'strongly challenged' or countered, as they are dangerous and promote oppressive agendas (Schadla-Hall, 2004:255, 268-9), whilst acknowledging and celebrating others as examples of how various people view the past (Schadla-Hall, 2004:269; Holtorf, 2005b:549; also Holtorf 2005a). Such encounters with alternative archaeologies must be carefully weighed up according to their content, context, motives and message, as well as for their importance for various groups of people, rather than simply being dismissed, or their proponents being labelled 'charlatans' or crackpots (Holtorf 2005b; see also Holtorf 2000 challenging McManamon 2000). Archaeologists must engage with non-mainstream archaeologies, as they challenge archaeology's monopoly on the interpretation of the past (Michlovic, 1990:103), as well as stimulating archaeologists to think reflexively on their own work (Schadla-Hall, 2004:255) and understand the contexts in which such views are formed (Holtorf, 2005a:549). Through such engagement and self-reflexivity, archaeologists may have more fruitful engagements with the public, and, in any case, ignoring or mocking alternative archaeologies "will not make them go away" (Schadla-Hall, 1999:154).

Folklore is not here considered to be 'alternative' to archaeology, since it does not generally carry the popular features of alternative archaeology highlighted by Schadla-Hall (2004),

such as purporting to ‘reveal’ a ‘concealed’ truth, or refuting archaeological interpretation in order to promote unfounded historical events, beings or other claims, but as a representation of historical consciousness (and archaeological imagination) in action, that is meaningful to the reproducers of such customs. Whilst folk narratives can at times be used as a basis of alternative archaeology, this is not the intention or purpose of its (re)production, and is here instead considered to be a form of archaeological data that can provide us with information on life-histories, social engagements and contextual connections. Folklore can be called the ‘intangible heritage’ of a given society, which is connected to so-called ‘tangible’ heritage, as represented, for example, by archaeological sites. The concept of intangible heritage will be discussed in the next section, since this has been a focus in discussions within heritage studies in recent years, but not examined within the context of the interplay between folklore and archaeology, and resulting impact on the public.

## **2.8. Intangible Heritage**

### **2.8.1. Heritage**

In considering the various approaches to archaeology and folklore, and to public engagement, the idea of ‘heritage’ is commonly encountered, predominantly in light of tradition and identity. Studies of heritage and identity are extensive, and there is no room to fully assess them here. Niedermüller (1999:243) notes that concepts such as tradition, heritage, culture and so on are social and cultural conceptions of everyday life within public discourse, wherein the scholarly content disappears; it is therefore unnecessary to over-theorise such notions here, especially in discussing, as Niedermüller does, folklore.

The dominant approach to heritage today can be seen to be what Laurajane Smith (2006) terms the ‘Authorized Heritage Discourse’ (AHD). The AHD refers to the attitude and approach to heritage typical of Western nations in that it is materialistic in approach, focusing on aesthetically-pleasing objects, sites and so on, and in this way creates a ‘bounded’ heritage, constrained to single sites, for example (L. Smith, 2006:29-30). Landscapes are often overlooked, because of their frequent association with the ‘natural’ (L. Smith, 2006:31), which stands in apparent opposition to the ‘cultural’. These constructed dichotomies feature heavily in heritage discourses, as shall be seen in tangible/intangible discussions below. The AHD appoints ‘legitimate spokespersons’ for the past, to the exclusion of ‘non-experts’ (L. Smith, 2006:29), and particularly of marginal groups such as women, children, working classes and ethnic minorities. Visitors to heritage sites are often

described as ‘tourists’ – culturally foreign (L. Smith, 2006:33) – and therefore considered unable to interpret sites for themselves. Heritage thus becomes a passive ‘gaze’, not to be engaged with, for the preservation for future generations (L. Smith, 2006:29, 31). Heritage is therefore seen as inherently (materially) ‘valuable’ (Waterton, 2010:38), something that can be treated as capital, reinforcing ideas of ‘inheritance’. This capitalist approach to heritage has its roots in 19<sup>th</sup> century associations of heritage with an identity of nationhood, a concept that underlies archaeology and history (L. Smith, 2006:30; see, for example, Díaz-Andreu and Champion 1996b), where other forms of heritage are often obscured or devalued. Such a view is reinforced by UNESCO, exemplified by the 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (the ‘World Heritage Convention’ – WHC), which legitimises Western notions or types of heritage (Choay, 2001:140; L. Smith, 2006:30; L. Smith and Agakawa, 2009:1) and can be seen to have subsequently dominated UNESCO’s heritage policy (Ruggles and Silverman 2009; L. Smith and Agakawa, 2009:3). The AHD can thus be described as a form of “conceptual imperialism” (Waterton, 2010:70), dominating official approaches to heritage through its air of superiority and ‘best practice’.

Up until the 1972 WHC, cultural heritage as a concept was not strictly restricted to ‘tangible’ forms, but here ‘intangibles’ were purposefully excluded, attributed to perceived legal difficulties concerned with intellectual property rights (UNESCO, 2009a:5). A year after the WHC, Bolivia, in response to the focus on tangible elements of heritage in the WHC, proposed measures for the safeguarding of folklore and official UNESCO recognition of folklore as an essential part of culture and identity. Bolivia’s recommendation was rejected. It is perhaps significant that a ‘non-Western’ state made this failed appeal, particularly given the response of a number of Western nations to ‘intangible heritage’ two decades later.

The issue of ‘intangible’ heritage and recognition of the significance of folklore to social groups was therefore not officially considered until Mondiacult in 1982, which asserted that cultural identity comprises of traditions, history and values handed down through generations, and in turn emphasised that present and future practices were just as important as past ones (UNESCO 2009a). The first detailed (but, nonetheless, non-binding) instrument safeguarding intangible heritage came with the 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore.

## 2.8.2. 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore

The Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore (UNESCO 1989; see Table 2.1) developed in response to concerns made by some Asian states that unique traditions were disappearing as a result of modernisation (O’Keefe and Prott, 2011a:148). Japanese legislation set an example of this concern far earlier in 1954, protecting ‘Intangible Cultural Properties’ and ‘Folk-Cultural Properties’; this was followed by similar legislation in the Republic of Korea in 1962 (O’Keefe and Prott, 2011b:305). Further, criticisms made by African states of the WHC/WHL stressed that these instruments emphasised, and were anchored in, “cultural activities of European origin”: Western states were largely uninterested in non-tangible matters, especially since their own history has been written down for centuries (O’Keefe and Prott, 2011a:149). Such concerns highlight criticisms of the AHD outlined above, but also underscore the point made in section 2.4 that Western societies also have alternate views of history that are ignored or overlooked.

**Table 2.1. Summary of the 1989 Recommendation (UNESCO 1989)**

<b>1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore</b>	
<b>Adopted</b>	15 November 1989
<b>Scope</b>	Folklore: “the totality of tradition-based creations of a cultural community, expressed by a group or individuals and recognized as reflecting the expectations of a community in so far as they reflect its cultural and social identity; its standards and values are transmitted orally, by imitation or by other means. Its forms are, among others, language, literature, music, dance, games, mythology, rituals, customs, handicrafts, architecture and other arts”
<b>Safeguarding Measures</b>	National inventory of folklore institutions Develop systems to identify, collect, catalogue, transcribe, record folklore Create standard typology Dissemination: national archives/museums/galleries, formal and non-formal education, organisation of regional, national and international events Protection against misuse
<b>Lists</b>	Living Human Treasures (launched 1993) Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity (launched 1998)

The basis for this document was the consideration that folklore forms a part of the ‘universal heritage of humanity’ and contributes to the assessment of cultural identity. As such, governments should take action to safeguard folklore, in some instances as a matter of urgency; however, the Recommendation also expressed that such folklore must be safeguarded by and for the group whose culture it expresses. This ‘group’ may take many and varied forms, including familial, occupational, national, regional, religious, ethnic and so on – that is, the ‘social base’ noted above.

It is notable that the Recommendation highlights that proposed safeguarding measures (Table 2.1) provide the framework for the conservation of folklore “fixed in a *tangible* form”



(UNESCO, 1989:157, my emphasis). Whilst some may consider that this is the best, if not only, way of collecting and safeguarding such materials, the emphasis on converting the intangible to the tangible undermines and belittles the concept of the intangible, reasserting the dominance of tangible materials. As noted in the historical examination of folklore above, such actions as the entextualisation of folklore recontextualises traditions, which makes them a variation rather than a true representation of their original performance. Further, it has been argued that such records only partially capture these practices (L.R. Graham, 2009:188), and that this may do little for the community whose tradition is being documented (Blake, 2002:34).

In disseminating folklore (Table 2.1), the Recommendation cautions that distortion should be avoided, and a code of ethics for a proper approach and respect for these groups developed. However, in the process of dissemination, it is essential that intellectual property rights are followed, with reference to previous work of UNESCO and the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO). It is emphasised in the Recommendation that informants themselves must also be protected.

Whilst the 1989 Recommendation can be seen to represent an additional instrument to safeguard aspects of culture not covered by the WHC, a number of commentators have taken issue with the definition and scope of the term 'folklore' as developed by UNESCO. In one respect, the definition has been criticised for being too narrow (Blake, 2002:33), and for failing to consider the social and cultural factors that affect the creation and reproduction of folklore. The Recommendation is also criticised for presenting folklore as a collection of 'things', rather than emphasising it as social activity (McCann 1999; O'Keefe and Prott, 2011a:148; see above). The Recommendation is therefore considered to be predominantly for scholars, professionals and cultural workers, rather than for those involved in (re)producing traditional culture and folklore (Blake, 2002:34; O'Keefe and Prott, 2011a:148), offering them little protection or active roles in safeguarding their own heritage (Blake, 2002:37). McCann (1999) notes that the Recommendation fails to address factors such as the market in the development of folklore, which might simultaneously stress the importance of safeguarding folklore and help in understanding how and why it changes. One of the major failures of the 1989 Recommendation, however, can be seen to have been the lack of supervisory, methodological and financial support from UNESCO, particularly in comparison to other cultural Instruments (Blake, 2002:38). The low number and unsatisfactory nature of reports submitted by states implementing the Recommendation (Blake, 2002:39) may be a testament to its shortcomings.

These are a selection of criticisms levelled at the 1989 Recommendation (see further Blake 2002). It is perhaps telling that few folklorists have commented on this document, and still fewer on the 2003 Convention. That the 1989 Recommendation paved the way for the 2003 Convention (Blake, 2009:45; O’Keefe and Prott, 2011b:307) is clear, and it must also be noted for widening debates on the (official) idea of ‘heritage’.

### 2.8.3. 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage

The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO 2003; Table 2.2) reduced the relevance of the 1989 Recommendation (O’Keefe and Prott, 2011b:307), effectively replacing the Instrument and its associated Lists altogether. The term ‘intangible cultural heritage’ (ICH) became the standard usage by UNESCO, replacing the terms ‘folklore’, ‘traditional culture’ and ‘oral tradition’ (Ruggles and Silverman, 2009:9), as these were deemed to be problematic and culturally-charged (Kurin, 2007:12; Aikawa-Faure, 2009:27). Instead, UNESCO defines ‘intangible heritage’ as

The practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.

(UNESCO, 2003:2)

**Table 2.2. Summary of the 2003 Convention (UNESCO 2003, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, 2009d)**

<b>2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage</b>	
<b>Adopted</b>	17 October 2003
<b>Scope</b>	Oral traditions/expressions Language as vehicle for expression (but not language itself) Performing arts Social, ritual and festive events Knowledge and practices concerned with nature and the universe Traditional medicine Traditional craftsmanship
<b>Safeguarding Measures</b>	“identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission... [and] revitalization” (UNESCO, 2003:3) Producing inventories and fostering studies Integration of ICH safeguarding in planning processes and designation of ICH bodies Adopting legal, administrative and financial measures Raising awareness and capacity-building through formal and non-formal education means Reports to UNESCO every 6 years after ratification
<b>Lists</b>	Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (Masterpieces added) List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding

Despite the range of practices covered by the ICHC (Table 2.2), ICH cannot be, as Kurin (2007:12) notes, documented practices that exist in archives, or artefacts in museums; rather, the Convention is community-centred (Blake, 2009:51), emphasising practice and agency (Kurin, 2007:12). This practice-based approach can be seen to have developed in response to criticisms of the 1989 Recommendation ignoring these aspects of folklore and traditional culture, as noted above.

The Convention emphasises that safeguarding ICH may only be done with the full consent of the group or tradition-bearer(s) concerned (UNESCO, 2009c:9). For the purposes of safeguarding, the Convention suggests a number of measures States Party can employ at local, national and international levels (Blake, 2009:47). At both the local and national levels, States Party are largely free to decide the mechanisms for safeguarding suitable for their own territories (UNESCO, 2009b: 3, 5), but the Convention does provide general guidelines (Table 2.2).

UNESCO's deficiency in enforcing solid and specific guidelines on how to safeguard ICH, or appointing specific bodies responsible for such, has been seen by some as a weak point of the 2003 Convention (Kuruk, 2004:134; Kurin, 2007:13), echoing similar problems with the 1989 Recommendation. As the Convention points to States Party being responsible for ICH in their territories, and funding for safeguarding to be requested from the state's government (UNESCO, 2009d:8), the measures are problematic since some groups (such as indigenous, ethnic minority, immigrant) may not see their governments as representing their interests (Kurin, 2007:13). If the government of a state does not recognise the ICH (or even the group itself) as legitimate or as contributing to that state's identity, it may ignore requests for funding and therefore censor specific groups. Whilst some states, such as Belgium, choose to inventory the ICH of both 'indigenous' and minority immigrant communities (UNESCO, 2009b:10-11; see also attitude of McCleery et al 2008 below), others may choose to ignore them. Governments might also use the ICHC as a means to keep certain groups (or entire states) 'ethnographically pure', so as to maintain legitimacy over territories or to gain revenues from tourism targeted at such heritage (Kurin, 2007:18; Ruggles and Silverman, 2009:2; see also L.R. Graham, 2009:185 for further political questions raised by the ICHC). Conversely, some groups/states might be fearful that practices they regard as integral to their ICH might be seen as an abomination of human rights in the West and subsequently censured (Ruggles and Silverman, 2009:9).

UNESCO emphasises that this Convention should in no way alter or diminish the 1972 WHC (and associated WHL) (UNESCO, 2003:3). The ICHC therefore attempts to act as a rebalance for the Western emphasis on the 'tangible' (Kuruk, 2004:115; Aikawa-Faure,

2009:15; L. Smith and Akagawa, 2009:3). This again reaffirms the dichotomies between ‘tangible’ (WHC) and ‘intangible’ (ICHC), which many commentators consider false, since this only represents a Western world view or, indeed, one which is demonstrably false even in ‘the West’, since “heritage is intangible” (L. Smith and Waterton, 2009:189, original emphasis; see also L. Smith and Akagawa, 2009:6; and especially Carman 2010), and, as we have seen, various groups within ‘Western’ states have conflicting views on the nature of time and the past. Characteristics for which monuments are inscribed on the WHL will often include, or are entirely, non-tangible aspects, as aptly demonstrated in Monteiro’s (2010) study of the Mezquita de Córdoba, Spain. As such, Carman (2010:48) argues, intangible heritage is an invention of UNESCO. In light of these arguments, Harrison and Rose (2010:269) claim that there is no such thing as intangible heritage without tangible things and places to which it is attached. The two are therefore intertwined and their ‘heritage value’ cannot be distinguished according to physical and non-physical attributes.

It might still be seen that lobbying by (mainly) non-Western countries for a convention that safeguards ICH reflects a demand for such an instrument (L. Smith and Akagawa, 2009:4), especially if these countries view this as a way to safeguard their heritage, since previous instruments are seen to be insufficient. The 2003 Convention secured a high number of ratifications in a short space of time, reflecting the urgent concerns of the international community (Blake, 2009:45). No Member States voted against the Convention but, at the time of writing, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the UK and the USA are among those who abstained (Ruggles and Silverman, 2009:9; L. Smith and Akagawa, 2009:3). Blake (2002:27) points out that Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the US “have laws aimed specifically at protecting... the cultural heritage of their native peoples”, yet these laws, of course, do not cover aspects of intangible culture of the rest of the groups comprising the population of those states.

As this research is concerned with folklore and archaeological sites of Britain, we shall look at the UK’s abstention from the ICHC in a little more detail. It has been argued that the UK’s refusal to ratify the 2003 Convention is partly due to a lack of understanding of the concept of ICH in the UK (Hassard, 2009:270), and thus a “failure to recognise the cultural legitimacy of the concept” (L. Smith and Waterton, 2009:289). These ‘failures’ of the UK have been attributed to a prevailing AHD based in the tangible (Hassard, 2009:270; L. Smith and Waterton, 2009:289). As an interviewee from UNESCO’s ICH section articulated,

intangibles are relevant to every country – the intangibles ARE heritage... that is what heritage is. We have trouble communicating this idea to western countries

who want to see things in a different way. We have trouble with England, who resist very strongly this way of thinking. They are stuck in their own mindset.

(in L. Smith and Waterton, 2009:299)

These conceptual problems are exemplified in an interview with an English Heritage employee, who states that, “most of the time” the organisation is “actually dealing with intangible heritage”, but, when questioned about this in more detail, says that no-one at the organisation “deals with intangibles” (L. Smith and Waterton, 2009:298). Another English Heritage interviewee, however, flatly asserts that, “the UK has no intangible heritage” (L. Smith and Waterton, 2009:297), reflecting a refusal to engage with the ICH debate with reference to English (and, extrapolating more generally, UK) heritage. Yet at the same time it is also curious that there is a section of the UK Parliament’s website that is dedicated to what it calls ‘Living Heritage’ (UK Parliament, n.d.<sup>b</sup>), language echoing that of the ICHC, which appears to refer to the history and basis of the modern UK parliamentary system, including its buildings, collections, offices and practices, although it does not describe what it means by the term.

However, it is not the entirety of the UK that has presented an aversion to engaging with the ICHC, as both Welsh and Scottish committees have considered the relevance of the ICHC to their own territories. As yet, there has been no official commentary from Northern Ireland. A representative on the Welsh committee commented that ICH is “too important” in Wales to abandon the Convention (D. Howell, 2013:106), and David Howell’s (2013) assessment of the ICHC in relation to the Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru (National Eisteddfod of Wales) suggests that the Convention would have a valuable role in the safeguarding of such practices, although he does note that traditions such as the Mari Lwyd, whilst a seemingly ideal candidate to safeguard, would be likely to fail to make the Representative List because it is a historical tradition, with only traces of its practice today that would be deemed ‘revivals’ (D. Howell, 2013:106-7). There is, however, little published academic debate on the issue in Wales, despite the call for an attempt to develop a similar project as Scotland (D. Howell, 2013:105).

Scotland has produced a full report on the scope of ICH in Scotland (McCleery et al 2008), headed by Museums Galleries Scotland in partnership with the Scottish Arts Council. This report drew on examples of safeguarding in other States Party to the ICHC (McCleery et al, 2008:8), in order to examine ‘living’ history, rather than a history of intangibles in Scotland (McCleery et al, 2008:12). The report considers varied practices and groups, from the Edinburgh and Glasgow Mela to the Up-Helly-Aa festivals in the Shetlands. The project’s output, in addition to the report, was the creation (and continued maintenance) of wiki-

pages detailing these practices and their safeguarding (McCleery et al, 2008:30-32, Appendix F; see Intangible Cultural Heritage in Scotland, n.d.<sup>a</sup>).

The report came to a number of conclusions on the ICHC with respect to Scotland. Whilst it was found that UNESCO's guidelines were 'not sufficient' to fully safeguard ICH in Scotland, the authors suggested a number of additional mechanisms, including community-based projects and additions to the school curriculum (McCleery et al, 2008:5). Nonetheless, the report found that Scottish ICH was compatible with types specified by UNESCO, arguing that the "Intangible Cultural Heritage of Scotland requires to be accorded a status which is equal to that of the material culture of Scotland" (McCleery et al, 2008:4, 42), demonstrating the state's "high level of respect for, and commitment to", the communities that comprise it (McCleery et al, 2008:42). The report also presents the cost-effectiveness of ICH safeguarding in Scotland (McCleery et al, 2008:42), pre-empting potential resistance based on the economic impact of implementation.

It might therefore be seen that the UK's reluctance to consider the ICHC for its territories is dominated by an English aversion to the Convention and its concepts. This is reinforced by English responses to a 'D'Art Question' posed by McCleery et al (2008: Appendix A) to a number of Member States on their interpretation and implementation of the ICHC. English Heritage, consistent with responses to Smith and Waterton's (2009) interviews, responded:

The UK looked at the Convention and concluded that a) it would be very difficult to monitor and enforce and b) it duplicated efforts that the UK was already undertaking...

(in McCleery et al, 2008:46)

These 'efforts' are not explained, nor are examples of them given. Arts Council England avoided engagement altogether, simply claiming that, "this is slightly outside of the Art Council England's remit and expertise" (McCleery et al, 2008:46), despite the role the Scottish equivalent played in this report.

McCleery et al's study concludes that there is room and reason for accepting the 2003 Convention (at least in Scotland, but generally in the UK), echoed by Hassard (2009:285), who argues that the UK should ratify the ICHC, both because of the state's particular historical trajectory and in order to shift attitudes in the heritage sector towards a synthesis of 'tangible' and 'intangible', bringing them in line with contemporary theory. But how might the ICHC be relevant to research projects in archaeology and folklore in Britain such as this one?

#### 2.8.4. Intangible Cultural Heritage and This Research

Whilst UNESCO has opted for the term ‘intangible cultural heritage’ in referring to aspects of culture and social action such as customs, tales and so on, the term ‘folklore’ will be maintained here, since this term is not only considered appropriate to the primary and secondary material collected, but is also a term that many, in particular informants providing primary data, are most familiar with. It is unlikely that many members of the public can connect with the term ‘intangible heritage’, but are more likely to be able to associate with the concept of ‘folklore’.

At first glance, it appears that this research might be appropriate to maintaining the positions of writers such as Hassard (2009) that the UK should adopt the ICHC. Indeed, the primary data to be collected for this research may be used to demonstrate the living intangible heritage of Britain, particularly since this research aims to explore the active social reproduction and meaning of such folklore. It might also be seen that such tales and traditions might be in need of ‘safeguarding’, since these narratives are ever-increasingly overpowered and actively discredited by dominant archaeological narratives. This research thus rejects an ‘Authorized Heritage Discourse’, maintaining the plurality of potential archaeological narratives and a multivocal approach to archaeological sites and landscapes.

However, the ICHC also emphasises that archives and other collections of folklore do not constitute ICH, since it is the ‘living’ traditions it aims to capture and safeguard and does not consider the motivations, political and otherwise, for the creation and reproduction of such folklore. This body of data constitutes a major aspect of this research and, whilst not representing ‘living’ traditions, is useful in examining the emergence and reproduction of these types of traditions over the long-term in a contextual examination of social interaction, archaeological sites and political context. The historical facet of this research may therefore help to examine how and why folklore related to archaeological sites today is created, maintained, changed and abandoned, an aspect overlooked or ignored by the ICHC. It can thus be seen that the ICHC, in light of the theory and methods of this research, merely scratches the surface, and in the UK might do little more than to present a nationalised picture of a ‘merrie England/Northern Ireland/Scotland/Wales/Great Britain/United Kingdom’, in a somewhat antiquarian fashion. It is argued here that it is the analysis and interpretation of such practices that can gain insights into their meaning and relevance to certain groups. Merely recording the folklore of archaeological sites is not enough to warrant the research: active analysis is required to legitimise its collection and connect with the groups that perform them.

This research will therefore explore the interchangeable relationship between physical and immaterial aspects of archaeological sites, in order to consider the role of folklore in the investigation of landscape, and how such sites affect the development of tradition, challenging barriers between so-called 'tangible' and 'intangible' heritage. This research might thus be used as a more complex case study for the practical assessment of the ICHC in Britain, presenting methodologies for the collection of folkloric data, and for the analysis of that data, which are relevant to the subject matter and therefore preferable to the scant guidelines provided by UNESCO and more practical to those interested in folklore and archaeological landscapes. This brings us to the next chapter, which will outline the methodological approach of this research, and the selection of the case studies.

## 2.9. Conclusion

This chapter has outlined approaches to folk narratives by folklorists and sites and landscapes by archaeologists in what might be termed an interpretive, contextual framework. However, we can see here that the study and interpretation of sites and landscapes is not solely the domain of archaeologists, but has also been extensively considered by folklorists, particularly in the investigation of legends. Less can be said about the consideration of such tales by archaeologists. Whilst, as we have seen, medieval archaeologists are increasingly looking to folk narratives within their research, there is little active understanding of what they are, how they work, and how they might be studied, and, as Whyte (2009:9) has noted, the landscape is often viewed as a framework within which folklore is placed, rather than considered in symbiotic terms.

Significant shifts in archaeological approaches to landscape have been made since the late 1970s with considerations of social approaches such as Bourdieu's *habitus* (Strang, 2008:52) and experiential approaches (for example, Tilley 1994; Bender et al 2007), but these have not gone far enough in studies of landscape in early historic and historic periods. This shortfall can be in part due to the primacy of these approaches given to prehistory and to particular geographical regions. For example, a search through the large and impressive *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology* (David and Thomas 2008) presents no discussion of folklore or legends; myths, mythology and mythical landscapes are presented, but only in the context of the world-views of prehistoric societies, or within ethnographies of 'traditional' or 'non-Western' societies (for example, Lane 2008; Strang 2008; Van Dyke 2008). These are, of course, worthy avenues of study, but the lack of consideration of alternate world-views within later periods up to and including the present or in Western, capitalist societies is



highlighted here. More specifically the *Handbook* and other such volumes do not engage with folklore/tales at all, suggesting that experience and perception of the world is conducted only within grand cosmology or the 'reality' represented by traditional historiography.

These lacunae in archaeological approaches to landscape can be redressed by contemplating the meaning of folklore to particular groups, most pertinently in its representation of historical consciousness, which is inextricably linked to identity-construction and socio-political as well as geographical contexts. Such historical consciousness forms and is formed by the material remains of the past, which are constantly renegotiated in changing historical contexts. The relevance of folklore to archaeological research is here posited to be especially pertinent to the investigation of the ongoing engagements with archaeological sites by various social groups and the meanings and motivations that can be drawn from the study of the development and reproduction of such folklore. It is argued that the invention, entextualisation and recontextualisation of folklore about archaeological sites are strongly linked to social, cultural and political contexts, particularly in relation to identity-construction and movements. These can be seen at both regional and national levels, but this research can also reconnect appropriated and recontextualised folklore to their local social and geographical environments and consider differential identity in the social base of folklore. Folklore therefore connects sites and landscapes to their broader historical contexts beyond the periods of their original construction and use, as well as demonstrating the engagement and importance of such landscapes to later and varied social groups. Yet it is not only sites that have life-histories, but stories themselves, in much the same way, through their reproduction in changing contexts, and through their migrations across social groups and places. Archaeological sites are therefore considered here to have a reciprocal influence on the development of certain traditions, since tales are reproduced by people who inhabit and experience such places, and the tales are adapted to sites themselves, leading to variations in stories. This study is thus the first to explicitly synthesise concerns and approaches common to archaeology and folklore, including the invention of tradition, landscape, medieval and early modern folklore in literature and archaeology, and life-histories.

Whilst it has been emphasised by folklorists that the usefulness of studying the social base of folklore is contextually, in relation to performance and the interaction between participants, it is also considered here that the geographical context, as represented by archaeological sites, is also crucial in the understanding of traditions, and will respond to Gunnell's (2009) call for the need to reconnect 'national' folk narratives to their local

contexts, and understand how and why these traditionalisations and recontextualisations occur. Such an approach further aids in reassessing the notion of 'British' identity, highlighting the construction of varied identities in spatial and temporal contexts through the interaction and appropriation of archaeology and folklore. This study is thus unique in that it considers changes in traditions through engagements with archaeological sites over the *longue durée*, from the medieval period up to and including the present. It emphasises the changing nature of folklore and perceptions of archaeological sites, but also views the study of folklore past and present as a form of ethnographic archaeology, and as a way of engaging multiple voices in the past and present.

This research therefore also breaks ground in considering public archaeology in a historical perspective, employing folklore as a form of archaeological data, and interpreting such engagements according to context, arguing for a holistic, multivocal approach to the past. Rather than the public being "indoctrinated with a particular version of the past or approach to its management in the present" (Holtorf, 2000:215), archaeologists have the opportunity for real public engagement through the collection and study of folklore, which can be considered as a project in ethnographic archaeology in its own right, as well as being useful to archaeologists in their investigation of landscape. This study therefore also highlights that folklore research as part of planning archaeological investigations is useful in preparing for public engagement within those investigations, as can be highlighted by Matsuda's (2009, 2010) work in Somma Vesuviana, where archaeologists were previously unaware of the folklore and were thus unprepared in responding to the public when the legends were raised. Such engagements with the public through folklore can therefore promote fruitful dialogues, whilst still maintaining the professional expertise of archaeologists, which the public still demand. Not everyone will want to be involved, or even show interest in archaeology (McGill 2010) or folklore, but archaeologists must extend the offer whenever possible (La Salle, 2010:416; Matthews et al 2011), setting methodological standards by which to collect, study and promote their materials.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

In light of the theoretical perspectives outlined in Chapter 2, this chapter aims to set out the research, analytical and interpretive methods developed in this investigation in order to answer the research questions, and with reference to the subject background, outlined in Chapter 1. As we have seen in Chapters 1 and 2, the potential for folklore to contribute to archaeological research has been noted by (particularly medieval) archaeologists, but these often stop at listing the perceived problems with the use of folklore, rather than responding to these difficulties by developing rigorous methodologies (for example, Rippon and Gardiner, 2007:234). Even those studies that include the use of local traditions in the examination of changing engagements with the landscape (for example, Gardiner 2012 on place-names) do not present a stringent methodology by which archaeology and folklore might be combined in such studies.

It is therefore hoped that these methods will provide a basis from which archaeologists might work when investigating sites and landscapes. This chapter will first comment on the textual sources of this research, how they will be employed as sources of data, and address problems associated with using them. These texts are among the sources for the first stage of data collection: the construction of a catalogue of sites in Britain pertaining, through their folklore, to the figure of Arthur. The site catalogue will be described, analysed and results presented, from which the case studies of this research will be selected and introduced. The main methods of data collection – historical and primary – for the case studies will then be considered and assessed, including the employment of qualitative and quantitative data and questionnaires, and how fieldwork will be conducted. This chapter will conclude with a consideration of the analysis and interpretation of such data.

The current study thus combines archaeology, historical and folkloric research, and social science surveys; it is therefore multidisciplinary in method as well as theory in creating a narrative of multiple identities and tradition through time, working from place and landscape (David 2010; see also approach by Pearson 2006; Baker and Brookes 2013:13).

#### 3.1. Sources

A number of specifically Arthurian sources from the medieval period onward were outlined in Chapter 1.3.1; as noted, these represent a complex interplay between oral and written

culture that might be exchanged across differential social bases. Because of the uncertainty of how long these might have been in oral circulation and initial transcription before extant manuscripts, specific dates cannot be ascribed to some of them, though estimations based on linguistic and epigraphic features can be made. The issue of how long narratives have been in oral circulation for is also a problem encountered with collections made by chroniclers, antiquarians and folklorists from the later medieval period to the present day. In dealing with the problem of the extent of time narratives have been in circulation for, such texts will be treated in the temporal contexts in which they were composed; whilst some can be provisionally suggested to be of an earlier date based on other evidence, such as linguistic style or affiliation with earlier datable narratives, for the most part they will be considered as specific to the context of their reproduction. As noted in the previous chapter, medieval and other folklorists no longer analyse material “as the product of some timeless, indefinite socially-constructive voice or of an autonomous ‘tradition’ independent of social and cultural change” (Sautman et al, 1998:11), and it is this approach that is taken here in the use, analysis and interpretation of folklore.

As well as determining the age of folk narratives, a further, more complex, problem with the employment of historic folklore collections is the original method of their collection and presentation. The collection of folklore in the past is frequently considered to have been inaccurate, selective and reworded in order to convey the particular messages of specific agendas (see Chapters 1 and 2), and thus has been argued to be useless to researchers today (see Holbeck 1981 on the collection and use of folk narratives in Scandinavia; also synthesis by Kvideland and Sehmsdorf, 1988:23-9). But, as Gunnell (2008:16) notes, the notion that such texts are unserviceable to researchers today is mistaken, because even their collection and presentation gives us a great deal of information on motivations for conducting such work, and of the kind of folklore extant at the time. Just as we would not use such folklore today to make inferences about the prehistoric past, we would analyse and interpret such collections in their own context, considering, for example, the circumstances in which publications were made, to whom such texts were dedicated, and comments authors make upon these collections (see for example Gunnell 2008). As Powell and Dockall (1995:349-50) note, “although folklorists often record information that may be of historical significance, they are more concerned with the tradition by which the narratives have been preserved and transmitted, and with the context in which the narratives are performed”. Folklore research is thus an interpretive and reflexive method (Powell and Dockall, 1995:352), requiring necessary critical examination of collections (Salomonsson, 2000:197), as with all archaeological materials.

Synthesising approaches to resolving difficulties in oral circulation and recording, McNamara (1998:22-3) sets out the following strategy for employing medieval folklore, which can also be extended to historic folklore collections:

1. All medieval folklore comes to us in written texts, even if it was at some point primarily oral;
2. Yet legends are especially dependent on the context of storytelling, which would of course include the orality of that context;
3. For later medieval narratives it is possible to establish a great deal about the contextual conditions of oral performance, interaction, circulation, and so forth;
4. For earlier medieval narratives, such contextualizing is difficult because the socio-historical evidence is harder to come by;
5. Even so, we can observe *representations* of storytelling, and from these representations, despite many limitations, we may begin to reconstruct the process of legend-telling within living contexts.

This research takes such contextual concerns with storytelling further to consider the specific landscapes in which reproduction takes place, and about which such tales are told, in a reciprocal relationship between the influence of places on the development of tradition, and the influence of tradition on the perceptions of places. Hopkin's (2003) examination of folklore in 19<sup>th</sup> century rural Brittany has demonstrated that the connection between people, land and lore is not something that was imposed by collectors but was inherent in the legends collected. Indeed, it can be seen to be the reason for their collection, bringing us full circle to reconciling motivation, meaning and use. Within this research, the social and landscape context of folk narratives was explored at specific archaeological sites acting as representative case studies. In order to select these sites, however, a catalogue of known sites with folklore pertaining to Arthur needed to be compiled; how this catalogue was constructed is described next.

### **3.2. Site Catalogue**

In order to examine how the figure of Arthur is associated with archaeological sites in Britain, and how such folklore has been reproduced in various historical contexts, two stages of data collection took place. Firstly, a catalogue of Arthur sites was produced, principally through an examination of primary and secondary literature. Sites and their folklore were predominantly collected through an examination of relevant literature, which mainly consisted of antiquarian accounts, collections of folklore, and any archaeological

literature relating such information. Key literature references include antiquarian accounts, collections of folklore from the end of antiquarianism to the present day, and specific publications on Arthurian localities. The National Monuments Record (NMR) of England, National Monuments Record of Scotland (NMRS) and National Monuments Record of Wales (NMRW) inventories were also consulted. Published archaeological literature providing such information is limited, but older publications are those that relate the folklore of archaeological sites most often. In addition to an examination of the relevant literature, requests for information on archaeological sites associated with Arthur were made through *FLS News*, the Folklore Society newsletter (J. Simpson 2011), in order to potentially document more recently-developed and/or unpublished folklore.

The site catalogue was created in two formats – descriptive and quantitative (Appendix B). This was to allow for fuller accounts of the associated folklore of each site in the descriptive catalogue, where each site is described in individual tables, similar to the principles of an archaeological context sheet. The quantitative catalogue includes all sites on one table in a spreadsheet, to provide a quick reference and from which basic analysis can be performed (below). The catalogues contain the following information:

**Site Name.** The name of the site, as most commonly used in archaeological and folkloric accounts.

**Alternative Names.** Any other names by which the site is known or referred to.

**Location.** The general region (county) in which the site is located. This research deals primarily with the archaeology and folklore of the British Isles. Although sites in France (predominantly in Brittany, and some in Normandy) have also been identified with Arthurian tradition, these sites have not been included, since they are more often associated with Merlin or particular Knights of the Round Table than with Arthur, and would broaden the data to such an extent so as to make the study unfeasible. Whilst these aspects of Arthurian folklore and archaeological sites are of great interest, and similarly understudied, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to consider.

**Co-Ordinates.** The Ordnance Survey (OS) reference for the site. Although these reference points are highly localised, they are the most commonly used by, for example, site visitors, to locate the site geographically. These points will be used to create a distribution map of sites, which will provide a visual representation of site locations and identify areas of high site concentration.

**Site ID.** Short code based on county (letters) and alphabetic sequence within that county (numbers) to provide quick reference to a specific site, particularly useful for differentiating between more than one site of the same name.

**Site Age.** Period of original construction/use, as determined by archaeological investigation or assessments.

**Site Type.** Archaeological assessment of the type of site being investigated. Terminology of these site types has been standardised according to the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England's (RCHME) and English Heritage's *Thesaurus of Monument Types* (1995). So, for example, 'chambered tomb' is used for 'burial chamber', 'chambered mound', 'corbelled tomb', 'cromlech', 'dolmen', 'megalithic tomb', 'quoit'.

**Destroyed?** Indicates destruction of site so that it is no longer visible (and date where known).

**Folklore.** Account of legends/folktale(s) related to the site (descriptive catalogue only). Where the folklore appears to only be a place-name, with no known explanatory tales, this will be indicated as 'onomastic'.

**Source/Foundation.** The origin, where traceable, of the association between the site and Arthur through folk narratives. This is of course difficult to determine, particularly since narratives may have been in circulation for some time prior to their initial recording, if these are still extant. There is, as noted in Chapter 2, a reciprocal relationship between oral and various textual sources, which makes it difficult to establish any particular 'source' for these narratives. However, where the earliest reference to the tale is found, this is recorded here, or if the narrative is simply found in local tradition where no obvious origin is found, this is noted here.

Whilst much folklore of archaeological sites is generally embedded in local tradition, in the case of folklore concerning Arthur there are a number of potential sources that may be selected (which may then be incorporated into popular accounts of the site), due to the overwhelming interest the hero attracts in comparison to other folk characters or themes (Robin Hood being a comparative figure in this regard), and because of the long scholarly tradition of ascertaining the historical veracity of the figure. Other sources, in addition to, influenced by, and influencing, local tradition, include literary texts, such as Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* (1485), Chrétien de Troyes's romances (12<sup>th</sup> century), and the *Mabinogion* (c.14<sup>th</sup> century).

Furthermore, historical narratives, such as Gildas's *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae* (6<sup>th</sup> century), the *Historia Brittonum* (c. AD 830), and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (c.1136) may be sources of association of certain archaeological sites with Arthur; or scholarly suggestions, where historians have suggested sites 'the real Arthur' could have been to or lived in. These are often based on attempts to locate places named in the so-called 'Battle-List' in the *Historia Brittonum*. In some instances, the basis of the current or most lately-recorded folklore may be a combination of these sources. For example, the folklore linking Arthur to Badbury Rings, Dorset, was principally a scholarly suggestion made by Edwin Guest in 1883 proposing this to be the site of the Battle of Badon, which itself was from an examination of the *Historia Brittonum* and etymological comparisons. This association, reproduced locally, was then elaborated upon in, amongst other tales, relating that Arthur appears at Badbury Rings as a raven on the anniversary of the Battle of Badon. Further, links between Arthur and ravens is suggested to have been sourced from knowledge of the medieval Welsh poem *Y Gododdin* (Westwood and Simpson, 2005:205).

**Folklorised/Local Tradition?** Indicates if a scholarly or literary source has been adopted and adapted as local folklore, or if the source of the tale is unknown but is manifested as local tradition.

**Motif-Type.** Full code and title of motif-type, as used by folklorists. A motif is described as "the smallest element in a tale having power to persist in tradition" (S. Thompson, 1946:415) and thus can be found in a number of different stories in different combinations. A tale-type binds together motifs in a unique form in contrast to other tale-types (although variations may exist), and thus folktales should not have more than one tale-type (Dundes, 1997:195, 198). However, since many of the narratives found in the catalogue are legends, which are often conversationally related and less structured than folktales, only motifs will be noted here, since there are not enough narratives in the catalogue to warrant the use of tale-types.

Motif-types are found in the *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (S. Thompson 1966), whilst the most recent version of the tale-type index is the Aarne-Thompson-Uther (ATU) *Types of International Folktales* (Uther 2004). The use of motif-types helps to codify the various folktales associated with Arthur and archaeological sites, which can then be analysed to examine common types and frequency which, Krekovičová argues, may be helpful in a 'scientific' sense in clearly identifying variables (Krekovičová, 1997:260). Whilst these indexes have problems pertaining to Eurocentrism, self-imposed censorship (on taboo) in original compilations, and 'user-friendliness' (see Dundes, 1997; Hansen 1997; Krekovičová 1997), they are undoubtedly one of the most valuable tools to the folklorist, since before



their compilation, folklore analysis was random and difficult to compare (Rosenberg, 1976:316; Dundes, 1997:195, 200). Since the sites and folklore of concern here are of the British Isles, concerns over Eurocentrism are not as pertinent as they might be in other regions of the world and, as Krekovičová (1997:259) notes, motif-indexes help overcome an 'over-nationalistic' approach to folklore, since they help identify 'individual cultural layers' of the subject, and are therefore useful here in underscoring the differential identities of Britain and their connections to peoples beyond as represented by archaeology and folklore.

**Associated Characters.** Any other characters, besides Arthur, that feature in the tale. Folktales collected in this research are exclusively concerned with the character of Arthur; tales of characters from Arthurian legend (for example, Merlin, Mordred, Guinevere, Lancelot) that do not feature Arthur have been excluded from the catalogue.

**Associated Customs.** Any custom(s) associated with the tale or site. These may or may not have a direct relationship to the narrative itself.

**Reference.** Author and year of relevant publication(s), and any other informants, if any.

It would not be possible to examine all of these sites in detail; therefore a number of sites were selected as 'case studies', forming the primary data collection of this research. Site selection was based on an analysis of the total number of sites in the site catalogue, based primarily on location, motif(s)/folklore, and site type and age. The results of this analysis are presented next.

### **3.3. Results of the Site Catalogue**

Through an examination of the sources outlined above, 126 British sites have been found to be associated with Arthur. Of these, 46% are found in England, 45% are Welsh sites and 9% are Scottish; however, this total includes sites that have been suggested by historians attempting to locate and verify the presence of a 'historical' Arthur. Sites attributed to Arthur in this way, which are not found in legends, folktales or local toponymy, were eliminated from analysis and selection. Although a comparative study of such sites with those found in traditional narratives would be of great interest in relation to the appropriation of places for the construction of (idealised) 'scholarly' historical narratives, it is beyond the scope of the current work to consider, and thus the focus here is on the role of these sites within traditional narratives. In the same vein, places named in literary narratives that are not connected to local tradition were excluded. After removing such sites

(10 in England, 3 in Scotland and one in Wales), Welsh sites comprise 50% of the catalogue, followed by English (43%), then Scottish (7%). Figure 3.1 illustrates the distribution of the sites in the catalogue across Britain. Again, much might be said about the slant towards England and Scotland by a number of historians in locating a historical Arthur, as well as the types of sites selected, but this cannot be discussed here. One further site was eliminated from the site catalogue: The Blowing Stone, Oxfordshire (OX01), since this site's association with Arthur is attributable to a recent mistake made in the National Monuments Record, and cannot be seen to be perpetuated elsewhere. The figure traditionally associated with this site is King *Alfred*, who legendarily summoned his troops here in readiness for the Battle of Ashdown against the Vikings.

In analysing these sites, we can break down the ages (Figure 3.2) and types (Figure 3.3) that occur, as well as locations (Figure 3.1) and common motifs (Figure 3.4), in order to select case studies that are representative of the range of sites in the catalogue. As we can see in these charts, Neolithic and Bronze Age sites dominate (39%); the two are conflated here because of the frequent uncertainty of attributing a particular site to one period or the other. Medieval (17%) and Iron Age (14%) sites are also frequent. A wide range of site types are represented in the catalogue, with chambered tombs (15%) and hill forts (11%) featuring most frequently. Places in north Wales and south-west England dominate, with Gwynedd representing 22%, Dyfed 15%, Cornwall 13% and Somerset 10%. Sites in south Wales and along the English-Welsh border are also frequent, as well as on the English-Scottish border. Based on such observations, it is possible to begin thinking about the relationships between these combinations of categories – for example, do Neolithic/Bronze Age chambered tombs feature most frequently because they are common sites in locations such as Gwynedd, or is Gwynedd well-represented in the catalogue because such sites are common here? In other words, is it location, or site age/type, or both, that prompts the development of such folklore? Such observations are directly concerned with Research Questions 2, 4 and 5, and can be answered by a contextual analysis of case study sites, and by closer readings of the folktales linked to such places themselves.

A number of folktale motifs (Appendix E) occur only once in the catalogue, demonstrating the applicability of the figure of Arthur and the archaeological sites represented to a wide range of narratives. By far the most common group of motifs is that of Marvels, which accounts for 34% of motif-types. Almost half of these concern giants, with F531.3.2 (Giant throws stone) as a dominant motif, being associated, unsurprisingly, with chambered tombs and standing stones. Mythological motifs are also frequent (16%), predominantly concerned with the origins of topographical features – often rocks – and thus closely associated with

Marvel motifs. Magic (13%) and The Dead (10%) are the next largest groups of motifs, with D1960.2 (King asleep in mountain) most frequent in the former and E501 (The Wild Hunt) dominant in the latter. Whilst D1960.2 is, again unsurprisingly, most often linked to hills and mountains, E501 is linked to a broader range of site types, including hills, rivers and causeways.

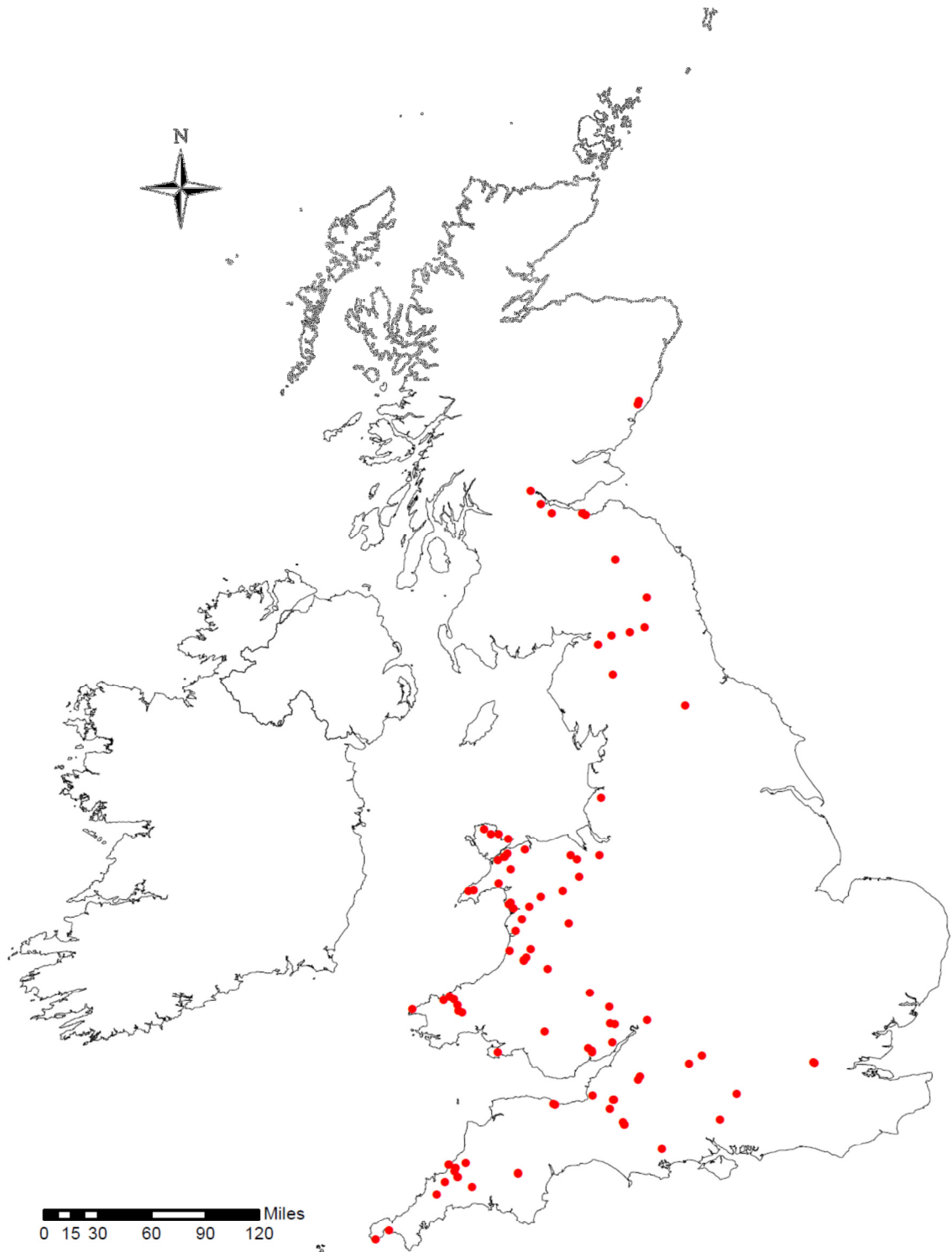
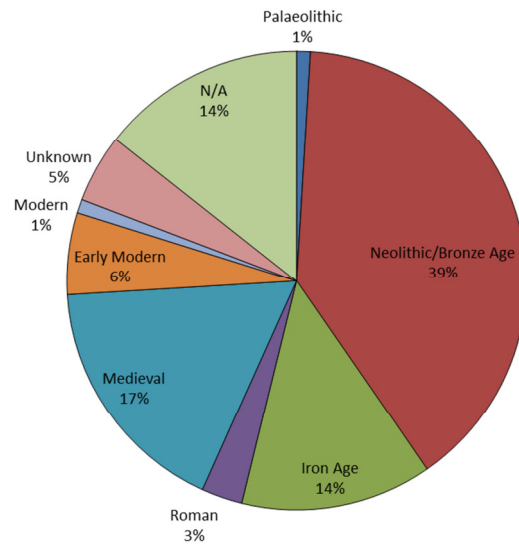
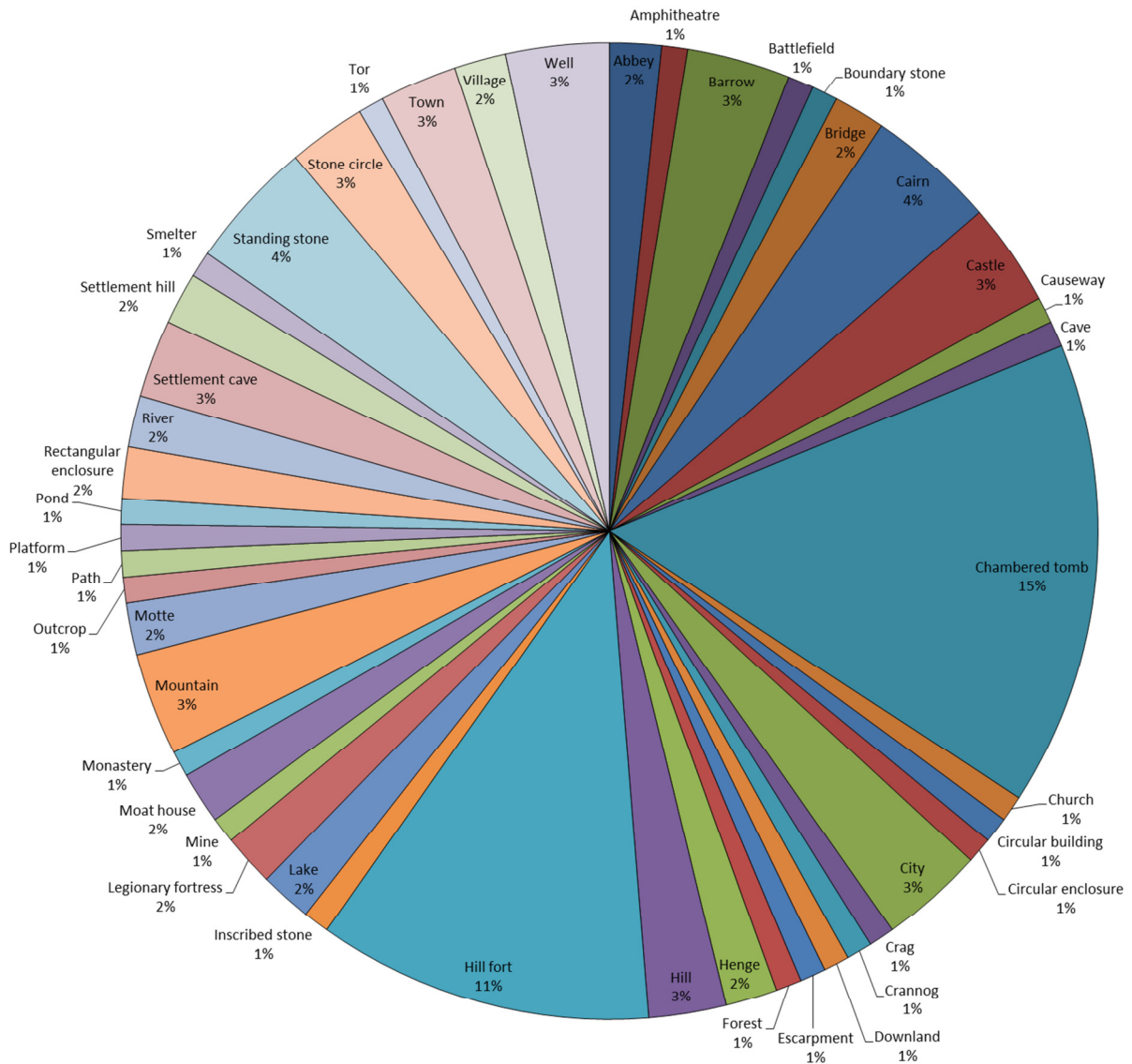


Figure 3.1. Distribution map of sites with folklore associated with Arthur (drawn by Andrew Brown)



**Figure 3.2. Frequency of site ages in the catalogue. N/A indicates the site is a place of ongoing settlement, or is a 'natural' feature**



**Figure 3.3. Frequency of site types in the catalogue**

Motif	Sub-Category	Group	
A511	Demi-gods and culture heroes (5)	Mythological (22)	
A511.1			
A580	Topographical features of the earth (17)		
A941.5			
A969.1			
A972.1.1			
A972.3			
A972.5.3			
A972.5.4			
A972.5.6			
A972.6			
A974			
A988			
A989.4			
B11.11	Mythical beasts and hybrids (1)		Animals (7)
B147.2.1.1	Magic animals (5)		
B184.3.1	Miscellaneous animal motifs (1)		
B877.1.2	Miscellaneous taboos (1)		
C773.1.0.1	Transformations (3)		Magic (17)
D6			
D150			
D658.2	Magic (14)		
D1153			
D1641.2.5	Ghosts and other revenants (12)	The Dead (14)	
D1960.2			
D2031.0.2			
E272			
E282			
E481.4.1	Reincarnation (1)		
E501			
E502	The soul (1)		
E613.7			
E715.1.6	Fairies and elves (8)	Marvels (46)	
F211.1.1			
F241.0.1			
F329.1			
F379.4			
F531.3.2			Remarkable persons (24)
F531.6.12.6			
F531.6.13			Extraordinary places and things (12)
F713.2			
F713.3			
F721.1			
F721.4			
F790			
F852.2	Extraordinary occurrences (2)		
F942			
F960.4	Nature of quests (4)	Tests (4)	
H1331			
G275.8	Witches (1)	Ogres (2)	
G308.1	Other ogres (1)		
L410	Pride brought low (2)	Reversal of Fortune (2)	
N250.2	The ways of luck and fate (1)	Chance and Fate (3)	
N848	Helpers (2)		
P672.1	Customs (1)	Society (1)	
R315	Refuges and recapture (2)	Captives and Fugitives (2)	
S11.3.3	Cruel relatives (4)	Unnatural Cruelty (4)	
S74.1			
V111.3	Religious edifices or objects (4)	Religion (9)	
V134			
V229.4	Sacred persons (5)		
V268.5			
Z254	Miscellaneous – Heroes (1)	Miscellaneous Groups (1)	

Figure 3.4. Folk narrative motifs in the site catalogue; number of occurrences in parentheses

In the preceding basic analysis of the sites collected in the site catalogue, we can already see a strong connection between common folktale and legend motifs, the landscape and particular sites. Arthur can be seen to facilitate such connections; it is also possible that the folk hero might be interchangeable with other figures, with the story and place having the same function, or that it is the presence of Arthur himself that gives meaning to these narratives and locales. All of these considerations will be explored in more detail within the case studies, details of the selection of which are given next.

### **3.4. Site Selection**

Since it is not possible to undertake any meaningful interpretation of these sites and narratives by examining the site catalogue as a whole, sites were selected as case studies for more in-depth research. Case studies are often used to expand and generalise theories through particularistic study (Yin, 2009:15); thus, just as the figure of Arthur is used as a folkloric theme to focus this investigation but the theories and methods used to investigate the relationship between the figure, folk narratives, archaeology and historical context are intended to be useful to varied folkloric and archaeological research, case study sites can give us a deeper insight into how and why we see these engagements, and how they can be studied.

Five case study sites were selected from the catalogue, on which archaeological, historical and folkloric research was conducted and at which primary data collection took place. It is worth explaining here why two sites that are famously associated with Arthur – Glastonbury Abbey (SO07) and Tintagel (CO12) – were not selected as case studies. The former was the subject of a recent research project examining multivocal interpretation and presentation of the site (R. Smith 2012; see also Bowman 2004), whilst the latter has been well-researched in recent years with regards to its folklore, presentation and public engagement (Orange 2006; Orange and Laviolette 2010). The site of Tintagel plays a significant role in the story of Arthur, yet its frequent representation in academic and non-academic discourse overshadows the significance of other sites in the development of the Arthur tradition, and, as Pearson (2006:4) emphasises in his work on performance and landscape, the employment of folklore in landscape research helps us to understand the relationship between people and places that are not major ‘heritage’ attractions like Tintagel. Additionally, and perhaps more crucially, the selection of case study sites for the present research was based on an analysis of the site catalogue and an attempt to represent the

catalogue according to site type, age, folklore, location, and so on. Tintagel did not necessarily fulfil this need for the wider representation of Arthur sites, and was therefore further excluded on a sampling basis. New research is thus better focused elsewhere, but observations and interpretations made through the cases chosen here will be discussed with reference to other sites such as Tintagel (Chapter 9) especially with reference to Tintagel's apparent failure in successfully presenting the legend of Arthur and the archaeology of the site concurrently (Orange 2006; Orange and Laviolette 2010).

As can be seen from the site catalogue and its analysis, sites traditionally considered 'archaeological' dominate; however, it is considered here that the distinction made between the 'archaeological' and the 'natural' is a false one, since nature itself is a cultural construct, and folk narratives 'archaeologise' such locations. Thus, one site considered 'natural' will be represented to examine this notion, and will further aid in understanding public engagement with these places, and perceptions of heritage and identity.

**England.** Within the record for English sites, the majority of cases (79%) are found in the south-west/on the Welsh border; the next largest group of sites are located in the north of England (8%), and the rest are scattered across the midlands and central, south-central and south-eastern regions. The majority of hill forts associated with Arthur are found in England, whilst all but one of the castles listed are English. Of the three most common motifs, D1960.2 (King asleep in mountain) and E501 (The Wild Hunt) are well-represented in England, mostly associated here with hills and castles.

*Cadbury Castle, Somerset (SO04)* – Alongside Tintagel and Glastonbury Abbey, this site is one of the three most popular 'Arthur' locations promulgated in national folklore. Cadbury represents the popularity of Iron Age sites in the catalogue, the high frequency of hill forts found in England, and the dominance of south-west England, as well as the high occurrence of motifs D1960.2 and E501. Whilst asserted by Leland that locals claimed this was Arthur's Camelot, the connection was later contested and argued by many to be Leland's invention. Nonetheless, Cadbury Castle is now regarded as a 'traditional' Arthur site, and local tales have elaborated upon the folklore of the site and broadened it to include the wider landscape. The hill fort was the focus of extensive archaeological investigation 1966-1970; one of the key questions of the investigation was to ascertain whether Cadbury could be 'Arthur's Camelot'.

*Richmond Castle, Yorkshire (YO02)* – This site represents a ‘northern’ English site, and its selection reflects the dominance of English castles, as well as the frequency of medieval sites, in the catalogue. Whilst Richmond is linked to the popular D1960.2 motif, it will also provide an examination of the interplay between the figure of Arthur and the more locally-popular Robin Hood, and how far Arthur’s own popular identity conflicts, or not, with this site’s location.

**Scotland.** Although there are comparatively few Scottish sites in the catalogue, it is necessary to consider an example as a contrast here, as this can reveal interesting negotiations between folklore, identity and place, particularly in light of various conflicts or compatibilities with England and Wales. All but two Scottish sites are in the south of the country, and a range of site types are found here, with only hill forts and mountains slightly dominating, leading to the frequency of the D1960.2 motif.

*Arthur’s Seat, Edinburgh (LO01)* – This site represents the ‘natural’ example in the case study sample, and, of these sites, the frequency of mountains in the catalogue. Although Arthur’s Seat was also the site of an Iron Age hill fort, there is very little visible evidence of this today, and it is thus more frequently categorised as a mountain – or, more specifically, a volcano. As with many hills and mountains, the D1960.2 motif is found here, and also presents Arthur as a giant in alternative narratives. Additionally, other onomastic folklore of the place opts for a Gaelic, rather than Arthurian, origin, again underscoring potential conflicts in the perceived identity of Arthur, and it is also the location of a number of (unrelated) folk customs.

**Wales.** Comparative to area, Wales dominates the site catalogue; of the Welsh sites, 87.5% are located in the north of the country, and these are predominantly rocky and mountainous sites. All but two of the chambered tombs and all but one cairn are in Wales; Many of the giant motifs, particularly F531.3.2 (Giant throws stone), are closely affiliated with this country.

*Arthur’s Quoit, Gwynedd (GY03)* – One of the many ‘Arthur’s Quoit’ sites in the catalogue, and the county with the most Arthur locations in Britain, this site also represents the high frequency of Neolithic/Bronze Age sites, chambered tombs and motif F531.3.2. Arthur’s Quoit is further connected to other chambered tombs and a



hill in the local area through its folklore, and other tales relate extraordinary occurrences as a result of attempted archaeological investigation.

*Caerleon Legionary Fortress & Amphitheatre, Newport (GW02)* – Whilst Roman sites are not as highly represented in the catalogue as Neolithic/Bronze Age, Iron Age and Medieval sites, there are a significant number that are often linked to earlier Arthur narratives, such as the *Mabinogion*, and, in particular, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*. Caerleon is thus an example of the coalition of medieval historical accounts, literature, scholarly suggestions and local folklore, which have also led to other features of the town – in particular the motte of the destroyed castle (GW05) – being incorporated into the legend. Literary references such as Alfred, Lord Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* (1856-85) have also romantically popularised Arthur's connection to the site. Further, this site is where the majority of the local sample will have encountered the conduct of archaeological excavations (2007-11), which facilitated public engagement through site tours and open days, and attracted media attention.

Since the current research is interested in taking a long-term historical contextual view of the development of Arthur folklore and its association with archaeological sites, the case studies will be presented in an order according to when such folklore was initially associated with them, as far as this can be determined. The chronological presentation of this work is not to support the linear historical narratives that dominate the academic literature (Chapter 2), but, because the development of such folklore and engagement with these sites are considered here to be historically contingent, this is believed to be the most coherent way of presenting these connections here, whilst also allowing for comparisons to be directly observed across the entirety of Britain. A historical presentation of folklore and sites further allows for the examination of the changes in narrative traditions over the *longue durée*. Each site was investigated individually using a combination of qualitative and quantitative data sourced from secondary sources such as archaeological, historical and folkloric accounts, and from primary data collection conducted through questionnaire surveys.

### **3.5. Case Study Research**

As explored in Chapter 2.7.2, this research takes an ethnographic archaeological approach, both in the theoretical consideration of the interplay between folklore and archaeology, and in the specific investigation of case study sites. Put most simply, ethnography is writing

about 'folk', or a group of people, but more specifically about their actions and interactions, and the historical and cultural contexts in which these take place (Baszanger and Dodier, 2004:12; Silverman, 2006:67-8). Whilst ethnography is most commonly practised through the conduct of (participant-) observation (Silverman, 2005:49), other cultural artefacts that are not experienced by the researcher first-hand, such as texts, can also be used as a form of ethnographic material in the study of literate societies (Silverman, 2006:68, 158). Ethnographers are typically concerned with how documents are constructed and organised, irrespective of whether they represent 'reality', since it is the meaning of these texts to a particular society, contextually evaluated, that is of importance (Silverman, 2006:170; see Comaroff and Comaroff 1992). Ethnographers thus predominantly undertake qualitative research (Silverman, 2005:5) in the investigation of social groups. The emphasis here is necessarily on text and context, since much of this study is concerned with past events and groups, with any observation conducted in the collection of primary data through fieldwork. This study emphasises the insightful nature of written texts in conducting ethnographies of past societies; these sources, their contexts and their use have been covered in Chapter 1 and above. As David Silverman (2006:154, 168) observes, most qualitative studies find texts to only be important in 'background' research as a foundation for 'real' analysis; but this should not be so, since such texts can be used as resources in order to consider what they represent, rather than what is 'true' or 'false'. The contestation of the emphasis on the 'accuracy' of texts is similar to the postmodernist challenge of the aim of 'confirmability' in the use of qualitative data (Bryman, 2012:390), as the use and interpretation of such material is a subjective and contextual exercise (Bryman, 2012:401).

As such, the problems frequently associated with qualitative research are its subjectivity, the difficulty of its replication and problems in making generalisations (Bryman, 2012:405-6). Some researchers thus combine both qualitative and quantitative methods in data collection in order to draw on the strengths and alleviate weaknesses of both. Quantitative data is typically employed for measurement, the ability to make generalisations from its analysis and interpretation, and the ability to replicate studies in most cases (Bryman, 2012:175-7). However, some issues with quantitative data have been noted as creating an artificial sense of precision and accuracy, its reliance on instruments and procedures often hinders the connection between research and everyday life, and its analysis creates a static view of social life (Bryman, 2012:178-9). We can therefore see gaps in both qualitative and quantitative data that can each be filled by the other. Whilst qualitative and quantitative research is often presented as a dichotomy, the oppositions between them are overplayed, and they should ideally be used simultaneously, if possible (Silverman, 2005:8). As well as bridging the gaps of their limitations, the similarities and strengths of both kinds of

research are strengthened; both are concerned with answering research questions through data reduction, and relating the data analysis to research literature, as well as aiming to avoid distortion and to achieve transparency, variation and appropriateness (Bryman, 2012:409-10).

Thus, as well as conducting qualitative research through the examination of textual and other documentary evidence, quantitative research was undertaken at each of the case study sites through the completion of questionnaires, which can be used to locate qualitative results in a broader context (Silverman, 2006:48) – in this case, the contemporary social bases of such folklore in local and national contexts. Since, for the most part, we are unable to gain an insight into a number of individuals' and social groups' perceptions of folklore in the past, we cannot directly compare historical research with responses to this folklore today, but such quantitative data can put into perspective the continuing value (or not) of such narratives, how they came to be reproduced and popularised today, and how people relate them to archaeological sites, particularly since public awareness of archaeological interpretations of such sites is more widespread today.

Questionnaires are always limited to some extent because their use shapes responses (Ó Ciosáin, 2004:223); it is therefore essential to attempt to minimise such influences as far as possible by wording questions in a non-leading manner, or avoiding certain questions that might cause the respondent to lie or refrain from providing their honest opinion. In the context of investigating folk narratives, for example, asking whether an informant believes in a particular legend “provokes distortion” (Dégh, 1996:39), since they may feel like they may be ridiculed for their belief, or alter the tale to make it more or less credulous. The purpose of the questionnaires was to collect any folklore or archaeological knowledge about the case study sites, the contexts of their reproduction, and the sample populations' reactions to and engagements with the sites and their tales. Although principally composed of closed questions that can be easily quantified, the questionnaire contained one open-ended question in order to give respondents the opportunity to fully express in their own words their own narratives about the site (see Fink, 1995:15-20 for comparisons of the two).

The sample population in this research consists of two groups of people: visitors and residents local to each of the case study sites, forming the ‘folk’ of this folklore research. The residents, of course, represent the ‘local’ folk, whilst non-residential visitors represent the broader, national (or international) folk, which can give an insight into how such folklore might be understood to represent Britain (or not). These two groups are not necessarily distinct, since local inhabitants may also be visitors to these sites; however, other locals may visit very rarely, whilst still associating meanings with the sites, and thus engaging with

them in alternative ways. In order to obtain a large enough sample of each of the population, the questionnaire was distributed in two ways.

Firstly, questionnaires were conducted face-to-face with visitors on-site; I asked all questions and recorded the responses in printed questionnaires. A hand-held voice recorder was also used in order to verify answers to questions, and to be able to transcribe responses verbatim to the single open-ended question at a later date. The voice recorder also proved useful in capturing conversation during the course of the survey, since it was intentionally conducted informally, and respondents were typically talkative and keen to respond further than the straightforward answers solicited. Such responses were found to be useful in supporting observations and interpretations of the quantitative data once analysed. Conducting questionnaires face-to-face in this way had the advantage of reducing any recording errors and asking for any clarification or probing responses, and also allowed respondents to ask if they were unsure about what the question was asking. I also gave the opportunity for respondents to ask me questions after the completion of the survey, such as about my research; most of the questions asked were regarding further information about the site and its folklore and/or archaeology.

As visitor numbers to sites varied between very low and very high, the sampling strategies for selecting and interviewing visitors varied according to each site's approximate visitor numbers at a given time. In instances where the visitor numbers were particularly low (Arthur's Quoit, Chapter 7), 100% visitors were sought to complete the questionnaire, and this was achieved. At sites where visitor numbers were very high, it was intended that a stratified random sampling method would be employed, asking every 10<sup>th</sup> visitor to the site to take part in the survey, for example. However, at the start of the pilot study this was not only difficult to monitor, since a number of visitors could come to the site whilst I was undertaking a survey with another visitor, but could also limit the total number of people surveyed, as there were times when the site was more or less busy, and it was necessary to achieve as large a sample as possible. A haphazard sampling method was, for the most part, undertaken when there were multiple visitors on site at a given time, but when there were only a few visitors on-site, an attempt was made to question all visitors. Of course, some visitors left the site as I was conducting surveys, but this was unavoidable. One potential aspect of the impact on visitor numbers was the accessibility of the sites selected, since any costs or other restrictions incurred on entry can affect which and how many individuals visit the site. All sites selected were free to visit, with the exception of Richmond Castle (Chapter 8), for which an entrance fee was charged, which had the potential to impact upon site visitation and the conduct of surveys; however, this did not appear to have any adverse

effects on the population size. Physical access to certain sites (Arthur's Seat, Chapter 5, and Cadbury Castle, Chapter 6) also had the potential to hinder certain groups from visiting the site; other visitors with young children were also difficult to approach, since they were often preoccupied with looking after them.

Fieldwork was conducted every day for a week-long period at each site during the summers of 2011 and 2012; time and financial restrictions meant that longer periods of fieldwork were not possible. I was on-site from its opening- to closing-times (if such were in place). I allowed each visitor to walk around the site and complete their visit before approaching them to ask if they would take part in the survey, so that they were given the opportunity to experience and engage with the site on their own terms, read any information boards if they so wished, and discuss the site with any companions. I therefore positioned myself at the exit of the site, which was also usually the entrance to it, although some case study sites could be accessed and left via multiple avenues (Arthur's Seat and Cadbury Castle), in which case the most-used was selected. On approaching visitors, I would introduce myself and what I was doing at the site, and asked if they would take part in a survey that would contribute to my research. I assured them of their anonymity, since I would not ask them their names, and that any personal information, such as gender, age and residence, was purely for the purposes of the research and could not be used to identify individuals. Specific codes have been created to represent individuals who complete the survey, consisting of a site code, a number indicating the next person in the sequence, then the letter R (resident) and/or V (visitor). Thus CLF20RV indicates that the case site is Caerleon Legionary Fortress, completed by the 20<sup>th</sup> respondent who was a resident, but also happened to be visiting the amphitheatre. Individuals were also asked if they consented to their responses being captured on a voice recorder; all agreed to this. The response and refusal rates for each site are given in their respective chapters. The type of ethnography conducted here, therefore, is that of a non-participating observer with interaction, where the researcher observes but does not participate; as such, "Interaction with group members occurs, but often tends to be through interviews, which, along with documents... [are] the main source of data" (Bryman, 2012:444).

The second method of questionnaire distribution undertaken in this research was the use of postal questionnaires sent to local residents. 100 addresses per site were randomly selected from electoral registers, and questionnaires prefaced with an explanatory note for the survey and details described as with face-to-face participants (above). A stamped-addressed envelope was included for return. Again, financial limitations meant that a larger selection was not possible. As noted above, postal questionnaires allowed for a greater number of

local residents to be sampled, since relying solely on on-site questionnaires had the potential of resulting in no residents being surveyed (as was the case with Richmond Castle). However, there are a number of problems with postal questionnaires, most notably a typically low response rate (Bryman, 2012:234-5); it has been noted that a 20% response rate for unsolicited postal surveys is usual (Fink, 1995:37). Further, postal questionnaires do not allow the researcher to prompt or probe the respondent, and, since they are self-administered, issues with literacy may arise (Bryman, 2012:234-5), as well as misinterpretation of questions and illegibility of responses. The majority of responses received, however, were legible, notwithstanding minor spelling and grammatical errors, with only a very minor number illegible due to handwriting. All respondents appeared to have understood the questions posed and the reason for conducting the survey, with a number offering to provide further information if required and wishing me luck with my research.

Caerleon Legionary Fortress and Amphitheatre was selected as the case study site at which a pilot study was conducted, as this was the site that was the easiest to return to if further fieldwork was necessary as a result of changes to the questionnaire or other fieldwork strategies. The aim of the pilot study was to assess the effectiveness of my questionnaire, to make any necessary changes and to gather primary data. During the course of this field trip, the questionnaire was revised, with questions reworded, reordered, restructured and one removed. The data collected before revision of the questionnaire, however, were compatible with the new survey, and therefore comparative analysis between case study sites was possible. Furthermore, the strategy for conducting surveys was changed, as, at first, I moved around the town and positioned myself at various sites (the amphitheatre, the barracks, the baths, the Ffwrrwm and outside the museum), but found that the only successful place for completing surveys was at the amphitheatre. Remaining in the amphitheatre not only had the benefit of being the site most closely affiliated with the Arthur folklore told of Caerleon, but remaining at a single site meant that any respondents knew where they could find me if they wished to ask me any further questions. The final set of questions and their relation to the aims of this research are summarised in Table 3.1. The full set of responses is presented in Appendix D.

**Table 3.1. Questions asked to visitors and residents at the case study sites and their relation to the research questions. Question only asked at sites whose names contain 'Arthur' are indicated in parentheses. \*Question exempt from postal questionnaires †Multiple choice**

Question Number	Question	Relation to Research
1	Why did/do you visit this site?*†	Research Questions 1, 3, 5
(2a	Have you heard any tales about how or why this site has its name?)	Research Questions 3, 4, 5
2(b)	There have been tales connecting Arthur to this site – have you heard of any?	
3	What stories have you heard about this site?	
4	Where did you hear this?†	
5	Do you think tales of Arthur at this site should be promoted more?	Research Questions 1, 3, 5
6	Why?/Why not?†	
7	Do you consider Arthur to be any of the following...?† [identities]	Research Questions 2, 4, 5
8	Do you think <i>tales of Arthur</i> at this site are significant to the image, history and heritage of this country?	Research Questions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5
9	Do you consider <i>this site</i> to be significant to the image, history and heritage of this country?	
10	Do you consider this site to be part of <i>your</i> heritage?	
11	Why?/Why not?†	
12	Gender	Demographic information
13	Age	
14	Where were you born?	
15	Where is your normal place of residence?	
16	How would you describe your national identity?†	

### 3.6. Analysis

After collecting the data for this research, analysis and interpretation was undertaken by employing multiple methods. Historical folklore collections, which constitute a significant proportion of the data about each case study site, were analysed and interpreted according to strategies after Finnish folklorist Satu Apo (1992):

1. Contextualisation – broad cultural frame;
2. Social base – how structure of narrative corresponds to users;
3. Intertextualism – cross-referential to other folklore texts.

Thus, texts were analysed and interpreted according to their own contents, the contexts of their publication (both in terms of the publication itself and the broader historical situation), the social groups they were supposed to represent/be authored and published by/aimed at, and to any other narratives that may be contemporary or be a variant of that tale. This provided a historical overview of engagement and appropriation of these sites and their tales that could further help to understand such narratives today.

Since the primary data collected through questionnaires was predominantly quantitative, data were analysed using a Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) in order to determine frequencies of responses, frequency cross-tabulations and chi-squared ( $\chi^2$ ) tests. The purpose of a chi-squared test is to establish levels of confidence in the relationship between two variables, and values linked to increased statistical significance represent increased confidence in generalisation (Bryman, 2012:347-9). Thus, the statistical significance of a correlation coefficient generated from chi-squared tests between two variables, based on a randomly selected sample, suggests the likelihood that coefficient will be found in the rest of the population (Bryman, 2012:349), and so may be used here to infer more generally the observations and interpretations made of the sample to the broader social bases of this research.

The single open-ended question in the survey will be analysed with the assistance of computer-aided qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS), in this case, the programme Atlas.ti. CAQDAS tools assist in coding responses (Figure 3.5) and quantifying and connecting codes and, whilst the analysis and interpretation remains with the researcher, can help reinforce the rigour of qualitative data analysis (Seale, 2005:188-207). As well as attaching codes to responses, CAQDAS tools also allow the analyst to attach explanations, memos and interpretations to data or documents (Seale, 2005:205), thereby allowing for all observations and interpretations relevant to a specific response to be in one location.



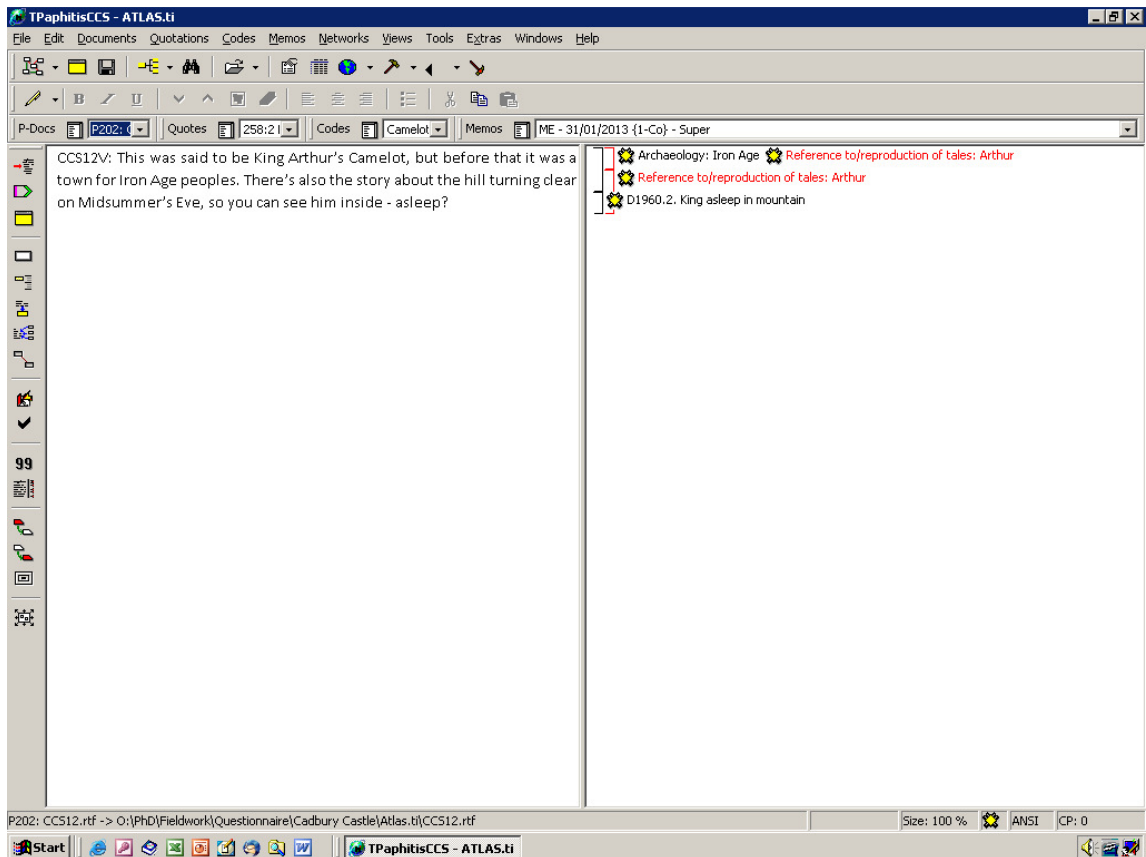


Figure 3.5. Screen-grab of coding in Atlas.ti

### 3.7. Conclusion

The current research, therefore, is multidisciplinary in both theoretical and methodological approaches, considering how various ways of collecting, analysing and interpreting data can aid in the collaboration between folklore and archaeology. We have seen in Chapter 2 that the theoretical approaches of each discipline to their materials as contextual, meaningful and interpretive are in harmony and are well-suited to not only being used in tandem, but amalgamated into a broader approach to landscape study. As such, a methodology appropriate to combining both disciplines and their data is developed here in order to fulfil the aims of examining and interpreting folklore in archaeological research, particularly in the fields of interpretive and public archaeology. Whilst sources and data here, as with all research, have their limitations, acknowledging and dealing with such limitations allows for a more rigorous approach to studying folklore and archaeology, which is often underdeveloped in this area. The methods presented here can thus form a basis from which other researchers can undertake investigations in this and similar fields.

## CHAPTER 4

### CAERLEON LEGIONARY FORTRESS & AMPHITHEATRE, NEWPORT, GWENT

#### 4.1. Introduction

The town of Caerleon, whose population numbers around 8700 people (Census 2011), lies in a valley by the River Usk, three miles north of the city of Newport (Figure 4.1). Its modern name is derived from the Welsh *Caer Legion*, ‘City of the Legion’, attesting to the strong Roman presence there. The Roman heritage of Caerleon has long been noted by medieval chroniclers, most notably Gerald of Wales in his *Journey through Wales* of 1188, and later by antiquarians and archaeologists. Roman finds at Caerleon have been recorded as early as 1603 (D.R. Evans and Metcalf, 1992:2), and with the establishment of Caerleon and Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association in 1847, the earliest archaeological excavations of Caerleon began in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century and have been frequent ever since (D.R. Evans and Metcalf, 1992:1). Interest in Roman Caerleon has therefore been intense for centuries, but Caerleon has a much more varied history than its Roman past, and it is interesting that legends of Arthur have developed here, in conjunction with the knowledge of the origins of its archaeological remains.

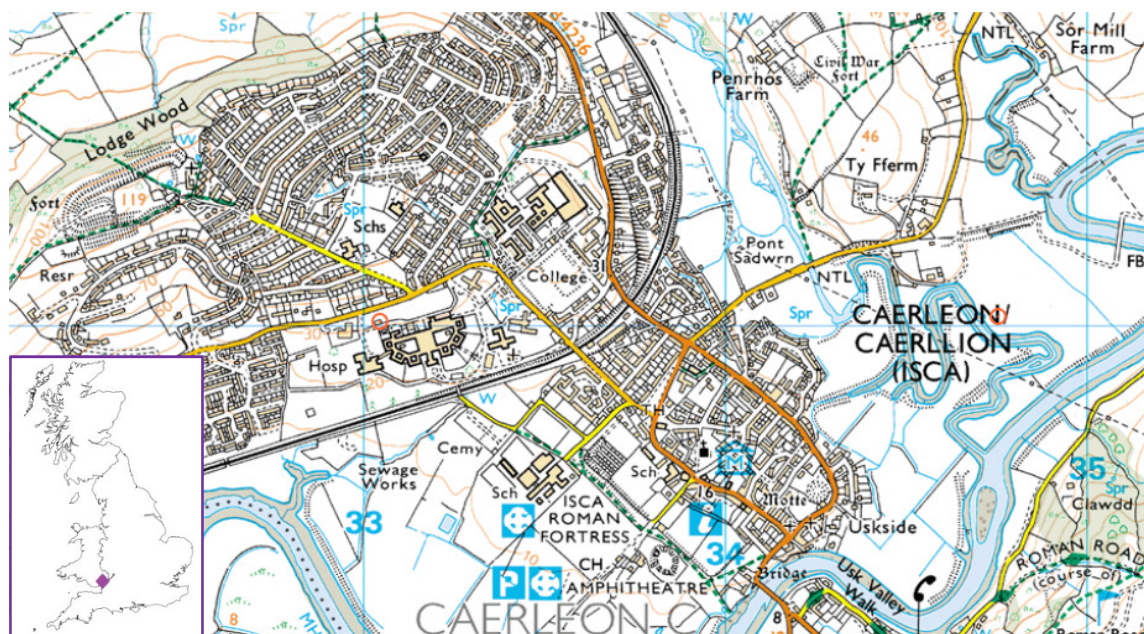


Figure 4.1. Map showing location and detail of Caerleon (Ordnance Survey)

The vicinity of Caerleon has a long history of habitation written across its landscape, with the Iron Age hill fort of Lodge Hill Camp (or Lodge Wood Camp) overlooking the town at

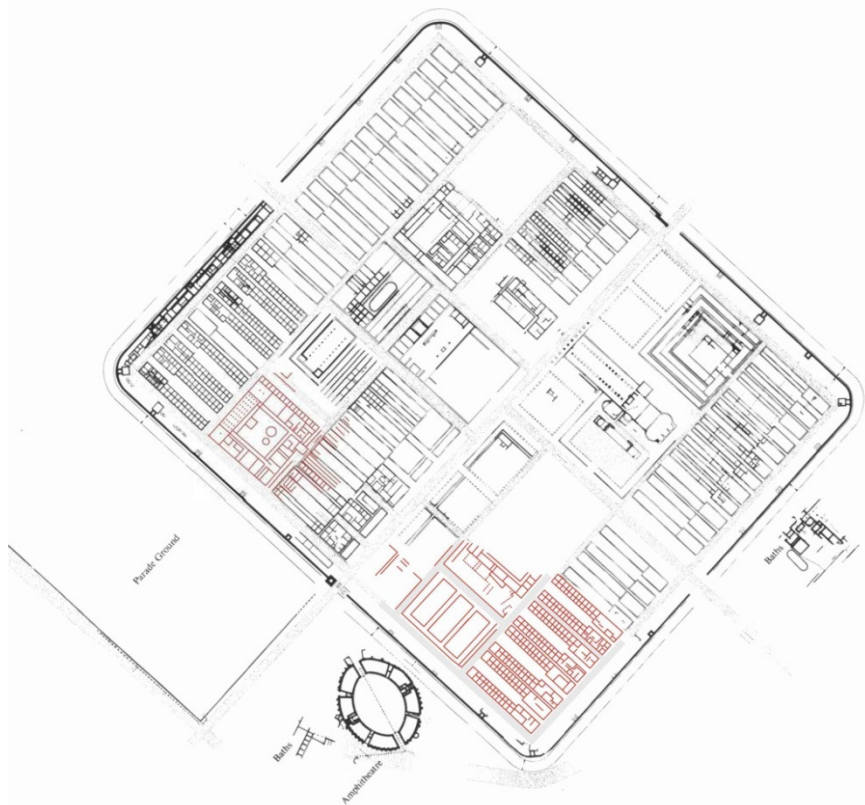
its north-western edge (Figure 4.2). The hill fort's triple-banked enclosure covers an area of around 2.2ha, and recent excavations have uncovered a series of construction and occupation levels from the early Iron Age, with a density of middle Iron Age materials and features pointing to this period as the most intense phase of occupation (R. Howell and Pollard, 2000:82-3, 2004:154). Lodge Hill, along with other hill forts along the Usk valley, is suggested to have played an instrumental role in the resistance of the local groups, the Silures, to the Roman invasion (Pollard et al, 2006:58).



**Figure 4.2. Aerial view of Lodge Hill Camp from the south (RCAHMW)**

The Romans eventually conquered Siluria after campaigns from the AD 50s onwards (see Manning 2004) and established one of the three permanent legionary fortresses in Britain (the others being at York and Chester) at what was to become Caerleon in around AD 75. With this, Lodge Hill Camp was brought into the *territorium* of the fortress (Pollard et al, 2006:57) and a period of abandonment of the hill fort could be approximated with the founding of the fortress (R. Howell and Pollard, 2000:83). Along with the establishment of the fortress at Caerleon in the mid-70s was the founding of the Roman market-town of Caerwent (*Venta Silurum*) eight miles east of the fortress (see Brewer, 2004:217-232). The fortress, named Isca by the Romans after the local name for the river (*Wsyg*), housed the Second Augustan Legion, and was in use for over 200 years. The fortress plan conforms to the standard playing card shape of Roman legionary fortresses (Figure 4.3), covering around 20.5ha of land (Manning, 2004:191). Legionary cemeteries for cremations and inhumations

have been located on the outskirts of the settlement: one south-east, two north-east and another north-west (Nash-Williams, 1940:25).



**Figure 4.3. Plan of the Roman fortress at Caerleon (Young, 2006: Figure 8)**

Construction of the amphitheatre (Figure 4.4) began in around AD 80 and was completed by the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century (Wheeler and Wheeler, 1931:10; Nash-Williams, 1940:23, Manning, 2004:197). The arena measures some 184ft by 136.5ft (Wheeler and Wheeler, 1931:6) and is estimated to have accommodated 6000 spectators (Nash-Williams, 1940:23). The amphitheatre provided a number of functions: as well as entertainment, it also served to train troops and stage religious ceremonies (Manning, 2004:198) (Figure 4.5). From around the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century, the amphitheatre and other buildings such as the *fabrica* fell into disuse, indicating a reduced garrison (Nash-Williams, 1940:13), with much of the amphitheatre in ruins by the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (Wheeler and Wheeler, 1931:11).



Figure 4.4. Aerial view of the amphitheatre, left (Cadw), and the amphitheatre from the ground, right

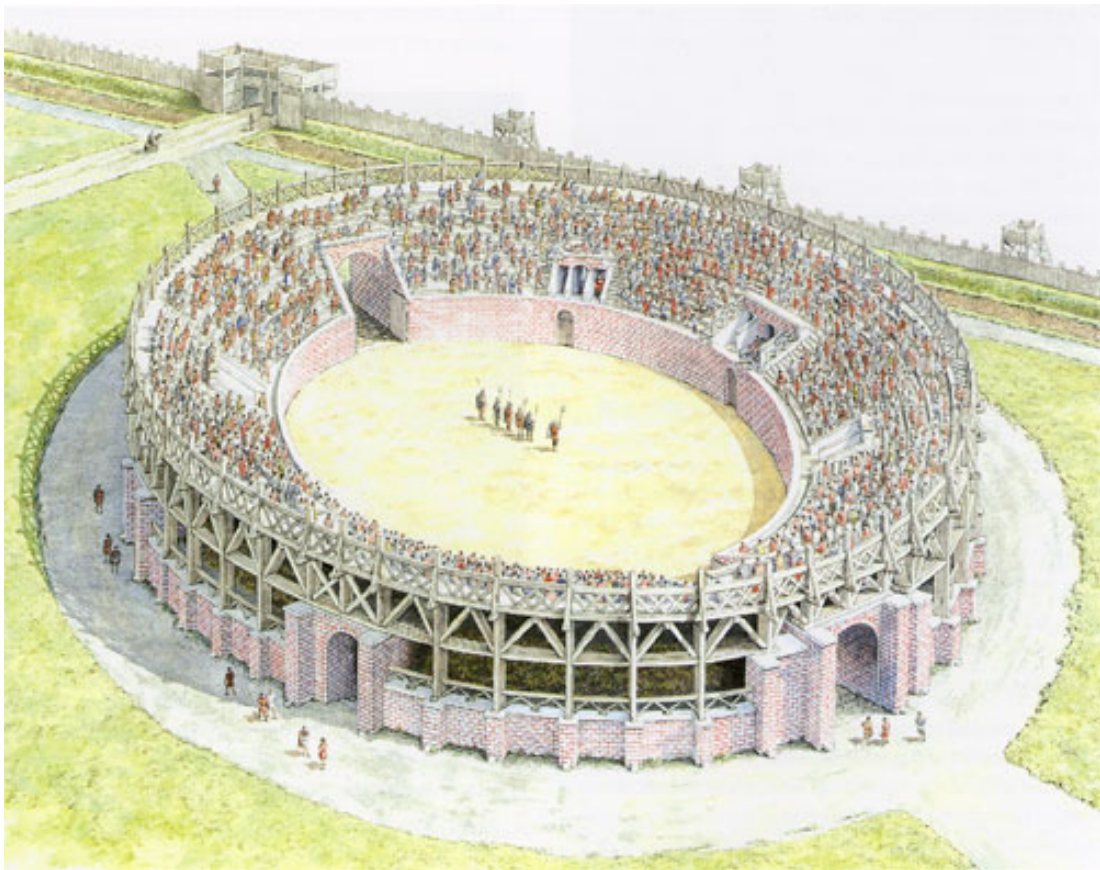


Figure 4.5. Artist's impression of the completed amphitheatre on the information board at the site (National Museums Wales)

Much of the garrison is thought to have withdrawn to Richborough in Kent during the early 4<sup>th</sup> century, marked by the demolition of many important buildings such as the *principia* and the hospital (Manning, 2004:200). Unlike the legionary fortresses at York and Chester, Caerleon did not develop into a city after the departure of the Romans (Pettifer, 2000:122). Late Roman activity at Caerleon is suggested to be 'civilian' in nature, although recent finds such as belt fixtures dating to this period have indicated that it may have been kept as a

'caretaker garrison' for a number of years (R. Howell, 2004:254). Evidence such as post-holes packed with late Roman pottery from recent excavations of Lodge Hill Camp suggests a reoccupation of the hill fort during the later-/sub-Roman period, fitting in with a general pattern of the reuse or continued occupation of hill forts in late- and post-Roman south Wales (R. Howell and Pollard 2000; R. Howell, 2004:250). Round-ended buildings, suggested to be of the late 4<sup>th</sup> century, have been uncovered at the Roman Gates site within Caerleon itself, along with a potential late 7<sup>th</sup>/early 8<sup>th</sup> century burial (D.R. Evans and Metcalf, 1992:75). It has further been suggested the erection of vernacular buildings at Caerleon during the early medieval period point to an increased population (D.R. Evans and Metcalf, 1992:75). More recent excavations suggest further early to later medieval construction phases in and around the ruined or demolished fortress warehouse (located in Priory Field), pointing to agricultural activity here at this time (Gardner and Guest, 2008/9:49-50).

The parish church of St. Cadoc was established in the centre of the ruined fortress over the *principia* (Wheeler and Wheeler, 1931:4; R. Howell, 2004:254). Although little evidence survives as to its original foundation, it has been suggested that there may have been a church on this site from as early as the 6<sup>th</sup> century, due to its dedication to a saint of that period and because of its location, and has had successive rebuilding works, with elements surviving from the 12<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, being finally rebuilt in 1867 (Kennerley 1981). The early Christian identity of Caerleon is asserted by Gildas in his *De Excidio* (c.540) to have reached back into the early 4<sup>th</sup> century with the martyrdom of Julius and Aaron at Caerleon as two of the three protomartyrdoms in Britain (R. Howell, 2004:259), resulting in the construction of the *martyrium* of those saints across the river from the fortress on the road to Caerwent (Knight, 2004:274).

Excavators of the amphitheatre in the 1920s (Figure 4.6), which had been silted up almost to capacity over the centuries, deduced that there was little medieval activity at that structure, with the exception of stone-robbers and visitors 'depositing' coins (Wheeler and Wheeler, 1931:11-12). However, the aim of those excavations was focused on the uncovering of Roman material, and therefore the excavation strategy may have missed information relating to medieval activity in the amphitheatre. A more intense medieval presence at the amphitheatre presents a possibility given the early medieval activity noted above, but such evidence is almost entirely lost.



**Figure 4.6. The excavation of the amphitheatre in the 1920s (Wheeler and Wheeler, 1928: Figure 2)**

With many elements of the Roman fortress falling into ruin or disuse, building material could be reclaimed in abundance. Tim Eaton (2000:138) has suggested that the Norman keep at Chepstow, founded soon after the Norman conquest of England, was built from stone retrieved from the fortress at Caerleon, noting that it would be “apt that the Normans should construct their first permanent military stronghold in Wales using stone from ‘the ancient City of the Legions’”, in an evocation of Roman military power. With the Norman advance into Wales, a motte and bailey castle was constructed by Turstin FitzRolf (Pettifer, 2000:122) outside the eastern corner of the fortress at Caerleon, with the motte built against the Roman rampart (Pounds, 1990:17). The exact date for the founding of the castle is not known, but was before 1086, when it is noted in Domesday with associated castlery (Pounds, 1990:39; Whittle, 1992:86; Pettifer, 2000:122). There is no strong evidence that a town existed at Caerleon at this time, but a growing settlement may have increased with the building of the castle (Hopkins, 2008:115). The foundation of a ‘strongpoint’ at Caerleon reinforced Norman control of the River Usk, being both strategically and economically important (Courtney, 2008:49), and the castle here exemplifies the westernmost extent of Norman authority in the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Davies, 2004:347). The construction of Caerleon Castle also employed stone from the Roman fortress (Whittle, 1992:191, 194), but as with the keep at Chepstow we can only speculate the significance of this beyond mere pragmatism,

although the connotation of the use of the Roman stone may not have been lost even if primary motivation for its use was practical. Local resistance to Anglo-Norman supremacy was manifest by the early 12<sup>th</sup> century during the Anarchy, leading to a period of occupation of the castle by the Welsh only to be reclaimed by Henry II (Pettifer, 2000:122). It was again captured by Welsh princes in 1173 and held by them until 1217 (Hopkins, 2008:116).

With the rebuilding of Newport Castle in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the castle at Caerleon fell into disrepair (Pettifer, 2000:122), although was still enough of a strategic vantage point for it to be taken during the Welsh Revolt led by Owain Glyndŵr in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Adam of Usk, 1997 [1377-1421]:160/1; see below). It had totally collapsed by the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and later the motte and its surrounds became private property, with the motte being retained as a garden feature (Pettifer, 2000:123) for the newly-constructed Castle Villa, later Mynde (“mound”) House. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century Chartist Uprising, the then-owner of the House, John Jenkins, erected a huge wall around the land to keep demonstrators out; this wall, now known as the ‘Mynde Wall’, still stands today (Figure 4.7). The tower of the castle, added in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, is what predominantly remains of it today (Figure 4.8), along with the tree-covered enclosed mynde/motte (Figure 4.9).



Figure 4.7. Plaque on the Mynde Wall





Figure 4.8. The remaining 13<sup>th</sup> century tower of Caerleon castle (Wikimedia Commons)



Figure 4.9. Aerial view of the motte from the east (RCAHMW)

#### 4.2. The Development of the Legend

The first attributable reference to ‘Arthur’ at Caerleon comes at the time of Welsh and Anglo-Norman conflict in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, in Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia Regum Britannie*, generating the legend that would be subsequently incorporated into local topographic folklore and more ‘national’ legendary romance. It has been suggested that it is unlikely that Arthur was associated with Caerleon before Geoffrey of Monmouth’s narrative (Knight, 2001:47; Wood, 2004:319), although, of course, it is uncertain whether or not the connection was made in oral narratives prior to Geoffrey. Caerleon is thus unusual in this regard in that legends associated with Arthur can be traced back to a reference point in time and ascription to a particular author. Here Arthur, described as courageous, generous, good and just, is crowned King of the Britons in the City of the Legions after his father Uther Pendragon’s death, claiming, “by rightful inheritance... the kingship of the whole island” (Geoffrey of Monmouth, 1966:212; Appendix C:2).

Geoffrey’s narrative details the deeds of Arthur across Britain, particularly in the fight against the incoming Saxons, making use of the earlier *Historia Brittonum* ‘Battle-List’ and often providing precise locations of these battles. Through *Historia Regum Britannie*, Arthur is transformed from the Celtic or British warlord that we see in earlier writings (Y

*Gododdin, Historia Brittonum*) into a civilised British king (Wood, 2004:319) – a more suitable hero for a now Norman-ruled Britain in the assertion of Welsh lordship (R. Howell, 2000:392), and a progenitor of the chivalrous king we see today. Geoffrey's *Historia* describes Caerleon thus:

Situated as it is in Glamorganshire, on the River Usk, not far from the Severn Sea, in a most pleasant position, and being richer in material wealth than other townships, this city was eminently suitable for such a ceremony [for Whitsun]. The river which I have named flowed by it on one side, and up this the kings and princes who were to come from across the sea could be carried in a fleet of ships. On the other side, which was flanked by meadows and wooded groves, they had adorned the city with royal palaces, and by the gold-painted gables it was a match for Rome. What is more, it was famous for its two churches [dedicated to Julius and Aaron]... The city also contained a college of two hundred learned men, who were skilled in astronomy and the other arts, and who watched with great attention the courses of the stars and so by their careful computations prophesied for King Arthur any prodigies due at that time.

(Geoffrey of Monmouth, 1966:226-7)

Decades later, this description is reproduced by Gerald of Wales (1978:114-5; Appendix C:3). Caerleon is thus considered a place of great wealth and civility, rooted in its Roman ancestry. The perceived nobility, stability and sophistication of the Roman heritage of Caerleon made it an ideal place to 'civilise' the popular figure of Arthur (Wood, 2004:319). In the *Historia*, Caerleon is described as being a match for Rome in its grandeur, sophistication and civilisation, as befitting a medieval king, whilst Geoffrey's account describes how Arthur's exploits attracted the displeasure of Rome, documented in a letter he receives at the same celebration (Geoffrey of Monmouth, 1966:230-1; Appendix C:4).

Arthur, after taking counsel with his men, rejects the order of Rome to present himself at that city for punishment, and dispatches messengers to inform the Emperors that he intends to march on Rome to receive "what they had decreed in their own judicial sentence that they would demand from him" (Geoffrey of Monmouth, 1966:236). Simultaneously, then, Caerleon is used to transform the figure of Arthur into an appropriate British hero, historicize Arthur by situating him at a real and important location, establish his nobility and civility through a link with the Romano-British past, whilst all the while spurning the necessity for Roman rule in the very place the Empire established its authority through military and civilian presence.

Arthur's association with Caerleon is further developed and strengthened in the *Mabinogion*, in which Caerleon on Usk ('Caerllion ar Wysg') is frequently described in the

‘three romances’ as Arthur’s principle ‘court’, at which he receives distinguished characters and provides a royal, religious and practical base for Arthur (Appendix C:5). In these romances, Arthur is described as an ‘emperor’, or a kind of overlord, who undertakes all the usual customs of Anglo-Norman kings at the time. Caerleon itself is not described in great detail, but has the hallmarks of a civilised and wealthy court:

The emperor Arthur was at Caerllion ar Wysg. He was sitting one day in his chamber, and with him Owain son of Urien, and Cynon son of Clydno, and Cai son of Cynyr, and Gwenhwyfar and her handmaidens sewing at a window... Glewlwyd Gafaelfawr was there in the role of gatekeeper, to welcome guests and travellers, to begin honouring them, and let them know the court’s conventions and customs... And in the middle of the chamber sat the emperor Arthur on a pile of fresh rushes, and a mantle of yellow-red brocaded silk beneath him, and a cushion with its cover of red brocaded silk under his elbow.

(‘The Lady of the Well’, S. Davies, 2007:116)

Despite the magical/fantastical nature of the tales of the *Mabinogion*, Caerleon is always represented as stable and sophisticated, providing “a centre-point for the familiar from which characters depart in order to enter a strange, sometimes magical and sometimes hostile, foreign world” (Wood, 2004:321; see also outlaw legends noted in Chapter 2.5):

Arthur was in Caerllion ar Wysg, and he went to hunt, and Peredur with him. And Peredur let his dog loose on a stag, and the dog killed the stag in a deserted place. Some distance away he could see signs of a dwelling, and he approached the dwelling.

(‘Peredur son of Efrog’, S. Davies, 2007:86)

Thus follows another adventure of the eponymous hero, in a wild and magical land outside the bounds of the order of Caerleon. So, whilst Caerleon is a bounded, familiar place, characters enter a magical landscape when they leave the security of the ‘city’, where it plays a dynamic role in the action of the romances in what Juliette Wood (2004:318-9) calls ‘metaphorical topography’. In this way, the Roman and Welsh, British and Norman worlds meet and, through these associations, the landscape of Gwent is “made numinous” (Wood, 2004:318) by the presence of Arthur and his heroic deeds. Thus, there is a reciprocal relationship between Arthur and Caerleon: Arthur transforms Caerleon into a ‘legendary’ place, whilst Caerleon transforms Arthur into a ‘civilised’ king, echoing, with a Welsh tone, Caerleon and Arthur of Geoffrey’s chivalric narrative, and Chrétien de Troyes’s romances (S. Davies, 2007:xi).

These tales did not remain confined to the narratives of elite history and high romance, but were reproduced and modified by the local community, and appropriated by others.

Through the centuries, the Galfridian association of Arthur with Caerleon has been exploited by a number of political and literary figures, as well as historians ‘searching’ for a ‘real’ Arthur. The most potent example of the political appropriation of the Galfridian legend at Caerleon is represented by the campaign of Owain Glyndŵr, who led the Last Welsh Revolt against the English, 1400-1415. Glyndŵr’s uprising was the result of growing tensions with the conquest of Wales by Edward I, his castle-building agenda, imposition of heavy taxes and exclusion of the Welsh from positions of governance, and the following increase in taxes levied by Henry IV on his accession in 1399 (see Lloyd 1931; Davies 1995; Henken 1996; Adam of Usk 1997 [1377-1421]). Glyndŵr’s supporters pronounced him Prince of Wales on 16 September 1400, after which he mounted a number of attacks on English nobles across Wales and the borders. Glyndŵr claimed successive victories until 1406, and then suffered subsequent defeats. In 1415, Henry V offered a pardon to Glyndŵr and his supporters in exchange for their submission. This was rejected, and Glyndŵr was heard of no more, his fate unknown.

Owain Glyndŵr’s portrayal as *y mab darogan* (‘son of prophecy’), both during and beyond his lifetime, has been extensively examined by Elissa Henken (1996), who has demonstrated that he fits into a wider Welsh tradition of redeemer-heroes alongside Hiriell, Cynan, Cadwaladr, Owain Lawgoch and, especially, Arthur. The redeemer-hero typically has not died (A570) but will one day return to aid his people in their hour of need (A580). In the meantime, he often sleeps inside a hollow hill or mountain (A571 and D1960.2). During his lifetime, Glyndŵr subscribed to the propaganda of his redeeming the Welsh, with letters of burgesses of Caerleon, “the very seat of Arthur’s court”, sharing news of the revolt and of Owain’s sending for a renowned interpreter of prophecy (R.R. Davies, 1995:159-60), whilst his ‘disappearance’ only served to underscore his legendary status and expected return.

During his campaign, Glyndŵr allied himself closely with notions of his being Arthur’s successor as the *mab darogan*, and how this gave him and his people sovereignty over Wales. In a letter intended for the Scottish king (which never reached Scotland), Glyndŵr appealed for assistance against their “common enemy”, and cited the Arthurian legend as represented by Geoffrey as indicative of common Scottish and Welsh heritage (Wood, 2005:9). Glyndŵr subsequently wrote to Charles VI of France “pour aller secourir les Gallois contre les Anglois” (Buchon, 1836:28), requesting “des hommes et des armes aux Français, qu’il regardait comme la plus brave des toutes les nations” (Bellaguet, 1841:165). Contemporary French chronicles describe that Glyndŵr cited “l’exemple du fameux écuyer Yvain de Galles, mort au service du feu roi Charles et auquel il avait succedé par droit d’héritage” (Bellaguet, 1841:165), underscoring the reciprocal aid given by the Welsh in

French wars against the English – in this case, Owain Lawgoch’s fighting (and dying) for the French in the Hundred Years’ War. Such chronicles further record that, after meeting Glyndŵr at Tenby, French and Welsh forces camped “à la Table Ronde” at Caerleon (Buchon, 1836:28). The seizing of Caerleon, then, was both militarily and ideologically strategic, since the camping of joint Welsh and French forces in the Round Table simultaneously brought the two together in a united heritage, and underscored Glyndŵr’s status as the ‘second Arthur’, and thus legitimate inheritor of the Welsh throne. In this way, Caerleon and its folklore play to the broader socio-political context of English-Welsh conflicts and of identity-construction in later medieval Europe.

References to Caerleon during the early modern and modern periods often note legends of Arthur alongside descriptions of the town’s Roman history. Camden (1586) refers to Gerald of Wales’s description of Caerleon as both a garrison of the Romans and the seat of Arthur. Such accounts, and others (for example, Antoninus 1799; Anon 1908) find little conflict in the presentation of both these aspects of the site’s past, even when not necessarily presenting the Arthur legend as ‘fact’, emphasising the importance of the Roman remains:

Caerleon is beautifully situated in a vale, upon the banks of the Usk, over which it has a wooden bridge. It is a town of great antiquity, and was called Isca by the Romans, who made it a station for the second legion. It was in those days grand and flourishing, but it is now a place of little or no importance. The remains of the old fortifications are very inconsiderable; the knoll, upon which the castle formerly stood, still remains. – King Arthur’s round table, as it is called, is in an enclosed field, and was formerly much deeper; it is in the form of a basin, and it is in fact only a circular excavation in the earth, smoothly and gradually descending into a broad point. – But Caerleon is a desirable object of visitation, principally on account of the Roman antiquities...

(Shephard, 1799:933-4)

Caerleon, as Arthur’s court, is frequently referred to in early modern literary compositions, such as Drayton’s *Poly-Olbion* (1612), which presents an idealised national mythology (R. Simpson, 1990:57-8), without having visited the site itself. Thomas Churchyard’s *The Worthies of Wales* (1587) in particular expresses the ‘stateliness’ of Caerleon through the connection between its Roman remains and Arthur. Churchyard’s main motivation in composing his *Worthies* was to make much of Elizabeth I’s Welsh – and Arthurian – ancestry (Knight, 2001:49-50), and here Caerleon provides a material basis for this link (see also Chapter 6.3.1). The literary reputation and representation of Caerleon is thus nationalised through the particular historical and folk narratives pertaining to Arthur, as well as its impressive Roman remains. This is not to say that all visitors to Caerleon

appreciated such folklore as fitting comfortably with the archaeology of the site, as seen in the following 19<sup>th</sup> century commentary:

The amphitheatre is called, very absurdly, Arthur's Round Table, as whatever may be the claims of King Arthur to reality, it is very certain that this work, like that at Dorchester, is Roman and not British.

(Bevan 1866)

So begins the perceived rivalry between Roman and Arthurian Caerleon often expressed by writers (Knight, 2001:47). Rejection of Arthur narratives on the basis of their opposition to archaeological histories may reflect the general decline in the popularity of Arthur in scholarly and elite writings at the time (Chapter 1.3.2; although see below), preferring to focus on other 'heritages' of Britain, which, nonetheless, illustrates the continued popularity of the tale among local people. Alternatively, however, the above objection to the name applied to the amphitheatre at Caerleon may illustrate the shift in the undertaking of archaeology as a professional discipline, where incongruous tales were rejected in light of scrutinised remains, a result of the shift to source-based national history writing (Marsden 2011:314). Nonetheless, as Roger Simpson (1990) has demonstrated, early 19<sup>th</sup> century histories of the Anglo-Saxons/English/British still include a continuing allusion to Arthur's historicity (see R. Simpson, 1990:7-9), with Caerleon frequently referred to as his seat. Caerleon is also an attraction of a number of 19<sup>th</sup> century tours of travel writers as both an Arthurian location and an impressive Roman site: thus, although not the primary intention of such writings, Caerleon's representation in this way alludes to the presence of Arthur (or at least folklore about him) in the wider British landscape (R. Simpson, 1990:65).

These writings, whether refuting the legend outright or presenting it as a feature of the town, frequently refer to what was to become the most popular local reference to the legend: the amphitheatre as 'Arthur's Round Table' (Figure 4.10), a name included on Ordnance Survey maps until the 1920s (Figure 4.11). This can be seen to have been the result of the amalgamation of Geoffrey's assertion that Caerleon was Arthur's court and of Arthur taking council with his men there, the circulation of later features of the Arthurian legend (the Round Table) found in French romance, and direct engagement with the local topography.



KING ARTHUR'S ROUND TABLE.

Figure 4.10. 1861 print depicting 'King Arthur's Round Table' (<http://www.caerleon.net>)

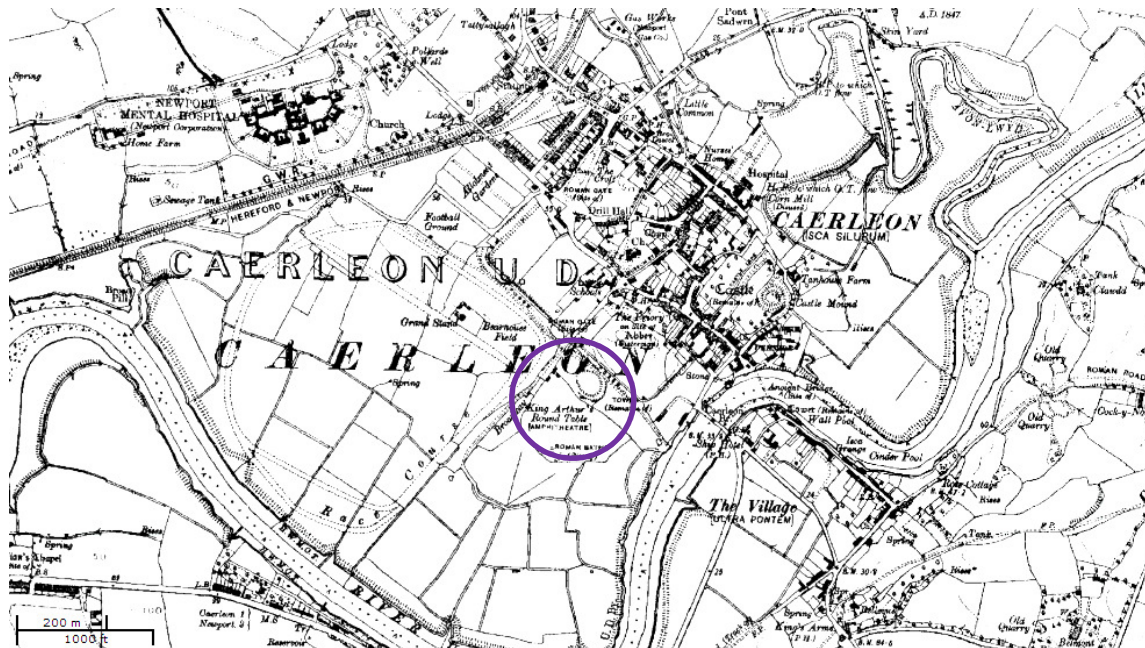


Figure 4.11. Detail of 1922 Ordnance Survey map of Caerleon labelling the amphitheatre as 'King Arthur's Round Table [AMPHITHEATRE]' (<http://digimap.edina.ac.uk/>)



Although the emphasis on Caerleon's connection to Arthur is frequently on his representation as a historical figure, Caerleon is also presented as a fairyland in early 19<sup>th</sup> century literary romances, such as Finlay's *Wallace* (1802) through the depiction of Arthur as a fairy king (R. Simpson, 1990:149). Again, many of these writers did not visit Caerleon themselves, but drew on extant folklore and other narratives to disseminate the heritage of Caerleon to a broader audience.

The most famous literary encounter at Caerleon, however, is the visit made by Alfred, Lord Tennyson in September 1856 in order to "gain local colour" (Anon, 1892:283) for the composition of his epic narrative poem *Idylls of the King* (1859-1885). Tennyson stayed at the Hanbury Arms, where a plaque beside the so-called 'Tennyson Window' today commemorates the event (Figure 4.12). That the Poet Laureate stayed in Caerleon rather than simply writing about it demonstrates that, despite the legend of the site being well-known and circulated at the time, the connection between place and legend is one ideally directly experienced, since the materiality of the location serves to substantiate the legend, without necessarily giving it historical credence. This is also expressed the other way, as Walter (1907:451) comments that the name of Arthur, "releases the city from its spell of slumber and ruin and fashions it again in splendour". Thus, the legends give life to the site, and the site gives life to the legends, giving Caerleon its unique sense of place.

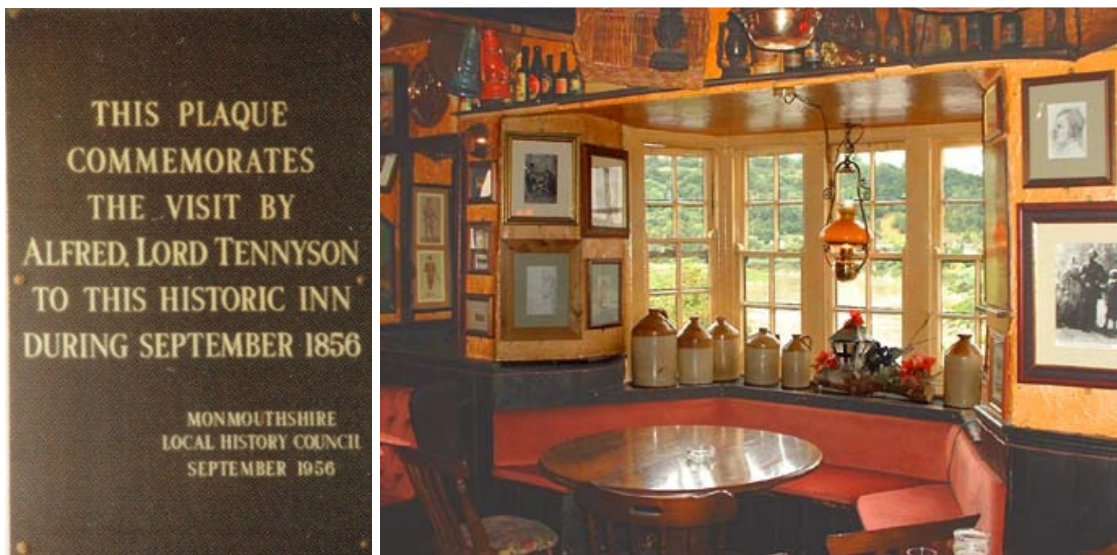


Figure 4.12. Plaque commemorating the stay of Alfred, Lord Tennyson at the Hanbury Arms, Caerleon, left (Barber 2010), and the so-called 'Tennyson Window', right (<http://www.caerleon.net>)

Tennyson's aim in composing his *Idylls* was, as related in his dedication of the work to Queen Victoria, to present Arthur as,

Ideal manhood closed in real man,  
Rather than that gray king, whose name, a ghost,  
Streams like a cloud, man-shaped, from mountain peak,  
And cleaves to cairn and cromlech still; or him  
Of Geoffrey's book, or him of Malleor's, one  
Touch'd by the adulterous finger of a time  
That hover'd between war and wantonness...

('To the Queen', Tennyson, 1996:302, ll.38-44)

Arthur is thus recast as a model of Victorian ideals of manhood and kingship, and this embodiment required grounding in the appropriate location; throughout the narrative cycle Caerleon frequently fulfils this purpose. Again, then, Caerleon's sophisticated archaeological remains and majestic setting upon the Usk lends itself to contemporary idealised representations of Arthur, not only demonstrating the malleability of the folk figure, but also of the archaeological remains, being a seemingly appropriate medievaesque setting according to the Pre-Raphaelite sensibility.

Tennyson's physical engagement with Caerleon, through sitting for hours on the Mynde and on the mosaic floor in the basement of the Museum, and at the window of the Hanbury Arms overlooking the Usk, as well as walking in the local landscape (Knight, 2001:53), reinforces this sense of place, translocated into a literary composition and establishing Caerleon as "the enchanted capital of the kingdom called Romance" (Walters, 1907:451). Furthermore, the poet's presence at Caerleon not only fortified the connection between Arthurian narratives and the town, but also made it a "literary Mecca", with the Hanbury Arms becoming a tourist attraction, where admirers of the poet would visit his bedroom there (Anon, 1892:283). Through its folklore, then, the Roman remains of Caerleon are drawn into a broader literary heritage: Caerleon, therefore, is part of the larger literary revival in Arthurian literature in 19<sup>th</sup> century Britain. Whilst emphasis is often on Malory as the source of Tennyson's Arthur, who was a major influence on the poet and on the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (R. Simpson, 1990:2), Roger Simpson (1990) has shown that a myriad of sources, such as Geoffrey of Monmouth, other pseudo-histories, and topographic traditions contributed to the Arthurian Renaissance in 19<sup>th</sup> century literature, in which Caerleon played a major role.

Popular local tales of Caerleon as 'Camelot' or Arthur's court are thus found through centuries subsequent to Geoffrey's narrative, even in the face of the declining popularity of Arthur, and contributing to his resurgence. Over time narratives associating Caerleon with

Arthur's court extended to further local elaborations, particularly tales of him being buried in the Mynde, or, more often, asleep until his return is necessary (A580, D1960.2) (Aubrey 1663-93; Glennie 1869; Rhŷs 1891; Wheeler 1925; Alcock 1971a; Alcock 1972; Fairbairn 1983; Henken 1996; Knight 2001; Pryor 2004; Green 2009). Such tales typically arose during the years of Arthur's declining status in elite narratives, demonstrating the continued local popularity of the legend, and its combination with popular folk motifs, grounded in local features. Furthermore, street names, such as 'Arthur Street' and 'Camelot Court', also attest to the legends' infiltration into local naming practices, alongside Roman-inspired names as 'Roman Gates', 'Centurion Gate' and 'Cold Bath Road'.

### **4.3. Caerleon Today**

Caerleon is a popular tourist attraction today, hosting approximately 70,000 visitors per year, 28,000 of which are formal education groups (National Museums Wales, n.d.<sup>a</sup>). Public engagement strategies at recent excavations (UCL/Cardiff 2007-2010, Cardiff 2011) through the production of a website hosted by the Council for British Archaeology Community Archaeology Forum, twice-daily tours and special events (Gardner and Guest, 2008/9:50) have also attracted a vast number of visitors to Caerleon, promoting the archaeological heritage of the town (Figure 4.13). Visitors can experience the remains of the fortress and associated buildings, including the walls, barracks, baths and the amphitheatre. The amphitheatre is the most complete in Britain, and is still used for public events, including the annual Roman Military Spectacular with re-enactments, concerts and plays. A Shakespearian production is staged in the amphitheatre every year (Figure 4.14) as part of Caerleon's annual Arts Festival, with various events put on over a fortnight, and craft and information stalls held in the field adjacent to the amphitheatre on the final weekend of the festival.



Figure 4.13. Public engagement at excavations in Priory Field, Caerleon (<http://www.britarch.ac.uk/caf/>)



Figure 4.14. Advertisements for the annual Shakespearean play in the amphitheatre and the annual Caerleon festival 2011

The Museum of Wales Roman Legion Museum is located in Caerleon (Figure 4.15), and visitors can further experience Caerleon's medieval and later history at what remains of the castle and Mynde Wall. The Mynde itself is enclosed within the Wall on private grounds, and thus inaccessible to the public today. The Ffwrrwm – a cobbled courtyard of shops and Celtic, Roman, Arthurian and Romantic-inspired sculptures (Figures 4.16 and 4.17) – is also popular with visitors, and is a distinctive feature of the town. It is in this place that the

Arthurian legends of Caerleon are most manifest. Information boards at archaeological sites around the town do not make reference to the legend of Arthur, any subsequent folktales, or even Caerleon's role in the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, *The Journey Through Wales* or the *Mabinogion* generally; although the Hanbury Arms has a small information panel about the legend and its literary connections. In 2010 the Roman Legion Museum displayed a temporary exhibition about the history of Arthur and his association with Caerleon (Figure 4.18). The centrepiece of the exhibition was a dramatized video enacting the major events in Arthurian legend, shown alongside information on the genesis of the association of Arthur with Caerleon, predominantly its Galfridian origins. The exhibition was created to tie-in with a special Arthur-themed event held in the amphitheatre as part of the Museum's annual Spectacular (National Museums Wales 2010).



**Figure 4.15. National Museum Wales Roman Legion Museum, Caerleon (National Museums Wales)**



Figure 4.16. The Ffwrrwm, Caerleon



Figure 4.17. Plaque outside the Ffwrwm describing Caerleon as 'Camelot'



Figure 4.18. 'Arthur: The Quest Continues' leaflet, left; Arthur exhibition centrepiece in the Roman Legion Museum, right

Fieldwork was conducted at Caerleon during the summer of 2011 for a one-week period. As noted in Chapter 3.5, the purpose of the trip was to undertake a pilot study and to gather primary data, with the questionnaire and survey strategies modified during the course of

the trip; however, data collected as part of the pilot was useable and a second visit was unnecessary.

In total, 70 face-to-face surveys with visitors to the site were completed; 10 individuals approached refused to complete the questionnaire. Reasons given for this were language barriers and time restraints, and two individuals had no interest in taking part. Of the 100 postal questionnaires that were sent to residents of Caerleon a return rate of 26% was achieved. However, two of these were returned blank, with one of these respondents (CLF94R) commenting, “Sorry, unable to complete dont [sic] know enough about this subject”.

The total number of face-to-face and postal questionnaires was 96; 47.9% of these were male and 52.1% of these female, approximately reflecting both local and national frequencies (Office for National Statistics, n.d.<sup>a</sup>). The age categories most represented were the 55-64s (25.5%) and 65+ (24.5%). The ages recorded may be a reflection of both the typical ages of visitors to the site (excluding school groups) and residents of Caerleon. Table 4.1 illustrates the gender distribution according to residence, with no bias indicated ( $\chi^2= 1.661, p= 6.635, df= 1$ ); chi-squared tests cross-tabulating age and gender of this sample indicate that there is no bias across these categories ( $\chi^2= 5.185, p= 15.086, df= 5$ ).

**Table 4.1. Cross-tabulation of gender and residence within Caerleon sample**

			Residence		Total
			Not resident	Resident	
Gender	Male	Count	34	11	45
		% Residence	52.3%	37.9%	47.9%
	Female	Count	31	18	49
		% Residence	47.7%	62.1%	52.1%
Total		Count	65	29	94
		% Residence	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The majority of those who visited Caerleon (48.8%) did so because they had an interest in history/archaeology, indicating that it was the Roman aspect of Caerleon that attracted people to the site. Such a result was expected, because of the long history of association of Caerleon with the Romans, and because of the level of publicity accorded the Roman remains. Interest in the Roman remains of Caerleon is also reflected in answers to Question 3, ‘What stories have you heard about Caerleon?’ (below), where 39.6% related what they knew about the Roman history of Caerleon. Only one person in the sample (CLF35V) came because of an explicit interest in Arthur.



59.6% of those surveyed were aware of the association of Arthur with Caerleon, with 89.7% of residents aware of the tales compared to 46.2% of non-residents. Only 3 residents (10.3%) surveyed were unaware of the link; chi-squared tests show a strong relationship between knowing the tales and living in Caerleon ( $\chi^2 = 15.757$ ,  $p = 6.635$ ,  $df = 1$ ). There appears to be no particular age group ( $\chi^2 = 4.456$ ,  $p = 15.086$ ,  $df = 5$ ) or gender ( $\chi^2 = .006$ ,  $p = 6.635$ ,  $df = 1$ ) that has heard of the tales more.

Analysis of Question 3 ‘What stories have you heard about this site?’ shows that a number of tales and associated codes are attributed to Caerleon by this sample (Figure 4.19). Short tales, consistent with the communication of legends (Chapter 3), that briefly relate Arthur’s connection to the site contained recurring features and motifs:

It was rumoured that the Round Table was here; I think maybe because of this [gestures towards amphitheatre]. And there’s the castle as well, that has got the connection to King Arthur as well.

(CLF14RV)

Well, it was one of his strongholds; I think he used to summer here, or winter here, or something, or was one of the places he used strategically.

(CLF39V)

He’s supposed to have lived here, and I think I heard something about him being buried here, like in the big mound behind the wall, but didn’t somewhere else say that too? Well, it was interesting enough for Tennyson to come here, and maybe other people would too.

(CLF65RV)

That the Amphitheatre in Caerleon was the location of King Arthur’s Round table (or is thought to be by some people), and was apparently known to locals as “King Arthur’s Round table” for centuries. Some people also claim that Caerleon is “Camelot” where king arthur [sic] held court.

(CLF79R)

However, as can be seen in the response given by CLF39V, a number of elements that are not usually found in the tales are also related:

The Round Table being in the Mountain in the garden of the Mynde.

(CLF93R)

Associations with Avalon (E481.4.1) also arose:

That Caerleon is the site of Avalon – but then other places claim similar. That the knights of the Round Table came to Caerleon to sit in ‘court’.

(CLF76R)

In a number of responses, Arthur is associated with other places in Britain, whether in addition to Caerleon, or instead of:

... I wasn't aware of anything with Arthur [at Caerleon]; I mean north Wales, yes, but not here. You know, like in the Snowdonia mountain range, waiting for the call.  
(CLF6V)

The legend of Arthur at Caerleon is often incorporated into an overall history of the town:

Well, I know that there were the native Welsh here, who were then conquered by the Romans, and I then read something about Arthur in Wales after the Romans, but that his court was here – I guess he could reuse it if you thought he was here, but even if it's not true it's quite fun.  
(CLF63V)

After the Romans left, and they had the Dark Ages, King Arthur was supposed to rule here, and they say that this [points to amphitheatre] was King Arthur's Round Table. So they would have had all of Arthur's [pause] all in here, as the Table.  
(CLF19V)

In the latter response, the individual's pause may be interpreted as a reluctance to use the word 'knights' with reference to Arthur at Caerleon in the early medieval period; both these and other responses of the same kind illustrate an interesting aspect of the collision between archaeology and folklore at a particular place: attempts at the reconciliation of aspects of folklore with what is physically manifested in archaeology. In one instance this is developed further into personal research of what would be termed the 'alternative archaeology' kind:

This is where Arthur had his stronghold, holding meetings in the amphitheatre, which is why it became to be known as his Round Table. And, er, well you can see this by dowsing [mimics dowsing action], dowsing is very good for detecting steel, which of course is all part of Arthur [swashing action]. So dowsing in the amphitheatre produces excellent results, and verifies Arthur's presence there.  
(CLF35V)

The allusion to steel as being "all part of Arthur" suggests a reference to Arthur's famous sword Excalibur, linking the specific tales of Arthur at Caerleon to the broader Arthurian cycle.

We have seen that, in a number of cases, references to folktales of Arthur are placed in a wider history of Caerleon. Where respondents were unaware of the link with Arthur, they often related tales about the Romans in Caerleon, often referring to the 'civilising' of the

area as a result of their presence, possibly due to both the extent of their remains and the popular image of ‘the Romans’:

I’ve heard about the Romans being here, and read about all they did, and civilised the place, and left it all behind, and their technology behind.

(CLF9V)

I’ve heard the Romans coming here, this far west, and civilising the locals, and this [gestures towards amphitheatre] is what they left behind.

(CLF53V)

The Romans built loads of stuff here, and when they left the Normans came. There was something else about the wall later on, but I can’t remember what that’s about. That can’t really have much to do with Arthur.

(CLF64V)

The latter of these comments, contrary those above attempting to reconcile remains, demonstrates an uncertainty of how the legend can be related to the archaeology of Caerleon, possibly owing to their conspicuous nature and overt ‘Roman-ness’. Other respondents (4) rejected the tales outright on these grounds, with one referring to the falsity of the Arthurian legend as a whole. However, expressions of interest and positive attitudes towards the tales can be seen in a number of responses from both those who had not heard of the tales and those who had:

Would be nice to hear more about this place. I only heard things about the Romans coming here, and settling, and building, but Arthur, hadn’t heard of that. That’s a fascinating thing, though, to claim.

(CLF28V)

We came here because of the Romans, really. We heard there was [sic] lots of remains here. Didn’t hear about Arthur, but that’s quite interesting.

(CLF67V)

King Arthur spent time I think at Chepstow Castle and also held courts at Caerleon, many stories that are understated as far as the history of Caerleon and Wales.

(CLF88R)

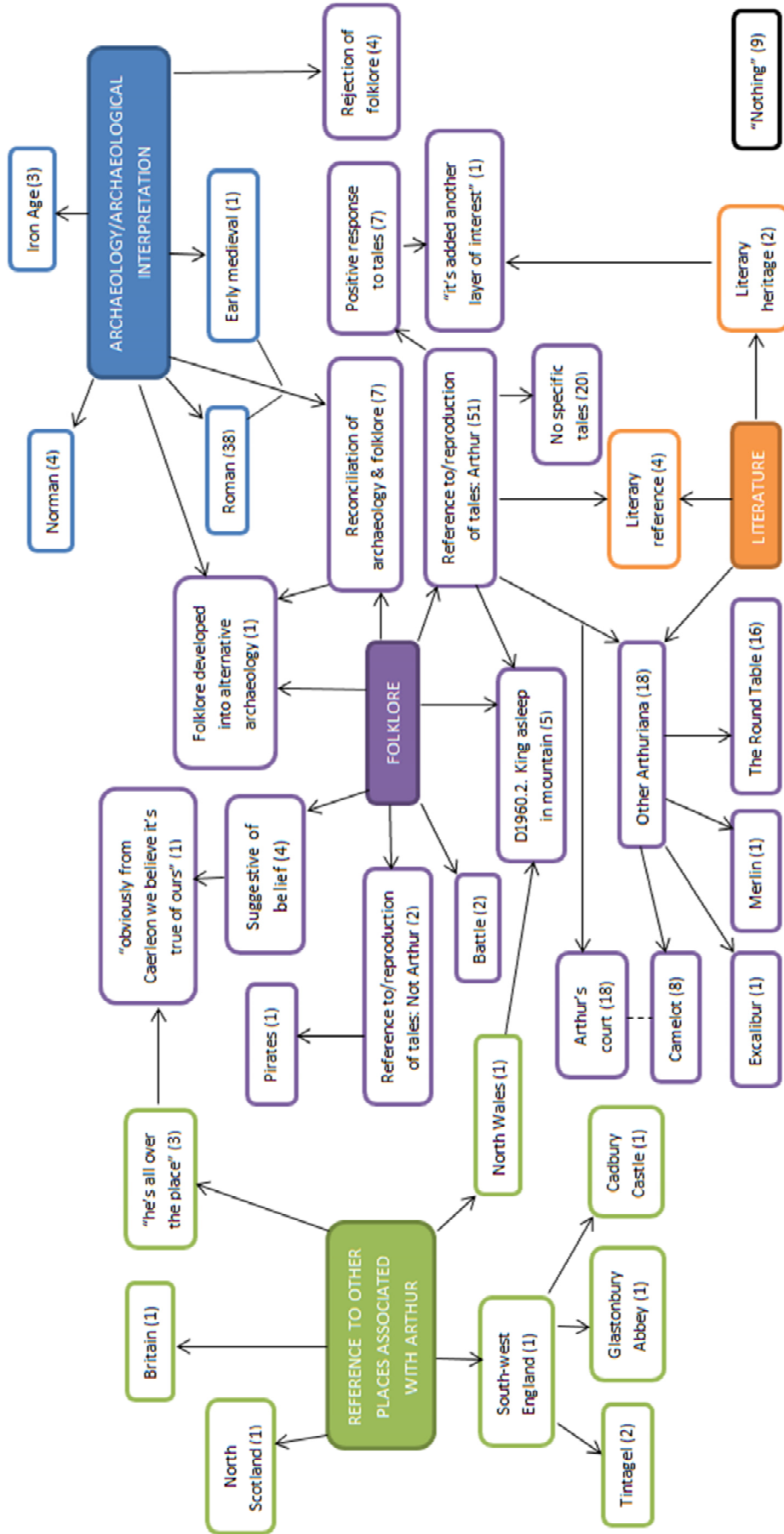


Figure 4.19. Network of codes and code families for responses to Question 3, 'What stories have you heard about Caerleon?' The number of associated responses is indicated in parentheses. Codes and code families compiled in Atlas.ti

51.8% of respondents received their information about Caerleon from Books/Leaflets, followed by 30.6% Family/Friends, 11.8% Local Museum/Tourist Office and 10.6% from the Internet. 'Other' responses included the on-site interpretation boards (3), and maps, school and newspapers (2 each). 14.1% could not remember where they received their information from, and only 5.9% cited Film/Television – all of those who gave the latter response were only aware of the archaeology of the site, and had not heard of tales of Arthur at Caerleon. The majority of those who had heard of Arthur tales at Caerleon (48.2%) had received this information from Books/Leaflets, followed by 28.6% Family/Friends. 19.6% could not remember their source, whilst 14.3% had seen this at the museum or tourist office and 10.7% on the Internet.

The majority (65.8%) of those who had not heard of the legend of Arthur at Caerleon thought they should be promoted more; this sentiment was echoed by those who had heard of the tales (78.6%). There is no particular age group ( $\chi^2 = 9.795$ ,  $p = 23.209$ ,  $df = 10$ ) or gender ( $\chi^2 = 1.220$ ,  $p = 9.210$ ,  $df = 2$ ) that would like the tales to be promoted more, and there is no difference between residents and non-residents ( $\chi^2 = 2.150$ ,  $p = 9.210$ ,  $df = 2$ ). Three overriding reasons were given for wanting to promote the folklore of Caerleon more: that it would attract more interest in the site or was entertaining (62.5%); that it was part of the site's social history (52.8%); and that it was part of local people's history/heritage (47.2%). These were consistent between residents and non-residents. 19.4% of those who thought that the tales should be promoted more said so because they thought the tales are or could be true. 12.8% of those asked did not feel the tales should be promoted more; the majority of these (85.7%) gave the legends' historical inaccuracies as the reason; 14.3% considered that the tales were promoted well enough. The remaining 13.5% of informants stated that they do not know if the tales should be promoted more; all but two of these gave the reason that they did not know enough about the tales, the other two (one resident, one non-resident) were conflicted between the representation of legends as social and local history and attracting interest, and the historical inaccuracy of the tales.

**Table 4.2. Frequency table showing responses to Question 7 at Caerleon**

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
<b>Do you consider Arthur to be any of the following...?</b>	Celtic	43	36.4%	45.7%
	British	24	20.3%	25.5%
	Roman	2	1.7%	2.1%
	English	22	18.6%	23.4%
	Welsh	15	12.7%	16.0%
	Scottish	1	0.8%	1.1%
	French	2	1.7%	2.1%
	Other	9	7.6%	9.6%
<b>Total</b>		118	100.0%	125.5%

Responses to the question on the identity of Arthur are outlined in Table 4.2. Those who responded ‘Other’ gave the answers ‘Mythical’, ‘Anything’, ‘Does not exist’, ‘Don’t know’. There was little difference in answers between residents and non-residents, except that fewer residents considered Arthur to be ‘English’ (6.9% residents: 30.8% non-residents). Responses between male and female informants are similar, indicating that there is no relationship within this sample between one’s gender and how they perceive the folk hero. 58.9% of respondents who had heard of tales of Arthur at Caerleon identified him as a ‘Celtic’ figure, whilst the highest proportion identifying Arthur as ‘English’ (42.1%) had not known of the association.

Overall, the majority of respondents (64.9%) thought that tales of Arthur at Caerleon were significant to the image, history and heritage of Wales. 25.5% did not think these tales were significant, whilst 9.6% answered ‘Don’t know’. A number of respondents (11) who answered ‘No’ to this question, however, noted that the tales are more significant to the local people of Caerleon, rather than to Wales as a whole, signifying that they still considered the tales important in some way. There appears to be no difference in responses between residents and non-residents (Table 4.3;  $\chi^2 = .060$ ,  $p = 9.210$ ,  $df = 2$ ).

**Table 4.3. Frequency table of responses to Question 8 between residents and non-residents of Caerleon**

		Do you think tales of Arthur at Caerleon are significant to the image, history and heritage of Wales?			Total
		No	Yes	Don't know	
<b>Not resident</b>	Count	17	42	6	65
	% Residence	26.2%	64.6%	9.2%	100.0%
<b>Resident</b>	Count	7	19	3	29
	% Residence	24.1%	65.5%	10.3%	100.0%
<b>Total</b>	Count	24	61	9	94
	% Residence	25.5%	64.9%	9.6%	100.0%

80% of those who considered Arthur Welsh thought that his association with Caerleon was significant to the image, history and heritage of Wales, but Arthur was not associated with a particular identity within the group that did not consider the tales significant. No relationship can be seen between respondents' national identities and Question 8. 91.7% of respondents considered the archaeological site of Caerleon itself to be significant to the image, history and heritage of Wales (Question 9); there was no difference between residents (93.1%) and non-residents (93.8%) ( $\chi^2 = .409$ ,  $p = 9.210$ ,  $df = 2$ ) in giving this response. A relationship between responses to Questions 8 and 9 is expressed ( $\chi^2 = 31.333$ ,  $p = 13.277$ ,  $df = 4$ ), suggesting that those who thought the tales were significant to Wales are likely to always view the site itself as significant.

Overall, 81.9% of respondents considered Caerleon to be part of their own heritage; only 2 residents (6.9%) did not consider the site to be part of their heritage, compared with 18.5% of non-residents. However, there is no statistical relationship between whether or not a respondent considered Caerleon to be part of their heritage and whether they resided in the town or not ( $\chi^2 = 2.116$ ,  $p = 9.210$ ,  $df = 2$ ). Respondents' reasons for their answers and their frequencies are summarised in Tables 4.4 and 4.5.

**Table 4.4. Frequency table indicating reasons given by respondents for considering Caerleon to be part of their heritage**

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
<b>Caerleon as respondents' heritage</b>	Living in the same area	22	18.3%	30.6%
	Cultural/social affinity	21	17.5%	29.2%
	Inheriting the archaeology	17	14.2%	23.6%
	Grew up with stories about Arthur	11	9.2%	15.3%
	Heritage of this country, therefore my heritage	41	34.2%	56.9%
	Heritage of all humanity	8	6.7%	11.1%
<b>Total</b>		120	100.0%	166.7%

**Table 4.5. Frequency table indicating reasons given by respondents for not considering Caerleon to be part of their heritage**

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Caerleon not as respondents' heritage	Social/cultural/religious difference	1	5.9%	6.2%
	Not from this area/country	13	76.5%	81.2%
	Don't know/doesn't 'feel' like my heritage	3	17.6%	18.8%
<b>Total</b>		17	100.0%	106.2%

All but two of those who considered Caerleon to be part of their heritage because of its association with Arthur were residents of Caerleon. Of these non-residents, CLF17V, an Australian, was previously unaware of the tales, but once he was informed of the link he considered the site to be part of his heritage (he did not give any other responses to Question 11); CLF35V, who had come to Caerleon specifically because of its association with Arthur, also gave the Arthurian connection as a reason for considering Caerleon to be part of his heritage.

#### 4.4. Conclusion

We can see that the genesis of the figure at Caerleon is rooted in the aim of Geoffrey of Monmouth to create an ideal for Britain through a figure with which his contemporaries could relate, and to situate the character in a place that reinforces and realises this ideal. Caerleon's Roman-ness is here the epitome of civilisation, sophistication and strength that transforms the warlord of previous narratives into a suitable medieval king; yet Caerleon is also transformed in the process into a legendary place. Caerleon, therefore, does not conform to the idea that folktales develop when knowledge of the original use of archaeological remains is lost (Chapter 1.2); indeed, the archaeological remains in this instance *assisted* with the development of the legend, and of the figure of Arthur that is not only a 'local' concept, but further incorporated into national legendry and literary heritage. We can thus see that the relationship between the construction and retelling of folk narratives pertaining to archaeological sites is more complex than the general assumption of inventing an origin for archaeological remains. Over time, these stories alter and manifest in ways suitable to the local community and others who engage with the site.

But how is the heritage and identity of Caerleon expressed in views of the site and the legend today? As we have seen above, it is the Roman archaeology that attracts almost all visitors in the sample to the site, and less than half of these were aware of the tales of



Arthur. This can be predominantly attributed to the way in which Caerleon's past is presented to the public, where official archaeological interpretation of the site dominates. The popularity of archaeological interpretation is not considered to be a negative thing: archaeologists are paid and expected to undertake such work. However, in the current presentation of the site there is little room to include the varied past of Caerleon, and this can be seen to impact on how the figure of Arthur is seen in relation to the site. In considering the above results, we can see three basic ideas of Arthur at Caerleon emerging:

*Arthur as a warlord of the early medieval period.* This is a major view of those who were both aware of the tales and remains of Caerleon, and who attempted to reconcile these two aspects of Caerleon's past. In this perspective, Caerleon transforms the figure into a British or Celtic warlord, almost coming full-circle to some of the earliest representations of Arthur. Caerleon here is the greater influence on the idea of Arthur.

*Arthur as a 'British' legendary figure.* This idea of Arthur is the most varied, and can be seen to be the dominant view within the entire sample. Such a view is presented by residents and non-residents who were previously aware or not aware of the folktales at Caerleon. Here, Arthur can take any form, whether warlord or king, predominantly British (including English and Welsh) or Celtic. He is also referred to as 'Anything' or 'Mythical' in answers to Question 7, inferring the fluidity and flexibility of the character. The archaeology of Caerleon is not reassessed in any way to accommodate Arthur 'historically', but the tales are seen as another, non-material facet of Caerleon's, Wales's and Britain's past. There is no fixed form or location for the figure, and thus the public interpret him and his associations with Caerleon in various ways. Here, Arthur exerts influence on the site of Caerleon by, "add[ing] another layer of interest" (CLF16RV).

*Arthur as non-existent.* This again is a combination of those who have previously heard and not heard of the tales, predominantly non-residents. Those who consider Arthur in this way are a very small number within the sample (approximately 5 individuals). Here, tales of Arthur at any location are pure fabulates, and thus these respondents only place interest or importance on the 'real', represented at Caerleon by the Roman (and Norman) archaeology.

We have seen above that Caerleon both influences and is influenced by the figure of Arthur in various contexts. This raises a number of points pertaining to approaches to the interpretation of such sites. The first is the influence that Arthur has on Caerleon and Caerleon has on Arthur through time, as noted above. Arthur transforms Caerleon and adds another facet to its 'history', as stated by some respondents, but we can further see that Caerleon's life-history extends beyond its physical location into a wider landscape of literary

heritage through its associations with Arthur. This is the result of an amalgam of archaeological and folkloric heritage that sees engagement with the site beyond visiting or residing in it. Such connections between place and narrative can be seen to be a continuation of earlier engagements with the site and its folklore. Appropriation of the archaeological site of Caerleon through folklore illustrates that the site was important for its contemporary (medieval) socio-political value, as well as for looking back to the Roman past. The invention of the Arthur legend at Caerleon, then, is not a localised event, but is inextricably tied in with the nature of power- and identity-construction in Britain in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Broader political and folkloric connections can also be seen in the subsequent development and retelling of legends and folktales at the site, particularly in some of the results we have seen above. The prevalence of a variety of folk narratives from all over Britain (and the world) can also influence the retelling of local tales at Caerleon, as we have seen above in respondents such as CLF76R and CLF93R.

Just as Geoffrey of Monmouth used Caerleon and its Roman remains for what they represented, some of the public today assess what elements of the Roman past of Caerleon are relevant to the legend. This might be done, as with some, by selecting aspects of possible reuse by a potential 'historical' Arthur or, as with many, reflect an additional part of the site's history – a different kind of 'reuse', that we have seen in the recontextualisation of tradition outlined in Chapter 2.1.

An interesting result observed above is the frequent inclusion of tales of Arthur framed within a general history of Caerleon, or, where such tales were not known, respondents relating what they knew of the Roman and other history of the site. Such responses imply that much of this sample considers all aspects of the site in terms of narrative; 'stories' can also refer to 'history', and vice versa. These responses also indicate that respondents do not consider certain aspects of Caerleon or its past as 'outside' of history, but as part of it, whether 'accurate' or not. This can also be seen in the result that the majority of the sample thought that the tales of Arthur at Caerleon should be promoted more; the predominant reasons given for encouraging the tales' promotion were that they would possibly attract more visitors, that the tales were part of the site's social history and that they were part of local people's history/heritage. The proportion of respondents giving the reason that the tales are or could be true is significantly lower than other reasons given for promoting them, suggesting that perceptions of historical accuracy were not the driving force behind responses for the promotion of folklore. For the most part, the population in this study were interested in the Roman archaeology *and* the folklore of Arthur at Caerleon as distinct features, but viewed within an over-arching biography of the site.

That most people surveyed saw the legend as an integral part of Caerleon's history, sometimes whilst aware of its dubiousness, suggests that the public sampled here view a range of aspects, and not just 'scientific' interpretation, as relevant to site-histories. Although the Roman presence was consistently acknowledged to be the major appeal of the site today, the strong archaeological evidence of this was not considered incongruous with the intangible and fanciful presence of the legend of Arthur, and only added to the specific sense of place of Caerleon and the constant reflection of its past by residents and visitors. This holistic vision of Caerleon is best exemplified by the response to Question 3 by a local resident (CLF16RV – Appendix D), who highlights the interaction between the changing use of the site, its romantic sense of place and influence on literature, and the multiple layers of interest generated from this archaeological, folkloric and literary heritage.

## CHAPTER 5

### ARTHUR'S SEAT, EDINBURGH

#### 5.1. Introduction

Arthur's Seat (Figure 5.1) is the name given to the peak of an extinct volcano of the Carboniferous period (c.350 million years ago) comprising part of the landscape of Holyrood Park (also known as the King's/Queen's Park), Edinburgh (Figures 5.2 and 5.3). Holyrood Park itself was created in 1541 by James V, who caused a stone wall to be "circulit about Arthurs Sett, Salisborie and Duddingston craggis" (RCAHMS 2011a), though the earliest records of the land that became Holyrood Park date from 1128-47, where it is divided between royal demesne and the estate of Treverlen (Duddingston). Legend has it that David I founded the Augustinian Abbey of Holyrood in gratitude for being spared from death by an aggressive stag whilst out hunting in the royal demesne by bearing the rood (cross) between its antlers. David granted the land to Holyrood, and the estate of Treverlen endowed part of Arthur's Seat to the canons (RCAHMS 2011a).

Today, Arthur's Seat is a designated Site of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI) (McAdam, 2003:30) due to its igneous petrology, vascular plants, and acid and calcareous grassland (Scottish Natural Heritage 2012). The hill rises over the city of Edinburgh at a height of 250.5m (822ft) and is renowned for its expansive views of the city all the way to the Firth of Forth (Figure 5.4), attracting a vast number of visitors every year.



Figure 5.1. View of Arthur's Seat peak



Figure 5.2. Location of Arthur's Seat (Ordnance Survey)



Figure 5.3. Aerial view of Holyrood Park (Google Maps)



**Figure 5.4. North-western view of Edinburgh from Arthur's Seat**

Although Arthur's Seat and its surrounds is the site of archaeological activity from later prehistory to the modern period, the site is better-known for its geological qualities than its archaeological ones. The subsidiary summit of Crow's Hill forms part of the Arthur's Seat Iron Age hill fort (Feachem, 1977:135), yet has a distinct name of its own; such naming patterns across the Park suggest that naming practices reflect geological observations and differentiation rather than archaeological. Other names applied to surrounding features include Samson's Ribs, Salisbury Crag, Whinny Hill, Cat Nick and Nether Hill or the Lion's Haunch. The latter name refers to the view that the Arthur's Seat hill "has greatly the appearance of a lion couchant" (Grose 1789:34; Figure 5.5), and an alternative name for the hill is 'The Lion'. It is also called by the earlier name Craggenmarf or 'the Crag' (below).



**Figure 5.5. The Lion, Holyrood Park**

Arthur's Seat hill fort measures approximately 1200ft by 1100ft, totalling an area of around 20 acres (Feachem, 1977:135). High erosion, particularly on the eastern slope of the hill, which is the major route to the peak, has left little in situ evidence (D. Alexander, 1997:600), and it is therefore difficult to ascertain types and periods of activity at the site. Remains of Iron Age fortifications can be predominantly seen on the east side of Arthur's Seat (Baldwin, 1997:215; Figure 5.6), though there are no remains of dwellings inside the fort, possibly due to intense ploughing of the area over the centuries (Feachem 1977:135). The site is most often compared with Eildon Hill (BR01), in terms of occupation and scale, with recent excavations placing the peak of occupation in the late Bronze/early Iron Age (D. Alexander, 1997:599). A number of Neolithic and Bronze Age flint tools, including arrowheads and axe-heads, have been discovered on and around the peak. An archaeological assessment of Holyrood Park undertaken in 2000 revealed various pits, post-holes, garden features and demolition spreads from the late- and post-medieval period (Stronach and Moloney, 2000:35), indicating a steady use of the Park through the centuries. Across the rest of the Park, remains of the Iron Age Dunsapie Fort, the 15<sup>th</sup> century St. Anthony's chapel and the Victorian-constructed Dunsapie and St. Margaret's Lochs (Figures 5.7, 5.8, 5.9) can be seen. At the eastern entrance of the Park stands Muschet's Cairn, which commemorates the murder of a woman by her husband, Nicol Muschet, on the site in 1720; the cairn, erected in 1826, replaces an earlier 18<sup>th</sup> century one built up by local residents, who placed stones in a pile there in tribute (Grant, 1886:310-11; RCHAMS 2011b).



**Figure 5.6. Terracing on the eastern side of Arthur's Seat**



**Figure 5.7. View of Dunsapie Fort and Loch from Arthur's Seat**





**Figure 5.8. Remains of St. Anthony's Chapel, Holyrood Park**



**Figure 5.9. St. Margaret's Loch, Holyrood Park**

Investigations of Arthur's Seat conducted ahead of the reconstruction of a visitor path in the mid-1990s uncovered a possible collapsed wall, interpreted as of the early historic period, on the eastern side of the approach to Arthur's Seat, along with a later stone dyke and part of a

rectilinear enclosure containing traces of cultivation between Arthur's Seat and Crow's Hill to the southwest (D. Alexander 1995, 1997), indicating subsequent (if not continued) activity into the historic period. Cultivation lines and what have been interpreted as farm buildings on the eastern base of the peak of Arthur's Seat have been attributed to Jacobite rebels of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Stevenson, 1947:160); Dougal Graham's 1746 narrative poem *An Impartial History of the Rise, Progress and Extinction of the Late Rebellion in Britain, in the Years 1745 and 1746* describes rebels camping on the eastern side of Arthur's Seat and encountering Sir John Cope's army there.

A number of modern finds have been discovered in the slope-washed deposits of Arthur's Seat – the majority of these can be attributed to accidental losses by visitors over the past few centuries (D. Alexander 1995, 1997). There are no information boards on the hill: the closest panel is found next to the car park at the foot of the hill beside Dunsapie Fort and Loch (Figure 5.10), which presents an overview of the Holyrood Park Forts and Lochs, and various finds associated therewith.



**Figure 5.10. Information board at Arthur's Seat**

The objects that have undoubtedly captured the most attention at this site are the so-called 'Arthur's Seat coffins' (Figure 5.11). In June 1836, whilst hunting rabbits on the north-eastern slopes of Arthur's Seat, a group of boys discovered 17 miniature wooden dolls and respective coffins in the mouth of a small cave measuring about 12 inches square and sealed with 3 thin

pieces of slate. The coffins were fashioned out of Scots pine, with the dolls individually detailed and dressed in cotton clothes; the coffins in which the dolls were laid each measured between 95mm and 104mm in length, and their lids joined with wire and decorated with tinned iron. These coffins were laid out in two tiers of 8, with the 17<sup>th</sup> coffin placed on a third tier, and thought to have been deposited at intervals, being at varying rates of decomposition, with those on the bottom being most decomposed and the upper coffins being least decomposed. Several of the coffins and figures were damaged by the boys, who reported their discovery to their teacher, an amateur archaeologist. The surviving 8 coffins are now displayed in the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh (Figure 5.12). To this day, there has been no consensus on the purpose and meaning of these objects and their deposition. The find was first reported as a 'Strange Discovery' in the *Scotsman* on 16 July 1836, in which the writer suggests that the 'Lilliputian figures' are objects of witchcraft, for the purposes of "entombing the likenesses of those they [practitioners] wish to destroy". Subsequent suggestions offer less sinister interpretations:

A contemporary states that it was an ancient custom in Saxony to bury in miniature-effigy departed friends, who had died in a distant land... We have also heard of another superstition which exists among some sailors in this country, that they now enjoin their wives on parting to give them a 'Christian burial in effigy' if they happened to be drowned...

('The Lilliputian Coffins', *Caledonian Mercury*, 5 August 1836)

The article ends with a request from readers to shed light on the issue, demonstrating the popular fascination of these mystery items. Similar interpretations were offered by the *Edinburgh Evening Post* (20 August 1836). The incident was more charmingly described in *Notes & Queries* as 'A Fairy's Burial Place' (Warburton, 1863:414-5), which again appealed for information three decades later.



Figure 5.11. The Arthur's Seat coffins (National Museums Scotland)



Figure 5.12. Display of Arthur's Seat coffins in the National Museum of Scotland

The most recent examination of the figures and coffins was undertaken by Samuel Menefee and Allen Simpson in 1994, in which the objects are described and analysed in great detail. Their investigation led them to suggest that the figures were not carved for the purposes of burial, since many of them have had their arms removed so that they could fit into the coffins, can stand perfectly upright, and have their eyes open (Menefee and Simpson, 1994:68-9). The authors thus suggest that they were a set of figures, possibly toy soldiers, dating to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, with the clothes and coffins added, and deposition undertaken, in or around the early 1830s (Menefee and Simpson, 1994:70). Based on the physical examination of the objects and a consideration of events taking place in Edinburgh at the proposed time of deposition, Menefee and Simpson (1994:74) conclude that the burial of these figures in their makeshift coffins represent the 17 victims of William Burke and William Hare. The consideration that the figures represent the victims of Burke and Hare has become the preferred interpretation of these items by archaeologists and historians, although the uncertainty of this is always underscored (National Museums Scotland, n.d.).

## **5.2. A Site of Traditions**

### **5.2.1. Customs and Ballads**

The Arthur's Seat coffins demonstrate that the site was, and is, a focal place for folk custom. A major custom associated with Arthur's Seat includes the traditional practice of individuals (particularly women) washing their faces in the dew on the slopes of Arthur's Seat on early on May Day morning (1<sup>st</sup> May), which was believed to maintain youth and/or beauty. The age of this practice is uncertain, but it is mentioned in Robert Fergusson's 1773-4 Scots poem 'Caller Water' (Appendix C:6), indicating that the custom was already well-known by that time. The washing of one's face in dew, and the use of dew more generally in 'medicinal' practice, was not particular to Arthur's Seat, or to Scotland, with Francis Bacon (1627:§781) generally commenting on the widespread practice, "I suppose that he who would gather the best May-Deaw, for Medicine, should gather it from the Hills" over a century earlier. The custom at Arthur's Seat appears to have been subsumed into wider May-Day revelry during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Figure 5.13), detailed in correspondence to the writer William Hone for his *Every-Day Book* (Appendix C:7).



### **May-dew Dancers at Arthur's-seat, Edinburgh.**

Figure 5.13. 19<sup>th</sup> century illustration of May Day celebrations on Arthur's Seat (Hone, 1830:609-610)

Washing one's face in May-Dew was recorded in the *Scotsman* on 2 May 1873 as an 'annual practice'. A Christian service held at sunrise on the summit of Arthur's Seat was introduced in the 1940s, and the *Glasgow Herald* reported the practice on 2 May 1961, indicating its continuation into the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Figure 5.14). The 'Living Culture in Scotland' website (Chapter 2.8.3) documents that the custom is still practiced today (Intangible Cultural Heritage in Scotland, n.d.<sup>b</sup>), although *The Scotsman* (5 May 2012) suggests that, whilst May-Day celebrations are still undertaken in the city, such traditions as washing in May-Dew have died out.



**Figure 5.14. Women 'washing' their faces in May-Dew on Arthur's Seat (left) and crowds leaving Arthur's Seat (right) in 1966 (<http://www.scotsman.com/news/nostalgia-may-day-1-2277479>)**

Arthur's Seat has also been the subject of traditional ballads, namely the late 17<sup>th</sup>/early 18<sup>th</sup> century 'Arthur's Seat Shall Be My Bed' (Figure 5.15), a variation of the earlier popular 'O Waly, Waly'. This ballad and its variants indicate the popularity of the site, whilst underscoring the notion of Arthur's Seat as a dangerous place, seen in the early name of Craggenmarf (below). The female narrator of the song has been left by her lover whose child she is carrying, and in despair declares that she will take Arthur's Seat as her bed and drink of the poisoned waters of St. Anthony's well (Appendix C:8).

We can therefore see that Arthur's Seat and its surrounds, as a prominent geological feature in the landscape, has attracted not only settlement and other archaeologically-detectable activities, but also local traditions including customs, festivals, ballads and, as we shall explore in the next section, place-names, about which further folklore is invented and reproduced.

# ARTHUR'S - SEAT

Shall be my BED, &c.

O R,

## LOVE IN DESPAIR

A New Song much in Request,

*Sung with its own proper Tune.*

Come lay me soft, and darw me near,  
and lay thy white hand over me,  
For I am starving in the cold,  
and thou art bound to cover me.

O! cover me in my Distress,  
and help me in my Miseric,  
For I do wake when I should sleep,  
all for the love of my Dearie.

My Rents they are but very small  
for to maintain my Love withall;  
But with my Labour and my Pain,  
I will maintain my Love with them.

O *Arthur's-Seat* shall be my Bed,  
and the Sheets shall never be fil'd for me  
St. *Anthony's* well shall be my Drink,  
since my true Love's forsaken me.

Should I be bound that may go free?  
Should I Love them that Loves not mee?  
I'll rather travel into *Spain*,  
where I'll get love for love again;

And I'll cast off my Robs of Black,  
and will put on the Robs of Blue,  
And I will to some other Land,  
till I see my Love will on me rue.

It's not the Cold that makes me cry,  
nor is't the Weet that wearies me:  
Nor is't the Frost that freezes fell:  
but I love a Lad, and I dare not tell.

O Faith is gone, and Truth is past:  
and my true Love's forsaken me,  
If all be true that I hear say,  
I'll mourn until the day I die.

Oh! if I had ne're been born,  
than to have dy'd when I was young,  
Then I had never wet my Checks,  
for the Love of any Womans Son.

Oh, oh! if my young Babe were born,  
and set upon the Nurses Knee,  
And I my self were dead and gone,  
for a Maid again I'll never be.

*Martinmas's* wind when wilt thou blow;  
and blow the green leats off the Tree?  
O! gentle Death when wilt thou come,  
for of my Life I am wearie.

F I N I S

Figure 5.15. Detail of a broadside from around 1701 presenting the lyrics of 'Arthur's Seat Shall Be My Bed' (<http://digital.nls.uk/broadsides/broadside.cfm/id/14523>)



### 5.2.2. Onomastic Folklore

The earliest recorded name for the volcano that would come to be known as ‘Arthur’s Seat’ is found in a number of 12<sup>th</sup> century charters referring to the division of land between Holyrood and Kelso Abbeys; here the hill is referred to as ‘Craggenmarf’, from the Gaelic *Crag nan Marbh*, ‘Dead Men’s Crag’, or shortened to ‘the Crag’ (Harris, 1996:65; Westwood and Kingshill, 2009:216). It has been suggested that the ‘Dolorous Mountain’ referred to in Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia Regum Britanniae* (1966:79), in a passage interpreted as describing the founding of the city of Edinburgh (see Cowan, 1984:134), is also an alternative name for the site at this time, which has been roughly equated with the name Craggenmarf (Harris, 1996:65). If this is the case, or if the audience of the *Historia* subsequently took it to be so, it might be argued that the association between Arthur and the site (as a possible Mount Agned, as named in the *Historia*, at which Arthur supposedly fought one of his 12 Battles) could date as early as the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and that the site was named ‘Arthur’s Seat’ because of this. These connections, however, only be considered conjecture.

The site is first recorded as ‘Arthuris sete’ in the *Flyting* of William Dunbar and Walter Kennedy (Figure 5.16; see Beattie 1950), published in 1508 by the Edinburgh printers to King James IV, Chepman and Myllar. This was the year, incidentally, that also saw Chepman and Myllar publish the Arthurian *Golagros and Gawane*, and James IV disguising himself as, “a knyght of King Arthuris brocht vp in the wodis” in a tournament (Purdie and Royan, 2005:3), suggesting that Arthuriana were popular in Scotland (or at least in Edinburgh) at this time (among certain classes). In the *Flyting*, which would have been performed orally in front of an audience and later recorded in print, Kennedy responds to Dunbar’s insults by telling his opponent to bow down to him and “renounce thy rymis”, or else be “brynt/wyth pik fire ter gun puldre or lynt/On Arthuris sete or on ane hyar hyll”. The name was presumably known to the audience of this poem and thus extant before its composition and publication, but we do not know to what extent or why it was so-called. The site is referred to as Arthuris sete/Arthur’s Seat throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century, attested in various records, including in the Register for the Privy Council of Scotland, 1547, where the Council deemed that defences were to be made against “our auld inemeis Ingland [who] are in reddyne with navy of Inglis schippis to cum and invaid the realme” (Burton, 1877:73). Bales were to be set upon high points across Scotland to communicate an invasion, including upon Arthur’s Seat (‘Arthour Set’/‘Arthour Sait’/‘Arthursait’) (Burton, 1877:73-4).

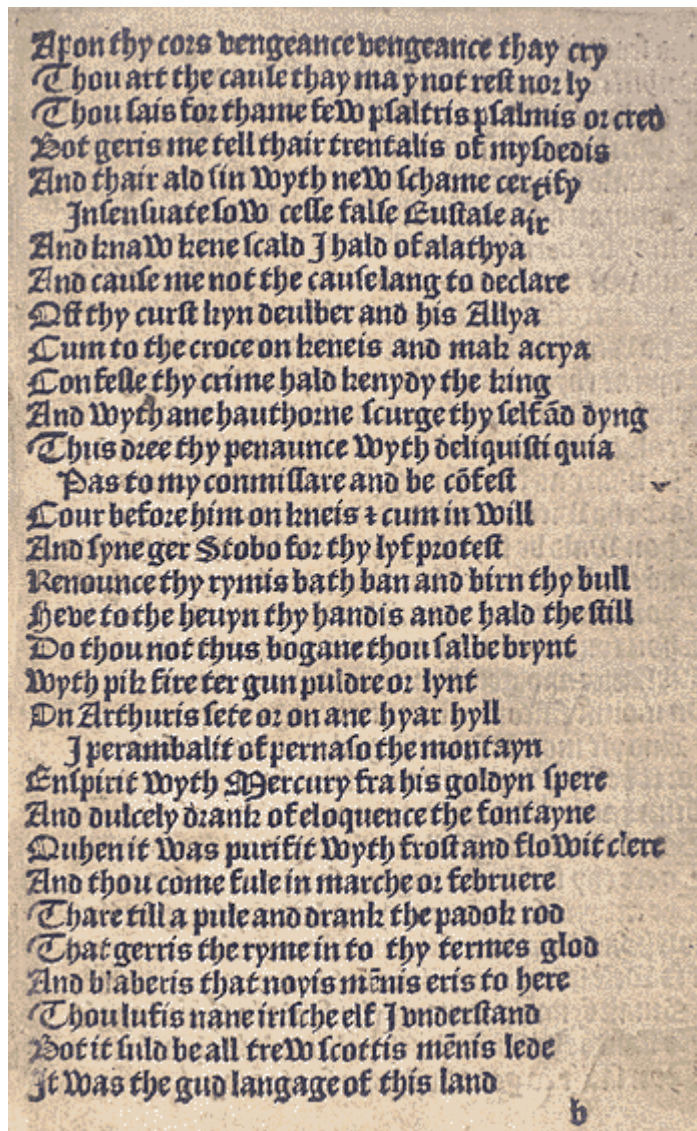


Figure 5.16. Page from Dunbar and Kennedy's *Flyting*, published by Chepman and Myllar, 1508, with the first printed record of the name 'Arthuris sete' (<http://digital.nls.uk/firstscottishbooks/page.cfm?folio=137>)

As might be expected from such ambiguous origins, a number of tales have arisen about the site to account for its name. Although Fairbairn (1983:17) asserts that, "no one doubts that King Arthur is the man in question" as to whom the 'Arthur' in the name is referring to, both Arthur and non-Arthur related tales have emerged, with some utterly rejecting associations with the folk figure. No 16<sup>th</sup> century accounts have been located relating tales of the origins of the name. In his 1607 edition of *Britannia*, William Camden states that,

On the East side [of Edinburgh], hard unto the Monasterie of Saint Crosse or Holy Ruide, is the Kings Palace, which David the First built. Over which, within a parke stored with game, riseth an hill with two heads, called of Arthur the Britaine Arthurs Chaire.

It is not known whether the variant ‘Arthur’s Chair’ was widely used at the time, or if it was Camden’s own alternate name for the site, but he clearly refers to the figure of Arthur ‘of Britain’ as the eponym of this place. The ‘hill with two heads’ refers to the main and subsidiary peak of Arthur’s Seat (Figure 5.17). Although it might be suggested that the site’s name had connotations with Arthur more widely among the local people (though not necessarily have been the root of the name), the reference to the folk hero could just as easily have been Camden’s invention (compare Chapter 6.3.1), the *Britannia* glorifying the reigning monarch and his realm (below). Camden does not relate any narratives of Arthur at Arthur’s Seat, instead asserting that it was ‘called of Arthur, suggesting a symbolic name-giving rather than pertaining to any elaborate tales. In this sense, the name (and place) ‘Arthur’s Seat’ signifies a seat of not only a king, but of a King of all Britain, which the King of the time, James VI & I, was seen to emulate, and represented by Camden in a hyperbolic declaration that the days were now filled with happiness as a result of the joyous union of Britain under a righteous and ideal monarch (Appendix C:9).

Camden’s declaration reiterated James’s own desire for a united Britain, expressed in his first speech to the Privy Council of Scotland in 1604 as ruler of both Scotland and England, in which he proposed that the words ‘Scotland’ and ‘England’ should be abolished, instead solely using the term ‘Greit Britane’ (Masson, 1885:16-17). James VI & I was seen to have fulfilled Merlin’s prophecy of the unification of Britain under a single, legitimate ruler, claiming descent from Brutus and Arthur (Higham, 2002:238). James’s courtiers coined the anagram

CHARLES IAMES STEUART  
CLAIMES ARTHURES SEAT

(Barczewski, 2000:17)

and the poet Walter Quin (c.1575-1634), who composed a number of works about and for the King, opened one of his sonnets with the line, “A peerless pearl and prince claims Arthur’s Seat” (Bawcutt, 2001:252). These reflect James’s own love for Arthuriana (see Barczewski, 2000:17), like his predecessors before him, but here he had a part to play in the national narrative of Arthurian legend. Within this context, the site of Arthur’s Seat is not only evocative of the legendary King of Britain, but is also emblematic of James VI & I’s royal power as ruler of Britain, and the ‘seat’ of that power, situated as it is in the royal city of Edinburgh.



Figure 5.17. The 'seat' in the peak of Arthur's Seat hill

Yet, as James VI & I's reign wore on, strains in the 'union' were evident. As Wormald (1996:150) observes, James could not find a comparable model of union within the rest of Europe on which he could base his own; by 1617, he had moved his court to London and focused his attentions on his second kingdom (Wormald, 1996:154). Thus, for all the national legendry that could be employed to glorify the Scottish king's ascendancy to the throne of England, no practical solution could be found to maintain a happy union, and the legend of Arthur lost much of its political momentum during the Stuart dynasty (Purdie and Royan, 2005:4). Literary Arthurian tales saw a decline as the 17<sup>th</sup> century progressed, with no writings about the figure until the development of romantic medievalism in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Carlson, 1994:234), reflecting the loss of public appetite for the legend. Even Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, which had new editions published every generation, ceased to be printed during this period, with the last edition of 1634 being described as 'anti-Stuart' (Carlson, 1994:245). Such a dearth of literary Arthuriana within successive stages of political unrest during this century (Stuart dynasty, English Civil Wars, Restoration, Glorious Revolution), can be seen to have had a knock-on effect on the folklore of sites, represented at Arthur's Seat. Indeed, beacons were lit upon the peak to announce the arrival of William of Orange in 1688 (Grant, 1886:306) in an action which, although practical, could be seen as loaded with political symbolism.

By the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, an alternative explanation for the origins of the name 'Arthur's Seat' was put forward, which emphasised a Gaelic foundation that had no association with the figure of Arthur, and although this was first developed as a scholarly investigation of (and refuting of Arthur associations with) the name, the Gaelic connection was eventually reproduced as a folktale in its own right. One of the earliest recorded interpretations of the name as having derived from Gaelic is found in Scottish antiquarian Alexander Gordon's (1692-1755) *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, in surveying the Roman site of Arthur's O'on (Central Region):

Mr. [John] Mackenzie... told me, that it was entirely his own Opinion, that the Word *Arthur's Oon* was nothing but a corruption of the old *Irish* ARDHE-NAN-SUAINHE, which the Word *Ardhe* signifies *Locus excelsus*; and *Suainhe*, *Insignia*, viz. where the *Insignia*, or Standards, either belonging to a People themselves, or taken from the Enemy in War...

Also a Hill near *Edinburgh*, is called *Arthur's Seat*, which is a Corruption of the Word *Ardhè-nan-Saidhe*, signifying a convenient high Ground to shoot from, with Bows and Arrows...

Those who have imagined *Arthur's Oon* to be derived from a famous Man of that Name, are surely mistaken; seeing in all our History, we do not find any famous *Scotch* Man called *Arthur*...

(Gordon, 1726:31)

Indeed, Shanks (2012:53-4) has described Gordon's motivations of writing his *Itinerarium* as a means by which he could demonstrate the distinct vitality of the indigenous Caledonians, juxtaposed with the classical civility of the Roman remains encountered as he journeyed south towards the English border. Gordon's writings came within the context of a newly united Great Britain under the legislative 1707 Act of Union, but could be seen as an attempt to underscore Scotland's separate and distinct history from England and, indeed, aligned more with Ireland, as can be seen in MacPherson's development of Scottish Gaelic tradition (Trevor-Roper 1983, 2008) and the invention of the 'Celts' (Chapters 1.2.2, 2.1.2). The Scottish antiquarian William Maitland (c.1693-1757; Appendix C:10) popularised the notion of a Gaelic origin for the name in his *History of Edinburgh*, although Maitland's narrative, in contrast to Gordon's, does not reject the idea of Arthur's Seat as being associated with the folk figure because of his not being Scottish, but because he repudiates his existence entirely, taking a critical approach to Geoffrey's *Historia* and considering the Gaelic explanation to be a valid etymological study, which later became a popular narrative among subsequent antiquarian writers (see Grant, 1886:304-5) and with the public (below). Later writers also suggested the corruption of other terms in Gaelic as the origin of the name,

with a response in *Notes & Queries* offering *A'rd Seir* ('Place or Field of Arrows') or a Scots-derived name of *Airthes Height* ('Height of Earth') (WTM, 1851:251). Another suggestion is that the name is a corruption of *Ard Thor* ('High Thor'), referring to the Norse God, and Milne (1912:6) asserts it is of the Gaelic *Ard-thir Suidhe* ('Place on High Ground'); all of these names demonstrate the popularity of a 'Scottish-language' root.

Yet, possibly due to the fame of the figure of Arthur, and the popularity of the site as a feature of the Edinburgh landscape, antiquarian writers of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries continued to develop associations between the two, which may be indicative of popular narratives associated with Arthur's Seat, or reflective of the political persuasions of those writers. Many tales, reproduced by mostly English writers, are associated with traditional Galfridian images of Arthur as King of Britain, with Arthur's Seat as a point from which Arthur could view the surrounding country in preparation for battle with invading Saxons (see Defoe, 1746:88; A Volunteer, 1747:92; Grose, 1789:33-4; S. Murray, 1799:123; WTM, 1851:251; also Grant 1886:304-5), thus, literally, where he 'sat'. In these narratives, Arthur is almost always Arthur of Britain, except in Murray's (1799:123), where he is 'King of England' – such cases underscore the ideal inherited legendary history of 'Great Britain', or, in Murray's, English political and sovereign legitimacy in Scotland.

Whilst many antiquarians, historians and geographers referred to Arthur's Seat as having been the place where the early medieval 'King of Britain' strategically sat, this tale has been elaborated upon, and others developed, according to typical motifs of folk narratives, where Arthur is a giant or is asleep under the mountain (D1960.2) (Westwood and Kingshill, 2009:216-7). Such tales, along with the Gaelic-derivation explanations, have been reproduced through the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries (see Alcock 1971; Fairbairn 1983; Green 2009; Westwood and Kingshill 2009), and Harris (1996:65) has even proposed a root that combines both Arthur and Gaelic explanations, the name being derived from *Suide Artur* ('Arthur's Seat'), which he suggests may refer to "the British hero [or]... an earlier Celtic name". Most recently, a booklet produced by Historic Scotland, *Investigating Holyrood Park: Information for Teachers* (2012:36) curiously suggests, alongside the standard *Ard na Said* interpretation, that the name might be after 'Arthur of Strathclyde', a 6<sup>th</sup> century descendent of a ruler of Dalriada, who fought against the Saxon Northumbrians and was slain at Camelon, Falkirk – an 'Arthur' 19<sup>th</sup> century scholars suggested might be the historical basis of the folk hero (see Grant, 1886:304-5; also Williams, 1962:73). This 'official' publication therefore attempts to maintain a specifically Scottish (rather than British) association with the site, which is interesting at a time when debates on Scottish independence are in progress.

The name 'Arthur's Seat', despite the uncertainty of its origins in relation to the site, can be seen to play a part in political developments in Scotland and Britain during the early modern period, with the site itself as representative of the Union of the Crowns and subsequently associated with the figure of Arthur as ruler of a united Britain. Yet the name and associated narratives can be seen to have been malleable within changing contexts, often used to highlight Scottish independence through assertions of a Gaelic derivation for the name and explicit rejection of Arthur. Furthermore, we can see that Arthur's Seat itself is the site of a number of customs, emphasising the importance of the site to local people in the past beyond its archaeology and debates over its name. With such varied engagements through time, expressed in the multitude of folklore that has developed at the site, we will next explore perceptions of local residents and visitors today.

### **5.3. The Place of Arthur's Seat Today**

Primary data was gathered at Arthur's Seat over a one-week period during the summer of 2011; on one of these days surveys could not be undertaken due to heavy rain, resulting in no visitors to the hill. Fieldwork was followed by the distribution of postal questionnaires to randomly-selected Edinburgh residents with postcodes EH1, EH3, EH7, EH8 and EH16 (those surrounding Holyrood Park). The reason for this was due to the size of Edinburgh, as an edited Register for the city would have been too costly. Although a constructed visitor path on the eastern slope of the hill (Figure 5.18) provides the easiest access, the peak is accessed by visitors from various directions; as such, ascertaining from which direction visitors ascend and descend the hill was problematic, and therefore targeting visitors was difficult, as their movement around the site was not confined to specific pathways. Visitors engaged with the site in various ways, from simply climbing to the top to take in the views then back down again, to having lunch on the peak. It also appears to be a custom among some visitors to form words, messages and images from loose stone fragments on one of the slopes of Arthur's Seat (Figure 5.19), which can be viewed from the peak of the hill (also see this phenomenon at Cadbury Castle, Chapter 6.4).



Figure 5.18. Constructed path to summit of Arthur's Seat



Figure 5.19. Words and images created by visitors from loose fragments of stone on the slope of Arthur's Seat



The first day of fieldwork was spent on the peak of Arthur’s Seat, but this was found to be difficult to move around and approach visitors on, and often got crowded during the day which made too much movement dangerous. Surveys were subsequently conducted on a flattened part of one approach to (or descent from) the peak, where it was easier to target visitors and where they felt more comfortable to stop. Positioning myself here of course had the drawback of missing visitors who ascended and descended Arthur’s Seat from other directions, but the size and nature of the terrain was such that this could not be helped. Visitors were approached at random; of those who were asked to take part in the survey, 12 declined, citing language barriers, time and disinterest as reasons for doing so. A total of 78 visitors completed the face-to-face questionnaire, 23 of whom were also residents. Of the 100 random postal questionnaires sent out, 24 were returned. This meant that, of those surveyed, approximately 53% were non-residents and 47% were residents.

Tables 5.1 and 5.2 show the distribution of gender and age across residents and non-residents at Arthur’s Seat. There is approximately an equal split between male and female respondents, but a somewhat varying age distribution among non-residents visiting the site. There appears to be a slight underrepresentation of 18-24 and 45-54 year-olds, but this is difficult to assess as no figures exist to determine the demographics of visitors to the site. It could be taken that there are fewer non-residential visitors in the 65+ category because of the difficulty and potential danger of climbing Arthur’s Seat. The lower age categories appear to be slightly underrepresented among the residents, but as the majority of these were responses to postal questionnaires the age discrepancy here is difficult to rectify. Chi-squared tests do not indicate any bias in the sample according to gender or age (gender:  $\chi^2 = .368$ ,  $p = 6.635$ ,  $df = 1$ ; age:  $\chi^2 = 6.520$ ,  $p = 15.086$ ,  $df = 5$ ).

**Table 5.1. Resident-Gender cross-tabulation at Arthur’s Seat**

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
<b>Not resident</b>	Count	28	26	54
	% Total	27.5%	25.5%	52.9%
<b>Resident</b>	Count	22	26	48
	% Total	21.6%	25.5%	47.1%
<b>Total</b>	Count	50	52	102
	% Total	49.0%	51.0%	100.0%

**Table 5.2. Resident-Age cross-tabulation at Arthur’s Seat**

		Age						Total
		18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	
<b>Not resident</b>	Count	7	11	14	4	10	8	54
	% Total	6.9%	10.8%	13.7%	3.9%	9.8%	7.8%	52.9%
<b>Resident</b>	Count	1	5	10	11	9	12	48
	% Total	1.0%	4.9%	9.8%	10.8%	8.8%	11.8%	47.1%
<b>Total</b>	Count	8	16	24	15	19	20	102
	% Total	7.8%	15.7%	23.5%	14.7%	18.6%	19.6%	100.0%

In 61.5% of cases, visitors said they came to Arthur's Seat because it was a 'good place to walk', followed by 47.7% of cases noting that it was a 'must-see site'; other responses given were that they were interested in the area or the geology. No-one said they visited the site because of an interest in archaeology, or because of its archaeology, which suggests that the archaeology of Arthur's Seat is little-known among the sample, or that respondents do not find it interesting enough to prompt their visit.

The majority of residents (60.4%) had heard of tales relating how Arthur's Seat got its name; of these, only 33.3% cited associations with Arthur – the rest did not relate the folk hero to the site's name. Most (66.7%) non-residents said that they had not heard of how the site got its name, and only 27.8% had heard of tales of Arthur here. Breaking down the question of hearing about such tales within gender, frequency cross-tabulations suggest that there is no difference between male and female respondents ( $\chi^2 = .004$ ,  $p = 6.635$ ,  $df = 1$ ). Likewise, there is no particular age group within this sample that has heard of how the site got its name, or of tales of Arthur at the site ( $\chi^2 = 5.504$ ,  $p = 15.086$ ,  $df = 5$ ).

Figure 5.20 represents the various tales associated with Arthur's Seat offered by those in the sample, as given in response to Question 3, "What tales have you heard about Arthur's Seat?" Overall, 36 respondents (35.3%) replied "Nothing" to this question, however, 4 of these (ASL26V, ASL45RV, ASL50V, ASL65V) had automatically connected the site to the figure of Arthur, without having heard of any tales previously, because of the name. As ASL65V noted, "I assume it has something to do with King Arthur, like lots of other places", putting the site into context of other legendary locations across Britain, whilst ASL50V asked, "Are there any links to Arthurian tales?" in response to the question. Of those who related tales of Arthur, only one (ASL68RV) referred to the typical D1960.2 motif, whilst 6 individuals could not link the figure to any particular tales, but only connected the site with him as something they had briefly heard or was referenced in something they had read. Almost all others within this group described tales of Arthur using the site as a strategic place, to examine the lie of the land, or was where he held council with his 'knights'.

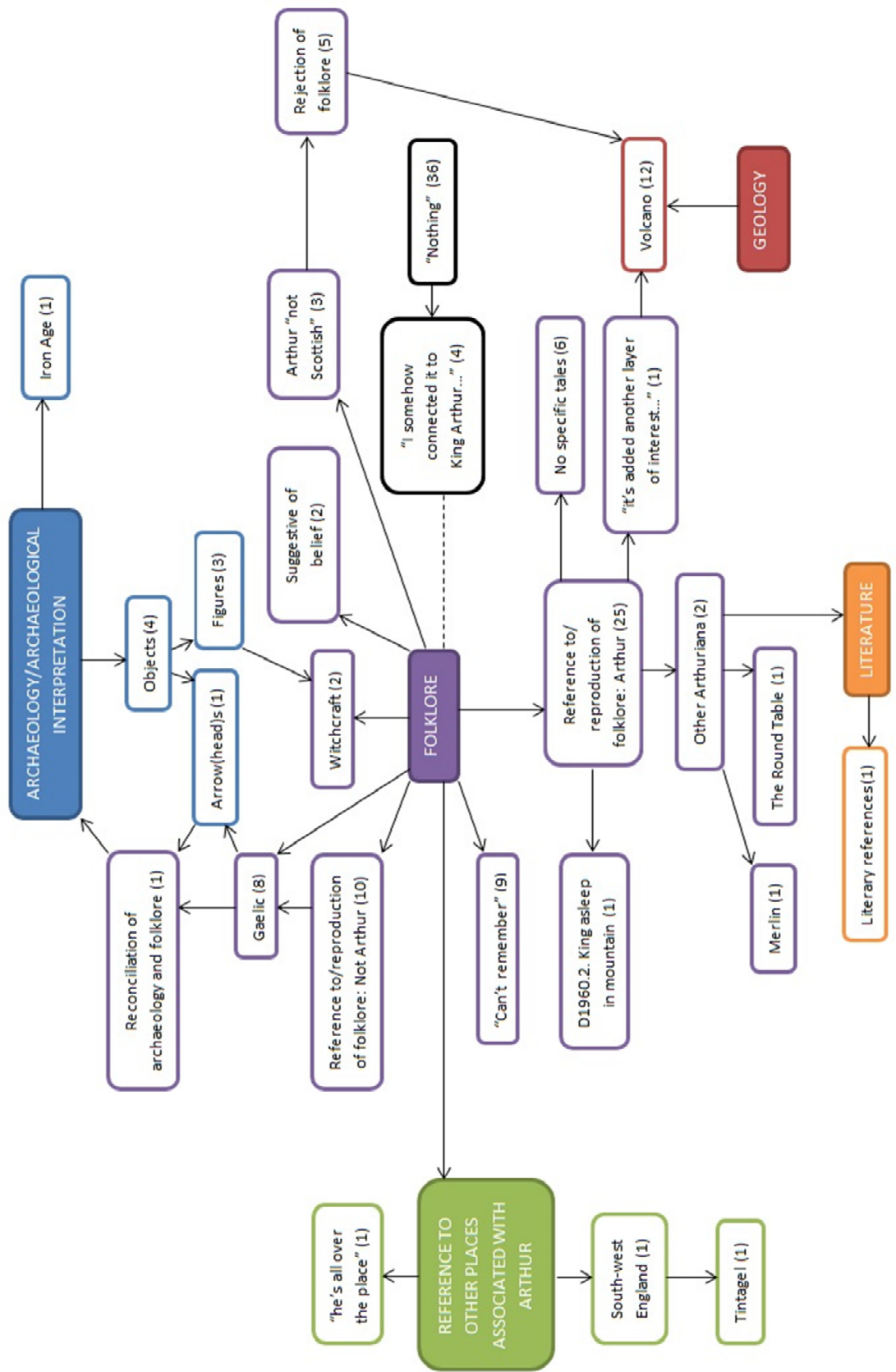


Figure 5.20. Network of codes and code families for responses to Question 3, 'What tales have you heard about Arthur's Seat?' The number of associated responses is indicated in parentheses. Codes and code families compiled in Atlas.ti

Arthur as an early medieval king is therefore a popular depiction in narratives from within the sample associating him with the site. One respondent (ASL85R) expressed his belief in the character and the legend of the site, where Arthur is explicitly a ‘Scottish’ figure:

The story I believe to be true is that King Arthur of the Lothians regularly sat at the top of Arthurs [sic] Seat, hence the handle, Arthurs Seat!!! The top of Arthurs Seat is a great place to ponder, I imagine this was Arthurs reason.

Another (ASL91R) attempted to link nearby places to features of the popular legend:

[The name] Might refer to “King Arthur”, Also [sic] other examples of Arthurian legends in this Area. For example, CAMELON near Falkirk may have been CAMELOT, and nearby COCKLEROY hill may refer to the Cuckolding of Arthur by Guinevere.

One respondent (ASL60V) had misgivings over the tales because of the height of the hill:

Apparently it’s from King Arthur. So Arthur sat up here, did he? Why is it called Arthur’s Seat? Fucking dumb [puts hand to mouth] – I wouldn’t come up here all the time, it’s knackerling.

Another respondent (ASL61V) similarly noted the terrain:

I heard that Arthur would come up here to strategize and stuff. Well, I tell you, Arthur must’ve been pretty fit to come up here all the time! Or he had a horse to bring him up!

Others reflected on the surrounding landscape as a possibility for the site’s association with the figure:

I believe it [Arthur’s Seat] is a volcanic plug. I would regard the area around it as circular in appearance. This would to my mind be liked [sic] to an appearance of the round table hence Arthur and his round table. This may be nonsnce [sic] but I will now check on goggle [sic]

(ASL87R)

Arthur’s Seat is a volcano. It’s got lots of other names, too – some people call it a lion, because from certain views it looks like one. Holyrood used to be called ‘the King’s Park’, so from that you could get ‘Arthur’s Seat’ as a kind of projection – because he was a famous king. Not that I think anyone would say he actually came here. [Pause] Have you also seen the dolls they found here in the Museum? They’re quite something, but no-one knows what they’re for.

(ASL77RV)

The latter response also refers to many other points given in answers to this question. We will first look at that raised by the comment, “Not that I think anyone would say he actually

came here”. The respondent does not reject the folklore, but points to its fabulatory nature, whilst others (especially ASL33V and ASL67V) explicitly assert that Arthur was “not Scottish”, so find the connection with the site incongruous. It is therefore the perceived *identity* of the figure that is a barrier to the consideration that folktales should be promoted more, rather than any supposed ‘reality’. Some respondents referred to other, more popular, Arthur sites. Three respondents suggested that the name need not be connected to the folk figure because “there are lots of Scots called Arthur” – ASL98R claimed that, “Arthur’s Seat is named after a local hero who happen [sic] to have the name Arthur”. ASL10RV rejected the connection with Arthur outright:

‘Arthur’s Seat’ is all wrong. The archers, way back, years and years ago, practised down there [gestures towards northern slope of Arthur’s Seat], spoke a language that is between Gaelic and Welsh, and used to fire arrows up into the air, and it was a saying called, er, *arch na sach* [*Ard na Said*] – that means ‘the height of the arrows’. And there’s no Arthur, and no seat.

The Gaelic-Arrows explanation was given by three other respondents, with one (ASL64RV) considering this to be “the most realistic one”, and ASL66RV adding, “I’m pretty sure they found arrows up here, too” to their narrative, attempting to give it an archaeological basis. ASL34RV offered,

I think I heard something about it something to do with arrows – but I don’t know why that would be, so I can’t be sure.

The Gaelic-Thor explanation was almost equally as popular in this sample (three respondents), but these were not elaborate responses, typically along the lines of, “something to do with Thor”, although ASL23RV had heard of the supposed original name for the hill, but was uncertain of what it meant:

Er, *Ard Thor*, [the name] was from *Ard Thor*, an ancient name. I don’t exactly know what it means, but I don’t think anybody knows. [Pause] But they found some little figures, have you seen those? They found those figures in a cave here and [pause] but I’d a’ said it were witchcraft – they don’t know what they were for, exactly, but it seems to me to be witchcraft

One respondent (ASL27V) had heard of associations with Thor, but not connections with the Gaelic language. All but one respondent (ASL78V) who related tales of Gaelic-Arrows/Thor derivation were residents; the one exception was born in Edinburgh (currently resident in Aberdeen), stating that, “As a boy, my father had said that this was where archers would come and practice shooting...” He also noted folktales about Arthur.

As we have already seen in two answers above, respondents (a total of three) also made reference to the Arthur’s Seat coffins in their answers to Question 3. Two of these three linked them to witchcraft, indicating that this early suggestion about the purpose of the figures has been perpetuated and reproduced as local folklore in its own right, and perhaps that they preferred the idea of witchcraft to other explanations. One of the respondents (ASL43V) who mentioned the figures was the only individual in the sample to refer to the archaeology of the site:

... it’s over 2000 years old, and... it was a fort, with ramparts going all the way round, and there’s ruins of buildings on the top...

A number of other respondents noted Arthur’s Seat was a volcano when they related ‘tales’ they had heard about it; this was either alongside other points they had heard about the site, or was the only thing they knew about it.

When asked where they had heard about the tales of the site they related, many answered that they could not remember (36.2%), followed by Books/Leaflets (31%), Family/Friends (29.3%), Internet (8.6%), and Local Museum/Tourist Office (3.4%). Those who responded ‘Other’ (8.6%) gave ‘Folklore’, ‘Primary School’ and ‘Local Resident’ as their sources. No-one gave the response ‘Film/Television’. Sources and frequencies of sources did not differ between residents and non-residents.

The majority of respondents (68.6%) would like tales about Arthur at the site to be promoted more; 19.6% responded ‘No’ and 11.8% responded ‘Don’t know’. Table 5.3 shows responses according to residence – we can see that the majority of those who answered ‘No’ to this question were residents, and there is a statistical relationship in this regard ( $\chi^2=14.612, p= 9.210, df= 2$ ).

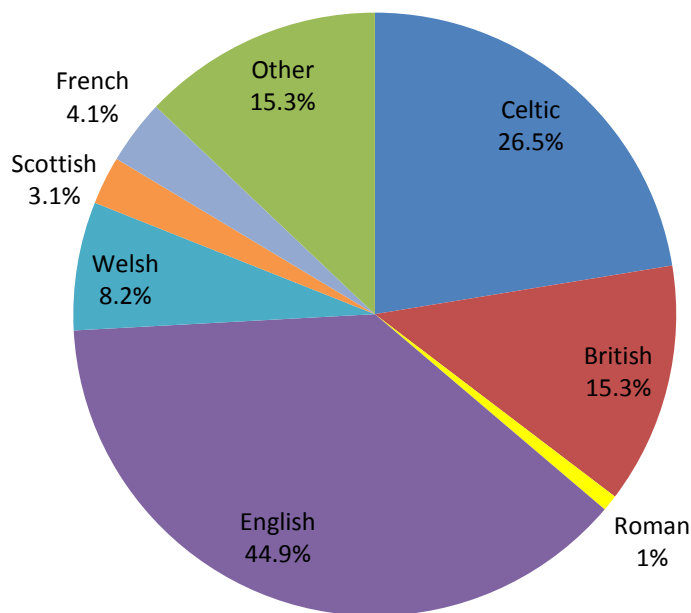
**Table 5.3. Frequency table showing responses of residents and non-residents at Arthur’s Seat to the question ‘Do you think tales of Arthur at Arthur’s Seat should be promoted more?’**

		Do you think tales of Arthur at Arthur’s Seat should be promoted more?			Total
		No	Yes	Don't know	
<b>Not resident</b>	Count	5	46	3	54
	% Total	4.9%	45.1%	2.9%	52.9%
<b>Resident</b>	Count	15	24	9	48
	% Total	14.7%	23.5%	8.8%	47.1%
<b>Total</b>	Count	20	70	12	102
	% Total	19.6%	68.6%	11.8%	100.0%

55% of all those respondents who did not think tales of Arthur at the site should be promoted more gave their historical inaccuracies as the reason. The other main reason given for not promoting the tales were that Arthur was ‘not Scottish’. Of those respondents

who thought tales of Arthur and the site should be promoted more, the most popular reasons given were that the tales were part of the site’s social history (65.7%), that they would attract more interest in the site or was an entertaining aspect of the site (61.4%), and that they were part of local people’s history and heritage (22.9%). Only 7 respondents within the sample thought that the tales should be promoted because they considered that they were or could be true – *all* of these individuals were *residents*. Apart from this, there were no significant differences between residents and non-residents in the answers given to this question.

Question 7, ‘Do you consider Arthur to be any of the following...?’, appears to be most pertinent to the case study of Arthur’s Seat, since a number of respondents have already pointed to the idea of Arthur as ‘not being Scottish’ in answer to the previous question, which may in turn indicate how the sample feel about the relationship between legend and landscape, when such specific ideas are held about the folk figure in question. Overall, the majority response of both residents and non-residents to Question 7 within this sample was that Arthur was ‘English’. Figure 5.21 shows the frequencies of responses to this question. Those who responded ‘Other’ gave the answers ‘Legendary’ or ‘Anything’, with a few also answering ‘Don’t know’ or ‘Did not exist’.



**Figure 5.21. Frequencies of responses to Question 7 at Arthur’s Seat. Multiple responses, percentages by cases (total 118.4%)**

Table 5.4 presents responses to Question 7 against chosen national identity. That Arthur was thought of as an English figure was a majority response from all given national identities (including those from Europe and the rest of the world), except for the single respondent identifying themselves as Irish, who considered Arthur to be a Scottish figure. Those who most often gave Arthur’s identity as ‘Anything’ did not align themselves with a particular national identity (giving the response ‘None’, ‘European’, or ‘Global’/‘International’). Those who considered Arthur to be Celtic defined themselves as Scottish and/or British, whilst the majority of those in the sample who view Arthur as British described themselves as British. Responses to Question 7 did not differ between male and female respondents. Table 5.5 shows responses to Question 7 against age of respondents; although it appears that the majority of 18-24 year-olds consider Arthur to be British, compared with a fairly even spread across 25-64 year-olds viewing him as English, this is marginal within that age category, and the count across all responses is too small to suggest any correlations.

**Table 5.4. Frequency cross-tabulation between perceived identity of Arthur and chosen identity of respondents at Arthur’s Seat. \*‘Other’ includes nationalities from Europe and the rest of the world, and those who gave the response ‘None’, ‘European’, or ‘Global’/‘International’) † ‘Other’ responses here as ‘Legendary’, ‘Anything’, ‘Don’t know’, ‘Did not exist’**

			Nationality					Total		
			English	Scottish	Northern Irish	British	Irish		Other*	
Arthur as...	Celtic	Count	0	7	0	9	0	10	26	
		% Q16	0.0%	24.1%	0.0%	24.3%	0.0%	34.5%		
	British	Count	1	3	0	8	0	3	15	
		% Q16	11.1%	10.3%	0.0%	21.6%	0.0%	10.3%		
	Roman	Count	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	
		% Q16	0.0%	3.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%		
	English	Count	8	13	1	17	0	12	44	
		% Q16	88.9%	44.8%	100.0%	45.9%	0.0%	41.4%		
	Welsh	Count	2	4	0	1	0	1	8	
		% Q16	22.2%	13.8%	0.0%	2.7%	0.0%	3.4%		
	Scottish	Count	0	0	0	1	1	1	3	
		% Q16	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.7%	100.0%	3.4%		
	French	Count	0	2	0	1	0	1	4	
		% Q16	0.0%	6.9%	0.0%	2.7%	0.0%	3.4%		
	Other†	Count	1	4	0	6	0	5	15	
		% Q16	11.1%	13.8%	0.0%	16.2%	0.0%	17.2%		
	<b>Total</b>		Count	9	29	1	37	1	29	98



**Table 5.5. Frequency table comparing responses to Question 7 and age (Question 13) at Arthur’s Seat**

		Arthur as...								Total		
		Celtic	British	Roman	English	Welsh	Scottish	French	Other			
Age	18-24	Count	2	4	0	3	0	1	0	1	8	
		% Q13	25.0%	50.0%	0.0%	37.5%	0.0%	12.5%	0.0%	12.5%		
	25-34	Count	6	2	0	9	0	0	2	1	16	
		% Q13	37.5%	12.5%	0.0%	56.2%	0.0%	0.0%	12.5%	6.2%		
	35-44	Count	8	2	0	11	4	1	0	2	24	
		% Q13	33.3%	8.3%	0.0%	45.8%	16.7%	4.2%	0.0%	8.3%		
	45-54	Count	3	2	1	9	2	0	0	0	14	
		% Q13	21.4%	14.3%	7.1%	64.3%	14.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%		
	55-64	Count	3	3	0	9	1	1	0	3	18	
		% Q13	16.7%	16.7%	0.0%	50.0%	5.6%	5.6%	0.0%	16.7%		
	65+	Count	4	2	0	3	1	0	2	8	18	
		% Q13	22.2%	11.1%	0.0%	16.7%	5.6%	0.0%	11.1%	44.4%		
	<b>Total</b>		Count	26	15	1	44	8	3	4	15	98

The only respondents who considered Arthur to be a Scottish figure were residents who also answered ‘Yes’ to Question 8, ‘Do you think tales of Arthur are significant to the image, history and heritage of Scotland?’ Overall, more respondents (43.1%) did not think that tales of Arthur at the site were significant to the heritage of Scotland; 33.3% did think the tales were significant, and 23.5% answered ‘Don’t know’. Responses to this question given by residents and non-residents were roughly even (Table 5.6). The majority of those who answered ‘No’ here(54.5%) also considered Arthur to be an English figure, whilst 35.3% of those who answered ‘Yes’ described Arthur as Celtic. Conversely, the majority (83.3%) of respondents, regardless of residence, nationality or other demographic factors, considered the site itself to be significant to the heritage of Scotland.

**Table 5.6. Frequency table comparing responses to Question 8 between residents and non-residents at Arthur’s Seat**

		Do you think tales of Arthur at Arthur’s Seat are significant to the image, history and heritage of Scotland?			Total
		No	Yes	Don't know	
Not resident	Count	21	19	14	54
	% Resident	38.9%	35.2%	25.9%	100.0%
Resident	Count	23	15	10	48
	% Resident	47.9%	31.2%	20.8%	100.0%
Total	Count	44	34	24	102
	% Resident	43.1%	33.3%	23.5%	100.0%

Most (72.9%) residents in the sample considered Arthur’s Seat to be part of their heritage, whilst the response was split between non-residents (48.1% ‘Yes’, 42.6% ‘No’). All but 5 (one ‘No’, 4 ‘Don’t know’) respondents identifying themselves as Scottish responded ‘Yes’ to this question. On a regional level, the majority (80.4%) of respondents resident in Scotland considered the site to be part of their heritage; the response was divided among residents in the rest of the UK (50% ‘Yes’, 42.9% ‘No’), whilst 47.8% of those from the rest of the world answered ‘No’; the rest of the sample was split between ‘Yes’ and ‘Don’t know’. The main

reasons given by respondents who considered the site to be part of their heritage was because they were 'Living in the same area' (53.1%) and that the site is part of the 'Heritage of this country, therefore my heritage' (53.1%). The first reason was, obviously, given by residents, whilst the second was given by residents and non-residents. All but one of the respondents to this question who gave the answer 'Grew up with stories about Arthur' (frequency of response was 10.9%) were residents. The predominant reason given by those who did not consider the site to be part of their heritage was that they were 'Not from this area/country' (82.1%) – all of the residents who selected this answer were born elsewhere. The other reason given for a 'No' response to Question 8, 'Don't know/doesn't feel like my heritage' (17.9%), was given by non-residents. We can thus suggest that concepts of the site as heritage within the sample shifts from heritage to not-heritage as the locus of proximity to the site is widened.

#### **5.4. Conclusion**

Arthur's Seat has been millions of years in the making, and changing perceptions of it through time mean that it is being constantly made and remade today. The site's volcanic past still resonates with the visitors and residents in the sample today, and can be seen to be incorporated into perceptions of local heritage. But its archaeology, customs and tales all turn it from a volcano or conspicuous feature of the landscape into a place of varied cultural significance, and these all lend themselves to the argument that there is no distinction between a 'natural' and 'man-made' feature in this sense. Yet we could suggest that, because the site is often viewed as a 'natural' feature by visitors and residents, the more 'human' element of connecting it to a folk hero is not considered – that is, archaeological remains (with which many may be more familiar today) infer or imply presence of humans, including legendary figures. The inconspicuous nature of the archaeological features of Arthur's Seat may therefore perhaps contribute to its folklore being little-known. In the past, however, we have seen how Arthur-tales of the site develop precisely because of its height and perceived strategic nature, and subsequent tales linking the physical size of the 'Seat' to indicate the physical size of the figure to whom it belongs.

Another, arguably major, factor affecting acquaintance with such tales is the perception of Arthur's identity, which can itself change through time in association with the site, or be a basis for rejection of these narratives – popularisation of the tales therefore varies according to teller and agenda. This is a site where much of the time the tales associated with it are created and perpetuated by elite or upper-class individuals with interests in legendary and

idealised pasts to legitimise a political present. Such trends can be found throughout Scottish (and other) histories (Trevor-Roper 1983, 2008), and in many instances it is difficult to discern local voices and their tales about this site. However, what the primary research and resulting data at Arthur's Seat shows is that such inventions and popularisations of tales associated with Arthur's Seat are also considered within a political context by the public (unconscious though it may be in some cases), whereby the perceived popular identity of a folk figure does not accord with local and national (in a Scottish sense) identities of a number of respondents. Alternative tales, such as those of Gaelic derivation, are never rejected, because of their perceived historicity and their suggestion of the once-separate history of Scotland from the rest of Britain (and more closely allied with the legendary and philological history of Ireland). Whilst some respondents in the sample do not separate Scotland and Arthur's Seat thus, an almost equal number do, either through the rejection of the legend or the assertion that Arthur was not Scottish.

The present investigation of archaeology and folklore at Arthur's Seat has revealed that, although there is little tangible evidence of activity left at the site, it was and is a significant place in the history of the local people, with various forms of folklore enacted in a constant engagement with the site. Folktales are just as much part of this engagement and performance, and can reveal much about the socio-political contexts and appropriations in certain periods. That today many rejected Arthur folklore here as significant does not invalidate folkloric research in archaeological investigations, but rather supports the need for it, since it demonstrates the on-going interaction and renegotiation of the site in various contexts. It also highlights what the public now emphasise to be important (folklore being one of these as seen in responses to Questions 5 and 6), and has given us an opportunity to take a long-term view of interaction between people and the site – one that might not have been undertaken had we only looked at strictly 'archaeological' evidence. The historical study of folklore here is, therefore, is an archaeology of Arthur's Seat, with the use of a broader dataset, that shows that there is no difference between so-called 'natural' and 'man-made' sites and, indeed, 'tangible' and 'intangible'.

## CHAPTER 6

### CADBURY CASTLE, SOMERSET

#### 6.1. Introduction

Of the case study sites examined in the current research, Cadbury Castle is the one most famously associated with the figure of Arthur, both in folktales and legends and in the historical and archaeological assessment of the historicity of Arthur. In a report to the journal *Folklore* on the first season of excavations by the Camelot Research Committee, Foster (1966:253) acknowledges the various interpretations of the hill by archaeologists, folklorists and the public. As such, folklore and archaeology at this site are thoroughly intertwined (see Chapter 1) so that it is near-impossible to have a full discussion about one without the other, and we shall see how, through time, each inevitably gives rise to and alters the other. Archaeological discussions and investigations of Cadbury Castle invariably begin with the antiquarian background and associations with Arthur, then move on to the archaeology ‘proper’, often not considering the significance of antiquarian and folkloric accounts that do not have a direct relevance to the archaeologically tangible, particularly those folktales that are clearly fabulates (see Alcock, 1972:19).

Aside from the fame accorded it by its association with Arthur, Cadbury Castle is a hugely important archaeological site in its own right because of its series of occupation phases and the wealth of information it provides on southern British hill forts (Alcock 1972). Yet the archaeological investigation of Cadbury Castle has almost always referred to the antiquarian association with Arthur’s Camelot from those antiquarian investigations to the 21<sup>st</sup> century – whether to support or refute such connections, but always to assess their historical validity – with the exception of one of the most recent studies on, interestingly, the Roman to medieval transition of Cadbury and its environs (Davey 2005), where the name ‘Arthur’ was actively avoided and does not occur anywhere in the publication. Indeed, it has been described as being the “dirty A-word” amongst archaeologists in the area (J.E. Davey, pers. comm.).

It has been suggested that the lack of written evidence from the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, and the composition of later chronicles with their own agendas remarking upon this period, has perpetuated myth and legend, which can give us no insight into the ‘history’ of a site (Davey, 2005:3). With regards to the absence of textual sources, and writing of Cadbury Castle, Davey (2005:3) argues that, “It is the role of archaeology, then, to ascertain the truth through the careful and methodological recording and interpretation of empirical data” –

that is, that which cannot be excavated or measured through archaeological survey is written off, and 'non-archaeological'/non-tangible aspects of a site are irrelevant and worthless in the reconstruction of its history, in all its forms. Such a view is, of course, contrary to the position taken in this research (Chapter 2), which considers that the role of archaeology is to examine, explain and interpret all aspects of human engagements with such sites, and the undertaking of such research by archaeologists is considered to contribute to the reflexive engagement with various views of a site by the public, and, in any case, simply ignoring these aspects of a site are not helpful to anyone. We can therefore see that there is a deep conflict between legends and folktales of Cadbury Castle and what some perceive to be its 'proper' archaeology, which can have an impact on presentation of the site and how the public are invited to engage with it.

We will begin with an archaeological overview of the site, since many of the physical remains contribute directly to the creation and reproduction of folklore here. The archaeological interpretation of the site presented here predominantly comes from findings of the Camelot Research Committee, a subsequent archival project relating to and reassessing the Committee's work (Barrett et al 2000) and the South Cadbury Environs Project (Tabor 2008) – these, along with other antiquarian and archaeological investigations, will be discussed below, since motivations for such investigations are often themselves linked to the site's folklore.

## **6.2. The Hill**

Cadbury Castle (Figure 6.1) is situated in a significant position on the south-western peninsular of Britain, approximately 6 miles north of Sherborne, Dorset and 12 miles south-east of Glastonbury, Somerset (SO07 and SO08; Figure 6.2), close to a number of later prehistoric, Roman and medieval roads and trackways, including the Fosse Way. It rises as a solitary hill 150m above sea level, surrounded by fields, and is often described as a multivallate hill fort typical of those of the pre-Roman Iron Age in Wessex and the Welsh Marches, set apart from others by its steepness (Alcock, 1995:4), although its dramatic slopes are today obscured by tree-cover. The village of South Cadbury lies at the north-eastern foot of the hill, and to the south-west of the hill is the village of Sutton Montis. Entrances from both of these villages represent ancient gateways of the hill fort (Alcock, 1972:25). Cadbury Castle is famed for its lengthy period of (intermittent) habitation (Figure 6.3).



Figure 6.1. Cadbury Castle, Somerset, and features noted in the text (aerial photograph: Ordnance Survey)

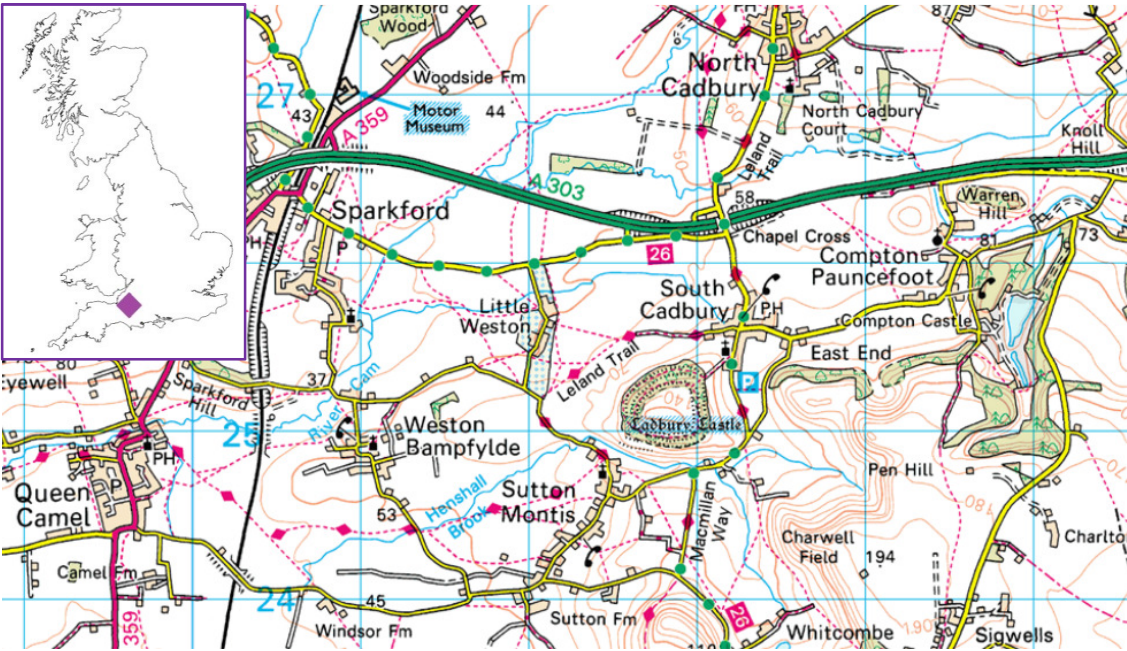


Figure 6.2. Location of Cadbury Castle (Ordnance Survey)

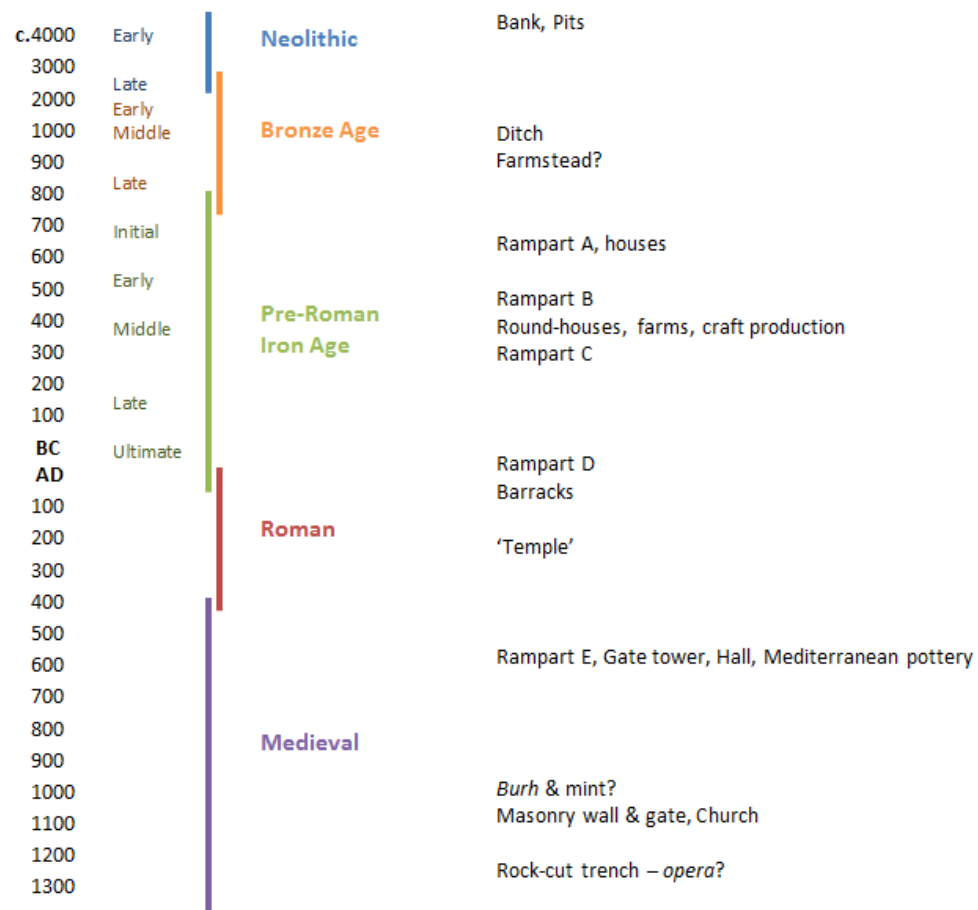


Figure 6.3. General chronology of Cadbury Castle (after Alcock, 1972:210-11)

The name 'Cadbury' is derived from *Cada's Burgh* ('burgh of (a man called) Cada'); John Blair (2013) suggests that Cada is likely to represent a local early medieval folk hero rather than a specific historical figure, owing to the large number of 'Cadbury' place-names in the region. The same can be said of a possible hero named 'Bada' and associated 'Badbury' place-names (Blair 2013; see site DO01). This can, Blair argues, partly explain the later association of the site with Arthur, since it is often the case that the topographic reference to folk heroes (and villains) can shift from one to another according to the relevance of that particular hero within a specific context.

The earliest evidence of human occupation of Cadbury Castle dates to the early Neolithic, evinced from pits containing early pottery, animal bone, flint tools and fragmented human remains (Alcock, 1969:32-3). Neolithic earthworks have been uncovered at the southern end of the summit of the hill, but any other such works cannot be detected elsewhere across the site owing to subsequent large-scale Iron Age activity (Alcock, 1969:32-3). Evidence of near-continuous occupation through the Bronze Age to the Initial Pre-Roman Iron Age can be

seen in pottery and what has been interpreted as a post-Neolithic farmstead or hamlet (Alcock, 1969:33).

High levels of activity during the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age are seen in the construction of buildings and ramparts, signifying a major settlement complex of roundhouses, farms, storage pits, craft production areas and 'temple' structures (see Alcock, 1972:130-58), with additional ramparts constructed "on the eve of the Roman Conquest", dated from Ultimate Pre-Roman Iron Age pottery and brooches (Alcock, 1969:34). Excavations of the 1960s uncovered a level containing disjointed and dislocated human remains (MNI=28) of both males and females from the ages of around 4 to 35, along with 150 bow and penannular brooches and native and Roman iron weapons; these were initially interpreted as representing a single massacre of inhabitants of the fort by invading Romans, with their remains left to carrion (Alcock, 1972:105-7). However, these so-called 'massacre levels' were later reconsidered to have been more complex than initially thought, and may even have been intentional deposits rather than remnants of such an event (Woodward and Hill, 2000:114-5). Nonetheless, they gained renown and even repulsion among the original excavation team and visitors to the site (Alcock, 1971a:4; Alcock, 1972:105; Woodward, 2000:105; Tabor, 2008:156).

Indications of Roman military activity are present in the recovery of military gear, such as buckles and shield bindings, and of the construction of barracks; Alcock (1969:38-9) suggests that the scarcity of Romano-British material other than these indicates that the Roman occupation of the hill was short-lived, although a quantity of Romano-British pottery excavated by Gray (1913:18) may point to a shifting, albeit less intense, use of the site for a period of time, rather than total abandonment. Indeed, the creation of a possible temple complex on the hill in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century has been seen to have re-established the significance of the site by transforming it into a religious centre, "as having once been the place where assumptions about the order of the world were empirically validated by routine and the means of such validation was displaced by the first century AD" (Barrett, 2000a:324).

A Romano-British settlement was established at the foot of the hill in what is now South Cadbury village (Barrett, 2000b:6), but the founding of a major Roman centre at nearby Ilchester, 7 miles to the east (Leach 1982; 1994) shifted political power bases in the region. However, in rethinking Cadbury Castle within the context of the Roman conquest of southern Britain, and reconsidering the archaeology of the site, Barrett (2000a:323) suggests that the community here may have already been in decline by the time the Romans arrived and established military occupation of the hill.



With the decline of Ilchester as a political centre in the 5<sup>th</sup> century as a result of Roman administrative withdrawal, Cadbury Castle saw rehabilitation and a rise in power in the early medieval period; Alcock (1995:3) thus describes Cadbury as “the most formidable fortress known in early post-Roman Britain”. A large amount of Mediterranean pottery – so-called ‘Tintagel-ware’ – was found on the hill, and predominantly in what Alcock (1972:78) calls the ‘Arthurian’ building – the principal building of Cadbury Castle in the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries, suggesting a high-status residence on the site (below). The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records the founding of an emergency *burh* by Ethelred II (c.978-1016) named ‘Cadanbyrig’ in or around 1009/1010 as a defence against Thorkell the Tall’s invading Viking army; Alcock (1972:197) considers the archaeology of Cadbury Castle at this time to be consistent with *burh* defences, thus equating the two. The hill’s status as a *burh*, and the founding of an emergency mint at Cadanbyrig by Ethelred (Alcock, 1972:23) suggests that Cadbury Castle, with its still-intimidating fortifications, prominence in the landscape and connections to other local *burhs*, mints and bishoprics (see Alcock, 1995:165-70), made for a strong minting and defensive location and thus remained an important place in the socio-political geography of Late Saxon Wessex. An ‘Ethelredan-date’ gate tower was uncovered at the south-west entrance of the fort, which, according to the excavators, “was an accomplished piece of building” (Alcock, 1969:39), on the basis of similar Late Saxon architecture in the area, such as at Sherborne. Numismatic evidence suggests that the gate was deliberately levelled to three standing courses, along with the demolition of other defences, in the reign of Cnut (c.990-1035) in around 1020, with a cruder gate subsequently erected over it (Alcock, 1969:39-40; Alcock, 1972:201). The village of Sudcadeberie is recorded in Domesday, with Turstin FitzRolf as the tenant-in-chief – the same Turstin responsible for the establishment of Caerleon Castle (Chapter 4.1).

The last major structural activity undertaken at Cadbury could be seen in excavations on the slope of the summit ridge, uncovering a rock-cut trench – a possible foundation trench for a masonry wall for a stone-built fortification, which Alcock (1969:40; 1972:202-30) connects with a payment of 40 marks by King John in 1290 for the building of an *opera* at *castrum de Cadebi*, a project that appeared to go unfinished. Medieval and post-medieval strip lynchets were constructed on the southern side of the hill, outside the fort (Riley and Dunn, 2000:13), and the plain upon the hill was arable into the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Bennett, 1890:2), showing continued use of the hill for agriculture until recently. Today, the hill is used to graze cattle by the landowner, as well as being open to the public to visit, walk over and have picnics on.

### 6.3. An Archaeology of Traditions

We can see that Cadbury Castle has had a long and complex history that can be attested archaeologically, yet this is not the only history the site has developed. The investigations of the site are as complex and interesting as its archaeology, since motivations of investigators are entangled with archaeological and folkloric interests within particular historical and political contexts. A number of writers have commented on such motivations, which we will explore below, but neither investigators nor commentators have considered the reciprocal relationship between the site's archaeology and folklore and the various engagements therewith. We will now consider these engagements through time, along with an analysis of how and why particular folk narratives have developed about Cadbury Castle, and how the archaeology has had a direct influence on such tales.

#### 6.3.1. Cadbury as Camelot

The earliest extant 'investigative' account of Cadbury Castle is by John Leland in his *Itinerary* of 1542, although the site's conspicuous nature would have doubtless attracted huge interest before the antiquarian's visit; indeed, Leland (1542:38-9) reports that a number of Roman coins and "many other antique Things" had been found on the hill, demonstrating earlier collection of material and at least cursory examinations of the hill and its objects. The features of the hill itself did not go unnoticed, with Leland (1582 [1544]:35) later declaring,

Which Castle of olde time was both most statelie and also most strongly buylded, and in a most high or loftie prospect. Good Lorde, what and howe many most deepe Ditches are there here? How many vallyes are there here out of the earth delued? Again what daungerous steepenesse? And to end in fewe words, truly me seemeth it is a miracle, both in Arte and nature.

Yet, more famous than his description of the physical remains is Leland's (1542:38-9; see also Leland 1582 [1544]) claim that Cadbury Castle was the location of Arthur's Camelot, and in his investigations asserts that, "The People can telle nothing ther but that they have hard say that *Arture* much resorted to *Camalat*", supporting this with the claim that "Diverse Villages there about bere the Name of *Camalat* by an addition, as *Quene-Camalat*, and other". Alcock (1972:12) notes that Leland's local place-name evidence was largely perverted to support Cadbury's connection with Camelot, since from Domesday to the present surrounding villages, such as Queen Camel, and features, such as the River Camel, have been named as 'Camel', 'Camelle' or 'Cammelle', but never suffixed with '-at', '-et' or '-ot'. It

is possible that Leland viewed these local place-names as signposts to Arthur's court, since he opted for Cadbury Castle rather than well-known, 'traditional' courts such as Caerleon (Chapter 4) (Alcock, 1971b:163). Nonetheless, 'Camelot' is, regardless of views on the historicity of the figure of Arthur, a pure invention of medieval French poets, predominantly Chrétien de Troyes, whose presentation of Arthur as a chivalric medieval king required all the accoutrements associated therewith – including a medievaesque court. It is uncertain where the name 'Camelot' originated, but it has been suggested that it was, among other names, adapted from the Roman town Camalodunum (Colchester, Essex) (Alcock, 1972:14-15).

Although Leland is often credited with being the first to associate Cadbury Castle with Arthur and Camelot, before we examine this in greater detail, we will first turn to the suggestion that the site was associated with Arthur as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and the implications of a potentially earlier connection. Caroline Shenton (1999) proposes that Edward I's (1239-1307) route to Glastonbury for the famous excavation of 'Arthur's Tomb' in April 1278 incorporated a visit to Cadbury Castle, indicating that the site was significant to the king at the time, and that this significance was Arthurian in nature. According to his reconstructed itinerary (Figure 6.4), Edward was at Bruton, Somerset on 9 April, and could have proceeded on a direct road to Glastonbury to the west, but chose to take a south-western diversion to stay at Queen Camel from 9 to 12 April, before moving on to Glastonbury on the 13<sup>th</sup> (see Safford, 1974:92). Shenton (1999:1250) suggests that the king's visit was because of the village's proximity (2 miles) to Cadbury, reinforced by the identification of the place-name 'Cadan' in the Hereford *Mappa Mundi* (linked to Glastonbury on the map with a river) with Cadbury (see Harvey, 1996:10, 52-3), and that Edward's supposed visit to Cadbury was due to its connection with Arthur and his court, whose remains Edward was en-route to see. Shenton (1999:1250) concludes:

The association of Cadbury and Glastonbury in the minds of contemporaries indicates that Cadbury was identified with King Arthur, and possibly with Camelot, long before Leland wrote down his itinerary: a fact which ought to be of interest to archaeologists and Anglo-Saxonists as well as to historians of the later Middle Ages.

Shenton further considers that the link between Glastonbury, Cadbury and Arthur is confirmed "beyond doubt" by the itinerary of Edward III (1312-1377) who, like his grandfather, was a keen Arthur fanatic – as seen in his establishment of the Order of the Garter, ordering the construction of a 'Round Table' tower at Windsor, and dressing up incognito as an Arthurian knight called Lionel at festivities – and likewise used his associations with Arthur to legitimise his reign (Shenton, 1999:1251). From writs of the Privy Seal and a daily Wardrobe account for the months of November and December 1331, an

itinerary (Figure 6.4) has been constructed to illustrate that Edward III travelled through Hampshire and Wiltshire during December, to the abbey at Sherborne on the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup>, and then to South Cadbury (*Cadebury*) on the 19<sup>th</sup> before going to Glastonbury. The stop at Cadebury has been argued to be an unusual one, since it was not necessary to stop there for travelling purposes: on a later occasion Edward travelled from Sherborne direct to Glastonbury, and ultimately it has been considered that his visit there had to be for a special reason. This, Shenton (1999:1251-4) claims, was “to make a sight-seeing trip to the well-known places associated with a character whose exploits were to provide him with much inspiration in the succeeding years”.

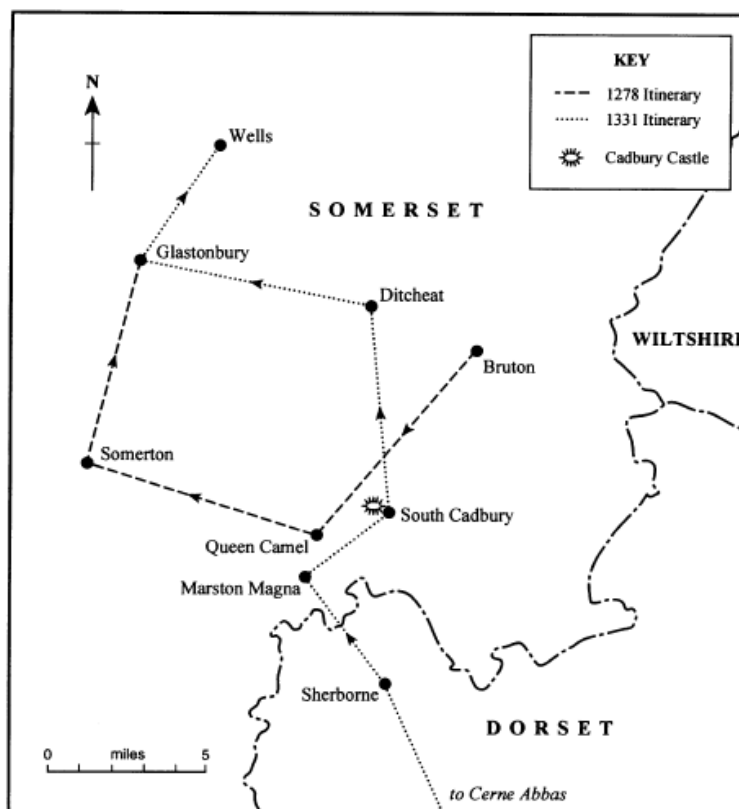


Figure 6.4. Reconstructed itineraries of Edward I, 1278, and Edward III, 1331 (Shenton, 1999:1251)

The case put forward for an earlier Arthurian association at Cadbury Castle is intriguing, and not unreasonable considering the love these kings bore for Arthuriana coupled with an apparent visit each to a seemingly innocuous site; yet it is difficult to certify, other than to suppose the proximity to and visibility of Glastonbury influenced the notion that the site represented a residence of Arthur, and that local, unrecorded folklore might have also connected the site to the figure (below). The link with Cadbury in the first itinerary at least is highly speculative, and it cannot be certified that the ‘Cadebury’ mentioned in Edward III’s itinerary was not the larger *North Cadbury* (which is recorded as ‘Cadebury’ in Domesday) rather than South, and that his visit was not to one of his retainers there.

Further, surviving documentary evidence does not record the kings' visits to the ancient court of their hero, which would not have been unusual but for their well-documented calls to his 'grave'.

Whether Leland was the first to make the connection between Arthur and Cadbury Castle or not, his promotion of the site as Arthur's Camelot is the catalyst for the development of folk narratives and later searches for a 'real' Arthur, and represents early modern constructions of national identities and nationhood. Yet it can be seen that the principal driver of the overt association of Cadbury with Arthur was the perceived threat to such identities, as represented by Continental, and thus nationally 'external', antiquarians such as Polydore Vergil. In his *Anglica Historia* (1534), Vergil questioned the authenticity of Arthur, primarily basing his argument on examinations of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia* and accounts that would have been contemporary with the period of Arthur's apparent existence (Wood, 2005:11). He concluded that Arthur was a fiction – one that represented a backward medievalism at that. Although Vergil's repudiation of Geoffrey and Arthur was not the only point of his *Historia*, it is what is most noted about it, and although British commentators at the time were similarly expressing doubt over Geoffrey's reliability (J.D. Merriman, 1973:36-7), the claims made by an Italian Catholic were unacceptable.

Although commissioned to write a history of England by Henry VII, the Tudor monarch whose refashioning as the returning Arthur led to huge Welsh support for his claim to the throne (Chapter 1.3.1), Vergil's distaste for Geoffrey of Monmouth led him to reject in no uncertain terms his narratives, including that about Arthur. The publication of the *Anglica Historia* coincided with Henry VIII's employment of the Arthurian legend and his inheritance of it to support separation from Rome (J.D. Merriman, 1973:36), and Arthur's imperial status was likewise of on-going use to the Tudor dynasty in their policies with Scotland and Ireland (Higham, 2002:236-7).

Contemporary critics were incensed by this perceived 'foreign' attack on a basic tenet of English/British nationhood (Higham, 2002:236), prompting chivalric defences of the treasured king. Although Leland was himself part of the 'New Learning' of Renaissance scholarship developing throughout the Continent (see Carley 1986), he did not wholeheartedly reject aspects of the Middle Ages like many of his contemporaries, in particular "keystone[s] of English identity" like Arthur (Utz, 2006:29; see also Higham, 2002:236). Leland's response to Vergil's shocking declaration was to produce a short treatise in around 1536 entitled *Codrus sive Laus et Defensio Gallofridi Arturii contra Polydorum Vergilium* (Carley 1996), and later his longer *Assertio Inclytissimi Arturii Regis Britanniae* (1544). In a "confutation and ouerthrow of Slaunders rashly affirming that Arthure was not liuing"

(Leland, 1582 [1544]:78), Leland aimed to provide a “firme defence” of Arthur against the “base stuff of forraine writers” who declared that he did not exist, giving an account of his origins, life and death “by all meanes” (Leland, 1582 [1544]:17-18).

These ‘meanes’ were, as well as a rebuttal of Vergil’s use and interpretation of textual sources, “those Rockes & monuments, the true witnesses of *Arthures* renoume and maiestie” (Leland, 1582 [1544]:54). Leland’s antiquarian approach made him aware that simple philological assertions and use of earlier (medieval) textual material would not be enough to satisfy scholars of the time, but, pointing to various places in the British (English and Welsh) landscape as remnants of these keystones, he could add weight to his arguments (Utz, 2006:30). He thus used his *Itinerary*, undertaken at the order and cost of Henry VIII, to underscore the basis of this idealised British figure, and wrote him into the history of Cadbury Castle, which, as we have seen, he may have selected for a number of reasons, including the potential 13<sup>th</sup> century royal connection, the folklore of the people, and its location in the West Country, which was popularly associated with Arthur in literature such as Malory’s *Morte D’Arthur* (1485). In this context, Cadbury Castle lent itself to the royal and antiquarian ambitions of English and British nationhood, grounded as it was in the bedrock of medieval figures of identity and their supposed vestiges in the landscape.

The idea of Cadbury Castle as Arthur’s court or as Camelot was reiterated by subsequent antiquarian writers. William Camden, in his *Britannia* (1701 [1586]: 136) records the hill as *Camalet*, and that local inhabitants call it ‘Arthur’s Palace’, which appears to be the first record of this particular name. Whilst Alcock (1972:12) claims that Camden refutes the notion that Cadbury Castle was ‘Arthurian’, Camden does not say as much, but simply states that the site was Roman, on the basis of the many Roman coins excavated there (Camden, 1701 [1586]: 136), without affirming or denying the link with Arthur. Leland’s works may potentially have been the bases of the name ‘Arthur’s Palace’ given to it by local people, or they were made aware of the connection during Leland’s excursion, if they had not made the connection before. There is the possibility that local people *did* refer to Cadbury Castle as ‘Arthur’s Palace’ before Leland/Camden, since such onomastic associations with the figure would not be unusual (Appendix B). William Stukeley (1724:142), who is the first to suggest the site dated to the pre-Roman Iron Age, similarly records the site in the *Itinerarium Curiosum* thus:

*Camalet* is a noted place scituate on the highest ground in this county, on the edg of *Dorsetshire*. the country peopl are ignorant of this name, which has generally obtain’d among the learned. they call it *Cadbury* castle... this caution is useful to those that go to enquire for it...

This is not, as Alcock (1972:12) and Radford and Swanton (1975:51) say, Stukeley stating that the locals are oblivious of the connection between the site and Arthur, but that they do not refer to Cadbury Castle as ‘Camelot’, since he further adds that,

there is a higher angl of ground within, ditch’d about, where they say was king *Arthur’s* palace. it was probably the *prætorium*, and might be king *Arthur’s* too, who liv’d in this place. the country people refer all storys to him...

(Stukeley, 1724:142)

The piece of ground to which Stukeley refers is a natural platform on the summit of the hill, and its local reference as ‘Arthur’s Palace’ or ‘Castle’, as well ‘The Prætorium’, continued into the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Gray, 1913:9).

Such folklore has led to archaeological investigations of Cadbury explicitly attempting to ascertain the historicity of Arthur and his presence at the site, as well as projects intentionally avoiding all engagements with folklore. The earliest ‘archaeological’ investigations in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Dymond 1883; Bennett 1890) considered the presence of Arthur and the folklore of his ‘palace’ at Cadbury Castle, but it must be said that the intriguing nature of the site would have been enough to prompt examination.

Excavations conducted at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by J.A. Bennett, Reverend of the village of South Cadbury, went hand-in-hand with the collection of folklore (Bennett 1890). Tales were often ‘uncovered’ as digging was underway and certain finds or features were found, demonstrating the close connection between the archaeology, folklore and the local people. Bennett’s and, later, Gray’s (1913) excavations (Figure 6.5) both revealed evidence of activity at the site from the Neolithic to post-Roman, whilst presenting the various folk narratives told by local people. These in no way were attempts to ‘verify’ such tales (particularly the more fanciful – see below), but neither was the archaeology used to demonstrate their falsehood; instead the two are presented together as idiosyncrasies of Cadbury Castle.

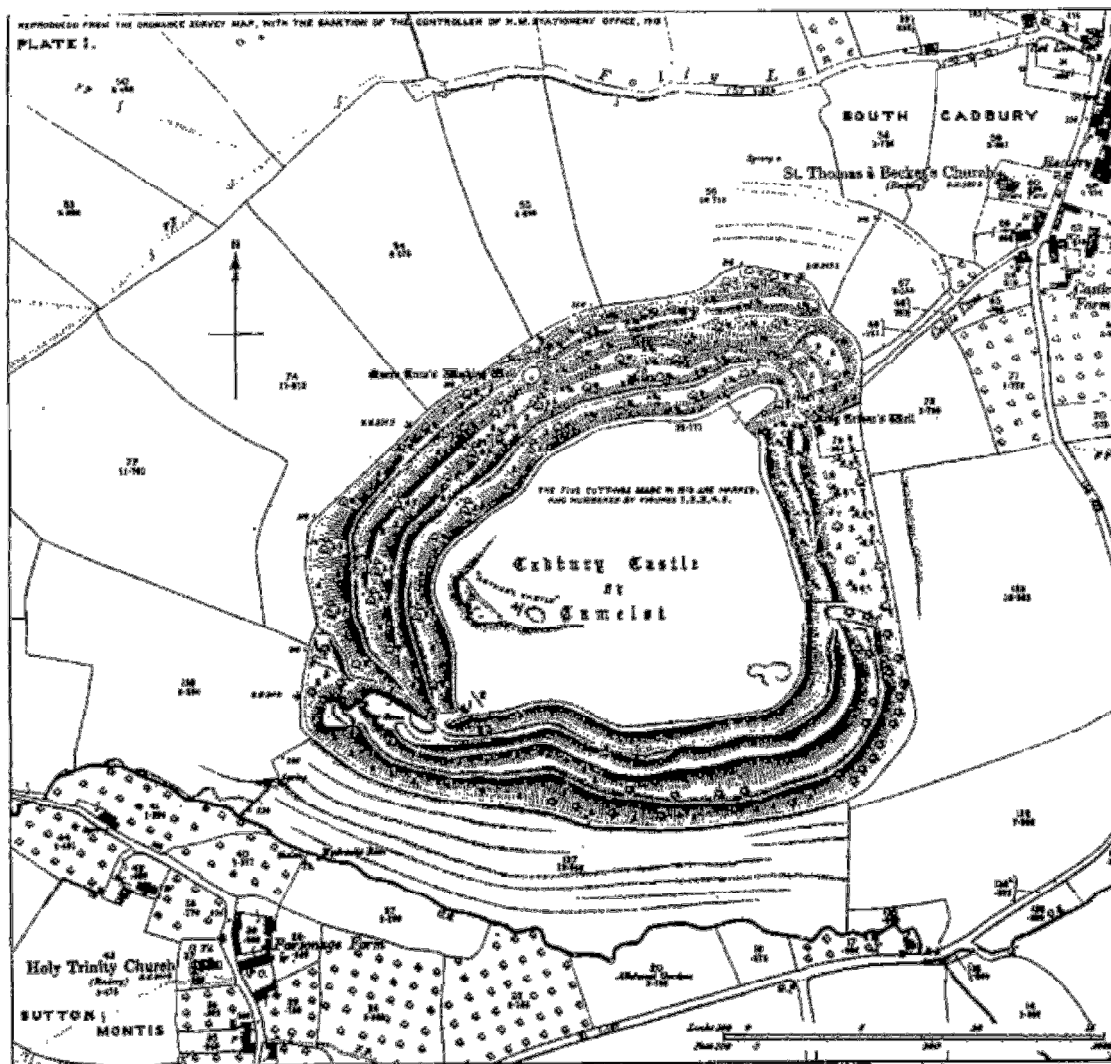


Figure 6.5. Locations of Gray's excavations, marked 1-5, on an Ordnance Survey map (Gray, 1913: Pl.1)

Archaeological interest in Cadbury Castle waned during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century until the 1950s, when a local walker found sherds of pottery on the site and reported her finds to archaeologists (Foster, 1966:254; Alcock, 1972:21). These sherds were identified by Raleigh Radford as 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century Mediterranean imports, the same that Radford had discovered and reported on at Tintagel (Radford 1956), so-called 'Tintagel-ware'. The pottery hinted at the presence of an important local chieftain at Cadbury Castle, one living during the so-called 'Arthurian' period. Radford and Cox (1955) considered the Tintagel-ware found at Cadbury to be a confirmation of legends associating it with Arthur's residence. The connection between the site, the pottery and Arthur was not as unreasonable a claim as might be thought today, since the serious critique of the historicity of Arthur was not fully developed until the 1970s (Alcock, 1972:6; see Dumville 1977).



The discovery and examination of these sherds prompted renewed, full-scale archaeological investigations of Cadbury Castle, and the Camelot Research Committee (CRC) was formed (Foster, 1966:254; Alcock, 1972:21). The CRC, led by Mortimer Wheeler (President), Leslie Alcock (Director) and Geoffrey Ashe (Honorary Secretary), represented a convergence of a range of interests in the site (Barrett, 2000b:3), and aimed to explore the full range of archaeological activity, from its earliest to its most recent. Famously, one of the main aims of the project, explicit in the name of the Committee, was to consider the potential links to a 'historical' Arthur (Barrett, 2000b:3) – as Alcock (1972:12) asks, “what historical reality might be behind such folk-lore or such identifications?” However, he does go on to emphasise that the project is not concerned with other folk narratives of the site (below), only with 'historical facts' pertaining to Arthur (Alcock, 1972:19), whereas the current study *is* concerned with such tales, since it is not their historical veracity that is of interest here (Chapters 1 and 2).

The CRC made a wide appeal for sponsors to undertake research at Cadbury, and managed to secure funds from a range of public and private groups and individuals (see Alcock, 1969:32; Alcock, 1972:19). Money was also raised through the sale of offprints and postcards to visitors on-site, a facet of archaeological excavation and interaction with the public pioneered by Wheeler at Maiden Castle (Wheeler, 1943:3), where he likewise made public appeals for funding the project. Raising money for the project was an on-going concern for the Committee (see Alcock, 1972:29, 32, 63, 76), but the 'search' for Arthur was a major selling-point, as can be seen in Foster's (1966:256) report to *Folklore*. Whilst a project conducting investigations of the hill-fort might have attracted some donations, it is unlikely to have received anything close to that reached with the Arthur connection (Higham, 2002:27; also Pryor, 2004:19). The folklore of the site thus prompted public enthusiasm for archaeology, and although some archaeologists have viewed this with scorn (below), doubtless much work beyond the question of Arthur was carried out at, and knowledge gained about, the site as a result of it, potentially instigating wider public interest in archaeology generally.

The CRC undertook an extensive investigation of the site, beginning in 1966 with reconnaissance surveys and preliminary excavations, to trenched excavations each year thereafter until 1970 (Figure 6.6); some of the results of these are summarised above. With regard to Arthur, Alcock (1972:23) concludes: “my own historical researches during the course of the excavation brought me to the position... [of] the affirmation of Arthur and the rejection of Camelot” – that is, that a place called 'Camelot' did not exist, but that Cadbury Castle could have served as a base in the early medieval period for a figure that might be

identified as Arthur. The current research is not the place to assess Alcock's consideration of Arthur as a historical figure, but to contemplate the motivation for researching the site, and for the implications of such connections.

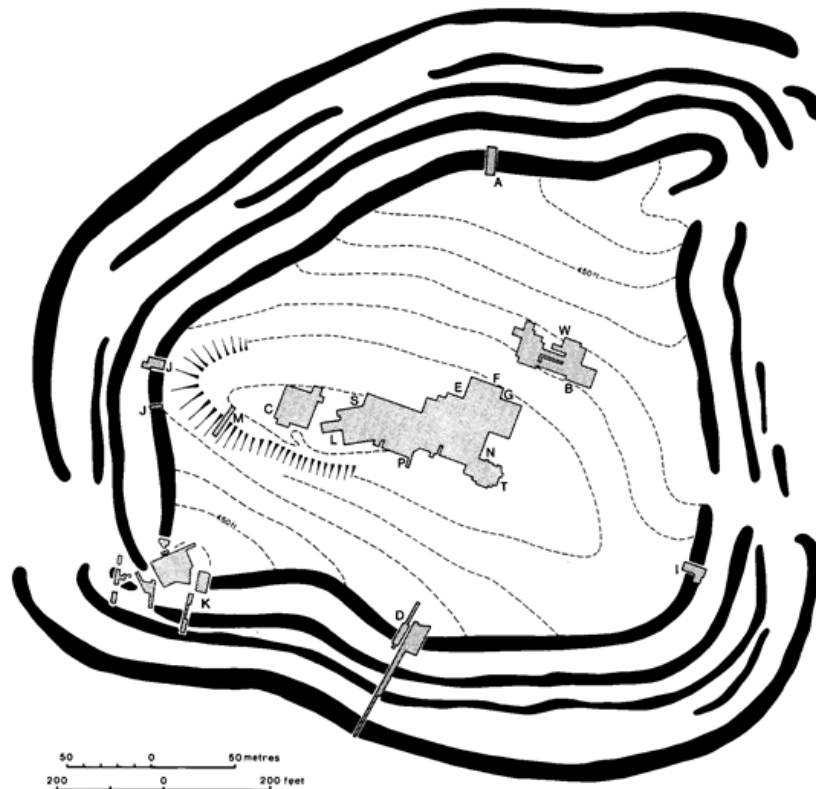


Figure 6.6. Locations of trenches excavated by the CRC (Alcock, 1995: Fig.1.11)

Nick Higham (2002) has commented on the context of the CRC investigations, being as they were so profoundly associated with Arthur. Within a post-war Britain, the notion of a 'native' British icon defending his land against Saxon invaders resonated with the defeat of Germany by Britain and its allies, and a distancing from the country's Germanic heritage was in order (Higham, 2002:27-8). Here we see an emphasis on the idealised 'Celtic' tradition of Britain in a wish to play down the Anglo-Saxon heritage of the nation (J. Simpson, 2001:xi). The 'excavation' of Arthur and his court could thus, like Leland's antiquarianism over 400 years earlier, affirm this native British heritage through physical remains, though in the case of the CRC's work tales of Cadbury Castle not only legitimated the Crown of Britain but extended to the people of Britain, and their sovereignty over their land. Such 'mental bridging', as Utz (2006:36; see Chapter 2.4) describes it, echoes immediate post-war reactions and views of British legends, as impeccably demonstrated in *The Birth of Britain*, Winston Churchill's first volume of his *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples*:

And wherever men are fighting against barbarism, tyranny, and massacre, for freedom, law, and honour, let them remember that the fame of their deeds, even though they themselves be exterminated, may perhaps be celebrated as long as the world rolls on. Let us then declare that King Arthur and his noble knights, guarding the Sacred Flame of Christianity and the theme of a world order, sustained by valour, physical strength, and good horses and armour, slaughtered innumerable hosts of foul barbarians and set decent folk an example for all time.

(Churchill, 1956:46-7)

Like Leland, Churchill then goes on to point to various places in the British landscape associated with Arthur (Utz, 2006:36), as a case for the veracity of the Arthur legend, but, like the conduct of the CRC through appeals to the public, opening excavations to visitors and accessible publications, implies that Arthur and his domains belong to all the people of Britain. In this historical context, the work of the CRC drew Arthur from a literary realm to a place in the British landscape through archaeological investigation. Cadbury Castle was thus a beacon for the Britishness and ancientness of the nation, thus representing a site of national unity and identity in the aftermath of threatened Germanisation, or obliteration.

Of course, research undertaken by the CRC was not just about the 'search' or historical assessment of Arthur – indeed, the investigations broke new ground by considering the role of defended sites during the sub-Roman period (Bradley, 2006:666) – but the overt reference to its folklore and potential marriage to archaeology produced public interest, sponsorship and archaeological results. Yet it also situated the site and its folklore in a national framework of identity-construction and unity. Such folklore proved to be beneficial to archaeologists in the mid- to late-20<sup>th</sup> century, but this was a social group that eventually considered the folkloric associations of the site as an unwelcome hindrance.

The South Cadbury Environs Project (SCEP) was established in 1992 at the University of Glasgow, moving to the University of Birmingham in 1994 and the University of Bristol in 1998, then to the University of Oxford from 2004-8, with work still on-going. The aim of SCEP is to investigate the 'hinterlands' of Cadbury Castle through archaeological assessment, including geophysical survey, excavation, surface collection and other means, in order to gain an understanding of the changing place of the site in the landscape from the Neolithic to Late Saxon periods (Davey, 2005:3; Tabor, 2008:23-39). SCEP has done much to reconsider the place of Cadbury Castle in the landscape of Wessex, and the interplay between site, landscape, and wider socio-cultural and historical contexts (see Tabor 2008), but only in a purely 'archaeological' sense, thus limiting the range of types of experience and their remains that can only be materially detected in the landscape, and explicitly limits itself temporally from prehistory to the medieval period. It could be

considered that SCEPT would greatly benefit from a model employed by Riley et al (2005), which integrates oral histories of local people in a holistic archaeology of landscape, assimilating local knowledge (such as farming practices, locations of finds and features), memories, tales and other forms of non-material engagement. In this way, the project can gain a deeper understanding of engagements between place, landscape and people, and acknowledge that landscapes and their meanings are continually changing, rather than ending at some pre-defined point in time. As it stands, however, whilst it is a welcome study of the wider landscape rather than purely focused on a single site (although still based on a model of 'core' and 'periphery'), it is a fossilised, peopleless landscape, resulting from a fear to engage with its folkloric aspects.

It might be seen that participants of SCEPT view Cadbury Castle as a victim of Arthur's success, attempting to battle against any references to folklore. Tabor's (2008) synthesis of the Cadbury landscape produced as a result of the undertakings of SCEPT is essentially a romantic polemic on the archaeology of the region, harking back to the nostalgia of playing and growing up in the area whilst rejecting local folklore that is seen to bring in tourists – outsiders – who are viewed as having no understanding or appreciation of the history of the landscape. Thus, whilst in the past folklore has been accused of romanticising sites and landscapes (Chapter 1.2), archaeology is used in the same way by those who reject associations with such tales, and emphasise the 'pastness' of the landscape, in what Bender (1998:28) calls 'mummifying the landscape'. It need not follow that the promotion of archaeological interpretation can only be successful through the rejection of the site's folklore, since many of the tales told of Cadbury are not ones that are easily confused as 'historical', if this is what archaeologists fear, but place the site within wider narrative traditions, which we can see in the following.

### 6.3.2. The Sleeping King

Like many other Arthur sites, Cadbury Castle is also a location of the popular 'cave legends' (D1960.2) associated with the figure (Chapter 1.3.3). As with all such tales, it is difficult to pinpoint a date for their earliest occurrence; at Cadbury Castle, tales with this motif are frequently recorded in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, although it is possible that they may have been extant as early as the 16<sup>th</sup> century. National Library of Wales MSS 5276 and Mostyn 158 represent a chronicle compiled by Elis Gruffydd, who was born in North Wales in around 1490 (see T. Jones 1960). The chronicle, written in Welsh, records the history of the world from the Creation to the year 1552, and in the latter part of the chronicle, where he

describes contemporary events, Gruffydd records a number of popular tales and traditions (T. Jones, 1966:177), including two Arthurian cave legends. One is recorded as being told by the people “in the region of Gloucester”, whilst the other, which is of concern here, may refer to Cadbury Castle:

And yet they [the English] talk more about him [Arthur] than we [the Welsh] do; for they say and firmly believe that he will rise again to be king. They in their opinion say that he is asleep in a cave under a hill near Glastonbury. And, indeed, if credence could be given to the word of various people in that region, he has for three hundred years been appearing to and conversing with many people in many a marvellous way.

(trans. T. Jones, 1966:179)

The ‘hill near Glastonbury’ here has been interpreted as being Glastonbury Tor itself, or as Cadbury Castle (T. Jones, 1966:179-80; Alcock, 1972:13; Radford and Swanton, 1975:50; Westwood and Simpson, 2005:639). Glastonbury had, of course, been associated with Arthur for centuries, as being the ‘Avalon’ to which Arthur was conducted to heal his wounds, and as the site of the famous ‘excavation’ of Arthur and Guinevere. Although exhumation of the supposed remains aimed to demonstrate that the hero would not return, local folktales arose that the death Arthur suffered – and was supposedly evident in the location of his grave – was only a temporary kind of death, and that he would one day return to be king once more (Collinson, 1791:240). This tale wryly shows that meaningful tales may be adapted as a result of contrary material evidence, but more pertinently here might point to Gruffydd’s ‘hill’ as being Glastonbury Tor. Alcock (1972:13) points out that no other sleeping king cave legends have been attached to Glastonbury, although this observation alone does not rule out the site, since the legend may have been present there and subsequently migrated to Cadbury, especially with the popularisation of the site as having been Arthur’s court.

The Tor has, on the other hand, been linked to the Fairy King and Lord of Annwn (the Underworld) Gwynn ap Nudd (Baring-Gould and Fisher, 1908:158-9; Jones, 1966:180; Alcock, 1972:13; Westwood and Simpson, 2005:643-6). According to the 16<sup>th</sup> century account of the *Life of St. Collen*, the eponymous saint was summoned by Gwynn to his court on Glastonbury hill. The saint refused the invitation twice, but on the third time accepted, bringing with him a flask of holy water. When he arrived at the Tor he saw “the fairest castle he had ever seen”, with all the exuberance of a magnificent court, and was led to where Gwynn was seated on a golden throne. The saint was offered food and drink, which he refused. Collen then sprinkled the holy water about him, upon which all disappeared and he

was left alone on the Tor. The motif of the saint visiting the king of fairies on the invitation of the fairy king (F379.4) invariably leads to the saint sprinkling holy water on the king and finding himself alone on a hill, as well as being linked to common motifs associated with hills such as the underground fairy palace (F222.1) and illusions caused by fairies (D2031.0.2) (Westwood and Simpson, 2005:646). Whilst it might be considered that the interchangeable nature of details such as characters in tales might suggest that Gruffydd was referring to Glastonbury Tor, that the hill is described as being ‘near’ Glastonbury rather than ‘at’, ‘in’, ‘by’ or ‘of’ Glastonbury, coupled with the lack of other references to the sleeping king legend here, might strengthen the notion that he was referring to Cadbury Castle.

Ashe (1995:7) asserts that Gruffydd’s apparent connection between Cadbury and the cave legend is the first to refer to Arthur as such a sleeping king in Britain. If this is the case, Cadbury Castle represents a (literal and metaphorical) landmark in the connection between particular folk motifs and features in the British landscape, and in the link between the figure and the motif. Cadbury Castle, then, is connected to other sites across Britain and Europe through the sleeping Arthur, who is himself linked to other folk figures through the D1960.2 motif.

Generally, these tales at Cadbury relate that the hill is hollow and contains the sleeping Arthur and his knights, sometimes guarding treasure (below), awaiting the day the country is in need of him, at which point he will rise. In the meantime, Arthur regularly rides in the vicinity (below), echoing Gruffydd’s report of his appearing to the locals, and can in some instances be glimpsed at through iron or golden gates on St. John’s Eve, either sleeping or holding court (Bennett, 1890:4), although later tales state that “no human eye has ever been fortunate to look through the gates of his dwelling” (Chambers, 1927:225).

On questioning his informants about these ‘invisible’ gates, Bennett (1890:4) was directed to one of the original entrances to the fort. Bennett (1890:2) reports that tales that the hill is hollow are widespread among the locals, who claim that “some mysterious feeling which no one can quite define” attests to a presence inside the hill. Others consider the plain on the summit of the hill to be falling in, and that if one closes the cover of King Arthur’s Well, the noise can be heard around the hill at Queen Anne’s Wishing Well, which point to its hollowness (Bennett, 1890:2). King Arthur’s Well is set into the upper rampart on the main approach to the summit via Castle Lane, and is surrounded by an 18<sup>th</sup> century brick structure and modern concrete (Figure 6.7). The name ‘King Arthur’s Well’ is recorded by Stukeley (1724:142), who, when describing discoveries such as door jambs, pavements, arches and grindstones at the site, is also told that the hill contains “subterraneous vaults”.

No subsequent writer has commented on this reference, which may indicate that Stukeley was made aware of the notion of the hollow hill at Cadbury, and either misinterpreted it or reinterpreted it 'archaeologically', or that it was communicated to him in this way. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, when a party of antiquaries had come to Cadbury to examine the hill, an old local man approached them and enquired if they had come to take the king away (Chambers, 1927:185), suggesting a continued belief in the sleeping king inside the hill (although he may have been making the comment in jest – the tone of his question is not recorded). Like many folktales at archaeological sites, the legend has attracted literary compositions, as seen in the efforts of one local poet (Anon., in Gray, 1913:5-6), who refers to the king asleep in the hill, surrounded by his knights and treasure, and guarded by dragons (Appendix C:11).

Whilst Loomis (1958:12) considers the sleeping king motif at Cadbury Castle to have been localised as a result of the notion that the fort was the location of Arthur's Camelot, this is not necessarily so, since we have seen that a number of sites are associated with tales of Arthur sleeping beneath/within them without necessarily being connected to narratives relating the site as his residence. It is the nature of Cadbury Castle as a (peculiar-looking) hill that is likely to have attracted such folklore, rather than any connections to the idea of Cadbury as Camelot, although the two can be linked by the variant that Arthur can be seen to hold his 'court' under the hill. The sleeping king tales at Cadbury, however, are more commonly linked to the motif of the Wild Hunt (E501) at this site, explored next.



**Figure 6.7. King Arthur's Well, Cadbury Castle**

### 6.3.3. The Wild Hunt

Arthur and his knights often interrupt their enchanted sleep inside Cadbury Castle to ride out on various occasions and to various places in the manner of the Wild Hunt (E501; Chapter 1.3.3). At Cadbury, Arthur is always the leader of the Hunt (E501.1.1), and is sometimes attended by his knights (E501.2.1); there are three main variants of the Wild Hunt at this site, which detail three different courses of the company (Figure 6.8).





**Figure 6.8. The three Hunts of Arthur at Cadbury (aerial photograph: Ordnance Survey)**

In one such tale, Arthur and his men ride around the hill (E501.12.5) on nights of the full moon on horses shod with silver, and stop to water their steeds at King Arthur's Well (E501.15.7). A silver horseshoe, apparently found in the track where the hunters ride, 'attests' to this event. The horseshoe was recorded by Leland (1542:38-9) as having been found 'within the memory of man', but he does not mention the tale of the Hunt; it is therefore likely that the silver horseshoe mentioned by the antiquarian (and by Camden after him) was incorporated into the tale as a way of explaining the presence of the item (Grinsell, 1976a:103) and/or as a form of verifying of the tale. No explanation is given by the antiquarians for its presence, and its location, if it ever existed, is unknown.

Another narrative relates how the king and his hounds (E501.4.1), on "rough winter nights" (E501.11.1.4 and E501.11.2.1), would ride down the path known locally as King Arthur's Lane or Hunting Causeway. A labourer working on the site of Cadbury Castle with the Rev. Bennett reported hearing the ghostly hunt pass him on the Lane on his way home one evening years before (Bennett, 1890:5). The Causeway leads from Cadbury Castle to Glastonbury, which is presumably where Arthur rides to and back again. 'King Arthur's Hunting Causeway' was also recorded by Stukeley (1724:142), but he only reports that it runs "a-cross the fields [and] bears very rank corn". It is not recorded on Ordnance Survey or other public maps, but Bennett (1890:5) notes that it was a bridleway in his youth, but was since disused. Through this particular hunting narrative, Cadbury is linked directly to Glastonbury, one of the most

famous Arthur sites, though local tales at Glastonbury do not relate that Arthur visits the site from Cadbury Castle, indicating that this tale at least is localised at Cadbury and its immediate surrounds.

The third major variant of the Wild Hunt at Cadbury Castle is the tale that Arthur and his knights ride down to Sutton Montis on Christmas Eve (E501.11.2.2) and drink from the well beside the church (Figure 6.9); although it has also been reported that Arthur rides alone to take a drink on St. John's Eve (E501.11.1.3), when, if he meets one who is not pure in life, he strikes them dead. This horrific form of Arthur more closely resembles traditional Huntsmen, and it is unusual for Arthur to be presented in such a way. The development of such a tale may be attributed to the popularity of northern European legends during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in which traits of Huntsmen are transposed directly to a local folk figure. Arthur's appearance on this night may be what the locals are referring to when they assert that anyone ascending the hill on St. John's Eve will see "something strange", although none had admitted to doing so (Bennett, 1890:4; Chambers, 1927:639; Westwood and Simpson, 2005:640).



**Figure 6.9. Sutton Montis Well (Jeremy Harte)**

Whilst the concept of the Wild Hunt taking place around a hill can be a common motif, it is perhaps not the hill that has attracted such folklore but the presence of the figure of Arthur himself. It is not likely that Wild Hunt tales were extant in local folklore much before the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when Stukeley recorded 'King Arthur's Hunting Causey' cutting across the surrounding fields. We might therefore see that the notion that Arthur could be seen in the vicinity at certain times of the year in between sleeping under the hill, coupled with the rise in interest in Germanic and Scandinavian folklore as popularised in Britain by collectors such as the Grimms and Thorpe, could have led to the development of Wild Hunt motifs being applied to the figure of Arthur as an explanation or elaboration of his appearances, then, in turn, to Cadbury Castle and its wider landscape. This not only represents a blending of the Wild Hunt motif and the character, but also the sleeping cave legends at Cadbury, which are more typical of Welsh or 'Celtic' tales. Further, although Arthur was mostly abandoned in elite literature during the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Higham, 2002:245), folklore of Arthur at Cadbury Castle continued to be reproduced and adapted at the time, illustrating the continued importance of such tales and the folk figure to the local population. All of these features converge at Cadbury Castle; we can thus perform an archaeology of these tales at the site by examining their relation to its physical features and to other tales elsewhere.

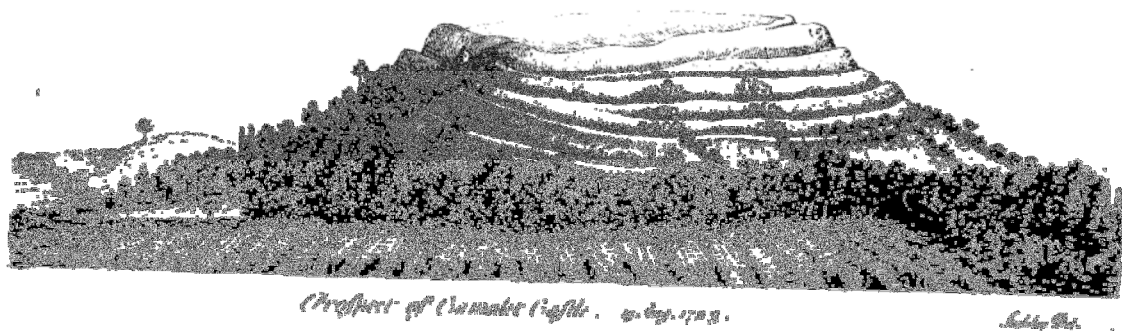
#### 6.3.4. Fairies

The final predominant folkloric theme connected with Cadbury Castle is its tales of fairies. Like many hills (fortified or unfortified), Cadbury Castle has been considered the abode of fairies (F222.1) and the location of fairy treasure (F244); such tales are also applied to barrows (F211.0.1). A tale was told to Bennett (1890:2-3) by one of the labourers working on the site with him, and Bennett relates the narrative thus:

One day a few years since I was myself opening a hut dwelling upon the plain of the hill with one of our labouring men, a native born and bred. The first thing we came upon were some fragments of pottery, and the half of a large quern or handmill. My friend was puzzled, but when its use was pointed out, he said, 'Now, Sir, I see what I never could make out afore, what the fairies wanted with carrying corn up here out of Foreside' (an arable field below). 'Why, said I, do the fairies bring corn up here?' 'Yes, Sir, we all know that, but I never could make out for why, but now I see, for here's their grindstone.

Considering that the excavation at which this story was told was undertaken 'a few years' prior to its publication, and that the locals 'all know' the tale (indicating that it was in

circulation for at least two or three generations), it could be suggested that it was around from at least the early 19<sup>th</sup>, or possibly late 18<sup>th</sup>, century. The finding of the quernstone fragment prompted the labourer to relate the occurrence of fairies at the site, demonstrating the connection made by contemporary local people between the archaeology of the site and its folklore. Stukeley (1724:142) recorded the finding of querns at Cadbury Castle two centuries earlier, and these may have served as inspiration for the notion that fairies grew corn at the base of the hill and carried it to the top; alternatively, the tales may have been inspired by the recognition of strip lynchets by local people (farmers) as representations of earlier farming practices (compare Holm 1999; Riley et al 2005) – something that Stukeley failed to recognise in his illustration of Cadbury Castle, in which he interpreted the terraces as fortifications (Figure 6.10).



**Figure 6.10. Stukeley's 1723 illustration of Cadbury Castle (Stukeley, 1724:43)**

As with other such sites, the fairies at Cadbury Castle have departed the region (F388) since the bells of the church (presumably at South Cadbury) were installed, leaving behind their vast amounts of gold inside the hill (Bennett, 1890:3). The idea that the hill contains gold has also given rise to tales that Cadbury Castle is also the home of a dragon (Foster, 1966:255; Westwood and Simpson, 2005:640), who guards the hoard of treasure under the hill (B11.6.2), a motif most frequently associated with barrows. Arthur is also the guardian of fairy treasure; this is the only connection between him and the fairies at Cadbury; Figure 6.11 demonstrates how the two tales at the site might have developed and eventually linked together in local folklore, and how the site itself potentially influenced their development.

Like the sleeping king legends at the site, that Cadbury Castle is a hill is likely to have attracted the common tales of fairies as residing in it and as the location of fairy treasure, yet the detail that fairies grow corn at the base of the hill and carry it to the top is highly

unusual, and this can be attributed to the particularity of Cadbury Castle as an archaeological site, where remains of earlier farming practices and the finding of coins and other such items serve to inspire such narratives. Furthermore, the tales of fairies and Arthur merge in his guarding of the treasure under the hill; although it is common that such sleepers are guardians of treasure, Cadbury Castle represents an explicit comingling of such motifs.

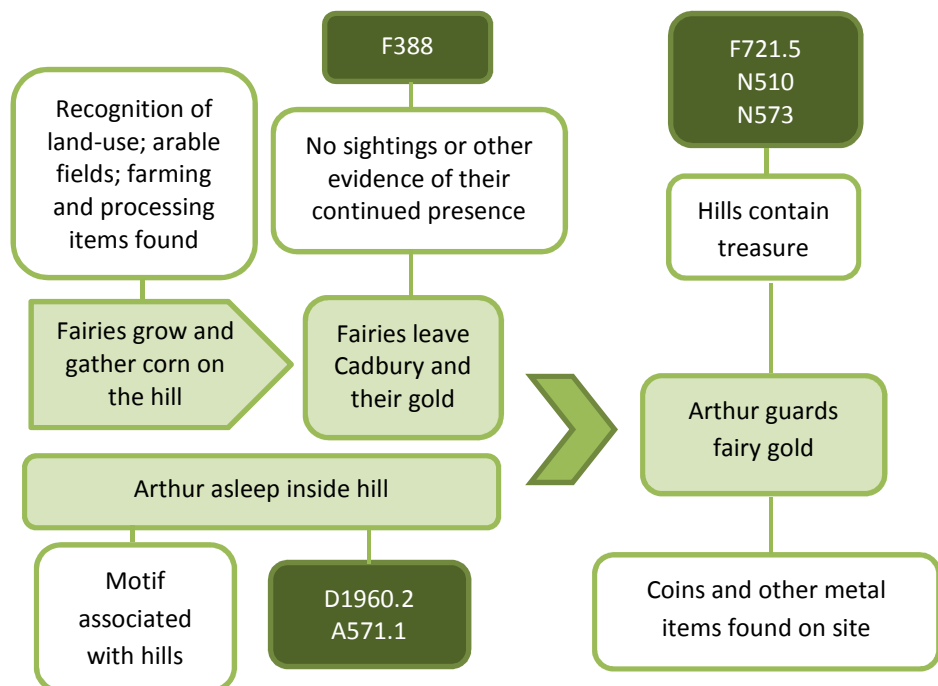
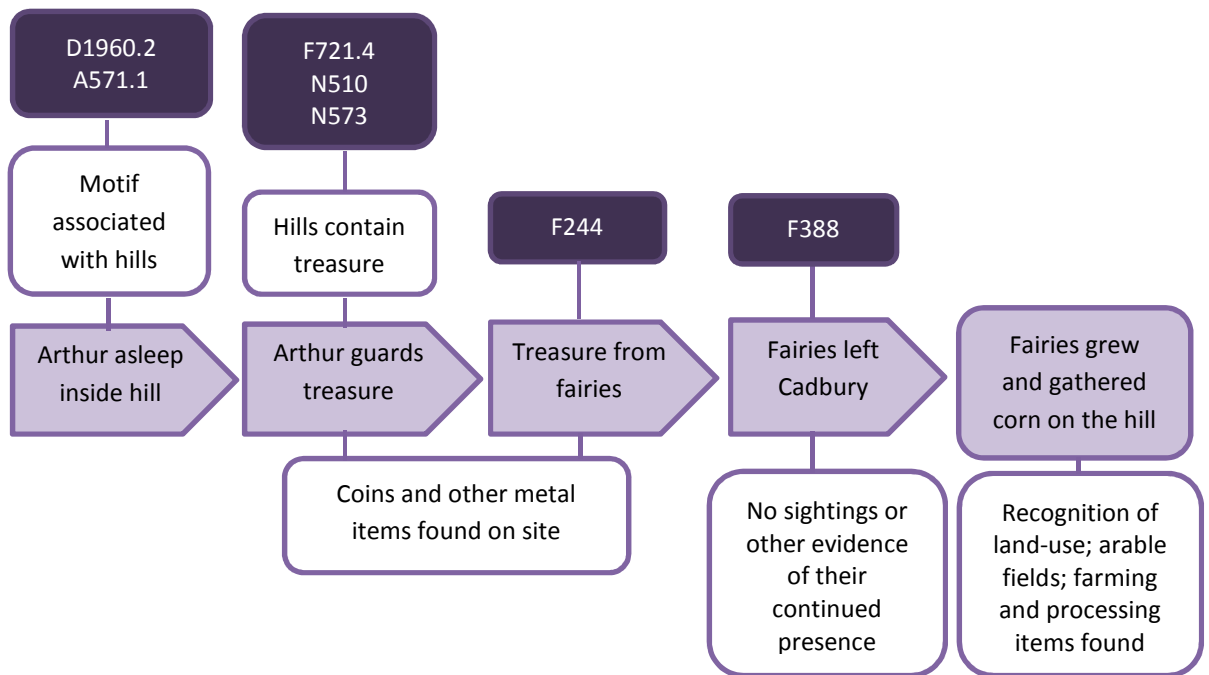


Figure 6.11. Two models suggesting the emergence and mingling of sleeping king and fairy legends at Cadbury

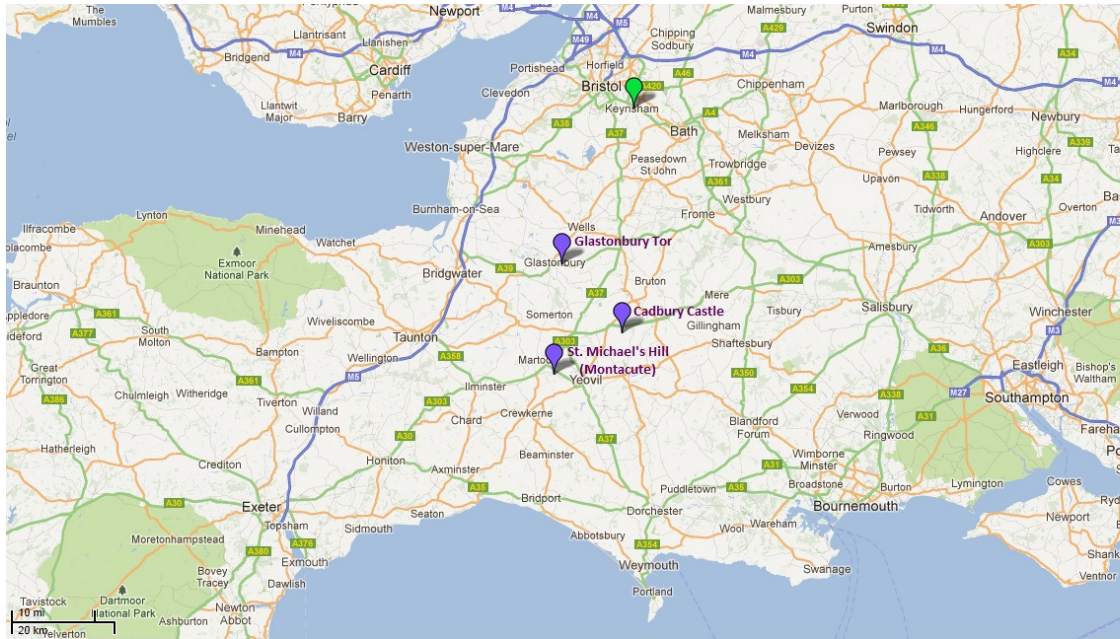
### 6.3.5. Other Tales

Before we move on to the description and interpretation of the primary research at Cadbury Castle, we must briefly consider one other tale that connects Arthur to the site and its landscape. As we have seen in tales of Arthur's Wild Hunts at Cadbury, legends of Arthur at here make use of the wider landscape and its features, so that Arthur's influence is, as is well-attested by other Arthur tales across Somerset and its surrounds, not localised at Cadbury Castle, though sometimes linked to it in some way. Stukeley (1742:142) records a curious piece of lore of the region, which, perhaps because of its obscurity, has not been documented elsewhere, and has been little commented on. He writes:

In this county of *Somersetshire* are three remarkable hills that make an exact triangle twelve mile each side, much talk'd of by the country peopl. *Camalet* castle, *Glassenbury tor* and *Montacute*. they have a notion that K. *Arthur* obtain'd from some saint, that no serpent or venomous creature ever be found in this compass, tho' frequent all around it...

The hill at Montacute refers to St. Michael's Hill, whereupon Montacute Castle once stood, but, unlike the other two hills with which it is connected in this piece of folklore, it has no other associations with tales connecting it to Arthur; additionally, there is no record that this tradition is localised at Montacute, and Stukeley reports the lore whilst describing Cadbury and Glastonbury.

The folktale itself may be associated with, or a corruption of, the legend of the 5<sup>th</sup> century Saint Keyne (Ceinwen), daughter of the legendary King Brychan Brycheiniog. On leaving her home in South Wales, where she tired of endless proposals and longed for a life of quiet godly devotion, she came to a part of Somerset where she wished to settle. The local king, however, warned her that the area was infested with venomous snakes, and that no-one would near it on account of them. Addressing herself to heaven, Keyne miraculously turned all the creatures into stone (later suggested to have been fossilised ammonites), and cleared the place of any further infestations (Challoner, 1745:165), thus establishing Keynsham (green marker, Figure 6.12). She later moved on to Cornwall, with which she is more often associated, and gave miraculous properties to a well at St. Keyne and a giant stone 'chair' on St. Michael's Mount.



**Figure 6.12. Stukeley's 'three remarkable hills' of Somerset (map: Google Maps)**

Without further details on the tale of Arthur clearing the region of snakes, it is not certain that it is the legend of St. Keyne that inspired it but, if so, it is likely that this is the saint to whom Stukeley's tale refers. Thus, as well as connecting the site of Cadbury Castle and Arthur to other places in the region, and demonstrating that associations of Cadbury with Arthur are wider within the landscape, Arthur is also linked to earlier saints' traditions and acts as an intermediary between saint and landscape. Here, Arthur takes on the role and power traditionally ascribed to a saint, whereas in the medieval *Vitae Sanctorum* he is frequently a tyrant humbled by the saint and his power (Chapter 1.3.3). In the context of a post-Reformation landscape, however, where Catholic saints are not revered in the same way, miraculous tales with which they are usually associated can be transferred from religious figures to a more popular folk figure. The landscape of Cadbury, Glastonbury and Montacute, therefore, represent a shift in how characters are presented in popular tales, indicative of wider social and cultural sentiment to earlier belief systems. The folklore in this case, then, not only connects Cadbury Castle to the wider landscape, but also highlights its role in these changing attitudes.

#### 6.4. Cadbury Castle Today

Cadbury Castle has been a Scheduled Ancient Monument since 3 March 1922, and is part of private land owned by a local farmer, but it is accessible to the public free of charge every day of the year. Access to the top of the hill is mainly gained via Castle Lane in South

Cadbury (Figure 6.13), although the south-west entrance to the hill fort is also used. The site is well sign-posted (Figure 6.14) from a visitor car park in South Cadbury, which is also where visitor information boards are located, in addition to the same information board at the bottom of Castle Lane (Figure 6.15). The information boards provide a basic archaeological outline of the hill as gathered from Alcock's excavations, including the assessment of the site as Arthur's 'Camelot' in the early medieval period, but do not overtly confirm or deny the potential connection. No references are made to the other folk narratives associated with Arthur at the site.



Figure 6.13. Castle Lane, South Cadbury



Figure 6.14. Signposts to Cadbury Castle





**Figure 6.15. Information boards at Cadbury Castle**

The local pub, formerly named The Red Lion and renamed The Camelot within the past decade (Figure 6.16), invites visitors with a sign on Castle Lane (Figure 6.17), visible on the way down from the hill. The sign plays on the notion that visitors to Cadbury Castle are aware of, and have come because of, the legends of the site as Arthur's residence. Inside the pub, a small museum-style display provides further information on the archaeology of the site and its connection to Arthur (Figure 6.18). The pub therefore acts as a local museum and information centre about Cadbury Castle, and also displays a poster showing the locations of other Arthur sites across Britain (Figure 6.19).



**Figure 6.16. The Camelot Pub, South Cadbury**



Figure 6.17. Advertisement for The Camelot, Castle Lane



Figure 6.18. Display on Cadbury Castle in The Camelot



**Figure 6.19. 'Land of Arthur' poster displayed in The Camelot**

There are no information boards on the hill itself, but a dial erected in the year 2000 by the residents of South Cadbury and Sutton Montis stands at the top of the hill (Figure 6.20), marking distances to other nearby landmarks, including Glastonbury and Tintagel. Cadbury Castle offers expansive views over the Somerset Levels to Glastonbury Tor (Figure 6.21), and is on the route of the Leland Trail, a recreational path that follows a proposed course the antiquary took on his itinerary. The hill is thus popular with walkers, as well as local residents and tourists visiting the area.

Cadbury Castle is a destination for 'alternative' and spiritual/neo-pagan groups, although these may be more frequent at specific times of the year. Fieldwork conducted for the current research during summer 2012 fell over Midsummer (21 June), and on the Eve and Day of this event a Mother Goddess tour group and a spiritualist tour group respectively visited the site. After the visit of the former group a purple ribbon was found tied to a tree whose branches hung over the upper rampart, below the plateau of Arthur's Palace (Figure 6.22). On my arrival to the site the next morning the ribbon had either blown away or had been removed. The latter group had come from Spain on a coach tour to the West Country

and were having their “pre-meditation preparations” (CCS37V) on Arthur’s Palace before they moved on to Glastonbury.

Festivities are also held on Cadbury Castle by local residents: the bed and breakfast owner with whom I was staying during my fieldwork reported that a large bonfire (Figure 6.23) had been made on top of the hill as part of celebrations (Figure 6.24) of Elizabeth II’s Diamond Jubilee over the first weekend of June. The hill is therefore a focal and meeting point for residents of the area, as well as a recreational place for visitors. As at Arthur’s Seat (Chapter 5.3), visitors also leave tokens using loose stone on the ramparts of the hill (Figure 6.25), though to a lesser extent.



**Figure 6.20. Dial on Cadbury Castle**



**Figure 6.21. View of Glastonbury Tor from Cadbury Castle**



**Figure 6.22. Ribbon tied to a tree at Cadbury Castle, found following a visit by a Mother Goddess group**



**Figure 6.23. Remains of a bonfire held on Cadbury Castle to celebrate the Queen's Diamond Jubilee**



**Figure 6.24. Celebratory bunting in South Cadbury**



**Figure 6.25. Message arranged using loose stone on the upper rampart of Cadbury Castle**

Fieldwork at Cadbury Castle was undertaken over a one week period during the summer of 2012; this was followed by the posting of questionnaires to randomly-selected residents of South Cadbury. Given the large area and undulating topography of the site, it was difficult

to assess the presence and number of visitors here at any one time; positioning myself at the top of Castle Lane, visitors were asked if they would complete a questionnaire on their way back down from the site, although some visitors descending the hill from the south-west entrance were missed. Approximately 90% of the total number of visitors approached at random consented; reasons given for not completing the questionnaire were typically because they were on scheduled coach trips and thus could not give the time, or due to language barriers. A total of 62 questionnaires were collected for this site; of these, 41 were completed on-site by visitors (none of whom were residents of South Cadbury) and 21 were postal questionnaires to local residents. Two postal questionnaires were returned blank. Overall, 56.7% of respondents were male, 43.3% female, which represents a fairly even spread, although with a slightly higher proportion of males. Chi-squared tests do not indicate any bias according to age (Table 6.1) or gender in this sample ( $\chi^2 = 4.147$ ,  $p = 15.086$ ,  $df = 5$ ).

**Table 6.1. Age category frequencies at Cadbury Castle**

		Frequency	Percent
Age	18-24	5	8.3
	25-34	6	10.0
	35-44	8	13.3
	45-54	13	21.7
	55-64	12	20.0
	65+	16	26.7
	<b>Total</b>	60	100.0
Missing	System	2	
<b>Total</b>		62	

The majority of visitors came to the site because it was a 'good place to walk' (78%) and described it as a 'must-see site' (66.7%). 36.6% of visitors also came because they were interested in the archaeology, whilst 12.2% also came because they were interested in Arthur. A high proportion (86.7%) of those respondents who visited the site because of its archaeology had heard of the folktales pertaining to Arthur; a high proportion of those visiting the site because it was a good place to walk (78.1%) and because they were interested in the area (70%) had also heard of the tales. The majority of those who had not heard of the tales came to the site because it was a good place to walk (70%).

The majority of respondents (81.7%) had heard of folktales of Arthur at Cadbury Castle: 75.6% of visitors had heard the tales, compared to 94.7% of residents. There does not appear to be a relationship between residence and hearing these tales ( $\chi^2 = 1.966$ ,  $p = 6.635$ ,  $df = 1$ ), or between age ( $\chi^2 = 2.851$ ,  $p = 15.086$ ,  $df = 5$ ) or gender ( $\chi^2 = .266$ ,  $p = 6.635$ ,  $df = 1$ ). Only one resident had not heard of the tales. Those who had heard of the tales at Cadbury gave

Books/Leaflets as their sources (63.3%), followed closely by Family/Friends (55.1%). 20.4% of those who had heard the tales could not remember where they had heard them; 'Other' (20.4%) responses included 'Archaeologists', 'School', 'Locals' in the pub and 'Folklore' as their sources. Respondents who had not heard of the tales but related narratives about the site's archaeology/history gave 'Maps', 'Archaeologists', 'Locals' ('Other', 42.9%) and Books/Leaflets (28.6%) as their sources, or could not remember (28.6%).

Of the narratives given (54 in total) in response to Question 3, 'What stories have you heard about Cadbury Castle?' (Figure 6.26), 85.2% were in some way related to Arthur. 37% referred to the archaeology of the site; 24% of the total number of narratives mentioned both the archaeology and Arthur, either as separate facets of the site or how they fit together within the 'history' of the site as a whole. 3 of these (CCS34V, CCS45R, CCS54R) related the notion that archaeological evidence may point to such a figure existing at the site during the early medieval period, as can be seen in the following:

I have been told that archaeological findings showed good evidence to confirm that if Arthur existed his great hall was on Cadbury Hill fort.

(CCS54R)

The above response reiterates Alcock's interpretation outlined above; this respondent 'was told' by friends and "local people that have lived in the village for many years", demonstrating that archaeological narratives themselves are communicated orally as local folklore. The remainder of those who referred to the site's archaeology and connection to tales of Arthur as distinct facets of Cadbury Castle's history mainly expressed the two in terms that did not negate one or the other, for example:

This was a hill fort from the Iron Age, and resettled in the Dark Ages. People also said that this is a possible site of Camelot, but whether or not there's any truth in it, it's interesting as a piece of folklore.

(CCS14V)

One respondent rejected the folklore of Cadbury Castle outright: CCS48R argued that, "the closest King Arthur came to Cadbury Castle was Glastonbury Tor" and thus did not associate Cadbury with the figure. CCS52R did not consider the figure to have existed, answering 'No' to Question 5 on whether tales should be promoted more because of their historical inaccuracy and because they were promoted well enough, but did consider the tales of Arthur at Cadbury Castle to be significant to the image, history and heritage of England. This indicates an interest on the part of the public that the fleshing out of motivations of folk narratives at a site by interpreting them in relation to their historical



contexts has a perceived wider significance to the heritage of a country or local population (Question 8):

I am a firm believer that King Arthur did not exist as a historical figure. The stories about him indicate that he and his court were legendary. It may have been helpful to the population of the south-west of England at the time of his supposed existence to believe in an English 'hero'. The archaeological evidence shows that there has been human existence at Cadbury Castle for thousands of years.

Of the narratives associated with Arthur, 65.2% describe the site as 'Camelot' or Arthur's court; one of these (CCS50R) referred directly to Leland's assertion that the site was Arthur's Camelot. 17.4% of those who related tales about Arthur referred to tales characterised by motif D1960.2. Some of these are reproductions of earlier tales referred to above:

There is a story that Arthur and his knights are sleeping in the hill and at Midsummer one can see into the hill and see them sleeping... (CCS43R)

... Arthur and his knights lie in a cavern inside the hill and ride out on Christmas Eve. (CCS55R)

Other responses are developments of the sleeping king narrative that relate that the hill turns as clear as glass on Midsummer, and it is in this way that Arthur and his knights can be seen sleeping. Those that gave such a response (CCS9V, CCS10V, CCS11V, CCS12V) were visitors to the site that had exchanged tales about Cadbury Castle as they were walking on the hill. As exemplified by one of the above responses, a number of tales with the D1960.2 motif also referred to Arthur partaking in a Wild Hunt, with many of the features found in earlier folktales:

That he rides in ghostly form with his retinue along King Arthurs [sic] hunting causeway towards Cadbury Castle on midsummers [sic] night. One of the wells near the summit are [sic] named after him and the hill is hollow. If you call down King Arthur's Well you can be heard in Queen Anne's Wishing Well. That he rides out of the hollow castle on ?midsummers [sic] eve. (CCS44R)

The two motifs, and the notion that 'something strange' might be seen on St. John's Eve, are also combined in a narrative that appears to be a local tale previously unrecorded:

The classic Arthurian story is that if you go to the top of the Castle at midnight on Midsummers [sic] Eve and you put your ear to the ground you will hear the sound of King Arthurs [sic] horses [sic] hooves. Have done it in my youth – only heard

Archie Montgomery's (who owns the hill) heifers running about!! Nevertheless, a magic, often dark place to live near.

(CCS57R)

Further, the presence of the Causeway and the notion of the hill as containing a hollow cavern had given rise to a response given by CCS59R that there is "a tunnel between Cadbury Castle and Glastonbury" (F721.1). Other respondents related tales with the E501 motif independently of D1960.2 tales. One respondent (CCS28V) developed the traditional connection between Cadbury Castle, Arthur and the Wild Hunt into an entertaining or whimsical narrative:

Well, it's clearly associated with Arthur because I see him at least twice a year! [Pause. TP: *When do you see him?*] He rides around on his horse. [TP: *Where does he go?*] Well, he goes down there [gestures towards Sutton Montis] and has a drink at the pub. [NB. There is no pub in Sutton Montis.] But they say it's likely that this was his Camelot. I know there are other places that are suggested – the only other place is Tintagel – but I don't think that's likely, and that's a really tasteless place. Whereas here [sweeps arm], it's got just the right atmosphere.

The apparent special or 'magical' atmosphere of Cadbury Castle is related by 4 respondents; one of these (CCS37V) was part of the spiritual tour group noted above, and all referred to folktales of Arthur, suggesting that it is these that give its particular atmosphere and character.

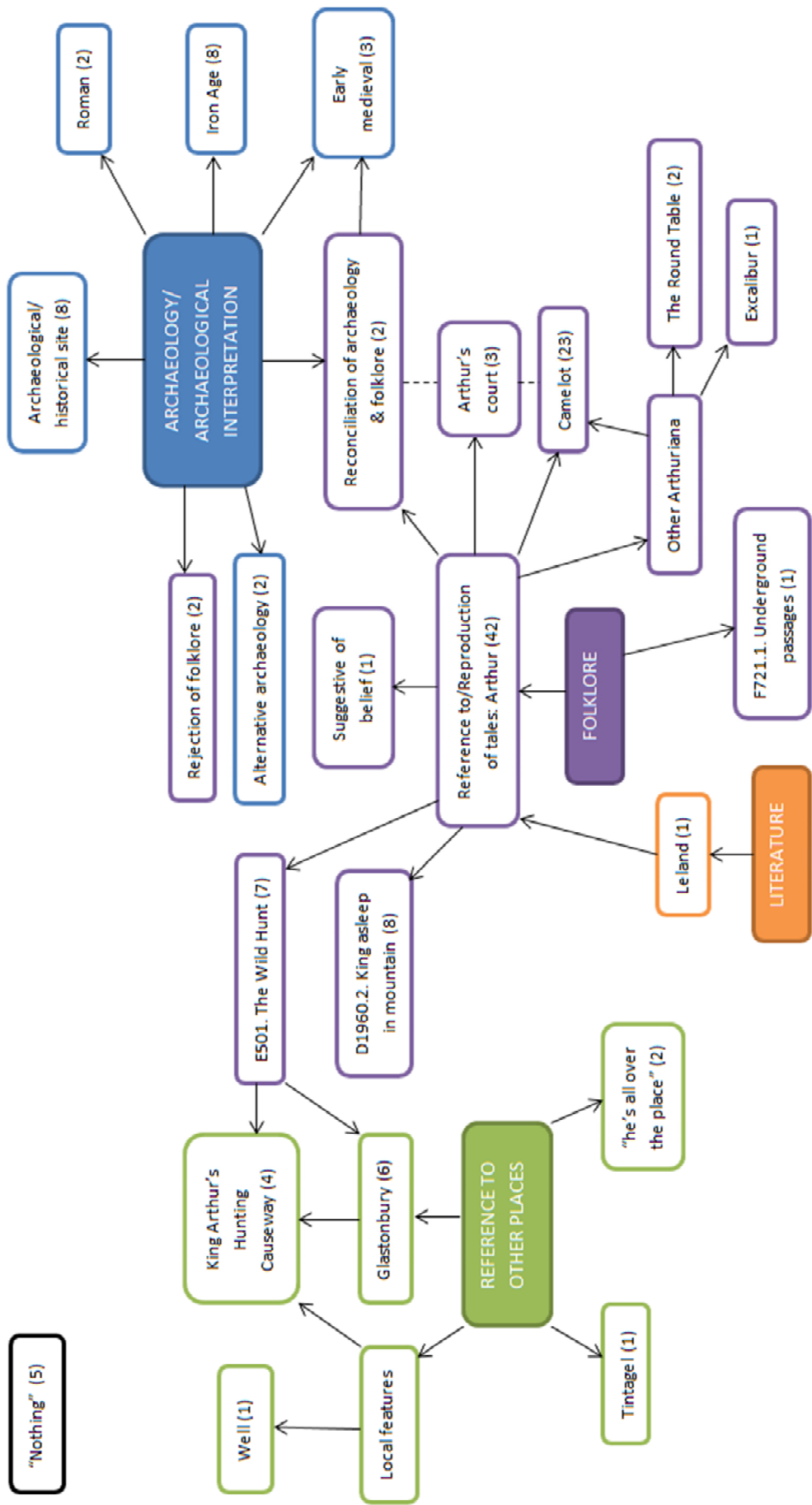


Figure 6.26. Network of codes and code families for responses to Question 3, 'What stories have you heard about Cadbury Castle?' The number of associated responses is indicated in parentheses. Codes and code families compiled in Atlas.ti

The majority of the sample (73.3%) thought that folktales at Cadbury Castle should be promoted more; 16.7% answered 'No' to this question and 10% responded 'Don't know'. There does not appear to be a relationship between residence and wanting the tales to be promoted more, although chi-squared tests on this cross-tabulation appear to be approaching statistical significance ( $\chi^2 = 8.318$ ,  $p = 9.210$ ,  $df = 2$ ), reflecting the overwhelming majority of non-residents wanting to hear more (80.5%), compared to a slightly more balanced response from residents (57.9% 'Yes', 36.8% 'No', 5.3% 'Don't know'). However, the majority of residents would like to see the tales promoted more.

The main reasons given by respondents who would like folktales to be promoted at Cadbury Castle were, principally, because they were part of local people's heritage (88.4%) and because they were part of the site's social history (74.4%), followed by the thought that they were entertaining or make the site interesting (48.8%); 27.9% thought that the stories were or could be true. One respondent (CCS38V), who had not previously heard of the tales, also gave the response that one could "appreciate the site as a whole" by hearing such tales, whilst another (CCS29V), who had heard of the tales but did not consider them to be historically accurate, further commented, "it's nice to have some romance!" Two respondents additionally pointed to the tales' historical inaccuracies as a reason for promoting them. The inaccuracy of the tales was the predominant reason given by those who did not think the tales should be promoted (55.6%), and because they thought the tales would bring in too many tourists, which was the majority response from residents answering 'No' to Question 5, or were not interested in any aspect of the site (including its archaeology) at all ('Other', 44.4%).

None of the sample who visited Cadbury Castle for the archaeology did not think folktales of the site should be promoted more. The overwhelming majority of visitors giving all range of responses to Question 1 thought that the tales should be promoted more (Table 6.2). Table 6.3 illustrates responses to Question 5 according to national identity; we can see that the majority of all given national identities would like to hear about the tales at Cadbury Castle; likewise, Table 6.4 illustrates a similar observation according to Arthur's perceived identity.

**Table 6.2. Cross-tabulation of Cadbury Castle visitors' reasons for visiting the site and Question 5**

			Do you think tales of Arthur at Cadbury Castle should be promoted more?			Total
			No	Yes	Don't know	
Why did you visit Cadbury Castle?	Interested in history/ archaeology	Count	0	13	2	15
		% Q1	0.0%	86.7%	13.3%	
	Interested in Arthur	Count	0	5	0	5
		% Q1	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	
	Interested in the area	Count	1	6	3	10
		% Q1	10.0%	60.0%	30.0%	
	Good place to walk	Count	3	24	5	32
		% Q1	9.4%	75.0%	15.6%	
	'Must-see' site	Count	0	3	0	3
		% Q1	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	
<b>Total</b>	Count	3	33	5	41	

**Table 6.3. Cross-tabulation of Cadbury Castle respondents' national identities and Question 5**

			Do you think tales of Arthur at Cadbury Castle should be promoted more?			Total
			No	Yes	Don't know	
National Identity	English	Count	7	16	0	23
		% Q16	30.4%	69.6%	0.0%	
	Welsh	Count	0	2	0	2
		% Q16	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	
	British	Count	3	23	3	29
		% Q16	10.3%	79.3%	10.3%	
	Irish	Count	0	1	0	1
		% Q16	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	
	Other	Count	1	5	3	9
		% Q16	11.1%	55.6%	33.3%	
<b>Total</b>	Count	10	42	6	58	

**Table 6.4. Cross-tabulation of Cadbury Castle respondents' perceived identity of Arthur and Question 5**

			Do you think tales of Arthur at Cadbury Castle should be promoted more?			Total
			No	Yes	Don't know	
Arthur as...	Celtic	Count	2	11	3	16
		% Q7	12.5%	68.8%	18.8%	
	British	Count	2	15	4	21
		% Q7	9.5%	71.4%	19.0%	
	Roman	Count	0	2	0	2
		% Q7	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	
	English	Count	1	22	1	24
		% Q7	4.2%	91.7%	4.2%	
	Welsh	Count	1	3	0	4
		% Q7	25.0%	75.0%	0.0%	
	French	Count	0	1	0	1
		% Q7	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	
	Other	Count	4	11	0	15
		% Q7	26.7%	73.3%	0.0%	
	<b>Total</b>	Count	9	42	6	57

Table 6.5 presents responses according to how Arthur is identified (Question 7). 73.3% of those who provided an ‘Other’ response gave ‘West Country’ as Arthur’s identity. Other responses were ‘Legendary’, ‘Fictitious’ or ‘Don’t know’. The main response among residents with regards to Arthur’s identity was that he was Celtic (35.3%), British (23.5%) or Welsh (23.5%). Among non-residents Arthur was considered English (55%), British (42.5%) or from the West Country (30%). All of those in the sample who considered Arthur to be a Roman, Welsh or French figure were residents. The majority of those in the sample who considered Arthur to be a Celtic figure identified themselves as British (43.8%); those who described Arthur as British were themselves British (50%) or ‘American’, ‘European’, or did not align themselves with a particular identity (40%). Those who predominantly described Arthur as an English figure identified themselves as British (60.9%) and/or English (39.1%), as were those who considered Arthur to be from the West Country (42.9% British, 64.3% English).

**Table 6.5. Frequency table of Arthur’s perceived identity within the Cadbury Castle sample**

		<b>N</b>	<b>Percent of Cases</b>
<b>Arthur as...</b>	<b>Celtic</b>	16	28.1%
	<b>British</b>	21	36.8%
	<b>Roman</b>	2	3.5%
	<b>English</b>	24	42.1%
	<b>Welsh</b>	4	7.0%
	<b>French</b>	1	1.8%
	<b>Other</b>	15	26.3%
<b>Total</b>		83	145.6%

With whatever identity Arthur is aligned, and with whatever national identity they aligned themselves, the majority of respondents (76.7%) thought tales of the folk figure at Cadbury Castle were significant to the image, history and heritage of England (Table 6.6). Only two residents and two non-residents responded ‘No’ to Question 7, whilst 4 non-residents ‘Did not know’. Table 6.7 presents visitors’ responses to this question against their reasons for visiting the site: none of those who visited the site for its history/archaeology answered ‘No’ to Question 7.

**Table 6.6. Cross-tabulation of Arthur’s identity and perceived significance of folktales at Cadbury Castle**

			Do you think tales of Arthur at Cadbury Castle are significant to the image, history and heritage of England?			Total
			No	Yes	Don't know	
Arthur as...	Celtic	Count	1	14	1	16
		% Q7	6.3%	87.5%	6.3%	
	British	Count	1	16	4	21
		% Q7	4.8%	76.2%	19.0%	
	Roman	Count	0	2	0	2
		% Q7	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	
	English	Count	1	20	3	24
		% Q7	4.2%	83.3%	12.5%	
	Welsh	Count	1	3	0	4
		% Q7	25.0%	75.0%	0.0%	
	French	Count	0	1	0	1
		% Q7	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	
	Other	Count	2	9	4	15
		% Q7	13.3%	60.0%	26.7%	
<b>Total</b>		Count	5	44	8	57

**Table 6.7. Cross-tabulation of reasons given for visiting Cadbury Castle and response to Question 8**

			Do you think tales of Arthur at Cadbury Castle are significant to the image, history and heritage of England?			Total
			No	Yes	Don't know	
Why did you visit Cadbury Castle?	Interested in history/archaeology	Count	0	11	4	15
		% Q1	0.0%	73.3%	26.7%	
	Interested in Arthur	Count	0	5	0	5
		% Q1	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	
	Interested in the area	Count	1	5	4	10
		% Q1	10.0%	50.0%	40.0%	
	Good place to walk	Count	3	23	6	32
		% Q1	9.4%	71.9%	18.8%	
	'Must-see' site	Count	0	2	1	3
		% Q1	0.0%	66.7%	33.3%	
<b>Total</b>		Count	3	29	9	41

Only two respondents who considered the site of Cadbury Castle to be significant to the image, history and heritage of England did not think the folktales here were significant. There is therefore a strong relationship between considering the tales to be significant to England and the site as significant ( $\chi^2 = 48.915, p = 13.277, df = 4$ ). The majority of respondents (86.7%) thought that the site was significant to the heritage of England; an equal number answered 'No' or 'Don't know' to this question (6.7% each). Respondents of all national identities considered the site to be significant (Table 6.8). The higher frequency of 'English' respondents answering 'No' to Question 9 may be attributed to a higher number of respondents aligning themselves with this particular identity.

**Table 6.8. Cross-tabulation of Cadbury Castle respondents' national identities and Question 9**

			Do you consider Cadbury Castle to be significant to the image, history and heritage of England?			Total	
			No	Yes	Don't know		
National Identity	English	Count	4	19	0	23	
		% Q16	17.4%	82.6%	0.0%		
	Welsh	Count	0	2	0	2	
		% Q16	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%		
	British	Count	0	27	2	29	
		% Q16	0.0%	93.1%	6.9%		
	Irish	Count	0	1	0	1	
		% Q16	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%		
	Other	Count	0	6	3	9	
		% Q16	0.0%	66.7%	33.3%		
	<b>Total</b>		Count	4	50	4	58

Most respondents (81.7%), both residents and non-residents, considered the site to be part of their heritage, with no differentiation between the two groups and this response ( $\chi^2 = .677, p = 9.210, df = 2$ ). The main reason given for considering the site to be part of a respondent's heritage was because they considered it to be the heritage of the country, and therefore their heritage (63.3%) – this response was, as might be expected, not given by those who did not identify themselves with any part of the United Kingdom. The reasons given by 'Other' identities were that the site was part of humanity's heritage or a 'feeling' that it was their heritage. The next popular reason for respondents considering the site to be part of their heritage was because they grew up with stories about Arthur (38.8%). Such a response was given by those who identified themselves as 'Irish' (100%), 'English' (43.5%), 'Other' ('American', 33.3%) and 'British' (24.1%). The majority of those who did not consider the site to be part of their heritage was because they did not know or 'feel' like it was part of their heritage (57.1%). Table 6.9 displays responses of residents and non-residents to Question 10.



**Table 6.9. Reasons given for considering Cadbury Castle to be part of respondents' heritage according to residence**

			Residence		Total
			Not resident	Resident	
<b>Heritage - why/not?</b>	<b>Living in the same area</b>	Count	5	13	18
		% Residence	12.2%	68.4%	
	<b>Cultural/social affinity</b>	Count	1	7	8
		% Residence	2.4%	36.8%	
	<b>Inheriting the archaeology</b>	Count	3	8	11
		% Residence	7.3%	42.1%	
	<b>Grew up with stories about Arthur</b>	Count	14	5	19
		% Residence	34.1%	26.3%	
	<b>Heritage of this country, therefore my heritage</b>	Count	21	10	31
		% Residence	51.2%	52.6%	
	<b>Heritage of all humanity</b>	Count	1	3	4
		% Residence	2.4%	15.8%	
	<b>Not from this area/country</b>	Count	1	2	3
		% Residence	2.4%	10.5%	
	<b>Don't know/doesn't 'feel' like my heritage</b>	Count	3	3	6
		% Residence	7.3%	15.8%	
	<b>Other</b>	Count	6	1	7
		% Residence	14.6%	5.3%	
<b>Total</b>		Count	41	19	60

## 6.5. Conclusion

Cadbury Castle is a place where the conflicts between archaeology and folklore are thrown into sharp relief. On the one hand, it can be characterised by attempts to archaeologically assess some of the legends associated with the site; on the other, archaeologists have strenuously avoided any connection with such tales. Archaeologists' response to tales of Arthur at the site have therefore been to either evaluate their veracity or reject them entirely, rather than considering how or why these tales have been linked to the site, the implications of these connections, and how the public perceive such tales. Folktales have, meanwhile, continued to be reproduced here, often in response to (and sometimes in spite of) political and cultural developments, direct observation of and engagements with the site, and archaeologists' dissemination of their interpretations. The archaeological investigations of the CRC in particular have been circulated orally by local residents, often passing to visitors, thus perpetuating some of the findings of the 1960s and 70s, which may themselves be subject to more recent archaeological reassessment. Yet the oral circulation of the CRC's archaeological interpretations indicates that archaeological and folkloric narratives are often communicated as 'stories' here; this does not jeopardise the legitimacy of archaeological interpretation, but rather demonstrates the range of narratives that might be told as idiosyncrasies of that site. Archaeologists are one social group that were at one time influenced by the legends of Cadbury Castle within the particular context of a post-

WWII Britain, which saw a distancing from Germanic heritage, renegotiating identities and renewing links with a 'pre-Saxon' past. They were thus influenced by a similar movement of nation-building and demonstration of sovereignty as Leland was, who has been credited with the popularisation of the site as having been identified with Arthur.

Yet the CRC's investigations often treated Cadbury Castle as a site in isolation, whilst its folk narratives have connected it to the wider Wessex landscape before even SCEP did this 'archaeologically'. Narratives localised at Cadbury Castle, both in the past and the present, refer to other places and features in the immediate vicinity and within the wider landscape, in particular Glastonbury. Glastonbury is a site with which Cadbury is most closely connected; indeed, it might be seen that many of its tales migrated to, or inspired, tales recorded at the hill fort. As well as situating the site within the Wessex landscape, legends and folktales, such as the sleeping king and Wild Hunt legends, connect Cadbury to other sites in Britain and across the rest of Europe, and is representative of such traditions moving, meeting and mingling across time and place.

The view of Arthur as a local chieftain of the early medieval period was one held and upheld by archaeologists working on excavations of the CRC, whilst all other representations of the figure were rejected by the CRC because they could not be historically tenable. This view of Arthur is maintained by some visitors and residents local to the site, as seen in responses to the survey. That many respondents in the sample referred to the site as 'Camelot' suggests either that Arthur is here viewed as the chivalric figure as popularised by Malory and Chrétien de Troyes, or the image of Arthur remains that of an early medieval chieftain but the name 'Camelot' is here used as a generic reference to where the figure lived, rather than literally being so-named. The latter explanation seems more likely, since the public in this sample appear to have a good understanding of the archaeological remains of the site, and may adjust their concepts of Arthur accordingly, if they were to link the two.

Many other respondents reproduced concepts of Arthur as characterised in other legends at Cadbury Castle, namely, the king asleep in the hollow hill and the leader of the Wild Hunt. Arthur at Cadbury thus represented and represents an amalgam of the 'Celtic' king with traits most commonly found in other northern European folk figures. As a Hunter, Arthur makes use of surrounding landscape features such as wells and the now-vanished Causeway. Although the Causeway has physically disappeared, is still present in the landscape through the reproduction of such tales.

Two versions of Arthur represented in earlier tales at Cadbury Castle are not, however, referred to in responses from the sample surveyed at Cadbury. The first is, unsurprisingly,

the Arthur in Stukeley's snake-ridding story. The narrative or this representation of Arthur does not appear to have been passed down in the past two centuries, which may reflect the insignificance of the tale to local people. Its disappearance may also be because this is a rare representation of Arthur that does not resonate with local or even national perceptions of the folk figure, or the tale, not being attached to a specific landmark that can act as a mnemonic for the narrative, was not maintained. Another concept of Arthur that was not reproduced by the sample today is that of the guardian of (fairy) gold beneath the hill. This may be because such an image of Arthur is closely associated with fairy folklore at the site, which did not appear in the sample responses, or that it is the presence of Arthur sleeping under the hill (commonly connected with notions of the returning redeemer-hero) that is more important, rather than his role as guardian of treasure.

We might therefore see that narratives reproduced about Cadbury Castle in the past and present are closely connected to the nature of the site as a hill, and because of surrounding features. None of the themes or motifs attached to the site is unusual for hill-folklore, with the exception that fairies grow, gather and carry corn on it. The fairy narrative here is, as mentioned, perhaps a particularity of Cadbury Castle arising from an observation of the remains of ancient farming practices by local people, and incorporated into popular tales about the site. Yet it is the presence of the figure of Arthur that appears to have attracted other kinds of folk narratives, mainly the Wild Hunt, and this might also be extended to the reproduction of archaeological narratives of the site as re-inhabited in the early medieval period, where the public connect the image of Arthur, the period, and the site, without necessarily considering the folk figure to have actually existed. Of course, explorations at Cadbury Castle from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards are not solely motivated by its connections with Arthur, but folktales collected nonetheless reflect an acknowledgement of the variety of human engagements with the site. The perpetuation of such folklore at Cadbury Castle may also, perhaps most importantly, be due to the motivations for popularising or exploring such legends, which are tied to specific social, cultural and political contexts. In this way, and as indicated in the primary data, folktales at Cadbury Castle have a part to play in the perception of an archaeological site as being part of a particular group's or country's 'heritage'.

## CHAPTER 7

### ARTHUR'S QUOIT, GWYNEDD

#### 7.1. Introduction

This case study site represents the high proportion of chambered tombs in north Wales associated with the folk hero Arthur. More typically known as the Dyffryn Ardudwy burial chambers today, Arthur's Quoit (Welsh *Coetan Arthur*) (Figure 7.1) is located in the village of Dyffryn Ardudwy directly behind the community's primary school. Dyffryn Ardudwy is situated within Snowdonia National Park, at the foot of the Rhinogydd mountain range on the Cardigan Bay coastal road between Barmouth and Harlech (Figure 7.2). The site is one of a number of megalithic tombs in the district, some of which share the same name and folklore (GY04, GY13). The Dyffryn Ardudwy site comprises two portal dolmens – the eastern dolmen nearly twice the size of the western one – standing upon a cairn field 45.7m above sea level, overlooking the sea and the Llyn Peninsula beyond (Figure 7.3). They were once covered by a cairn, but have been uncovered for several centuries, since early accounts appear to describe them in their exposed state; the surrounding cairn now only survives at a maximum depth of 0.6m, with no definite edge (Powell, 1973:10).



Figure 7.1. Arthur's Quoit, Dyffryn Ardudwy

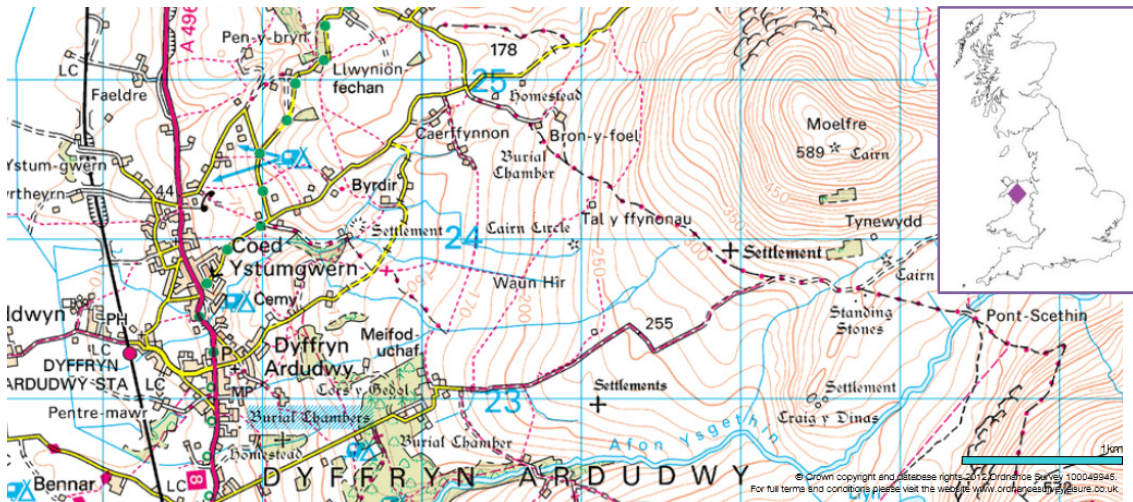


Figure 7.2. Location of Dyffryn Ardudwy (Ordnance Survey)



Figure 7.3. View of the sea from the forecourt of the site

The Dyffryn Ardudwy burial chambers are rare in that there are few surviving sites comprising two portal dolmen, and are notable in the history of the archaeological understanding of megalithic tombs, since their excavation led to the reassessment of the chronology and reuse of sites, as well as contributing to information on such sites in the Irish Sea Zone (Powell, 1973:31; Kinnes, 1975:18; J. Thomas, 1990:171). The site was excavated in 1961-2 by the University of Liverpool in order to enhance understanding of coastal burial chambers in north Wales, and through concern for the stability of the larger chamber (Powell, 1973:1). Conservation of the chambers was therefore undertaken concurrently with

archaeological investigations. Temporary brick pillars and steel bars supported the eastern chamber during excavation (Powell, 1973:6), with a permanent stone and cement pillar constructed when work was finished (Figure 7.4).



**Figure 7.4. Stone pillar built as part of the conservation of Dyffryn Ardudwy chambered tomb**

The smaller, western chamber (Figure 7.5) is composed of five upright stones supporting a large capstone with an average thickness of half a metre. Within the chamber, fragments of Neolithic pottery were found; no fragments of bone were recovered, leading the excavators to conclude that the chamber is likely to have been constructed and used for a single inhumation that was later cleared out (Powell, 1973:10). Murphy (1999) has commented that such monuments, including the Dyffryn Ardudwy and Pentre Ifan (DY17; Figure 7.6) chambers, are often labelled and presumed to be funerary monuments with little material culture to support such a claim, leading to a form of unchecked ‘folklore’ amongst archaeologists that does not prompt or promote reinterpretation. Nonetheless, Murphy does not offer an alternative interpretation of these monuments, and comparative sites, as well as the eastern dolmen of Dyffryn, have yielded human remains indicative of their use as burial chambers.



**Figure 7.5. Western chamber, Dyffryn Ardudwy**



**Figure 7.6. Pentre Ifan (Cadw)**

The eastern chamber (Figure 7.7) contained remains of a cremation of a single individual; the few fragments of bone scattered within the chamber suggested to the excavators that this was the only individual interred here, or was, at most, one of very few (Powell, 1973:16-7). A number of Early to Middle Bronze Age pottery fragments were also found, along with

two small polished stone pendants, both broken across with their lower halves missing (Powell, 1973:17, 26). Various sherds of Neolithic pottery and a broken flint arrowhead were found amongst the cairn stones and within pits surrounding the western burial chamber (Powell, 1973:12), indicating that the site was a focal point before and/or after the construction of this dolmen. Additionally, two early medieval glass beads were found in the cairn field (Powell, 1973:30), suggesting that the site was visited at this time, or at least passed en route to another place.



**Figure 7.7. Eastern chamber, Dyffryn Ardudwy**

From the construction of the chambers and the finds associated therewith, it was concluded that the western chamber is earlier in date than the eastern; the cairn is of the same date as the latter chamber (Powell, 1973:30; Kinnes, 1975:20). The later, more complex, structure thus incorporated the earlier chamber (J. Thomas, 1990:171), showing not only reuse but also significance of the site. More recently, Fowler and Cummings (2003) have considered the symbolic and meaningful nature of these and other chambered tombs, building on work that considers such monuments within the wider world-view of those who constructed them (for example, J. Thomas 1990). Fowler and Cummings (2003), considering the “visual context” of monuments, suggest that sites such as the Dyffryn Ardudwy burial chambers are illustrative of the connections between megalithic monuments and the sea, where sites are framed against the sea when approached from their forecourt, through careful positioning



to ensure such a view. Like others, Dyffryn Ardudwy is noted for being situated between the mountains and the sea, thus connecting the two. This connection, Fowler and Cummings (2003:6) suggest, is further strengthened by the deliberate deposition of items associated with the sea at these sites, such as shells or water-weathered stones, which make the monument 'wet' (Fowler and Cummings, 2003:6, 14). At Dyffryn, a number of water-rolled stones with quartz inclusions were found within the cairn (Powell, 1973:10; Fowler and Cummings, 2003:6). Fowler and Cummings (2003:8-14) link the placement of the monuments and such activity with the recognition of the transformative nature of stone and water as reflective of transformations of the body and states of being as a way of 'being-in-the-world'.

## **7.2. Realm of Giants**

The connection made between the Dyffryn Ardudwy chambered tombs, the mountains and the sea in such archaeological interpretations is also made in the folklore of the site, and similar sites with the same folklore as noted above. Arthur's Quoit/Coetan Arthur, Dyffryn Ardudwy, is said to be so-called because Arthur threw the capstone (of the larger tomb) from the top of Moelfre, a 589m peak within the Rhinogydd range to the east, towards the sea, leaving his thumb-print upon it (A972.6). The tale is also told of Bron y Foel Isaf (GY04) and Cors-y-Gedol (GY13), often with the inference that Arthur threw all three stones in a single event (Figure 7.8). The tale is similar to the Arthur's Quoit on the Llyn Peninsula (GY02). Here, Arthur threw the capstone from the top of Carn Fadryn (GY09), also impressing the stone with his thumb. The presence of the supporting stones at the Llyn Arthur's Quoit are explained as having been put there by 'Arthur's wife', who took three stones from her apron to prop the quoit up.



**Figure 7.8. View of Moelfre from the sea, with the Quoits Arthur threw from atop it marked**

If a rainbow rests on the middle of the capstone at Dyffryn Ardudwy, treasure concealed around the tomb is revealed (N516). However, the search for such treasure also comes with the usual warnings of ill-effects resulting from disturbance of such sites: Leslie Grinsell (1976a:262) was informed by a local resident that, during the excavations of 1961-2, a local man warned that meddling with the 'old stones' would bring bad weather, which apparently occurred. During Grinsell's time, the chambered tomb was also popularly known as Carreg Arthur, Arthur's Stone.

As with much folklore of this kind, the origins these names and length of time they and associated tales were in oral circulation for are unknown. This is particularly difficult with Dyffryn Ardudwy, which has both been known by a number of names and shares a name with a number of other sites in close proximity. Earlier accounts of course do not provide co-ordinates or grid references when relating historical or folkloric information about them, and often give no more specific details about a site's location than the county in which it is situated, or, at most, the nearest settlement (which can typically be some distance away). Newbery and Carnan's 1769 *A Description of England and Wales* appears to be one of the earliest to refer to an 'Arthur's Quoit' in the region:

About two miles from Harlech is a remarkable monument called Koetan Arthur, which is a large oval stone table, about ten feet long and seven broad, two feet thick at one end, but not above an inch at the other. It is placed on three stone pillars,

each about half a yard broad: two of them support the thick end, and are between seven and eight feet high; but the height of the third, at the other end, is not above three feet.

(Anon, 1769:20)

It is clear from the description of the site and its location that it is not referring to the Arthur's Quoit at Dyffryn Ardudwy, or its associated quoits at Cors-y-Gedol or Bron y Foel Isaf. It may be referring to Gwern Einion burial chamber near Llanfair (Figure 7.9), since the chamber here appears to be of a similar structure to that described above, and nearer Harlech than these or other burial chambers. However, there are no other records of the name Coetan Arthur applied to this site, which may indicate that its application here was fairly short-lived, or that the name, having been heard by the author to be associated with similar sites nearby, was applied also to this one.



Figure 7.9. Gwern Einion chambered tomb (Cadw) and location (Ordnance Survey)

In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, Rolt Brash (1859:256) observes that, in relation to the place-name element Cot/Cotta found in Ireland,

... there is a cromleac in Caernarvonshire in Wales; its local name is 'Coiten Arthur,' and the tradition is that Arthur Gawr (giant) cast this stone from a mountain some miles distant; hence they Anglicise the name into Arthur's Quoit.

The site described here, being in Caernarvonshire, obviously refers to the Quoit thrown from Carn Fadryn on the Llyn Peninsula, but again points to the use of the name Arthur's Quoit and tale in relation to these sites at this time.

An indication of the length and origin of such tales at these sites may come from an examination of the name Coetan Arthur, Welsh giant-lore, the connection between Arthur and giants, and the connection of such lore to the landscape. The Welsh word *coetan* is first

recorded in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and is a borrowing from the English word of the same meaning, which itself appeared in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century (Green, 2007:245). As such, the onomastic folklore of Arthur's Quoit at Dyffryn Ardudwy is unlikely to be earlier than the 16<sup>th</sup> century, since such places, particularly in remote regions, appear more often to be named in Welsh rather than English at this time. It is possible that the name Coetan Arthur was preceded by the name Carreg Arthur, and/or the tale was told of the site before the development of the word 'coetan', although there is of course no evidence to support this suggestion, unless, perhaps, we consider how long the portrayal of Arthur as a giant has been in circulation for.

As we have seen in Chapter 1.3.3, Arthur's affiliation with giants can be traced back to some of the earliest extant textual sources about the figure and about giants, whether as a giant-killer or as a giant himself. In the former iteration of the figure, he may have been conceived of as a human with super-human strength, rather than a giant, and this idea may have eventually led to the perception that he too was a giant, supported by the kinds of sites with which such narratives were associated. That much of the folklore of giants collected by Sion David Rhys in the 16<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> century was centred on the Snowdonia region suggests that giant traditions and their connection to Arthur were strong and widespread here before the first documented appearance of the name of the site, and could thus make a case for an earlier circulation of the tale at Dyffryn Ardudwy and related sites.

All of these factors may contribute to an understanding of the origins of the folklore of the chambered tombs at Dyffryn Ardudwy. On the basis of linguistic evidence, we have a *terminus post quem* of around the 16<sup>th</sup> century for the name Coetan Arthur; it is possible that the name Carreg Arthur and/or the legend was in circulation before this, particularly when we consider that Rhys's late 16<sup>th</sup>-early 17<sup>th</sup> century description of Welsh giants related popular folklore about such creatures and the places to which they are connected are likely to be extant from at least the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Yet we have no record of either names or the tale in the region before the 18<sup>th</sup> century; as such, we might look to a late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> century date for the possible emergence of Dyffryn Ardudwy's Arthur folklore. That Arthur is said to have been frequently challenged by and had killed a number of giants in the region may have led to the reproduction of such tales with Arthur *as* a giant, thus conflating the folk hero (represented as a king in Rhys's tales) with the typical characteristics and sites associated with these creatures. However, there appears to be little interest on the part of antiquarians and travellers in recording this particular folklore here, which may have simply gone unheard, remaining the local tales of the people, or did not necessarily accord with how Arthur was to be popularly perceived. During the early modern and modern periods,

the view of Arthur as an ‘ancient’ and ‘British’ king was aided by the increased creation, recording and popularity of Welsh bardic poetry (see O. Jones et al, 1801-7; E. Jones, 1802:20-8), following Edward Lhuyd’s (1707) conception and promotion of the notion of a British ‘Celticness’ (Chapter 1.2.2). Here, then, folklore depicting Arthur as a figure other than this, whilst showing his ancient and indigenous nature in the lore of the vulgar, was better illustrated by the documentation and promotion of folklore of other sites on the Celtic fringes (such as Caerleon, Arthur’s Seat and Cadbury Castle).

### **7.3. Dyffryn Ardudwy Today**

The site of the Dyffryn Ardudwy chambered tombs is owned and managed by Cadw, having been previously owned by Merioneth County Council as part of the grounds of Dyffryn Ardudwy Primary School. Whilst the sea is clearly visible from the chambered tombs, Moelfre is not visible from the site due to the undulating topography of the land, despite the size of the hill. The chambers and cairn are enclosed by a stone wall, and access to the site is free of charge to members of the public via a path off the main road, from which the site is signposted. An information board in the village (Figure 7.10) invites visitors to imagine “If the stones of this area could... speak”, and provides maps and illustrations of the burial chamber and other sites in the region. On site, an information post (Figure 7.11) only states that,

This monument was erected in the Neolithic Age, 3,000-1,900 B.C. for the communal burial of the dead. It was originally covered by a mound of stones.

The site is here referred to as ‘Dyffryn Burial Chamber’; there is no reference to the name ‘Arthur’s Quoit’ or ‘Carreg Arthur’ on-site or in the village, although a street running parallel to the path leading to the site is called Bro Arthur (‘Arthur District’) (Figure 7.12).





Figure 7.12. Bro Arthur, Dyffryn Ardudwy

Fieldwork at Arthur's Quoit was undertaken during the summer of 2012 over a one-week period. 100% of those who visited the site were asked if they would take part in the survey; all of these agreed, totalling 33 individuals. Table 7.1 presents the fairly even gender distribution within this sample, and chi-squared tests show that there is no bias here ( $\chi^2 = .000$ ,  $p = 6.635$ ,  $df = 1$ ). Similarly, although the lower age categories appear to be under-represented (4.5% 18-24, 10.6% 25-34, 6.1% 35-44) in comparison to the upper age groups (27.3% 45-54, 21.2% 55-64, 30.3% 65+), there is no bias detected in this sample in terms of age ( $\chi^2 = 7.508$ ,  $p = 15.086$ ,  $df = 5$ ). Age distributions here may be attributed to typical ages of visitors to and residents of Dyffryn Ardudwy. 35 of 100 postal questionnaires were returned, although one (AQG54R) was returned blank with a note "Unable to complete". One postal questionnaire (AQG47) was returned completed not by a local resident, but by a resident of Harlech who was given the questionnaire by a local resident as he, "gave a talk on Arthur at the Harlech Historical Society". One respondent (AQG45R) enclosed a 'Dyffryn Cairn' information leaflet produced by the Department of the Environment, Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings in 1973 along with her completed questionnaire. The leaflet provides basic information on the site based on the findings of the archaeological investigations in the early 1960s, summarising Powell's (1973) report on the excavations in both English and Welsh.

**Table 7.1. Cross-tabulation of gender and residence within the Dyffryn Ardudwy sample**

			Residence		Total
			Not resident	Resident	
Gender	Male	Count	17	18	35
		% Gender	48.6%	51.4%	100.0%
	Female	Count	15	16	31
		% Gender	48.4%	51.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	32	34	66
		% Gender	48.5%	51.5%	100.0%

Of the visitors to the site, two were residents of Dyffryn Ardudwy who frequently came to the site for a walk. Non-residents visited the site because they were interested in history or archaeology (42.4%), because it was a good place to walk (36.4%), or were interested in the area (21.2%). Those who visited for the latter two reasons were mostly unaware of the site, simply encountering it whilst walking in the area, and those who came with an interest in history/archaeology were also often previously unaware of the site, but came after seeing ‘burial chambers’ on a map when planning a walk.

It is therefore unsurprising that none of the visitors to the site who were not residents of Dyffryn Ardudwy were aware of the name ‘Arthur’s Quoit’ having been applied to the chambered tombs, and none had heard of the tales associated with them. The only respondents who had heard of the name and/or the tales were residents: 4 individuals had heard of the name ‘Arthur’s Quoit’ but not the tale that inspired or was inspired by this name, whilst a further 4 individuals had heard both the name and the tale. Chi-squared tests indicate that residents are more likely to have heard the name ‘Arthur’s Quoit’ in relation to the site than non-residents ( $\chi^2 = 8.059$ ,  $p = 6.635$ ,  $df = 1$ ). An equal number (32 each) of residents and non-residents in the sample had not heard of the tales. Curiously, all those respondents who had heard the tales were male, but there does not appear to be any significance in this ( $\chi^2 = 3.771$ ,  $p = 6.635$ ,  $df = 1$ ), since an equal number (31 each) of male and female respondents had not heard the tales, and may be attributed to the random sample selected for the postal questionnaires. The remaining 4 respondents who had heard the name but not the tales were all female, but again there is no significance here ( $\chi^2 = .034$ ,  $p = 6.635$ ,  $df = 1$ ). Table 7.2 shows that there is no particular age group that is more likely to have heard the tales, and is seen in chi-squared tests ( $\chi^2 = 4.148$ ,  $p = 15.086$ ,  $df = 5$ ).



**Table 7.2. Age cross-tabulation against Question 2a, ‘Have you heard any tales about Arthur at Dyffryn Ardudwy?’**

			Age					Total	
			18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64		65+
<b>Have you heard of any tales about Arthur Dyffryn Ardudwy?</b>	<b>No</b>	Count	3	6	4	18	12	19	62
		% Q2a	4.8%	9.7%	6.5%	29.0%	19.4%	30.6%	100.0%
	<b>Yes</b>	Count	0	1	0	0	2	1	4
		% Q2a	0.0%	25.0%	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%	25.0%	100.0%
<b>Total</b>		Count	3	7	4	18	14	20	66
		% Q2a	4.5%	10.6%	6.1%	27.3%	21.2%	30.3%	100.0%

Figure 7.13 presents a summary of responses to Question 3, ‘What stories have you heard about Arthur’s Quoit/Dyffryn Ardudwy Burial Chambers?’ A large proportion (42.6%) of respondents answered that they knew nothing about the site, in part reflecting the backgrounds of their visit. Only 4 respondents reproduced the Arthur tale associated with the site:

That the stone... was thrown from the summit of Moelfre, a mountain in the vicinity, by King Arthur himself  
(AQG37R)

... As with other C[oetan] A[rthurs,] folklore tells us that the flat stone was hurled by Arthur from a nearby peak, in Dyffryn’s case, the Moelfre...  
(AQG50R)

The stones are one of 3 mythical quoits thrown by Arthur from Moelfre... on the east of Dyffryn. It is believed his fingermarks [sic] are on it...  
(AQG52R)

... Arthur was playing games with the Giant Idris and this is one of the stones used...  
(AQG65R)

Three out of four of these respondents mentioned Moelfre specifically in their responses, and three also indicated that Dyffryn was one of a group of sites with the same folklore, with AQG50R referring specifically to Cors-y-Gedol and Bron y Foel Isaf as also being called ‘Coetan Arthur’. This respondent goes on to relate another folktale associated with the latter site, as a place where a poor shepherd called Ithel lived. Ithel was in love with the local lord’s daughter, Gwenfron, but the lord forbade them to see each other, and she died of a broken heart/committed suicide. AQG50R also recounts a Welsh verse pertaining to the Ithel tale, and provides an English translation. Two respondents (AGQ37R and AQG61R) noted that the site is also referred to locally as Carreg Arthur, although the latter did not know why it was so-called. AQG47 had not heard of the names or the tales of the Dyffryn

Ardudwy chambers, but did refer to the Cerrig Arthur/Sword Stones (GY12) to the south-east, and the folklore associated with this site. AQQ47 goes on to state that,

... The Cornwall and Scottish [sic] Arthurs are a lie. Arthur was born in Glamorgan according to the Llandaff Charters contrary to Wendy Davies[’s] inaccurate proofs...

and provides a link to his own website about Arthur and his apparent historical veracity.

In addition to the folklore of chambered tombs and stone circles of the area, AQQ50R refers to the folklore of other landscape features:

... Beneath the slopes of ‘Moelfre’, there are to be found large boulders, scattered over the grassy southern slopes. Folklore again tells us that they fell from the apron of a giantess while carrying them to build a castle/fort on top of the mountain. This story also tells of a giantess giving birth at a place called ‘crud y gawres’ (the giantess’s cradle). It is a large flat stone with a hollow in it, where the baby was laid...

One respondent (AQQ56R) had heard neither the name nor the tales, but connected the site to a local place-name having received the questionnaire:

It is a 2,000-3,000 year old Burial Chamber. Housing nearby called Bro Arther [sic] Didn’t realise there was a connection.

AQQ61R referred to the excavations conducted by the University of Liverpool as something he witnessed first-hand:

Site was excavated for Archaeologic [sic] examination in the 60’s [sic] – stones were not replaced in their original position – (saw the excavation)...

The stones not being “replaced in their original position” may refer to the conservation work undertaken on the monuments, which would have altered their appearance. The only other type of response given to Question 3 was in relation to the nature of the site as a burial chamber and/or to its age, with two (AQQ35R and AQQ48R) noting that it is “rare” or “unusual” for a site to be comprised of two dolmens. A few respondents noted that it dated back to the Neolithic or Bronze Age, or, more often, related that it was “ancient” (AQQ20V, AQQ42R), “very, very old” (AQQ21RV, AQQ30V), or “built an awfully long time ago” (AQQ17V). One, curiously, states that the monument was a “Burial site in roman [sic] times” (AQQ51R). This respondent could not remember where they heard this, and may be using the notion of the ‘Romans’ to refer to the site as ancient, or confusing it with knowledge of Roman remains at Maentwrog to the north-east. Generally, Books/Leaflets (31.3%) and Family/Friends (16.7%) were sources of information about the site, although 35.4% also gave ‘Other’ sources such as maps, the on-site sign and the local school (whether as a pupil or

given a presentation by pupils there); 10.4% could not remember where they found out about the information given in response to Question 3. Those who had heard the tales said they knew about them from Family/Friends (75%) and Books/Leaflets (25%).

Table 7.3 shows that the majority (85.1%) of respondents, both residents and non-residents, thought the Arthur tale should be promoted more at Dyffryn Ardudwy; there is no statistical relationship between wanting the tales promoted and residence ( $\chi^2 = 5.234$ ,  $p = 9.210$ ,  $df = 2$ ). All of those who had heard of the tales and/or the name thought they should be promoted more. Only 5 (7.9%) respondents who had not heard the name/tales did not think the tales should be promoted, and the same number did not know. There is no relationship between responses to Question 5 and gender ( $\chi^2 = .979$ ,  $p = 9.210$ ,  $df = 2$ ) or age ( $\chi^2 = 11.490$ ,  $p = 23.209$ ,  $df = 10$ ). The reasons given by respondents for wanting the tales to be promoted more were because they were seen to be part of the site's social history (77.2%), part of local people's heritage (75.4%) and because they made the site more interesting (64.9%). Some considered that the tales could be 'true' (15.8%): this may be more that they thought Arthur was associated with the particular region of Snowdonia/Gwynedd/north Wales, rather than thinking that Arthur literally threw the capstone from the top of a mountain. Additionally, AQG21RV commented in response to Question 6:

It's our heritage, isn't it? You know, apart from people coming to here for the tourist side, it's to keep it alive, though, isn't it? I mean, I'm not a local, of course, you can tell that by the accent, but my daughters – all my children – have been born here, and they probably know more about it than I do! Yeah, and the kids learn about it and it's, as I say, by word-of-mouth, isn't it? And apart from keeping alive the tradition, it's for people to come and view it and, you know, take note of it.

Such a sentiment is echoed by a comment made by AQG50R, who writes at the end of his response to Question 3:

... As a final note, I wish more of these legends could be passed on to present and future generations. – Change the 'National' Curriculum!, and instil a pride in heritage!

Similar comments were made by others in response to Question 5:

It's nice to hear about the myth and legend of the place (AQG26V)

I'm attracted to sites by their stories (AQG28V)

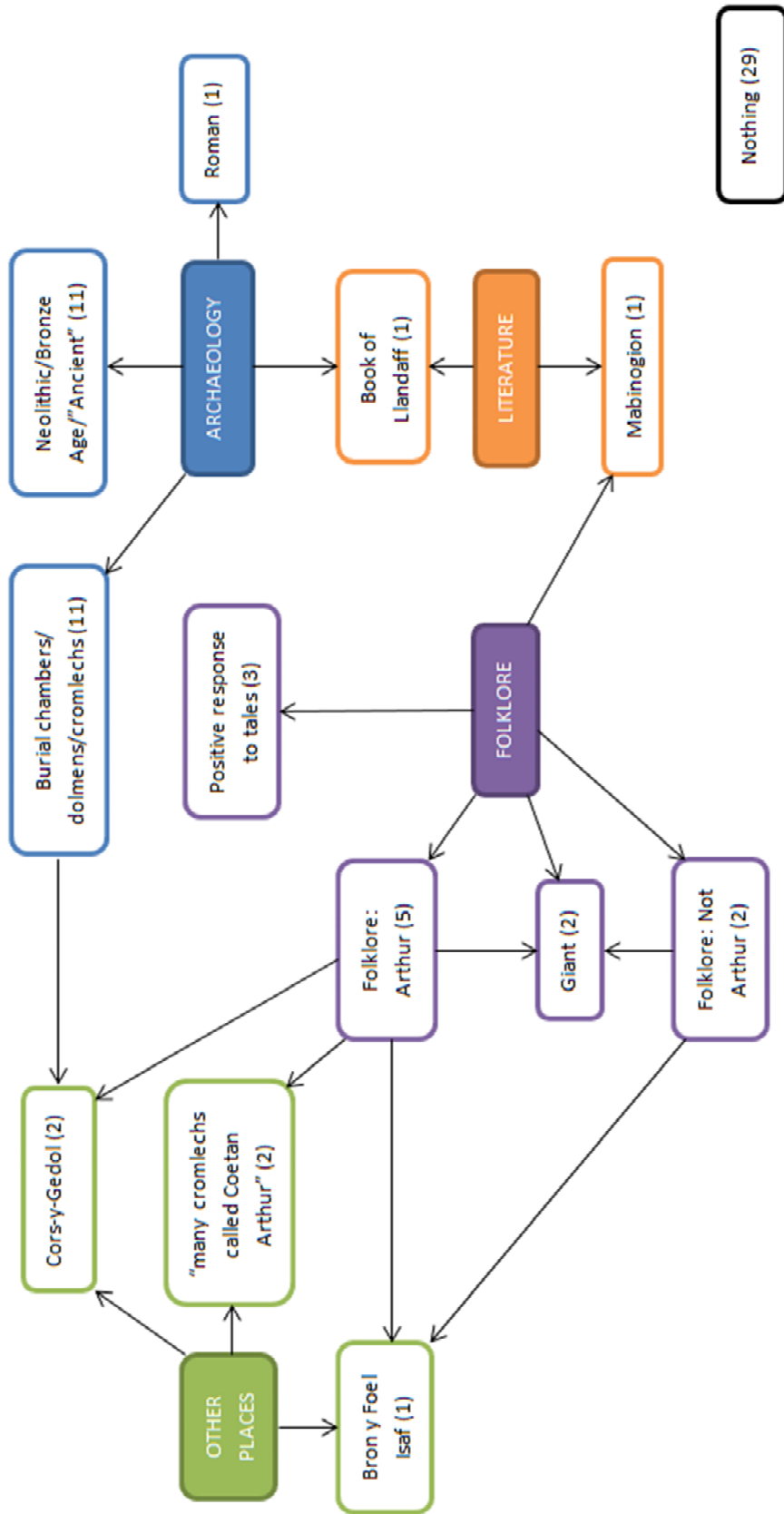


Figure 7.13. Network of codes and code families for responses to Question 3, 'What stories have you heard about Arthur's Quoit?'  
The number of associated responses is indicated in parentheses. Codes and code families compiled in Atlas.ti

**Table 7.3. Cross-tabulation of Question 5 and residence at Dyffryn Ardudwy**

			Residence		Total
			Not resident	Resident	
Do you think tales of Arthur at Dyffryn Ardudwy should be promoted more?	No	Count	2	3	5
		% Resident	6.3%	8.6%	7.5%
	Yes	Count	30	27	57
		% Resident	93.8%	77.1%	85.1%
	Don't know	Count	0	5	5
		% Resident	0.0%	14.3%	7.5%
Total		Count	32	35	67
		% Resident	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Those who did not think the tales should be promoted predominantly gave the response that the tales were not true (40%). 50% of those who did not think the tales should be promoted considered Arthur to be an English figure, followed by 25% who viewed him as British; however, a high proportion who considered Arthur to be an English figure (85.7%) still thought the tales should be promoted more. 100% of those who considered Arthur to be Welsh thought the tales should be promoted more, and a high proportion (87.5%) who thought the tales should be promoted also considered him Celtic. Table 7.4 illustrates that there is no relationship between wanting to promote the tales and respondents' own identities.

**Table 7.4. Cross-tabulation of responses to Question 16 and respondents' chosen identities at Dyffryn Ardudwy**

			Do you think tales of Arthur at Dyffryn Ardudwy should be promoted more?			Total	
			No	Yes	Don't know		
National Identity	English	Count	1	9	1	11	
		% Q16	9.1%	81.8%	9.1%		
	Scottish	Count	0	1	0	1	
		% Q16	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%		
	Welsh	Count	2	16	3	21	
		% Q16	9.5%	76.2%	14.3%		
	British	Count	3	30	0	33	
		% Q16	9.1%	90.9%	0.0%		
	Other	Count	0	13	0	13	
		% Q16	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%		
	Total		Count	5	57	4	66

Most respondents (42.2%) in this sample considered Arthur to be a British figure, whether combined with a more specific identity (such as English or Welsh) or not, followed by Celtic

(37.5%), then English (21.9%). Most of those who considered Arthur to be Welsh were themselves Welsh (85.7%), and a high proportion (65.2%) who viewed Arthur as Celtic were Welsh. Those who described themselves as English considered Arthur to be Celtic (30%), British (30%) and English (30%). ‘Other’ identities (‘European’) in this sample mostly considered Arthur to be English (53.8%). The majority of respondents who viewed Arthur as Celtic were residents (68.8%), whilst the majority of non-residents view him as British (53.1%). Such perceptions of Arthur’s identity are reflected more widely when comparing regions respondents came from: those from Wales viewed Arthur as Celtic (66.7%), whilst the rest of the UK (represented by those resident in England only – no respondents were resident in Scotland or Northern Ireland) answered British (66.7%). Only those from Wales view him as a Welsh figure, and the only two respondents who described Arthur as Roman were from Wales.

Table 7.5 shows that, whatever Arthur’s perceived identity, respondents considered the tales to be significant to the image, history and heritage of Wales. Only one respondent who considered Arthur to be Welsh said ‘no’ to Question 8. Table 7.6 illustrates that Arthur’s perceived identity Arthur is not affected by respondents’ gender, although twice as many males viewed him as Welsh; this possibly reflects the result that only male respondents had heard of the tales. There is no discernible relationship between age of respondent and their view of Arthur (Table 7.7).

**Table 7.5. Cross-tabulation of responses to Question 8, ‘Do you think tales of Arthur at Dyffryn Ardudwy are significant to the image, history and heritage of Wales?’ and Arthur’s perceived identity**

			Arthur as...						Total
			Celtic	British	Roman	English	Welsh	Other	
Do you think tales of Arthur at Dyffryn Ardudwy are significant to the image, history and heritage of Wales?	No	Count	7	5	0	3	1	1	13
		% Q7	29.2%	18.5%	0.0%	21.4%	14.3%	25.0%	
	Yes	Count	16	18	3	8	6	2	42
		% Q7	66.7%	66.7%	100.0%	57.1%	85.7%	50.0%	
	Don't know	Count	1	4	0	3	0	1	9
		% Q7	4.2%	14.8%	0.0%	21.4%	0.0%	25.0%	
Total		Count	24	27	3	14	7	4	64

**Table 7.6. Cross-tabulation of Arthur's perceived identity with respondents' gender at Dyffryn Ardudwy**

			Arthur as...					Total	
			Celtic	British	Roman	English	Welsh		Other
Gender	Male	Count	12	14	1	8	5	2	33
		% Gender	36.4%	42.4%	3.0%	24.2%	15.2%	6.1%	
	Female	Count	11	12	1	6	2	2	30
		% Gender	36.7%	40.0%	3.3%	20.0%	6.7%	6.7%	
Total		Count	23	26	2	14	7	4	63

**Table 7.7. Cross-tabulation of Arthur's perceived identity against respondents' age at Dyffryn Ardudwy**

			Arthur as...					Total		
			Celtic	British	Roman	English	Welsh		Other	
Age	18-24	Count	1	2	0	0	0	0	3	
		% Age	33.3%	66.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%		
	25-34	Count	2	5	0	0	0	1	7	
		% Age	28.6%	71.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	14.3%		
	35-44	Count	2	1	0	0	0	0	3	
		% Age	66.7%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%		
	45-54	Count	3	8	0	7	0	1	18	
		% Age	16.7%	44.4%	0.0%	38.9%	0.0%	5.6%		
	55-64	Count	6	4	0	4	1	1	14	
		% Age	42.9%	28.6%	0.0%	28.6%	7.1%	7.1%		
	65+	Count	9	6	2	3	6	1	18	
		% Age	50.0%	33.3%	11.1%	16.7%	33.3%	5.6%		
	Total		Count	23	26	2	14	7	4	63

Overall, 61.8% of respondents considered the tales of Arthur at Dyffryn Ardudwy to be significant to the image, history and heritage of Wales; 20.6% did not consider the tales to be significant and 17.6% did not know. 75% of non-residents and 50% of residents thought the tales significant; 6 respondents who did not consider the tales to be significant to Wales commented that they were more significant to the region (Snowdonia, Gwynedd, north Wales). There is no association between gender ( $\chi^2 = .389$ ,  $p = 9.210$ ,  $df = 2$ ) or age ( $\chi^2 = 18.844$ ,  $p = 23.209$ ,  $df = 10$ ) in relation to responses given to this question.

95.2% of those who thought the tales were significant also thought the site was significant, compared to 10% who thought the site was significant but not the tales. Chi-squared tests indicate that there is a relationship between considering the tales and the site to be significant to Wales ( $\chi^2 = 54.874$ ,  $p = 13.277$ ,  $df = 4$ ). 85.7% of those who thought the tales were

significant to Wales also considered the site to be part of their heritage, compared to 16.3% who considered the site to be part of their heritage but did not view the tales as significant to Wales. Statistical tests indicate that there is a relationship between respondents considering the site to be significant to Wales and being part of their heritage ( $\chi^2 = 19.647$ ,  $p = 16.812$ ,  $df = 6$ ); such a result may be attributed to a high proportion of respondents in this sample residing in the area, or who considered themselves Welsh.

The majority of those who thought of Arthur as a Welsh figure (85.7%) thought that tales of Arthur at Dyffryn were significant to the image, history and heritage of Wales, as did all respondents who viewed him as Roman. Those who considered Arthur to be a Celtic (66.7%) or British (66.7%) figure mostly thought the tales significant, as did many of those who viewed him as English (57.1%). Table 7.8 illustrates that responses to Question 8, 'Do you think tales of Arthur at Dyffryn Ardudwy are significant to the image, history and heritage of Wales?', are not related to respondents' chosen nationalities.

**Table 7.8. Cross-tabulation of responses to Question 8, 'Do you think tales of Arthur at Dyffryn Ardudwy are significant to the image, history and heritage of Wales?' with respondents' chosen identities**

			Do you think tales of Arthur at Dyffryn Ardudwy are significant to the image, history and heritage of Wales?			Total	
			No	Yes	Don't know		
National Identity	English	Count	2	5	4	11	
		% Q16	18.2%	45.5%	36.4%		
	Scottish	Count	1	0	0	1	
		% Q16	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%		
	Welsh	Count	5	13	3	21	
		% Q16	23.8%	61.9%	14.3%		
	British	Count	6	21	6	33	
		% Q16	18.2%	63.6%	18.2%		
	Other	Count	1	11	1	13	
		% Q16	7.7%	84.6%	7.7%		
	<b>Total</b>		Count	13	41	12	66

Overall, 73.5% considered the site to be significant to the image, history and heritage of Wales. 91.8% of respondents who considered the site to be part of their heritage thought the site was significant to Wales, which is observed as significant statistically ( $\chi^2 = 59.875$ ,  $p = 16.812$ ,  $df = 6$ ). This may be attributed to over half the sample being residents of Dyffryn Ardudwy and all but 4 non-residents residing in the rest of Wales or England, thus connecting themselves to the site and Wales/Britain. Such an observation is confirmed by responses to Question 10, 'Do you consider the Dyffryn Ardudwy Burial Chambers to be part



of your heritage?’ and reasons given for their responses (Question 11). 75.4% of respondents considered the site to be part of their heritage, with no difference observed statistically between residence ( $\chi^2 = 6.379$ ,  $p = 11.345$ ,  $df = 3$ ). The predominant reason given by respondents who considered the site to be part of their heritage was because it was part of the heritage of Wales/Britain and therefore part of their heritage (69.4%), followed by living in the area (46.9%), inheriting the archaeology (22.4%) and having a cultural or social affinity with the site (20.4%). 8.2% of those who considered the site to be part of their heritage did so because they grew up with stories about Arthur; all of these who gave this response were residents of Dyffryn Ardudwy.

#### **7.4. Conclusion**

Whilst at first glance there appears to be little to examine in relation to the folklore of the chambered tombs at Dyffryn Ardudwy, closer investigation leads us to consider the role wider traditions play in influencing the development and popularisation of such names and tales. Indeed, rather than looking at this site in isolation, it has been necessary to consider similar sites in the region. The concurrent examination of nearby places highlights that sites are connected to each other through their folklore, and both affect and are affected by broader popular narratives. Unlike archaeological interpretations, then, which frequently treat sites in isolation, the folklore links sites directly to each other – in particular here, Dyffryn Ardudwy, Cors-y-Gedol and Bron y Foel Isaf. The folklore of these sites further links the mountains, megaliths and the sea, long before any archaeological interpretations made the connection, which illustrates the on-going experiential relationship between people and place. That Moelfre is not visible from the site itself points to a close engagement with and understanding of the wider Ardudwy landscape, and the folklore here is a reflection of these encounters between people and landscape, and a sense of awe at the scale of both archaeological sites and the nearby mountains, expressed through the presence of giants.

That local Arthur-Gawr folklore was not as widely popularised as we have seen in other case studies suggests that such tales of Arthur were not necessarily how writers wished to portray the figure, or did not see how they were significant to the presentation of Britain as a unified and imperial nation, with other sites and ‘histories’ being more effective in this regard. The deficiency in the popularisation of these narratives would have undoubtedly contributed to the lack of awareness of the tales in subsequent and recent years, yet this might not necessarily be the only reason such tales are not reproduced. Considering the results of the questionnaire, most respondents in the sample knew nothing of the Dyffryn

Ardudwy burial chambers; even those who related archaeological information about the site did so having acquired information from the on-site information post a few minutes prior to responding to the questionnaire. Since most visitors were previously unaware of anything about the site, and even of the site's existence, it is expected that the folklore too would be unknown to them; however, we can take this observation further to suggest that archaeological and folkloric knowledge of a site go hand-in-hand as part of an awareness of the site itself (Chapter 9.4.3). That giant narratives were nevertheless perpetuated by the local community indicates that it is not Arthur's presentation as a 'historical' figure that this particular group considered important, but his expression of the landscape with which they closely identify.

The folklore of Arthur at Dyffryn and related sites presents the figure as a giant, and this appears to be consistent in both the earlier folklore recorded here and the tales related by residents, although in the latter responses he may be perceived as being of human stature with superhuman strength. He is directly responsible for the Dyffryn Ardudwy burial chambers', and other sites', existence, thus illustrating this folk figure's influence over the landscape and, therefore, those who inhabit and engage with it. Whilst one response (AQG47) considered Arthur as a Welsh historical figure, those who related the folklore did not find the tales outrageous but fun and part of local heritage, indicating that the nature of the site as a Neolithic-Bronze Age chambered tomb should not inhibit the reproduction of tales of a seemingly incongruous folk hero. Those who had not heard the tales likewise did not find them to be unusual, either because they were clearly fables or because they would connect Arthur to this particular region. The perceived identity of the figure here thus has a bearing on his acceptability as an agent responsible for landscape features, or inhabiting such a landscape.

## CHAPTER 8

### RICHMOND CASTLE, YORKSHIRE

#### 8.1. Introduction

The final case study represents an Arthur site in the north of England, and also represents the medieval sites associated with the figure in the catalogue. Richmond Castle (Figure 8.1) is situated on a cliff overlooking the River Swale (Figures 8.2 and 8.3), between the Yorkshire Dales and the North York Moors (Figure 8.4). The market-town of Richmond grew up around, and was influenced by, the plan of the castle (Constable, 2003:53), and gives its name to the district of Richmondshire in which it is situated. Folktales associated with Richmond Castle, whether featuring Arthur or other characters, frequently connect the site to other places nearby, such as Easby Abbey (Figure 8.5) a mile and a half to the east, and can be seen to have arisen from direct engagement with the landscape and occasional archaeological discoveries.



Figure 8.1. Richmond Castle from within the courtyard



**Figure 8.2. View of the River Swale from Richmond Castle**



**Figure 8.3. View of Richmond Castle from beside the River Swale**



Figure 8.4. Location of Richmond (Ordnance Survey)

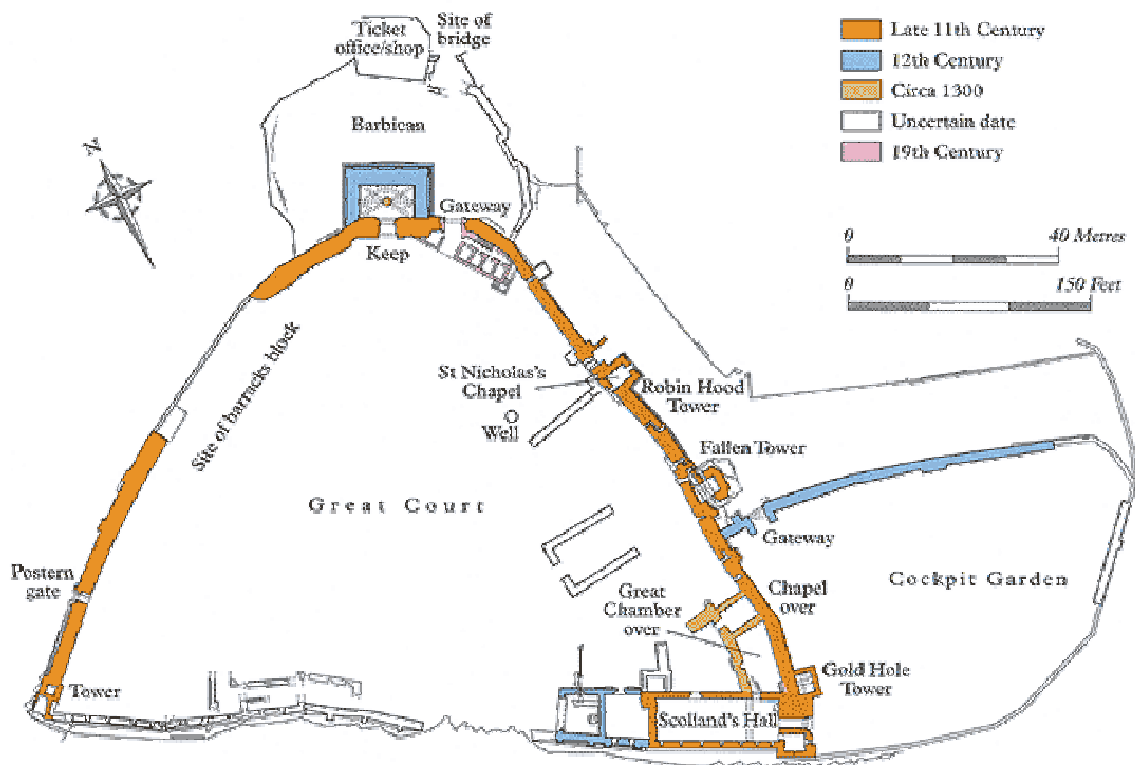


Figure 8.5. Easby Abbey

There is little evidence that the site that was to become Richmond was occupied before the medieval period, although very few excavations have been carried out in or around the castle. Most archaeological investigations of the castle have been survey-based, whether through standing buildings analysis or watching briefs conducted in the course of adjustments to the castle as a visitor attraction (Pastscapes, n.d.). Some small-scale excavations were conducted in parts of the castle grounds in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (below). A hoard of Roman coins of late 4<sup>th</sup> century date and a silver spoon were discovered on Castle Bank beneath the southern outer walls of the castle in 1722, with another coin of the same date found in the area in the 1950s (Tyler, 1979:17); these are likely to be remnants of a cache deposited in a potentially unfrequented place for safekeeping and intended recovery. A Roman settlement at Catterick lies less than 6 miles south-east of Richmond, representing the major occupation site in the area at this time.

During the mid- to late-11<sup>th</sup> century, the area that is now Richmondshire was held by Edwin, Earl of Northumbria (Grainge, 1855:348; Peers, 1953:3), whose seat is thought to have been at Gilling (Tyler, 1979:3), less than a mile to the north of Richmond. The name 'Richmond' is not recorded in Domesday; it is thought that what was to become Richmond was Hindrelag (A.H. Smith, 1928:287; Tyler, 1979:1, 3), populated by 9 households and worth 16 shillings in 1086. Edwin's lands were granted by William the Conqueror to his nephew, Alan Rufus, in 1071 (see Grainge, 1855:348-9), possibly as a result of Edwin's part in the risings of 1068 (Constable, 2003:52), although Edwin died in 1071 and thus could have maintained his lands until his death (Peers, 1953:3). The Count's seat was moved to Hindrelag and renamed *Riche Mont* ('strong hill').

Whilst the establishment of the castle is often cited as being with Alan's accession in 1071 (Clarkson, 1814:86; Peers, 1953:3), Domesday does not record a castle here in 1086. Grainge (1855:350) suggests that the castle was established after Domesday in 1087; Constable's (2003:52-6) assessment of archaeological/architectural features and historical documents has led him to suggest that the initial phase of building was likely to be associated with the second Count Alan's (third Count of Richmondshire) inheritance of the lands sometime in the 1090s. The earliest features, of 11<sup>th</sup> century date, consist of a hall, chapel and chamber (Constable, 2003:85). Several phases of building activity followed (Figure 8.6), predominantly during the 12<sup>th</sup> century, with some additions in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.



**Figure 8.6. Phases of construction of Richmond Castle (English Heritage)**

Since its construction, the ownership of Richmond Castle has passed between various Counts, Dukes and the Crown through the centuries (see Peers, 1953:3-5) until Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, became Henry VII, whereupon the Honour merged with the Crown. Henry VIII conferred it to his illegitimate son, Henry Fitzroy, with a lapse in the Dukedom after his death, eventually coming to Charles Lennox, an illegitimate son of Charles II, in 1675, the descendants of whom remained the owners until 1910, when the Ministry of Works took over possession of the castle (Tyler, 1979:9). The castle is now owned and managed by English Heritage.

Despite its existence since the late 11<sup>th</sup> century, and its commanding position at the entrance of Swaledale, Richmond Castle has played few roles in the course of English/British history. The castle was at one time the apparent prison of William I ('the Lion') of Scotland in 1174 (Peers, 1953:6, 13), and Charles I was also supposedly imprisoned here on his way to London in 1647 (Tyler, 1979:7). The castle, however, saw no action in either the Wars of the Roses or the English Civil Wars (Tyler, 1979:7), although it played a significant role in World War I, when it was the site of a prison for Conscientious Objectors ('the Richmond Sixteen'), to whom English Heritage built and dedicated a garden in the cockpit of the castle in 2002 – not without some controversy (English Heritage n.d.; Anon, 2002:9). The cells in which these Conscientious Objectors were detained are noted for the graffiti pencilled on to the

walls by the prisoners (Figure 8.7), though they are currently closed to the public as a preventative measure for the conservation of this delicate graffiti.



**Figure 8.7. Detail of a Conscientious Objector's graffiti on walls of WWI prison at Richmond Castle (English Heritage)**

The ruin of the castle was thus not the result of military action but of desertion and neglect through the centuries, becoming to Clarkson (1814:104), "a striking memorial of worldly instability". Early repairs to the castle were made in the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century by Conan, the fourth Count of Richmondshire, to whom the construction of the iconic keep is attributed (Clarkson, 1814:87; Tyler, 1979:7). A survey and description of the castle was made by John, Lord Scrope of Bolton and Christopher, Lord Conyers in 1538, who reported that the keep was in a great state of disrepair; a number of repairs to the castle were recommended, but these were not carried out by Leland's time (Peers, 1953:11-12). The condition of the castle appears to have remained this way until the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when Defoe (1724-6:514) describes the castle as a ruin and thus "of small consequence". As well as conducting excavations in the barbican in 1732, restoration work to the castle was carried out in the 1760s, when the keep was rebuilt to its original height (Tyler, 1979:17). Such an interest in the castle at this time might be attributed to the affluence and attraction of the market-town, which was a strong manufacturing and trading centre until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when



developments in technology and cheaper European imports led to a decline in its importance (Tyler, 1979:1,3). However, Richmond maintained some prosperity during the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a tourist destination (Tyler, 1979:1). The most popular folk narratives about the site appear to have arisen at this time, although they may be linked to earlier tales that gave rise to names of features of the castle complex.

## **8.2. Heroes and Treasure**

### **8.2.1. Onomastic Folklore**

Two towers of Richmond Castle have curious names attached to them, although the origins and any associated tales of one is now unknown. The first tower to the south-east of the keep is 'Robin Hood Tower' (Figure 8.8), which contained the chapel of the castle, dedicated to St. Nicholas. Whilst Robin Hood is popularly associated with Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire also hosts various tales of the folk hero, including that his traditional birthplace was at Loxley, and he gives his name to a number of places, such as Robin Hood's Bay in Whitby and Robin Hood's Well in Skellow. It is thus not unusual for the figure to be associated with Richmond; however, any explanation for how the name of the tower came about was unknown by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century (Grainge, 1855:354). Clarkson (1814:305-7) reports that, since 1660, May-games in Richmond included a pageant composed of "Robin Hood in Scarlet, with 40 bow-men, all clad in Lincoln green" alongside Morris dancers, nymphs and the representation of various local and stately offices. Since Robin Hood featured in such local customs since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it is not unlikely that his connection to the castle is as early as this; however, there is no documentary evidence to attest to the connection.



**Figure 8.8. The Keep and Robin Hood Tower (left) and inside Robin Hood Tower, St. Nicholas's Chapel (right), Richmond Castle**

The next tower along from Robin Hood Tower is named 'Fallen Tower', simply because of its physical state. Along from Robin Hood Tower is 'Gold Hole Tower' (Figure 8.9), the name of which comes from a tradition that buried treasure was found within it (Cookes, n.d.:14; Grainge, 1855:355; Gutch, 1901:396; Peers, 1953:13). This treasure-filled tower, which was, somewhat ironically, the garderobes of the castle, also has the reputation of concealing a dungeon or underground passage, the latter of which might be used by inhabitants of the castle to flee to St. Martin's Priory in times of peril (Cookes, n.d.:14; Grainge, 1855:355; Gutch, 1901:396). It is highly probable that such a tradition arose from tales of excavations in the tower in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, as reported by Clarkson (1814:352-3):

... an excavation has been made in the Castle-Yard near the East Tower, in order to find out the entrances into it from the Court: though the hole is about six yards deep, there is no appearance of any entrance that way; the plan was then altered, and a trial made in the inside of the Tower, when a subterraneous passage was discovered, which leads into some concealed vaults under the apartments near the Hall of Scolland; the passage is so filled up with rubbish, that it will take some time to clear it away, which is now going on.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century excavation and subsequent tale is likely to have been the inspiration for Richmond Castle's most famous legend: that of 'the Little Drummer Boy', which may, in turn, also be linked to the rise in the particular Arthur narrative we see here.



**Figure 8.9. Gold Hole Tower, Richmond Castle**

### 8.2.2. Drummer Boys and Sleeping Kings

A popular legend of Richmond is that the castle is the start of a subterranean passage (F721.1) that leads to Easby Abbey. The legend goes that, in order to ascertain the path of the underground passage, a drummer boy was sent down to walk through the tunnel, drumming all the way, whilst a group followed the sound above ground. Suddenly the drumming stopped, and the boy was neither seen nor heard of again, although variants of the tale also tell of ghostly drumming being heard at the site, usually at midnight (Cookes, n.d.:11-12; Gutch, 1901:396; Mason, 1999:132). A stone commemorates the place where the sound of the drum ceased to be heard (Figure 8.10), and the tale is related on an ice-cream

stand in the town market-place (Figure 8.11). The tale appears to be no older than the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the emergence of tales of underground chambers uncovered in excavations of the castle, as noted above.



**Figure 8.10. Stone commemorating the place where the Little Drummer Boy's drumming ceased (Wikimedia Commons)**



Figure 8.11. Ice-cream van in Richmond's market-square relating the tale of the Little Drummer Boy

The Arthur tale (Appendix C:12) associated with Richmond Castle is also on the theme of the subterraneous, where, as at Caerleon (Chapter 4), Arthur's Seat (Chapter 5) and Cadbury Castle (Chapter 6), Arthur lies sleeping beneath its foundations (D1960.2) (Longstaffe, 1852:115-6; Chambers, 1927:193, 224; Mason, 1999:132; Hatcher, 2004:8-9; Westwood and Simpson, 2005:835). Here, a local man named Potter Thompson is either shown the entrance to the cave by a mysterious man, or stumbles upon it himself, and eventually comes to a large chamber, often filled with treasure, in which Arthur and his knights lie sleeping. On a table lies a sheathed sword (sometimes identified as Excalibur, or 'the sword of the stone') and horn. Potter Thompson begins to draw the sword, but is frightened by the stirring of the sleepers, drops it and runs away. As he runs, he hears a voice calling after him,

Potter, Potter Thompson!  
If thou had either drawn  
The sword or blown that horn,  
Thou'd be the luckiest man  
That ever was born.

Neither Potter Thompson nor anyone else has been able to find the entrance to the cavern ever since; according to some accounts the entrance will only be revealed after “a definite time has elapsed” (Longstaffe, 1852:116).

The tale of Arthur at Richmond Castle shares the common motif of the sleeping king, and is similar to other tales, particularly in the north of England, where the hesitation or fear of the intruder halts the waking king and knights, thus preventing the redemption of the land through their return, or untold rewards for the disturber. Richmond Castle's tale shares similarities with the legend of Sewingshields, Northumberland (NO04) in particular. The Rev. John Hodgson documented the tale here in 1840 from a Miss Carlyle of Carlisle and it was found to be common among elderly residents, with subsequent records having the usual variations (see Westwood and Simpson, 2005:566-7). In this tale, the intruder enters the cavern and spots the sword of the stone on a table, alongside a garter and a horn. The sleepers stir as he draws the sword and cuts the garter, but he then sheathes the sword, whereupon Arthur cries,

O woe betide that evil day,  
On which this witless wight was born,  
Who drew the sword – the garter cut,  
But never blew the bugle horn!

The heroes fall back into slumber, and the intruder then finds himself outside, unable to discover the entrance again.

As well as the castle, surrounding Richmond features share Arthur associations, in particular the 'Round Howe', a conical hill in which is a natural cave named 'Arthur's Oven' (YO01; Robinson, 1833:39; Longstaffe, 1852:115-6; Gutch, 1901:406-7). The documenting of this Oven, which reflects traditions of Arthur as a giant seen in Devon as early as 1240 (Westwood and Simpson, 2005:835), appears to pre-date records of the sleeping king tale of the castle, with Robinson writing about the site in 1833, but making no mention of why it was so-called. The presence of Arthur's Oven may have contributed to the development of Arthur tales at the castle; however, we cannot be certain which tradition arose first, or whether they came about contemporaneously.

Tales of discoveries made in or around the castle may have also contributed to the development of the Arthur legend at Richmond Castle. As well as the excavation and subsequent tales of the Gold Hole Tower as noted above, the 1722 discovery of the Roman coin hoard in the castle cliff may have also given rise to notions of treasure chambers beneath the castle, in which Arthur often sleeps. The increase in popularity during the 19<sup>th</sup> century of sleeping king tales more generally may have also led to the tale being applied here, in conjunction with a partial reliance on tourism at this time for the prosperity of the town. Such an explanation for the development of legends at such destinations must not be underestimated, used to emphasise the 'special' nature of the site to other Britons through its connection with a 'national' hero (see Hutton, 2003:15-16 for an example of this in Wales).

It should not be overlooked that *an* Arthur was linked to the castle, a 12<sup>th</sup> century descendent of the Dukes of Richmond who was murdered by King John in 1203 (Peers, 1953:4); such an infamous history may have made some contribution to the development of the notion that *King* Arthur was in some way connected to the castle, but this is perhaps the least likely of influences. One major potential influence, however, is the close connection the region has to the medieval poem *Y Gododdin* (Chapter 1.3.1), where the place-name *Catraeth* is often identified as Catterick. Although the identification of *Catraeth* with Catterick has been challenged over recent decades, not least through the interpretation that the word *catraeth* may refer to a 'battle-crossing/bank/shore' and thus not necessarily be linked to a particular place, or that the poem may not be describing events in the north of England but in the north of Wales (Cessford, 1997:218-9), the suggestion at one time or another of the association may be enough to influence connections between Arthur legends and the local area.

Any and all of these elements may have contributed to the development of Richmond's particular folklore. What such factors demonstrate above all else is that such legends arise through direct engagement with archaeological sites and the landscapes of which they are part, within specific historical and, in this case, economic, contexts. However, the Arthur legend of Richmond Castle is not the most popular tale, with the Little Drummer Boy receiving more advertisement and tales of Robin Hood in the region outnumbering those of King Arthur (compare, for example, five Robin Hood tales to one Arthur tale in Gee 1952), suggesting that the importance of Arthur to local people is less significant than these other, more local, figures. This may ultimately influence the maintenance of and interest in Arthur folklore at Richmond Castle, which will be explored next.

### 8.3. Richmond Castle Today

Views of the castle dominate the town of Richmond and the surrounding area, and Richmond itself marks much of its history in the Green Howards Regimental Museum, the Richmondshire Museum, the Georgian Theatre Royal (established 1788) and small information plaques on the pavements around the market-place (Figure 8.12). As well as its attraction as a medieval castle, English Heritage also hosts a number of re-enactment events and festivities at Richmond Castle, including knights' tournaments and medieval courtly combats.

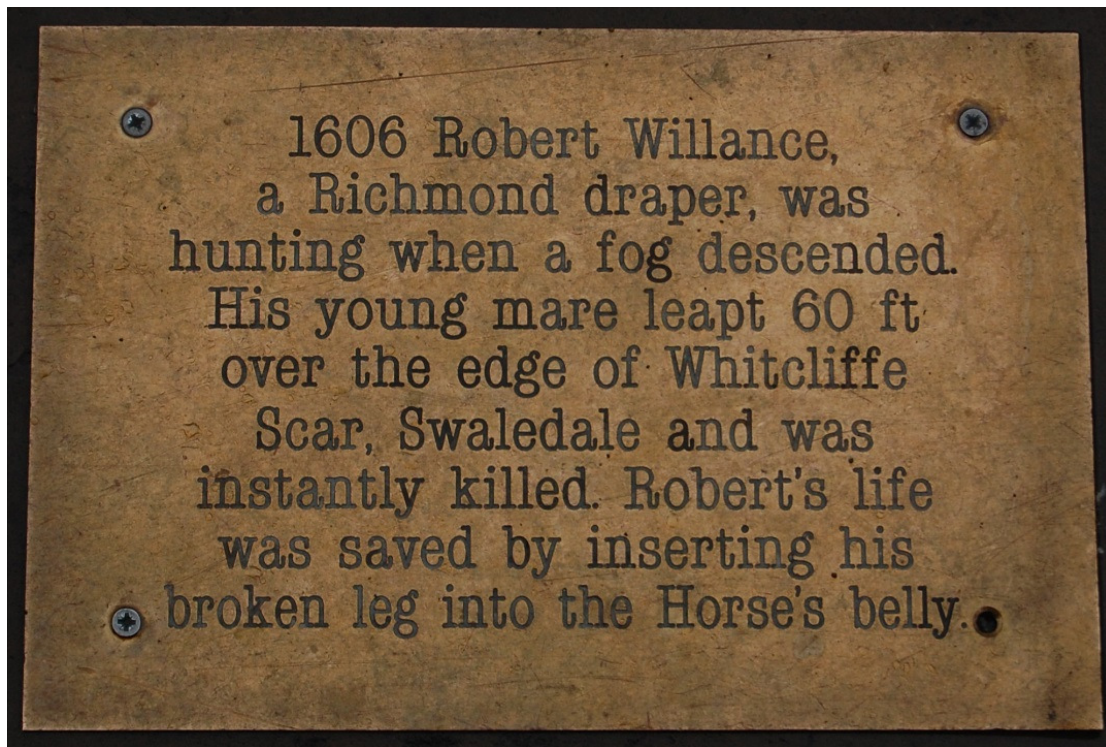


Figure 8.12. A plaque on the pavement in Richmond's market-place detailing historical events pertaining to Richmond

Visitors to the castle enjoy views over the town and the River Swale from the keep and the courtyard, walk through the Cockpit Garden and learn about the castle's history in the small exhibition beside the castle's gift shop. Visitors were also frequently observed engaging in the traditional custom of throwing coins down the well in the courtyard (Figure 8.13).





**Figure 8.13. Visitors throwing coins down the well in the courtyard of Richmond Castle**

Face-to-face questionnaires were conducted with visitors to Richmond Castle during the summer of 2011 over a week-long period. The first day of fieldwork was spent standing outside the castle entrance and had a very low success rate. I was subsequently offered the opportunity to conduct my questionnaires inside the castle courtyard, which was far more successful, although many visitors were family groups, which were difficult to approach as the adults were occupied in monitoring the children amongst the ruins. 74 visitors, none of whom were residents, completed the questionnaire, and 32 questionnaires out of 100 were returned by residents; however, of the residents' questionnaires, two were returned blank (RCY82R and RCY92R, the latter with a note explaining that they had only recently moved to Richmond and thus did not know much about it), and one (RCY85R) was returned torn into small pieces (Figure 8.14).



Figure 8.14. RCY85R

Within the sample of respondents at Richmond Castle, the two lower age ranges appear to be under-represented, which may reflect the demographics of both typical site visitors and Richmond residents. However, there does not appear to be a bias in the sample towards a particular age group ( $\chi^2 = 4.730$ ,  $p = 15.086$ ,  $df = 5$ ). Male (43.7%) and female (56.3%) respondents were fairly evenly distributed across residents and non-residents, with no bias shown in this category ( $\chi^2 = .544$ ,  $p = 6.635$ ,  $df = 1$ ).

Visitors to Richmond Castle predominantly visited the site because they had an interest in history or archaeology (83.8%). The other responses given to Question 1 were that they were interested in the area, were passing through Richmond (usually on the Coast-to-Coast walk), or knew the site and wanted to show it to others. The majority of respondents had not heard of tales of Arthur associated with Richmond Castle (74%), with most of those who had heard the tales being residents (63%); statistical tests indicate that residents are more likely to know about the tales than non-residents ( $\chi^2 = 20.680$ ,  $p = 6.635$ ,  $df = 1$ ). There is no difference between gender ( $\chi^2 = .296$ ,  $p = 6.635$ ,  $df = 1$ ) or age ( $\chi^2 = 4.454$ ,  $p = 15.086$ ,  $df = 5$ ) in this regard.

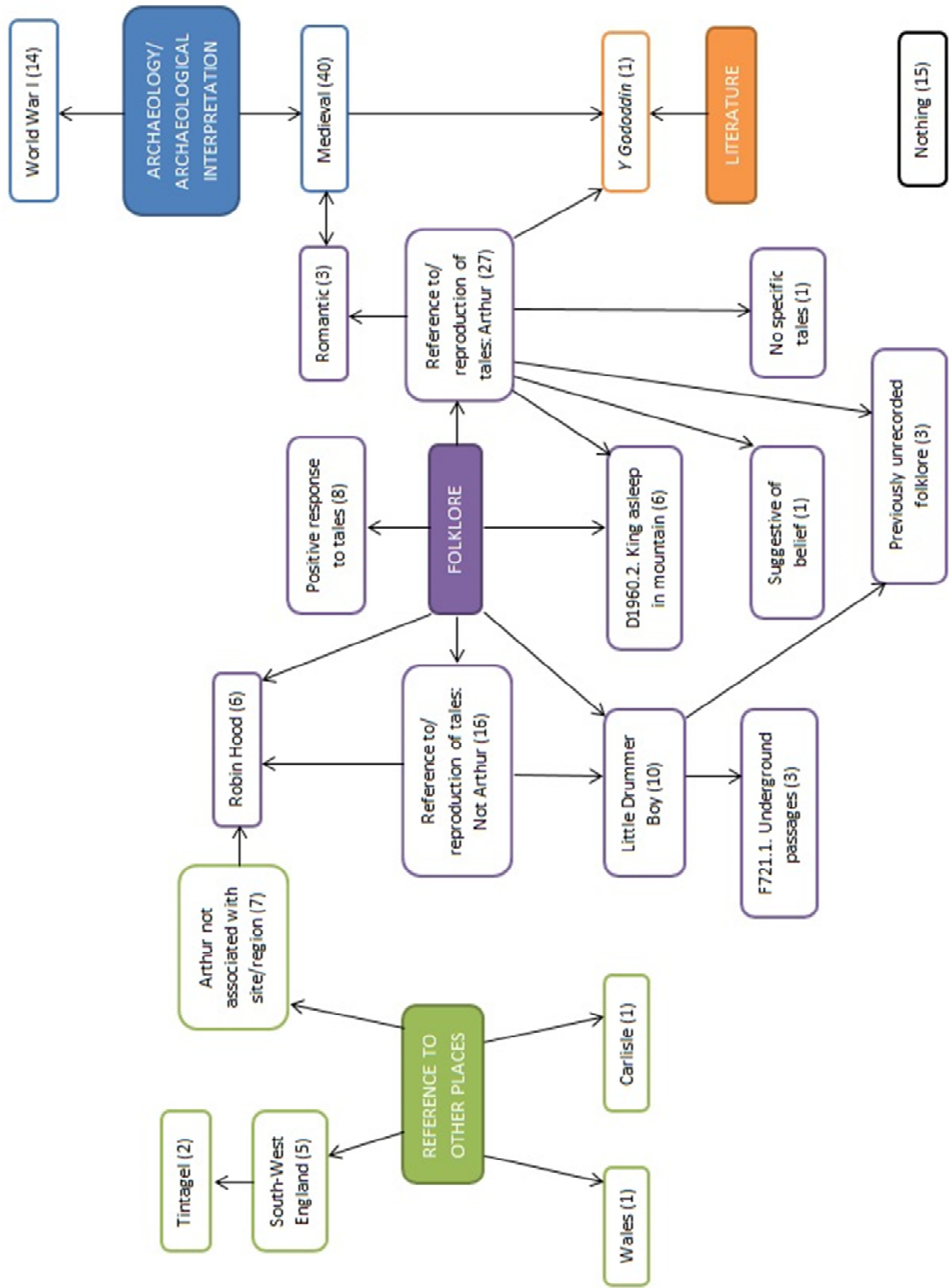


Figure 8.15. Network of codes and code families for responses to Question 3, 'What stories have you heard about Richmond Castle?' The number of associated responses is indicated in parentheses. Codes and code families compiled in Atlas.ti

Figure 8.15 summarises types of responses to Question 3, 'What tales have you heard about Richmond Castle?' The most common narratives that were related about the site were its Norman origins, or simply that it was a castle. These responses were given when legends or folktales, of any kind, were unknown to respondents. A number of respondents also referred to the Conscientious Objectors imprisoned in the castle, often in relation to the long life the castle has had, for example:

That this was a pleasant castle to come to with lots of history – from the Normans to the First World War.

(RCY14V)

It's a castle, built by the Normans, but I saw this thing about the prisoners in the War. I never knew that, how fascinating. Great to hear something unexpected about a place.

(RCY64V)

Some respondents connected the castle's medievalness with notions of romance often connected with Arthurian legend:

... We know it's a medieval castle, perfect for lots of those sorts of romances. I'd like to hear more about all those kinds of legends.

(RCY51V)

27 individuals referred to Arthur in response to Question 3. Whilst a number had only seen 'a mention of him' at Richmond Castle, some referred to the tale that he was asleep underneath the castle. Only residents related narratives about or named Potter Thompson in their responses, such as in the following:

Tales of Arthur and his Knights sleeping beneath the castle and of Potter Thompson who staggering home one evening (perhaps a little drunk) fell through a hole and came upon them, seeing a horn on the table he picked it up, then heard a voice urging him to blow it and wake them. Sadly he didn't as it scared him and he ran away.

(RCY93R)

One respondent (RCY102R) suggested that a road in the town may have been named after this character:

... We do have a Pottergate[;] I don't know if that is linked to Thomas Potter [Potter Thompson] who alledgedly [sic] disturbed Arthur[.] I would love to know more...

Tales that Arthur is asleep underneath the castle have been transformed into narratives that he is buried here, seen in 5 of the responses to Question 3. Two other, rather unusual,

variants of tales of Arthur at Richmond were also recorded. One visitor (RCY31V) was informed by “Somebody in the local pub” that “the *father* of King Arthur was here”, whilst a resident (RCY75R) reported:

King Arthur resided around Easby Abbey and Richmond Castle. While there he was famous for baking cakes which he would distribute to the community when they came to visit.

Arthur’s association with Richmond in this way is not noted in publications. It is possible that legends of Arthur and the famous tale of King Alfred and his cakes have been compounded, as we have seen at other sites (Chapter 3), but there is no apparent reason for why the two should be confused here, and thus may be a genuine tale unrelated to the King of Wessex. The connection between Richmond Castle and Easby Abbey is usually made through tales of the Little Drummer Boy, which were also given as responses to Question 3. Of the 10 responses mentioning the Drummer Boy tale or the character, 6 were in conjunction with Arthur responses. These tales appear to have further contributed to the development of subterranean tales and to have inspired local residents to explore the local landscape:

[I have heard] Mainly about the caves under the castle and the Drummer Boy sent down into the tunnels[.] I would love to know more about the tunnels [but] nobody seems to be able to verify that they exist. There are also stories of a reservoir under the obelisk in the market square. There are lots of caves, potholes etc. along the cliffs of the Swale. My son and his pals have explored most of them as young boys do!...

(RCY102R)

...The other story is of course [course] the Drummer Boy, but as kids we were shown the post marking where the drumming stopped at easby [sic] but also near this post there is a stone shaped like a hand and at certain times of the day if you place your hand on the stone you can feel the drummer boy drumming, wether [sic] its [sic] the river next to it I dont [sic] know but there’s something there, although it was 35 years since I last did it.

(RCY94R)

Reference to the Robin Hood Tower was made 6 times in response to Question 3, often accompanied with the expression that Robin Hood was a more suitable figure for the site or region than Arthur:

Well, there’s supposed to be a Robin Hood Tower here, isn’t there? That’s more of a person you’d put here: Robin Hood, rather than Arthur.

(RCY73V)

Similarly, a number of respondents – all visitors – noted that they most often associate Arthur with other regions in Britain, predominantly the West Country (see below), rather than Yorkshire or the north of England generally, although a resident (RCY94R) did respond:

I've heard stories of Arthur but [the] same stories from Carlisle and Wales. So maybe its [sic] because Richmond Castle is of about the right time in history.

One resident (RCY78R) also referred to early medieval geo-political boundaries by way of explanation of the association, evidently from an awareness of interpretations of the *Gododdin* poem and its context:

Scots Dike could have been [the] eastern boundary of Rheged. Name "Catterick."

Overall, sources given for responses to Question 3 were predominantly Books/Leaflets (65.4%), Family/Friends (28.2%) and information boards around the castle (16%), though these include narratives given about the site's history. The majority of those who related the Arthur tales gave Family/Friends (64%) and Books/Leaflets (44%) as their sources.

The majority of respondents (73.8%) answered 'Yes' to Question 5, 'Do you think tales of Arthur at Richmond Castle should be promoted more?', and a positive response was the case amongst both residents (62.1%) and non-residents (78.4%), and whether respondents had heard of the tales (63%) or not (77.6%). There is no statistical relationship between wanting to hear about the tales and residence ( $\chi^2 = 5.628$ ,  $p = 9.210$ ,  $df = 2$ ). Most of those who did not think the tales should be promoted more often considered Arthur to be something other than English or English/British: 66.7% of those who considered Arthur to be a Welsh figure, and 100% of those who thought Arthur Scottish. There does not appear to be any difference in responses according to respondents' own national identities (Table 8.1). The main responses given for wanting the tales to be promoted more was that they made the site more interesting/entertaining (53.3%), that the tales were part of the site's social history (49.3%), and that they were part of local people's heritage (38.7%). Although many responses in Question 3 expressed surprise at Arthur's appearance at Richmond and noted it was more 'Robin Hood country', this was not given as a reason for not promoting the tales. The majority of those who did not think the tales should be promoted more said so because of their historical inaccuracy (81.3%), or because they did not know much about it (12.5%). The latter response was the main reason for 'Don't know' responses to Question 5 (60%).

**Table 8.1. Cross-tabulation of Arthur’s perceived identity and respondents’ chosen identities at Richmond Castle**

			National Identity					Total	
			English	Scottish	Welsh	British	Other		
Arthur as...	Celtic	Count	5	1	1	3	0	8	
		% Q7	62.5%	12.5%	12.5%	37.5%	0.0%		
	British	Count	13	0	2	17	4	31	
		% Q7	41.9%	0.0%	6.5%	54.8%	12.9%		
	Roman	Count	1	0	0	0	0	1	
		% Q7	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%		
	English	Count	25	0	0	19	5	46	
		% Q7	54.3%	0.0%	0.0%	41.3%	10.9%		
	Welsh	Count	1	1	0	1	0	3	
		% Q7	33.3%	33.3%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%		
	Scottish	Count	0	0	0	1	0	1	
		% Q7	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%		
	French	Count	1	1	0	1	0	2	
		% Q7	50.0%	50.0%	0.0%	50.0%	0.0%		
	Other	Count	17	1	0	10	4	32	
		% Q7	53.1%	3.1%	0.0%	31.3%	12.5%		
	<b>Total</b>		Count	54	3	3	37	11	100

Table 8.2 shows how respondents in the sample perceived Arthur, with his primary identification as ‘English’. Almost all ‘Other’ responses described Arthur as being from the West Country (including those who specified ‘Cornish’), with 11 respondents answering ‘Don’t know’, 6 respondents saying ‘Anything’ or ‘Mythical’, and one offering ‘Wessex’. Table 3 shows responses according to residence. The majority of those who considered Arthur to be ‘Welsh’ did not think the tales of Arthur at Richmond Castle were significant to the image, history and heritage of England.

**Table 8.2. Perceptions of Arthur within the Richmond Castle sample**

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Arthur as...	Celtic	8	6.5%	8.0%
	British	31	25.0%	31.0%
	Roman	1	0.8%	1.0%
	English	46	37.1%	46.0%
	Welsh	3	2.4%	3.0%
	Scottish	1	0.8%	1.0%
	French	2	1.6%	2.0%
	Other	32	25.8%	32.0%
Total		124	100.0%	124.0%

**Table 8.3. Cross-tabulation of Arthur’s perceived identity and respondents’ residence at Richmond Castle**

			Residence		Total	
			Not resident	Resident		
Arthur as...	Celtic	Count	0	8	8	
		% Q7	0.0%	100.0%		
	British	Count	21	10	31	
		% Q7	67.7%	32.3%		
	Roman	Count	1	0	1	
		% Q7	100.0%	0.0%		
	English	Count	34	12	46	
		% Q7	73.9%	26.1%		
	Welsh	Count	2	1	3	
		% Q7	66.7%	33.3%		
	Scottish	Count	0	1	1	
		% Q7	0.0%	100.0%		
	French	Count	1	1	2	
		% Q7	50.0%	50.0%		
	Other	Count	32	0	32	
		% Q7	100.0%	0.0%		
	<b>Total</b>		Count	74	26	100

59.8% of respondents answered ‘Yes’ to Question 8, ‘Do you think tales of Arthur at Richmond Castle are significant to the image, history and heritage of England?’, followed by ‘Don’t know’ (20.6%), then ‘No’ (19.6%). Of those who responded ‘Yes’, 72.1% were not residents and 27.9% were residents, but this does not appear to be significant ( $\chi^2= 6.487, p= 9.210, df= 2$ ), particularly since the number of responses from non-residents is over double that of residents. 6 of the 9 residents who responded ‘No’ to Question 8 noted that they thought the tales were more significant ‘locally’ rather than to England as a whole. 71.4% of those who did not consider the site to be part of their own heritage did not think the tales were significant to England, whilst 64.2% of those who did consider the sites to be part of their heritage thought the tales were significant to England. Chi-squared tests suggest that there is a relationship between considering the tales themselves to be significant and considering the site to be part of respondents’ heritage ( $\chi^2= 15.021, p= 9.210, df= 2$ ); this result may be due to reasons given by respondents for considering the site to be part of their heritage (below).

Table 8.4 shows that, overwhelmingly, respondents thought the site was significant to the image, history and heritage of England, regardless of how they defined their national



identities. When comparing Question 9 to residence, a similar result is observed: 96.6% of residents and 93.2% of non-residents responded 'Yes' to this question, as such there is no relationship between the two ( $\chi^2 = .828$ ,  $p = 9.210$ ,  $df = 2$ ). 94.8% of those who considered the site to be significant to England also viewed the site as part of their own heritage, with a relationship expressed between the two ( $\chi^2 = 30.641$ ,  $p = 13.277$ ,  $df = 4$ ).

**Table 8.4. Cross-tabulation of responses to Question 8 and respondents' chosen identities**

			Do you think tales of Arthur at Richmond Castle are significant to the image, history and heritage of England?			Total	
			No	Yes	Don't know		
<b>National Identity</b>	<b>English</b>	Count	11	33	12	56	
		% Q16	19.6%	58.9%	21.4%		
	<b>Scottish</b>	Count	0	2	1	3	
		% Q16	0.0%	66.7%	33.3%		
	<b>Welsh</b>	Count	0	3	0	3	
		% Q16	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%		
	<b>British</b>	Count	7	24	6	37	
		% Q16	18.9%	64.9%	16.2%		
	<b>Other</b>	Count	2	6	3	11	
		% Q16	18.2%	54.5%	27.3%		
	<b>Total</b>		Count	20	61	21	102

92.2% of respondents considered Richmond Castle to be part of their own heritage; those who were not from the UK did not identify with the site. Table 8.5 shows responses to Question 9 in relation to regions in which respondents live, with statistical tests suggesting a relationship between region and responses to this question ( $\chi^2 = 30.721$ ,  $p = 13.277$ ,  $df = 4$ ). Furthermore, not a single resident responded 'No' to Question 9. The main reason given for respondents considering Richmond Castle to be part of their heritage was because they considered the site to be part of the heritage of England/Britain, and therefore part of their own heritage (66.3%), followed by 'Living in the same area' (34.7%) and 'Inheriting the archaeology' (31.6%). 12.6% of those who answered 'Yes' to Question 10 gave the response 'Grew up with stories about Arthur'. Two of these respondents were non-residents, and all of the residents selecting the Arthur response were born in Richmond, Yorkshire, or nearby Co. Durham, with the exception of one, who was born in Gwynedd. The main reasons given by respondents for not considering the site to be part of their heritage were 'Don't know/doesn't feel like my heritage' (71.4%) and that the site was 'Too distant/irrelevant' (28.6%).

**Table 8.5. Cross-tabulation of responses to Question 10 and regions from which respondents came at Richmond Castle**

			Do you consider Richmond Castle to be part of your heritage?			Total
			No	Yes	Don't know	
Regional Comparison	England	Count	4	90	1	95
		% Region	4.2%	94.7%	1.1%	100.0%
	Rest of UK	Count	0	4	0	4
		% Region	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Rest of world	Count	3	1	0	4
		% Region	75.0%	25.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	7	95	1	103	
	% Region	6.8%	92.2%	1.0%	100.0%	

#### 8.4. Conclusion

Richmond Castle is a site rich in folklore, much of which is particular to the site itself, but the folklore of Arthur here, as noted above, shares similarities with other sites across Britain and thus folklore connects Richmond to other such sites. At Richmond, then, Arthur is often portrayed as the chivalric figure from later medieval Arthurian legend, since he is described as having all the accoutrements of chivalry around him whilst sleeping, including his knights and his sword. However, the tale here only arises much later, and does not appear to be much older than the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the image of Arthur as a sleeping king was popular. Arthur is not responsible for the construction of the castle, nor is he typically described as residing in it, but his presence as a sleeper under its foundations suggests the site and landscape more generally have a special, even magical, nature. Such narratives may have aided in attracting tourists to the site in the 19<sup>th</sup> century – indeed, this may have been the cause of its invention and perpetuation, inspired by local discoveries and excavations, as well as tales at other sites. Visitors and residents today also predominantly viewed Arthur as a chivalric figure, with the exception of the one resident whose awareness of the *Gododdin* poem and early medieval boundaries suggested that Arthur was viewed by this respondent as a local warlord of the sub-Roman period; such a view may have initially arisen as a result of an awareness of the legend of Arthur sleeping beneath Richmond Castle, which may have prompted personal research into the connections between the figure and the region.

For the most part, visitors in the Richmond sample expressed surprise at the connection between Arthur and the site, often citing Robin Hood as being more closely connected to the area as a whole, even when they were not aware that one of the towers of the castle was

named after the hero. The frequent referral to and comparison with Robin Hood suggests that he is explicitly viewed as a 'northern' English hero, in comparison to Arthur, who was most closely identified with the south-west of England here. The localisation of such characters significantly differs from 19<sup>th</sup> century attitudes to Arthur expressed in folklore around Britain, when the unity of Britain and the ancientness of the kingdom was explicit in both nation- and empire-building agendas, thus the figure is nationalised rather than localised: Richmond Castle can thus be seen to represent such a process. However, increasing emphasis on the idiosyncrasies and distinction between different areas of the country can be seen to have resulted in the allocation of such folk figures to specific areas and regions, leading, in turn, to the limited awareness of the tale amongst non-residents. The performance of this regional designation is demonstrated in the sample through responses to Question 16, 'How would you define your national identity?', wherein a number of individuals identified themselves as 'Yorkshireman' or 'Lancastrian', opting out of the more general 'English' or 'British' category. Observations of the emphasis on localisation can also be extended to an examination of the popularisation and popularity of narratives of the Little Drummer Boy, which is specific to Richmond Castle, and therefore a widely-known and accepted legend. We can see here that folk figures, archaeological sites and regions across Britain are therefore closely connected to identity-construction, of both the folk figure in question, and individual respondents.

Tales of Arthur here, then, have been maintained by local residents in a continuity of engagement with the site through the retelling of folk narratives about a highly conspicuous feature of the town. This may not be necessarily because residents identify particularly with Arthur, but because the tale is a local one, featuring a local, named, individual. A few respondents commented that the tales of Arthur at Richmond meant that they considered it part of their heritage, which is likely to have been because they were told the tales when they were younger, since the majority of those who gave the Arthur response were from Richmond or near the vicinity. This can be compared to the equally popular (among the residents) tale of the Little Drummer Boy, a character and narrative particular to Richmond Castle and Easby Abbey. Amongst non-residents, on the other hand, the Arthur narrative is both unknown and surprising, because of the association of the figure with other parts of Britain. We see here the effects of localism in reverse, with Robin Hood being considered a more suitable figure for the area. Nonetheless, partly because of Arthur's frequent identification as English and/or British generally, and partly because of the recognition of the tale as local, the majority of respondents agreed that the tales of Richmond Castle should be promoted more, thus indicating that local and national identities play an important factor in the reproduction of such narratives about sites.

## CHAPTER 9

### DISCUSSION

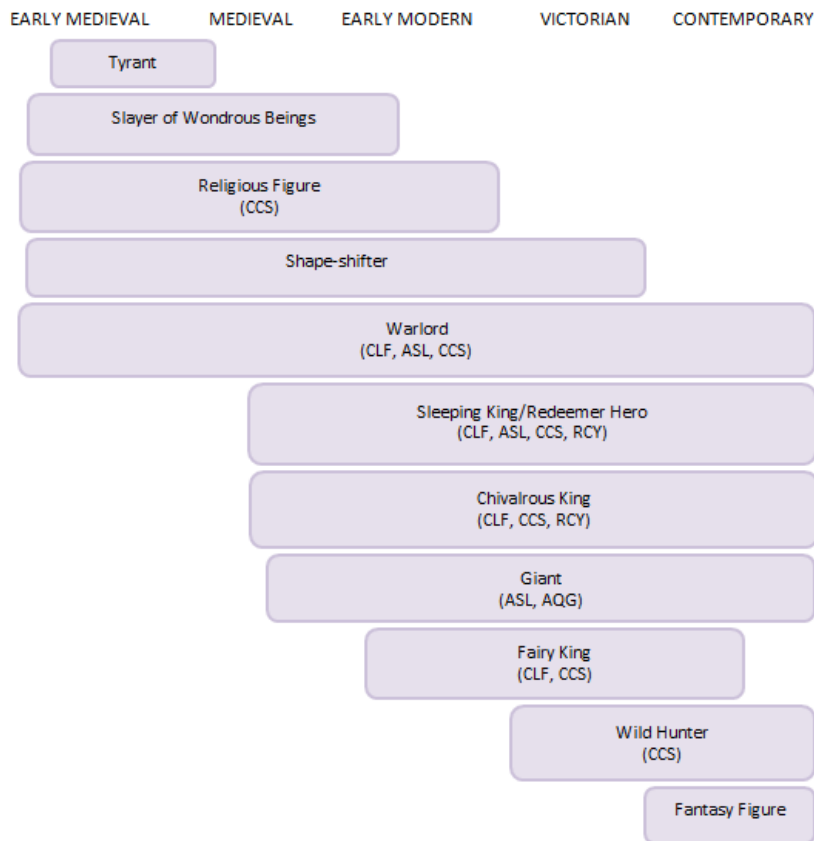
Chapters 4-8 presented the archaeological and folkloric histories of five case study sites in Britain associated with the folk figure Arthur. These various histories were explored and interpreted according to their changing socio-political contexts from, in some cases, the medieval period, through to the present-day. Taking such a particularistic approach allowed for nuances to be contextually explored, whilst identifying broader themes that can connect the case study sites to each other, to other sites in the site catalogue, and to archaeological sites more generally. As encapsulated in the research questions in Chapter 1, the current exercise was conducted with the aim of considering how folklore might be employed in archaeological research, assessing the reciprocal influence between folklore and archaeological sites, highlighting the close relationships between various social groups and landscapes. As such, this project further intended to examine how folkloric research might be relevant to public archaeology in theory and practice, exploring how engagements with the public through folklore might not only be a means by which 'outreach' work may be undertaken, but also useful to archaeologists in gathering data on the varied narratives related about sites. The latter in particular supports an ethnographic approach to archaeological sites and landscapes, revealing ongoing engagements with and renegotiations of landscape through time and building up a biography of sites that is both meaningful and holistic.

The present chapter will explore these themes, synthesising results from the case studies. It will consider the broader dimensions of the relationship between archaeology and folklore, in the interaction between people, place and context, how this is expressed, and how the two can be investigated concurrently, both in the engagement of multiple narratives, and in the engagement of folkloric data in interpretive and public archaeological research. Aspects of the case studies are discussed in relation to three major themes: archaeological representation and imagination, the mythscape, and sense of place. These have been identified as frequently occurring in the analysis and interpretation of the case study sites. This is followed by an exploration of the synthesis of the theory and method of archaeology and folklore, and the results of such collaborations.

### **9.1. Representation**

The current study centred upon the folk hero Arthur and associated narratives. The concentration on Arthur was with the aim of narrowing the study so as to make it manageable and focused, but also to reorient studies of Arthur folklore in archaeology away from the assessment of his historicity towards an examination of the meaning of his association with particular places within the historical contexts in which such narratives are reproduced, illustrating an alternative way of approaching folk figures beyond considerations of their historical veracity. This further underscores the usefulness of undertaking an archaeology of folklore. Through a closer study of the folk hero, we are thus able to consider broader issues in the representation of the past and of archaeology through folklore and, in turn, other popular media, particularly literature. These narratives and representations are, as we have seen, closely linked to the socio-political contexts of their construction and reproduction, and the representation of such places through folklore therefore broadens the social, cultural and political contexts in which these sites are situated.

Through this research, we can see that, in both historical and contemporary representations, Arthur is a varied folk figure that is influential on and influenced by sites with which he is associated. However, we can see from responses to questionnaires that current views are narrowed, through the interplay between folklore, place, identity and popular culture (below). The two prevailing perceptions of Arthur today, derived from historical representations, are that he is a British warlord of the sub-Roman or early medieval periods, or a chivalrous medieval king, both of which align with his representation in contemporary popular culture and iconography (Chapter 1, Figure 1.1). These can both be considered to be achieved through reflecting upon the sites visited/lived by and extant narratives about and perceptions of the folk hero by the sample surveyed. Figure 9.1 illustrates varied concepts of Arthur and how far they feature historically and today with respect to the case study sites of this research.



**Figure 9.1. Historical and contemporary representations of Arthur. Sites at which such representations are found are indicated in parentheses by their codes**

We can see here that there are certain guises of Arthur that are recorded in medieval pseudo-histories, medieval and early modern literature and historical folklore collections that do not feature in the perception of the figure at the sample sites. Whilst this does not mean that such perceptions do not occur at all today, it does indicate that views of Arthur within the sample are constructed in relation to previous knowledge of the figure and experience of the sites in question, which can, in turn, assist in commenting upon wider representations of the past and of the influence of archaeological sites on the development of tradition. Part of the dynamism of these traditions, therefore, is relational to such sites. I shall first examine the forms of Arthur that are not manifested within questionnaire responses at the case study sites.

### 9.1.1. The Deaths of Arthurs

**Tyrant.** Such a representation of Arthur can be seen to have already been in decline by the end of the early modern period, with interactions between Arthur and saints, in which this portrayal of Arthur occurs, decreasing after the Reformation, and any such engagement from the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century imbuing Arthur with saintly power (Chapter 6) rather than heightening the goodness and power of the saint in question through contrast with Arthur as a tyrant. A tyrannical Arthur is not historically found at the case study sites; it may perhaps be unsurprising that such an idea of Arthur does not feature in any of the narratives collected today. However, the lack of representation of Arthur as a tyrant at these sites in historical folklore and literature need not preclude later folklore developing portraying the figure as such, since we can see in the theoretical literature on folklore (Chapter 2) and in some of the case studies (particularly Chapters 6 and 8) that folktales or elements of folktales may migrate between places and are adapted in relation to that particular place. Nonetheless, we generally find that a tyrannical Arthur is only necessary as a device underscoring the attributes of a saint, and therefore only perpetuated at sites specific to such narratives (in particular, churches), especially since Arthur fulfils arguably more significant roles that do not accord with this particular portrayal of him.

**Religious Figure.** Arthur can be seen to have been considered a religious figure at Cadbury Castle and the surrounding area through Stukeley's report on his saintly power of ridding the region of snakes. However, this tale appears to have had a very short life during the early modern period, and, as mentioned above, does not seem to either align with other, more popular views of Arthur in the region at the time or in subsequent periods. The Galfridian Arthur at Caerleon is often presented as pious, divinely-appointed, and a Christian defender, but, again, this is not an image of Arthur that is emphasised in subsequent narratives, and the Christian heritage of Caerleon can be considered to predominantly lie in the reported martyrdoms of Julius and Aaron, and, in one response, the Christian legacy of Charles Williams bestowed upon the town (CLF84R).

Diminishing engagements between Arthur and religious figures in folk narratives may in part contribute to the lack of narratives relating Arthur as a religious figure. In none of the contemporary narratives of the case study sites do we see Arthur represented as a religious figure in the same way as, for example, being a Christian defender analogous with figures in the Bible as *dux bellorum* against pagan Saxons, or his representation of godly devotion in the romances. The disaffiliation of Arthur with religion may, additionally, be the result of increasing secularity across England and Wales (Office for National Statistics, n.d.<sup>b</sup>), resulting in the decrease in interest in, or necessity for, folk narratives with a religious

dimension, and, in turn, in the presentation of Arthur as a religious figure. It is Arthur's representation of *nation* rather than *religion* that is what is of importance, and thus a religious image of him is not maintained. Further, since the case study sites do not necessarily have overtly religious signatures, it can be seen that there is little inspiration derived from these places that would liken Arthur to a religious figure.

Having said this, however, we might perhaps see two exceptions. At Richmond Castle, a narrative related by a resident of the town told of Arthur's residence in the vicinity and his distribution of cakes to the local community, an act in accordance with Christian charity. The site's proximity to Easby Abbey, and its affiliation with it through other legends may have contributed to the notion; however, as only one respondent related this tale and it has not been found in literature on the history and folklore of Richmond it is uncertain as to how far it can be considered a local tradition. Another site where we might see folklore presenting Arthur as a religious figure today is at Cadbury Castle, through visits made by spiritual and neo-pagan groups, which draws Arthur, who is part of their narratives of the site, and a representation of the supposed ancient 'Celticness' from which such beliefs are derived, into this sphere. However, Arthur here is not necessarily revered as a religious figure might be, but part of that 'Celtic' imagination that is important to such visitors, and the extent to which he could be considered a religious figure here is limited.

***Shape-Shifter.*** This concept of Arthur does not feature in any of the historical folk narratives of the case study sites, nor does it occur in contemporary tales. Since the portrayal of Arthur as a shape-shifter at archaeological sites is typically found in conjunction with battles or the Wild Hunt, Cadbury Castle is the likeliest of the case study sites to have developed such folklore, particularly since the south-west of England is the predominant region in which the shape-shifting Arthur is found. However, the failure for shape-shifting folklore to develop at Cadbury or at any other site suggests that such a portrayal had no meaning to local groups or to any others wishing to appropriate local traditions.

***Slayer of Wondrous Beings.*** Like the concept of Arthur as a shape-shifter, this does not feature historically or contemporarily within narratives at the case study sites, and is even rare to find in association with specific sites (Appendix B), possibly owing to many such beings (with the exception of dragons and Twrch Trwyth) residing in Otherworlds/the Underworld, to which Arthur travels from the familiar landscapes experienced every day by social groups. Such an interpretation of course is not absolute, since we can see how landscapes are transformed into magical realms through the reproduction of folk narratives,



and it is more likely that medieval narratives such as *Pa gur..?* did not continue to be popularly circulated or 'rediscovered' and recontextualised.

**Fairy King.** Featuring tangentially in accounts of two of the case study sites, it may not be surprising that Arthur's representation as a king of fairyland or otherwise a king within a fairy realm did not develop further. The notion of Arthur as a fairy king at Caerleon is predominantly found in 19<sup>th</sup> century literature, and does not appear to have been incorporated into folk narratives about the site. A likely reason for this is that other ideas of Arthur at Caerleon carry more significance with the local population, better serving national narratives, such as his role as a British warlord or medieval king, and that the literary legacy portraying Arthur as a fairy king was limited. Further, the archaeological remains of Caerleon serve the representation of Arthur as a warlord (through reuse of the Roman remains) and as a sleeping king (within the Mynde), rather than his representation as a fairy king, particularly since there are no other fairy traditions at Caerleon with which the figure could be identified.

Arthur the fairy king at Cadbury is also highly localised and fairly short-lived, although such a portrayal of Arthur appears to be derived from local tradition and mostly connected to the notion that Arthur guards fairy treasure under the hill in his magical slumber. Since hills and similar topographical features are often connected with fairyland in folk narratives, Cadbury Castle as a site lends itself to the portrayal of Arthur as a fairy king; however, as with Caerleon, we might consider that other ideas of the figure are more significant locally and nationally, and thus more pertinent to its reproduction, further supported by archaeological interpretations of the site that have been popularised.

The diminishing association of Arthur with fairies at particular sites may also be a reflection of the wider decline in fairy narratives. Tales of fairies at archaeological sites may be rarely told today (Chapter 10), and therefore other folk figures usually connected to such tales relinquish their roles associating them with fairies. However, without further evidence of the extent to which fairy narratives are related today, in the case of this research the interpretation that Arthur is valued more in a different role within local and national narratives is considered as a more dominant factor in the decline of such representations (see also 'Fantasy Figure', below).

### 9.1.2. The (In)Significance of Folk Narratives and their Archaeological Signatures

The foregoing representations of Arthur can be seen to have become redundant over time, since the social, cultural, religious and political contexts do not call for folk figures such as these– or more specifically for *Arthur* to be presented so, since he fulfils other, more significant roles. However, we can take the idea of the decline of the above representations of Arthur further in exploring why such Arthurs do not occur at the case study sites today, even if they did so in the past. A reason for this can in part be attributed to changing popular views of history, where the public are better-informed about chronologies and events of the past through the explosion of popular media, and through engagements with archaeological sites such as those in the case studies. The latter point is of course central to this thesis: that there is an inextricable relationship between folklore, people and place, which can, in turn, affect wider narrative traditions and identity affiliations (Research Questions 2, 4, 5). By contrast, the following representations of Arthur were, with the exception of the last two, consistently found in the case study sites, and demonstrate the interplay between the physical remains and experiences of these sites and their associated folk narratives.

### 9.1.3. Contemporary Representations

***British Warlord of the Sub-Roman/Early Medieval Period.*** This was found across all of the case studies in this investigation, and most consistently at Caerleon, Cadbury Castle and Arthur's Seat. At the latter site, however, the idea of Arthur as an early medieval British warlord was used as a case for rejecting the folklore of Arthur at the site; more specifically, his rejection was based on his predominant identification as 'English'. In these responses, then, it is not the notion of a folktale or legend at the site (and its historical inaccuracy) that generates aversion to its promotion, but the *nationality* with which such narratives are identified. Since Scotland has legendarily, historically, and currently emphasised its independence from England in particular, the idea of connecting a Scottish site with a figure perceived to be English is counter-productive to claims to independence and could be perceived as a form of colonialism or commemoration of English dominance over Scotland.

For those few respondents, however, who did not emphasise the distinctness of Scotland from the rest of Britain (as one respondent (ASL38RV), who was an Edinburgh-born resident of the city, put it, "I don't go in for all that separatist rubbish"), there was little aversion to the narratives at the site, and, although they may not be considered significant

to Scotland by a number of respondents, it was often noted that they are significant to Edinburgh as local narratives. The above, then, illustrates the recontextualisation of tradition from national to local levels through association with a specific site – but, in this case, only when the country in question (Scotland) is not viewed as separate from the rest of the nation (Britain). The rejection of folklore in order to promote a particular identity might be contrary to expectation, in that, generally, we might expect countries/other groups who identify themselves as distinct from the dominant group or nation-state to which they are annexed to appropriate local folklore to underscore their uniqueness/importance. However, in the case of Arthur's Seat and Scotland, the ubiquity of Arthur with other parts of Britain, especially England, sees such a view reversed, and the Gaelic folklore is instead seen as more appropriate.

Only one respondent at Arthur's Seat claimed that a 'historical' Arthur was Scottish, whilst another linked local place-names to the broader Arthurian cycle. In both of these instances, the site and its folklore connects Scotland to the rest of Britain, although the former respondent may be employing the notion of a historical Arthur as Scottish to distinguish Scotland's place in the national legendry of Arthur. Where the Arthur folklore is considered here, the site, as a famous volcano, is mostly a place where the warlord could observe the surrounding landscape for strategizing his military campaigns, rather than for any activity that would leave any archaeological signatures, thus the lack of clear archaeological remains affects the perceived engagement between the folk figure and the site.

Comparatively, Geoffrey of Monmouth selected Caerleon as an appropriate place for his civilised Arthur because of its archaeological remains. Centuries later, the public sampled in this research are still commenting on the civilising nature of the Romans and their remains, and although not originally attributed to Arthur in Caerleon's contemporary folklore, the place is appropriate for later use by the figure, because of its grandeur and civility. Yet, rather than the proto-chivalric figure presented by Geoffrey, the Arthur of Caerleon today is mainly viewed as a British warrior. Such a perception of Arthur can be considered a result of the recognition of Caerleon's remains as predominantly Roman rather than medieval, and therefore point to a reuse of the site by a post-Roman figure rather than Arthur being responsible for the construction of Caerleon. As observed in Chapter 4, then, Caerleon and its remains directly influence the perception of the folk hero through reflexive engagement with the site and its stories.

At Cadbury Castle, the most famous site of the case studies in terms of its relation to Arthur, the representation of the figure as a warlord of the sub-Roman period is closely tied to the archaeology of the site. As with Caerleon, it is well-known amongst the sample

surveyed that Cadbury as an archaeological site pre-dates the supposed existence of the 'historical' Arthur, and, again, the site is here seen as a place that was reused by the figure. However, the consistency of the perception of Arthur as a British warlord with the strong archaeological evidence (and promotion of the results of the archaeological investigation) of Cadbury's reuse in the early medieval period serve to strengthen this narrative, although it does not necessarily follow that all who reproduce this folklore consider it to be historical reality, as we have seen in Chapter 6. Here, the archaeology, and more specifically the archaeological investigations of the 1960s and 70s and their outputs, can be seen to have the greatest influence on the notion of Arthur as a British warlord. Archaeological interpretation in Cadbury's case has thus not only perpetuated extant folklore, but has itself become part of folk narratives, since subsequent revisions to the archaeological interpretation of the site are, although not ignored or dismissed, not as widespread as those previously undertaken, which, to some extent, supported the notion of such a figure here.

However, the consistency of the folklore and the archaeology of Cadbury Castle is not to give credence to the argument that the folklore of Cadbury Castle should be refuted when presenting the site to visitors, but rather supports the argument that more discursive approaches should be taken, in enabling those who engage with the site to contemplate the emergence of such folklore, its contexts and its meanings. The context of the development of the folklore of Cadbury Castle is not only an interesting facet of the site, but also gives the opportunity to reflect on the significance of the archaeological remains to local and national narratives. Whilst many who reported the folklore of Arthur as a warlord whose base was Cadbury Castle pointed to its resettlement in the early medieval period as two aspects of the site that fit well together, not all came to the conclusion that the folklore of Arthur was therefore historically accurate. As we have seen in responses in Chapter 6 (see also Appendix D), Arthur is still viewed as a legendary figure, even when connected to seemingly congruous archaeological remains, but the perpetuation and desire for promotion for these narratives comes from an interest in understanding more about local folklore and other aspects of the site; as CCS14V commented: "whether or not there's any truth in it, it's interesting as a piece of folklore".

***Chivalric Medieval King.*** This idea of Arthur is mainly found at Caerleon, Cadbury Castle and Richmond Castle. At both Caerleon and Richmond, the chivalric image of Arthur, or some prelude to it, is extant from the earliest conceptions of Arthur folklore at these sites, whilst at Cadbury this presentation of Arthur can be seen to have developed much later, possibly as a result of the increasing popularity and accessibility of Arthurian romances combining with the existing notion of Arthur as a sub-Roman/early medieval warlord here.

The incorporation of the chivalric image of Arthur at Cadbury further points to the ongoing popularity and consistency in the reproduction of folktales of Arthur here, where other representations of the figure at other sites are appropriated and narratives altered. The ongoing development of the representation of Arthur can further be seen at Cadbury through representations of Arthur as the Wild Hunter (below). The popular concept of Arthur as a chivalric king influences narratives about the site, rather than physical aspects of the site affecting the narrative (although see 'Sleeping king' section below). This draws Cadbury Castle into wider Arthurian, and thus literary, traditions, without necessarily being a site that plays a role in the development of these particular narratives.

In terms of the public's perception of chivalric folklore at Cadbury Castle today, this is predominantly manifested in expressions of the sense of place (below) there, where the site and the landscape are the perfect locations for a chivalric King Arthur, despite the lack of archaeological remains, such as medieval ruins, supporting such a concept. The same can also be said of the representation of this Arthur at Caerleon, which is often described by respondents as a "romantic" and "atmospheric" setting, thus an ideal setting for Arthurian romances (below). The 'feeling' of Caerleon can be seen in part to be derived from the presentation of Caerleon by Tennyson, which some referred to, although not all respondents demonstrated any awareness of the *Idylls* and thus such responses are demonstrative of the direct, reflexive engagements visitors and residents have with Caerleon, and its particular sense of place, recreated by local residents in the Ffwrrwm in particular.

***Sleeping King/Redeemer-Hero.*** Despite the close fit between the folklore of Arthur as sub-Roman/early medieval warlord at Cadbury Castle and its resettlement during this period, legends of Arthur asleep under the hill, often with highly fantastical features, are almost equally represented here, suggesting that it is not perceived historical veracity that is the primary driver for the reproduction of folk narratives, nor that seeming historically tenable narratives expunge more fabulous ones. It was often related that the sleeping king could be seen at Midsummer, when the hill turns as clear as glass, giving Arthur himself, as well as the site, magical qualities (below). Cadbury Castle's folklore of the sleeping king and annual transparency also infers the constant presence of the figure inside the hill, rather than the site being associated with him through his residence there in the past, demonstrating the close conceptual relationship between social groups and the hero mediated through the site and their engagement with it.

Narratives portraying Arthur as a sleeping king were also collected at Caerleon, past and present. Whilst at times it was reported that he was 'buried' in the Mynde, for the most part

he was sleeping. Arthur's slumber in the Mynde is again found in conjunction with folklore relating Caerleon to be his residence as a sub-Roman British warlord. Unlike at Cadbury Castle, however, where he is closer to a chivalric image when sleeping under the hill, Arthur at Caerleon appears to remain a warlord figure. Nonetheless, in both instances we see that Arthur's residence at a particular site has in turn led to him remaining there in a magical slumber.

The above situation is reversed, however, at Richmond Castle, where Arthur's connection to the site appears to have begun with him sleeping under the castle's foundations. At Richmond Castle, Arthur as a sleeper is in the guise of a chivalric medieval king (above) typical of the D1960.2 motif. Richmond Castle, as a medieval ruin in a romantic setting, lends itself to the presentation of the figure in this way, and thus we might see that the further extrapolation that Arthur resided in the area is not incongruous to his presentation as a chivalric figure. Although little known amongst visitors, when Arthur is associated with the site, his presentation as a sleeping king is the dominant folk narrative related about Richmond today. However, we have also seen responses stating that he, and even his father, Uther Pendragon, resided here, which could suggest that the two narratives of his residing and sleeping in specific places are connected, but, of course, nothing can be further extrapolated from the three isolated responses given in this sample.

In all such instances of Arthur sleeping within/beneath archaeological sites, the hero is often considered to one day awake from his slumber and redeem the nation in its hour of need. The A580 motif has historically gone hand-in-hand with the sleeping king motif, and is also the case in the reproduction of narratives today. The connection between the two motifs may in part explain the development of sleeping king tales subsequent to narratives referring to his residence at these locations, since it could be inferred that he would again take up his place at these sites and resume his rule. However, more pertinently, the continued reproduction of Arthur as returning redeemer-hero indicates the importance placed on the figure in the creation of the ideal future through a legendary past, supported by archaeological sites as remnants of that supposed past. In this way, Arthur is representative of the past greatness and future rejuvenation of the nation, evinced and mediated by archaeological sites and landscapes (below).

**Giant.** The presentation of Arthur as a giant today is only found at Arthur's Quoit within the case study sites, despite the potential for tales relating Arthur as a giant to have been reproduced at Arthur's Seat. All of those who reported Arthur narratives at the Quoit referred to the tale that Arthur threw the capstone from the top of Moelfre, although not all necessarily inferred from this that he was a giant, but was instead a human who possessed

superhuman strength; as one respondent (AQG37R) stated: "... the stone... was thrown from the summit of Moelfre... by King Arthur himself". However, most reported that the throwing of the stone was by a gigantic Arthur; variants of this tale also describe that such actions were undertaken in contest with other giants, and it was in the 'nature' of giants to perform such feats.

The perpetuation of the representation of Arthur as a giant at Arthur's Quoit could be predominantly attributed to the physical nature of the burial chamber – the capstone being of such a huge scale – and the popularity of giant narratives in the area (see AQG50R, Appendix D). The idea of Arthur as a giant more generally, then, may be contingent on the strength of giant traditions within a particular community/region and of the nature of the site itself, where no other explanation could be given for the connection between place and the folk figure. This might be particularly true for prehistoric megaliths, where not only the type of site but also its chronology allow for the reproduction of obvious fabulates. Such narratives can then underscore the close, even unique, connection between particular representations of Arthur and place, where, as we have seen in the case of Arthur's Quoit, the popularisation of Arthur-Gawr tales was not undertaken in 'national' literature, since this representation of Arthur did not sit well with the image of the figure that could further nation-building agendas (below).

That 18<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> century writers did not popularise Arthur-Gawr narratives in north Wales is not, as we have seen, the only reason that these tales may be little known today, but may also be attributed to the obscurity of the site itself to the general public (below); if the site is unknown, there is little chance for the narratives to be known. Further, since the names 'Arthur's Quoit' or 'Carreg Arthur' do not feature on maps and signage, there is little here to prompt investigation into the folklore of the site. This in part reflects Stefan Brink's (2013:81) consideration that the loss of name results in a loss of place, since the narrative that creates that place is also lost or incomplete without it.

**Wild Hunter.** Arthur as a Wild Hunter is found in current narratives of Cadbury Castle within the case study sites, albeit marginally (and Cadbury was the only site to feature the Hunter form of Arthur historically). However, we can see that the representation of the figure in this way is muted, and is now mostly reduced to him occasionally riding around in the vicinity. Toning down traditional Wild Hunter attributes here may be attributed to the crystallisation of the nature of the folk figure as beneficent, and thus his appearance does not inspire terror as some Wild Hunt narratives of the 19<sup>th</sup> century did here. However, instead of such narratives dying out completely, Arthur still rides out from within Cadbury

Castle, indicating the broader connection between the figure and the wider landscape made by those who reside in it.

***Fantasy Figure.*** Finally, we will briefly consider Arthur as a fantasy figure, which could be seen to be representative of contemporary views and appropriations of folk figures, drawing upon previous conceptualisations, and resituating archaeological sites and landscapes into new contexts. Many folkloric tropes (as well as aspects of archaeology) are often translated into fantasy film and literature (Mathews, 2002:1-36; Wolfe, 2012:7-20), and medievalism in particular is a frequent theme in popular culture (see M. Alexander 2007). Thus Arthur, as both a character that features in medieval narratives and a construct of pseudo-medievalia, is immersed in contemporary fantasy worlds, often derived from historical folklore (see especially Mathews, 2002:96-117).

Arthur's development into a fantasy figure through his representation in folklore can be seen to have been drawn from all such varied representations in much the same way as other legends and folktales develop their own biographies. As Tolkien (1947:126) puts it:

It seems fairly plain that Arthur... was also put into the Pot. There he was boiled for a long time, together with many other older figures and devices, of mythology and Faërie, and even some other stray bones of history (such as Alfred's defence against the Danes), until he emerged as a King of Faërie.

The Victorian portrayal of Arthur as a fairy king in art and literature, to which Tolkien refers here, can be seen to be a prelude to the fantasy figure found in literature, film and gaming today (Appendix A and Figure 1.1). Whilst the 'fantasy' Arthur may be seen to have been removed from archaeological sites and resituated in fantasy worlds, we have seen that the sites themselves have played a role in fashioning the figure and thus contribute to his representation in this context. Further, such fantasy worlds do not come *ex nihilo*, but grow out of the reinterpretation of real worlds; thus archaeological sites, along with Arthur, are recontextualised and subsequently folklorised according to these new representations (see Lowe 2012).

#### 9.1.4. Medieval Representation and the Archaeological Imagination

Despite the narrowing of variations of the figure of Arthur within the case study sites, which may be taken, to some extent, to represent sites of similar age, type, location and folklore, the folk figure is still a varied character that affects and is affected by folklore, archaeological sites and socio-political context. The fabulous nature of some



representations of Arthur does not prevent reproduction of or interest in such folklore; few disregarded the folklore because of its fabulous nature or historical inaccuracy. Indeed, more 'historically' tenable Arthurs were not necessarily accepted as historically accurate, demonstrating that even archaeologically accurate representations of the Arthurian medieval past (whether early or high) are not necessarily taken to be 'true', but are, nonetheless, part of the archaeological imagination today, and, as reflected in the responses, part of the site's social history and heritage. In examining the folklore of the case study sites, and thus engagements with the sites themselves through time, we can see a myriad of medieval representations both historically and today which add to and incorporate other popular media such as literature. Such an approach not only provides researchers with an indication of how the past is viewed, but what this past means to groups who conjure such pasts, and the role of the medieval today.

The early medieval period, or, popularly, the 'Dark Ages', is typically represented by the sample today as an age of warfare, exemplified by the idea of Arthur as a British chieftain who resettled earlier strongholds (Caerleon, Cadbury Castle), and was constantly engaged in military strategies (Arthur's Seat). Any literature of the period (*Y Gododdin*) was predominantly mentioned with reference to early medieval geo-political boundaries, and thus the mechanism by which Arthur was connected to a particular place (Arthur's Seat, Arthur's Quoit, Richmond Castle), suggests that it is the general idea of the period as one of conflict and the negotiation of (identity-)boundaries that sees Arthur take such a role. This view may partially stem from a combination of modern (18<sup>th</sup> century) constructions of the 'Celts' and the resurgence in interest in Roman Britain in the pre-and inter-World War years, reinforced after World War II in the renewed interest in a pre-/anti-Saxon past, exemplified by the investigation of Cadbury Castle and fuelled by impassioned statements to this effect by figures such as Winston Churchill (Chapter 6).

However, the contemporary presentation of the early medieval described above contrasts with the representation of that period in the High Middle Ages, as illustrated by narratives such as Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*. Here, the early medieval period is still beset by insular and external conflicts, but the iconography of Arthur is that of a proto-chivalric figure, as illustrated by his court at Caerleon. Arthur, as King of Britain, is required to take a role more fitting to the idea of contemporary kingship, and as such the representation of the Early Middle Ages is adjusted as a legitimate progenitor for the High Middle Ages. The ancestral nature of Arthur and the early medieval period can be seen to have continued during the later medieval and early modern periods through the figure's representation as antecedent of leaders such as Owain Glyndŵr (Caerleon) and rulers such as Henry VIII

(Cadbury Castle), Elizabeth I (Caerleon) and James VI & I (Arthur's Seat), reflected in historical chronicles, antiquarian accounts and literary compositions. In these, the early medieval maintains to some extent courtly traits (knights, the Round Table, 'palaces'), also illustrated at other sites such as Winchester and Tintagel, which can be seen to be greatly influenced by Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*. Yet we also see the early medieval presented as a somewhat mythical age, where it encompasses the chivalry of the High Middle Ages whilst somehow preceding it. This lends itself to the notion of the early medieval period as a prelapsarian 'golden age', the presentation of which and its connection to specific places reflects the idea of the construction of the mythscape in nation-building (Bell 2003; Chapter 2; also below). The construction of this ideal is underscored by the iconography of the sleeping king/redeemer-hero at Cadbury Castle/Glastonbury Tor and, even, Arthur's connection with giants in north Wales (Arthur's Quoit) recorded in the late medieval-early modern period.

Yet, possibly owing to the increased circulation and awareness of medieval romances, we can see that the folklore of Arthur, as illustrated by the case study sites, also closely contributes to the representation of the High Middle Ages by subsequent groups, particularly the Victorians and those sampled today. The most popular representation of this period is that of a chivalrous age, characterised, again, by elements of Arthurian legend such as his knights and their quests, the Round Table and palatial/fortified architecture. The cementing of this chivalry and courtly romance as an identifier of Arthur and of the period can be seen in the medievalism and ideals of the pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and its literary and artistic predecessors, and in particular the refashioning of Arthur in Tennyson's *Idylls* (Caerleon). Romantic, courtly and chivalric iconography is sustained today in terms frequently used in imparting folk narratives of sites, including 'knights', 'court' and 'Camelot', which also features today, as in the Victorian period, in the idea of Arthur as a sleeping king (Cadbury Castle, Richmond Castle, Caerleon).

These various depictions of Arthur affects another representation of the High Middle Ages, seen again in Victorian and current narratives: that of the medieval period as a fantasy realm, where magical and otherworldly events trespass on to the world today, through the continuing presence of the figure of Arthur inside the hill or mountain, and as the leader of the Wild Hunt (Cadbury Castle). At Cadbury he is also, during the Victorian period, associated with fairies and dragons. Such themes in folk narratives in turn has led to another representation of the medieval – but encompassing both early and high periods – as a basis for contemporary fantasy worlds and narratives, as seen in popular culture today.

In considering the various representations of Arthur at the case study sites, and more generally, we can not only contribute to an understanding of the development of that specific folk figure, and his influence on archaeological sites and landscapes, but also of broader ideas within medievalism and the archaeological imagination. We can see how, through such folklore, the medieval encroaches on to various sites – Neolithic/Bronze Age, Iron Age, Roman – suggesting the importance and legacy of medieval period as a foundation for British identity, anchored in physical remains (incongruous though they may seem) and their folklore, demonstrating the appropriation of earlier remains. The concurrent study of folklore and archaeological sites in this case also serves as a biography of the representation of the medieval as well as of the sites themselves. In the current research, medieval representation and medieval folklore are constantly renegotiated according to identity, with archaeological sites at the centre of such negotiations. The representation of the medieval past is thus closely linked to the founding of local and national identities and the presentation of idealised pasts in order to construct ideal presents and futures. As such, we see the process and results of the archaeological imagination in action, where experience of archaeological sites result in contextually-bound narratives, and, in the other direction, the construction of local and national narratives point to remnants of the past. The examination of the archaeological imagination and archaeological representation is here taken further than how such topics have been and are often approached, which focus mostly on film, literature, fine arts and, increasingly, music and gaming. Medieval representation can here be seen to go beyond ‘high’ culture in medieval, post-medieval and modern periods, as well as in contemporary popular culture such as film and gaming, but can also be perceived through folklore, which, is, as we have seen, an influence on, and influenced by, all of these media.

Interestingly, sources of the narratives about Arthur related by respondents of the questionnaires at case study sites did not include ‘Film/Television’ – where this was given as a response to Question 4, it was only in relation to narratives presenting the ‘archaeology’ of the site (for example, that Caerleon was a Roman legionary fortress). After sources such as guidebooks, the Internet and family/friends, the greatest influence on the perception of sites and sources of folklore and information about Arthur was literature, or what might be more appropriately termed the *communication* of literature. By this it is meant that not all would have read Malory’s *Morte D’Arthur*, but knowledge of Arthur and his association with specific sites, landscapes and regions may derive from this work and circulate in different contexts. We see here the folklorisation process in action, with archaeological sites and landscapes, and the public’s engagements with them, playing active roles.

As such, archaeological sites and landscapes form part of the broader literary heritage through folklore, and the boundaries of experiences of place are widened or dissolved (below). Yet local folklore of the kind we have seen in the case studies still persists, indicating that a) Arthur as represented in popular culture is not the sole means by which the public engage with the figure, thus folklore is a major way in which people imagine and choose to represent the past; b) perception of place is based on a combination of previous experience (which may or may not be directly influenced by popular culture) and experience of that place in its own terms, which includes its particular folklore; and c) folklore and place, as representations of the archaeological imagination, are inextricably linked, since they carry meanings to individuals and social groups related to society, politics, identity and ideology. The final point brings us to our next thematic section of the present chapter, which explores the connection between landscapes and ideology more closely.

## **9.2. Mythscape**

We can see that the representation of the past, in this case of a folk hero and associated legends, is closely linked to ideologies of (re)producers and the broader contexts in which such representations are enacted. We can see this, through the case studies, accomplished in two ways: where composers of national narratives requiring grounding in the remains of the past select sites that best serve these narratives, and where local folklore is recontextualised and assimilated into national narratives. In many of the case studies, the former 'invention' of tradition can be seen to have given rise to local alterations according to their own meanings and engagements with place and landscape, which could, in turn, be themselves recontextualised again. The result of this, as we have seen in the case studies, is a complex amalgam of local tradition, 'official' national narratives, archaeological remains and interpretation, and literary and popular culture, constantly refashioned and renegotiated according to the agendas of particular social groups.

The varied reconstruction and representation of the past is therefore significant to identity-construction today, as we have seen in the case of Arthur's Seat. Arthur's perceived identity (rather than historical veracity) is seen to have affected perceptions of the promotion of folklore here, because he was not considered Scottish or, more pertinently, because he was considered English. If we compare the results of Arthur's Seat to responses at Richmond Castle, we can see that surprise was often expressed that the folk figure was associated with that site, but the majority still wished for the tale to be promoted and to learn more about

it, possibly because the hero was generally considered to be English and therefore acceptable. Yet we do see at Richmond the case that Arthur's identity is increasingly localised, with a very high identification of the figure with the West Country, because he is not typically viewed as a northern English figure. The specificity of his identification is therefore a result of direct experience of place and reflection upon more popular folklore connected with the region, such as Robin Hood.

Representations of Arthur are to some extent regionally differentiated, particularly with regards to those portrayals that are not of him as a warlord or chivalric king. His portrayal as a giant in north Wales, which is both recorded in historic collections and found in contemporary narratives, where tales about Arthur were related, are only found here. The persistence of Arthur-Gawr narratives in north Wales underscores the notion that the significance of Arthur here does not lie in any potential historicity, or indeed his portrayal as a chivalric king, and that his representation as a giant and giant-lore generally are narratives with which Snowdonia/north Wales particularly identify, or are identifiers of this region.

The warlord Arthur only appears at Richmond Castle in responses considering his possible connections to the wider region through *Y Gododdin*, but as to narratives at the site itself he is the medieval king sleeping beneath the castle's foundations. This is both appropriate to the site as a medieval castle, and to the region, which is rich in mediaeval romance through its connections to Robin Hood narratives. Arthur the Wild Hunter's sole appearance at Cadbury Castle is consistent with E501's only appearance (in connection with Arthur) in Wales and south-west England. Here we might see the migration of folk motifs through the movement of people and popularisation of narratives from other parts of Europe, and their incorporation into local narratives specific to the nature of the site, thus producing a locally-distinct set of tales. The majority of the case study sites, then, all share a connection in that Arthur as a warlord/chivalric king/sleeping king commonly feature in their folk narratives, indicating not only connections between these sites and others through folklore, but also suggesting that the medieval and archaeological imagination as represented by Arthur folklore is both a touchstone to the general British medieval past and manipulated according to region and site, potentially further illustrating Cohen's (1982) scales of identity (below).

The figure of Arthur and his representation in folklore are not only to some extent regionally differentiated, but the case studies also indicate that he is socially differentiated, particularly seen in the historical collection, appropriation and dissemination of such folklore. Here we see the 'historical' Arthur often reproduced by the elite, and the fabulous

Arthur frequently reproduced in folk narratives of non-elites. The former has its use in genealogical claims of rights to govern and rule people and land, well-represented by Cadbury Castle in the Tudor and post-Second World War periods, Arthur's Seat in the early Stuart dynasty and subversively at Caerleon during the Last Welsh Revolt. Alongside the promotion of a historical Arthur through his connection to archaeological remains during the early modern period, however, folklore relating Arthur as a giant is recorded in north Wales, but not widely included in contemporary or subsequent national narratives. As such, the Arthur-Gawr narratives of places such as Arthur's Quoit are little reproduced textually, and can in part be seen to have been due to the inadequacies of that representation of Arthur in furthering identity-constructing agendas of elite groups, who were, for the most part, directly or indirectly responsible for the entextualisation of these narratives.

Comparatively, folklore collected at Cadbury Castle by a local reverend and recorded in the context of an antiquarian/archaeological journal (Bennett 1890) shows that, despite the decline in the popularity of literary representations of Arthur during the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, tales of Arthur as a Wild Huntsman and a guardian of fairy treasure developed and were reproduced by the local population. This suggests that, despite widespread decline in elite and literary interests in the folk figure, Arthur was still of local importance, and could be a marker of identity for the community, incorporating and being incorporated into other popular narratives such as the Wild Hunt and fairies, which in turn reflects the engagement with and perception of the local landscape, transformed into a magical one through the presence of Arthur.

The above interpretation is not to say that the Arthurs of non-elites are the result of ignorance on the part of these social groups, both in failing to ascertain the 'proper' history of a site and in communicating a fantastical notion of Arthur, but demonstrates that it is the *idea* of Arthur and his presence in the landscape that is more important, and this is the means by which they represent and identify with the past and place, rather than directly claim descent from the hero. These also illustrate the appropriation of elite literature by different social groups that is adjusted to suit the interests of those groups. Further, these representations of Arthur are, of course, not restricted to these groups, and can be found across all social scales, but, through the case study sites, we can suggest a relationship between trends in folk and literary narratives pertaining to Arthur and the social groups reproducing such narratives, in light of broader social, cultural and political contexts.

We can see, then, that sites are not randomly-selected to feature in folk narratives, but are chosen because of their nature as archaeological sites, connections with people, and extant narratives that can be appropriated and built-upon. This is well-demonstrated at Cadbury

Castle, where Leland's commentary on its physical remains, and the connection between the site and Glastonbury, supported by the assertion of supposed narratives of the local people, made it an appropriate place to locate the figure of Arthur, made for a particular purpose. The latter claim of local tradition, of course, did not necessarily inspire Leland's assertion, but the local peasantry, seen as stores of tradition and living examples of the past, could be used to anchor his claim, and can be seen to be particularly appropriate to employ in a region that had been connected to Arthur since the medieval period. The investigations of Caerleon, Arthur's Seat, and even Richmond Castle have demonstrated the purposeful association made between site and folklore in the 'invention' of tradition, or, where particular folk narratives appear to be a local development, borne out of a close relationship between people and place, a place with which local people feel a specific affiliation. These can then be recontextualised in a continuous cycle of the reproduction of traditions.

Through such processes, sites can become symbols of national significance, as touchstones to the past, which is constructed according to ideals of the present and for the future. This is illustrated in the preceding case studies through contextual and interpretive approaches to folk narratives and archaeological sites, and a similar approach to other folklore and places can allow researchers to understand engagements with and the use and significance of archaeological sites in specific contexts. Central to this is the concept of identity, where various groups may appropriate a particular past, represented by physical remains and narratives concerning them. In responses to the questionnaires undertaken at the case study sites, many respondents considered the folklore of Arthur at the sites concerned to be significant to the image, history and heritage of the country, whilst others who did not commented that they were significant to the local population, demonstrating the perceived differential social bases that are most appropriate to such narratives. Differential identity was most commonly seen where the representation of Arthur was particularly unusual in relation to popular perceptions today (such as in the form of a giant at Arthur's Quoit), or the presence of Arthur was thought to be unusual in a particular region (such as at Arthur's Seat or Richmond Castle). In these cases, it was more frequently noted that tales were less significant nationally, but more significant locally. However, as we have seen in the case of Arthur's Seat, identity was defined or reinforced by local residents and Scottish respondents by *rejecting* the legend of Arthur, whilst at Richmond the specificity of the folktale through the naming of a 'local' man (Potter Thompson) meant that, to residents, the narrative was still one with which local people could identify and seen to be representative of the site and the local region.

Despite the traditional image of Arthur as defender of the Britons against invading Saxons, and thus an iconic 'Celtic' figure, often connected with other 'Celtic' regions of Britain such as Wales and Cornwall, the sample population at Arthur's Seat, especially Scottish respondents, still rejected the figure here. Such rejection may in part lie in the observation that few respondents today (across all sites) focused on the notion of Arthur as enemy of the Saxons, but also reflects the successful appropriation of the figure by the English. Additionally, interestingly, at Arthur's Seat we see in historic and contemporary onomastic folklore that the site is connected to the Norse god Thor, indicating a close affiliation with this particular past/identity. Moreover, the apparent incongruity and thus rejection of Arthur and Arthur's Seat reinforces the concept of the deep connection between folklore/folk figures and place, in that a narrative/character cannot simply be translocated from one place to another and the association maintained if subsequent groups find no significance in that connection (see especially Gunnell 2005, 2008, 2009).

All those who considered the folklore to be significant – that is, a meaningful sign/symbol – also considered the site itself to be significant, not only demonstrating the perceived significance of archaeological sites themselves for the public but, more importantly, that the significance of those specific narratives lies in their connection to specific locales. National and local narratives of identity, then, which aim to represent the past and present state of a particular group, are inextricably linked to place and landscape, well-attested in the historical approaches taken in the case studies. Whilst, today, many respondents' considerations that the sites were part of their heritage were not necessarily because of the folklore, citing reasons as varied from living in the area, being from the country, to visiting it, or 'feeling' like it is part of their heritage, the close connection between people and place is evident, and it is manifested through various engagements.

Interestingly, a number of responses from non-British Europeans frequently commented that they considered the site in question to be part of their heritage because of a common 'European heritage', whilst also considering Arthur narratives and the site itself to be significant to the heritage of the country. Whilst this can be taken to indicate the homogenising effects of the European Union, with a pan-European identity replacing national identities, what might be occurring here is the enactment of Barth's (1966) emphasis on 'sameness' when differing social groups encounter each other. As such, places – including their folklore and archaeology – are taken as bases from which commonality might be established between local inhabitants/national citizens and visitors from beyond Europe (particularly from the USA, but also from the Middle East, south-west Asia and Australia), where sites were seen as part of the heritage of all humanity.



Both Barth (1966) and Knuuttila (2003), therefore, can be considered to be in some way accurate with regards to their seemingly oppositional views on the encounters between differing social groups. Barth's displays of similarities are found today at broader continental and global scales, enacted through visitors' engagements with sites and perceived common heritage, whether through having similar archaeological sites in their own countries, knowing the narratives, visiting, or simply connected as part of 'humanity'. The notion of 'sameness' can also be seen historically through the folklore of the case study sites, although at a smaller, 'national' scale, particularly at Arthur's Seat, where the site, situated in the royal city of Edinburgh, and its connection to the folk hero as King of all Britain, symbolised attempts at uniting Scotland and England under James VI & I. At Caerleon, the commonality of Arthurian legend and historical figures was also used as a basis for the unity of the Welsh and French against the English, and such unity was enacted by their communal camping in the Round Table.

Knuuttila's emphasis on differentiation can be seen in the use of the case study sites historically in nation- and identity-building exercises, as well as today. The rejection of Arthur folklore at Arthur's Seat and emphasis on a Gaelic etymology for the name of the site during the 18<sup>th</sup> century emphasises Scotland's distinct identity from England, anchored in a prominent landmark, in the context of the Act of Union of 1707, which saw the formation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. The Gaelic narrative is carried through in some responses to the questionnaire at Arthur's Seat today, now, conversely, in the run-up to a Referendum on independence, with many articles on the issue illustrated with the saltire flown upon Arthur's Seat (Figure 9.2). On a wider scale, the emphasis on differentiation through folklore and place can also be seen through UNESCO's creation of the 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention, the implementation of this Instrument by some Member States, and the consideration of its scope and use in other countries (Wales and Scotland). Whilst the 1979 World Heritage Convention can be seen to have had a 'global' emphasis, the ICHC can be viewed as a way of countering the homogenising effects of globalisation, and re-iterating the uniqueness of particular social groups and nation-states.



Figure 9.2. Arthur's Seat in the media in the run-up to the vote on Scottish independence: (top left) Comedian Eddie Izzard launching the 'Please Don't Go' campaign (*The Scotsman*, 18/03/2014); (top right) Report on the surge in support for independence according to a *Times* opinion poll (*The Times*, 13/02/2013); (bottom left) Opinion piece on 'expat' Scots having the right to vote in the Referendum (*The Guardian* 02/08/2013); (bottom right) 'Son of Scotland's' page supporting the 'Yes' campaign ([http://www.sonofscotland.co.uk/index.php?p=1\\_9\\_Independence](http://www.sonofscotland.co.uk/index.php?p=1_9_Independence))

Perceived threats from, or clashes with, 'the outside', characterised by the rewriting of British history by Continental chroniclers such as Polydore Vergil in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Wood 2005; Utz 2006), and threatened invasion and Germanisation in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, also led to the promotion of the uniqueness of 'British' culture, exemplified by archaeological sites such as Cadbury Castle. Here, Leland's defence of Arthur and establishment of his court served to reinforce the foundation of British nation-building agendas, and from which Henry VIII, drawing on Geoffrey, could claim separation from Rome. More recently, where the similarities between Britain and Germany, and their unity through the Saxon past, was previously promoted through folklore and archaeology, the two World Wars prompted the promotion of Britain's non-Saxon (and indeed, perceived 'anti-Saxon') past to reinforce their differential identities and gain distance. The emphasis on the uniqueness of British culture was again underscored by the folkloric and material connection to the British landscape, with a resurgence in, and archaeological investigation of, folklore at Cadbury Castle.

The investigation of folklore at archaeological sites therefore contributes to the understanding of the development of national mythologies and identity-construction

which, we can see, are not only exhibited in the invention and recontextualisation of tradition, but are fundamentally connected to specific places in the landscape (Research Question 2). Local, regional and national narratives can be embodied by folk heroes such as Arthur, whose presence in the British landscape both influences and is influenced by particular places. Yet such places, created through their archaeology and folklore, not only represent the ideologies of specific groups, but, through direct and indirect engagement, impart a unique sense of place.

### **9.3. Sense of Place**

A number of responses from individuals at each of the case study sites often referred to the potential ideological basis for the folklore of Arthur, recognised the political and ideological dimension of the folk character, or referred to such folklore and their basis in archaeological sites as part of the 'heritage' of the country. Such responses in part echo the reflexive engagement between people, place and narratives in relation to the changing socio-political contexts of the site and of their place in such contexts today. Archaeological sites (and their folklore) can thus be conceived of as ideological microcosms of Britain, and a 'sense of place' is evoked at these sites as representations of Britain/England/Scotland/Wales.

However, engagements with, responses to, and representation of place does not solely, or even primarily, lie in the conscious socio-political dimensions of its archaeology/folklore, but can elicit more personal connections in direct response to individuals' experiences of such sites. Responses to questionnaires for the current research often refer to the sites in question as "atmospheric" or located in a "romantic setting", indicating that it is the "feeling" residents and visitors have about a site that affects response to, and engagement with it. Such personal, emotional responses can be seen to derive from the sense of place experienced by residents and visitors, and this sense of place can be considered to have contributed to the development of folk narratives of a particular place (note, for example, Leland's description of Cadbury Castle, Chapter 6). Folklore thus grows out of sense of place, influenced by it and adapting according to the site's particularities and peculiarities. A number of responses across the case studies stated that they could see how such folklore arose or was appropriate to the site because of its romantic feeling or its atmosphere, again illustrating that the folklore can be appreciated according to the particular sense of place and thus suitability of the site.

Yet sense of place as represented by folklore is not solely the evocation of the romantic nature of a particular landscape or locale, but can also reflect the awe and wonder it instils

in those who experience it. Such feelings are illustrated in the current study by the giant lore of Arthur's Quoit and the wider Snowdonia landscape. The rocky landscape and its high proportion of chambered tombs appear to have prompted extensive giant narratives, which were, in turn, connected with the figure of Arthur (who is himself transformed into a giant). That the connection between Arthur-giants-mountainous north Wales was/is maintained not only suggests the appropriateness of giant lore to such locations as a representation of their sense of place, but also the strong connection between Arthur, who is himself an awesome figure, and the region.

The very nature of archaeological sites, then, is crucial to the folklore told about them, not only in terms of their physical nature and geographical location, but also through the emotional response conjured through direct experience of them. This underscores the argument here that folklore is not simply passively applied to archaeological sites because of the ignorance of local groups or visitors, but are meaningful constructions anchored in experience and context. We have seen in the case study chapters that even national narratives inventing, entextualising and recontextualising tradition are also often formed in this way, and thus, through undertaking an archaeology of such thematic folklore as that of Arthur, we are able to resituate narratives in the local and further highlight the role of sense of place on individual, local, regional, national and international scales.

Yet we can also see from historical investigations of and responses to questionnaires at the case study sites that folklore goes from *representing* sense of place to *giving* sense of place, which can be shared across various groups and identities, as well as across time. At Caerleon, we have seen that the folklore of the site and subsequent literary inspirations (below) marked it as the capital of the 'Kingdom of Romance' (Walters 1907), with respondents today commenting on its romantic feeling. The sensation of romance was also found at other sites, in particular Richmond Castle and Cadbury Castle; the latter was also described as 'magical', 'dark', and, for one respondent (CCS28V), it has "just the right atmosphere" for the setting of Arthurian narratives, in comparison to Tintagel, which is "a really tasteless place".

Of course, it is not only the folklore that produces a sense of place, but also its archaeological remains. This was often seen at Caerleon, where the Roman remains were seen to evoke a sense of 'civility'. The combination of archaeology and folklore here can further be seen to have produced the 'Celticky' feel described by one respondent (CLF68V), and is also the basis for a unique feature of the town – the Ffwrrwm, which itself can be seen to go on perpetuating such a sensation.

In this way, “folklore *vivifies* geography, brings it alive with meaning and significance” (Ryden, 1993:57, original emphasis), and is thus an active and activating part of the life of a site (Research Questions 1 and 3). As some respondents at Arthur’s Seat commented, the folklore of the site added to the experience of “what is essentially a dead volcano” (ASL68RV). The evocation of a sense of place through folklore was taken by some respondents across the case study sites beyond simply conjuring ‘feelings’ about a particular site, but also, in some cases, prompted active, physical engagement with it. At Cadbury Castle, historical sources and residents reported undertaking certain activities to attest to the hollowness of, and thus presence of Arthur within, the hill, including calling down King Arthur’s Well and listening at Queen Anne’s Wishing Well, putting one’s ear to the ground to listen to activity inside the hill, and standing atop the hill in order to directly feel the presence of the sleepers within. At Richmond, residents noted the exploration of the castle’s vicinity (in particular, to look for tunnels and caves), prompted by the folklore of Arthur sleeping beneath it, or, because of the local legend of the Little Drummer Boy, or touch specific landscape features in order to feel this character’s drumming.

The expression of sense of place is also seen at the case study sites through the creation, circulation and consciousness of literary compositions. Such literature is, as presented in the preceding chapters, often inspired by folk narratives, which are recast according to writers’ contemporary contexts. Of note here, of course, is Tennyson’s sojourn in Caerleon to draw inspiration (experience its sense of place) for the composition of the *Idylls of the King*, into which he wrote the town as he imagined it in ‘Arthur’s time’ through his engagement with it. The presence of the writer and the inclusion of Caerleon in his famous composition itself led to interest in the town because of its connection with Tennyson, who was there because of its connection with Arthur. Some may, as a result, visit sites or find meaning in them because of their connection to such literature. These texts broaden the audiences of such folklore and archaeological sites, leading to a wider engagement with places and landscapes without necessarily visiting them. “People thus can and do attach meaning to places they’ve never been to” (Ryden, 1993:55); in this way, experience and significance of archaeological sites is almost infinitely extended to individuals and groups that have not and may never visit them, but become a facet of the archaeological imagination.

The relationship between literature and archaeological sites (Wallace 2003) also demonstrates that it is not only ‘accurate’ historical details about archaeological sites that are important to the public (although these are also significant), but various aspects of the site as a whole that lend it its particular character and depth – creating its unique sense of

place. Archaeologists should therefore appreciate that relationships people have to sites are as varied as the individuals and groups who encounter them, and that the sensory experience of place is vital to engagement and identification with sites and landscapes. The present study, then, represents a more developed consideration of the notion of 'sense of place' in archaeology, rather than vague references to the concept often found in archaeologies of landscape. It also examines how sense of place can change over time: like the changes in folk narratives themselves, sense of place can also be affected by context, people, archaeology and folklore, and thus the concurrent study of archaeology and folklore lends itself to a more comprehensive understanding of place and landscape. Through this, the two disciplines merge through common goals and approaches, and harmonious interpretation.

We can therefore see that the public come to their own conclusions based on their own experiences and previous or acquired knowledge of archaeological interpretations and local and national folktales or legends. Although not a single respondent rejected any part of the archaeological interpretation of the site, we can see that discussing the idea of Arthur with the public produces a deeper engagement with and reflection on the site, whereby more varied information enriches the sense of place. As such, tales of Arthur produce a transformative effect on the way visitors and residents interact with Caerleon's past, and add to the 'Pot of Soup' of traditional narratives (Chapter 2).

#### **9.4. "Legend and History have met and fused": Synthesising Archaeology and Folklore**

The relationship between archaeology and folklore as expressed in the above sections is the result of two distinct facets of the merging of the disciplines and their materials, as represented by Tolkien's (1947:156) conclusion on the formation, contextualisation and representation of folk narratives succinctly expressed here. Firstly, the approaches employed in this research not only synthesise the two disciplines and their materials, but also reveal their similarities in theory and method, which, in turn, breaks down thematic boundaries as well as disciplinary ones. Secondly, broader dichotomies pertinent to both and to other disciplines, which tend to restrict discussion on the basis of Western academic discourse (for example, nature vs. culture, intangible vs. tangible), are broken down through the merging of the seemingly oppositional disciplines of archaeology and folklore. The process and results of such a synthesis will be the subject of this section, and conclude

the current chapter, bringing us full circle to the aim of exploring how folklore might be used in interpretive and public archaeologies (Research Questions 1 and 3).

#### 9.4.1. Interpretive Biographies

That archaeology and folklore are ultimately linked in theoretical and methodological approaches to the past and present, as represented by archaeological remains and ongoing interactions with them on the one hand, and historical and ongoing folklore collections on the other, is evident from the consistency of the thematic outcomes above, the historical and contextual background to the two subjects in Chapter 1, and the frameworks set out in Chapters 2 and 3. The inclusion of folklore in archaeological research is here not seen as a way of gaining an 'alternative' insight into perceptions of archaeological remains, but a way in which archaeologists can understand how archaeological remains are experienced, and of their meanings to and appropriation by various groups through time. As such, this is a way in which archaeologists can examine the socio-political agendas in the interpretation of the past and in the present, and *practically* engage in multivocality in order to produce archaeological ethnographies, without limiting themselves to traditional archaeological materials and publications. It can be seen that the wider public do not limit themselves in this way when learning about or otherwise experiencing the past, thus there is no reason for archaeologists to do so.

As is clear in the preceding work, such incorporation need not be used in a direct-historical approach in order to infer past beliefs and practices. The ongoing engagements between people and archaeological sites are also a worthy field of study, and perhaps even more pertinent to contemporary society (Tilley 1989) when considering the historical contexts in which these are enacted. Many archaeologists examine how archaeological monuments are constructed to represent the world-views of those who made them, but fewer consider how existing monuments are incorporated into the world-views of subsequent groups. Whilst perceptions of the past in the past are increasingly studied within archaeology (see especially Bradley 2002; Semple 2013), and competing voices and their political resonances are considered with reference to archaeological sites in the present (for example, Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Hodder 2000), next to none bridge the gap between the two (Stonehenge being an exception – Bender 1993b, 1998). The present study therefore explicitly seals this divide by developing a strategy that employs folklore as data.

It can also be seen that archaeological sites and landscapes are nothing without people to engage with them; folklore, as a representation of this engagement, is therefore a

worthwhile and sometimes essential element in the investigation of place and landscape, producing a holistic, human approach to landscapes that archaeologists interested in site biographies particularly value. Yet many of those archaeologists interested in constructing the life-histories of sites and landscapes demonstrate little actual understanding of the materials and approaches, such as folklore and folkloristics, which contribute to such a study. This is not to say that all archaeologists should possess in-depth knowledge of folklore, but use of, and commentary upon, such materials and their study should be based on a better understanding of them for a truly multidisciplinary approach, in order for its effective and efficient employment, and to avoid unnecessary and unfounded assumptions.

#### 9.4.2. Folklore and Public Archaeology

As well as the construction of site biographies, archaeologists intending to undertake archaeological investigations of sites with a public archaeology dimension would also benefit from an approach incorporating folklore research as part of desk-based research prior to archaeological investigation. This might not only add to archaeologists' own understanding of the site, but also pre-empts public questions of the kind encountered by Matsuda (2009) and his team. Researching local folklore further shows sensitivity to local knowledge and custom, which, as we have seen in the present study, is closely linked to identity. Such preparation further allows for the ability to provide information and interpretation of the folklore and its connection to particular sites, which the public can reasonably expect. As a result, archaeologists can encourage reflexive thinking about a site through the *discussion* of varied interpretations in archaeology and folklore with the public. This, as we have seen in many responses to the questionnaires at all sites, is something the public enjoy and feel gives them a closer connection to the site, as well as reflects and adds to sense of place.

Through the present study, then, we can formulate three distinct but interrelated forms of public archaeology that can be undertaken through or aided by folklore research:

1. *Folklore as a form of retrospective public archaeology.* Since, as we have seen, public archaeology is a relatively recent development, focus has necessarily been on contemporary engagements between the public and archaeology/archaeologists. However, this research has also shown that direct engagement with sites and landscapes by various groups in the past (even dominant groups appropriating such folklore constitutes a particular 'public') is also discernable in historic folklore collections. Through such folklore, we are able to not only observe but understand



these interactions, demonstrating the reciprocal influence of social groups on archaeological sites, and vice versa. Public archaeology need not be restricted to the present, but can be undertaken retrospectively through the examination of folklore, which, as we have seen in the development of tradition and dissemination of various narratives about sites, can even contribute to an understanding of how the public engage with such sites today.

2. *Folklore as a form of reciprocal/discursive public archaeology.* As noted above, folklore can form part of the dialogue between archaeologists and the public, through the exchange of narratives about place and landscape. Such dialogues both aids archaeologists in understanding what narratives the public have heard and tell, and presents the opportunity to discuss these and archaeological results together. Results of the surveys conducted as part of this research demonstrate that, despite the fabulous nature of some folk narratives about Arthur, and their incongruity with the archaeology of the place about which these tales are told, the public are not only able to discriminate between archaeological and folk narratives (thus not necessarily accepting the legend/folktale to be 'true'), but also find that folk narratives are another dimension to the site, "add[ing] another layer of interest", giving the place "atmosphere", and stating that "it's nice to have some romance!" Although the archaeology can be and is deemed to be just as exciting as such narratives, its significance is not diminished, nor its acceptance by the public compromised. In no cases was the archaeology rejected in favour of the folklore. The active discussion of varied narratives at archaeological sites can help explore the varied engagements social groups have had with that particular place, and assist in involving those interested in archaeology or the site. Through this, we can appreciate that various ways of seeing and being in the world are extant in contemporary, 'Western', societies, and are worthy of study.
3. *Folklore as interpretive public archaeology.* We have seen in the preceding chapters that folk narratives, as with other forms of folklore, are created, reproduced and recontextualised for a particular purpose according to specific contexts, and are thus meaningful to the groups to whom that folklore belongs. When such contextual analysis of folklore is undertaken in relation to archaeological sites, whether employing historical folklore collections or primary data, this can not only reveal interactions between people and archaeology, but aid in interpreting their meaning and significance to such groups.

Folklore thus serves as an ethnographic, outreach, community and data-gathering exercise. The employment and collection of folklore in archaeological research, and any other multivocal practices for that matter, do not diminish or belittle the role of the archaeological 'expert'. Indeed, the expert is essential to the rigorous assessment and interpretation of these viewpoints, as well as to the traditional archaeological interpretation the public come to expect, and that many are seen to enjoy learning about and reflecting on, *in addition to and as a result of* their own experiences, which may be through folklore. As such, it is not argued here that the exploration of multiple voices should override the interpretation of sites and other archaeological remains by expert archaeologists, but that they are also interesting and important to consider, if not to add to archaeological interpretation but to understand the place of such remains within specific social, cultural and historical contexts.

We might here return to Mikhail Bakhtin's approach to polyphony noted in Chapter 2. Just as Dostoevsky's novels are, as Bakhtin (1984:18) contends, "a whole formed by the interaction of several consciousnesses", rather than a monolithic whole formed by the *merging* of consciousnesses, so too can we consider the myriad of voices about an archaeological site. This not only gives us a perspective through which to approach multivocality in archaeology, but also a means by which we can understand the role and mechanism of the (re)production of folklore in relation to place. The *interpretive* approach to varied narratives as meaningful and co-occurring can be seen as analogous with Bakhtin's (1984:43) consideration that the analysis of a single viewpoint in Dostoevsky's novels from a 'real-life' perspective impoverishes both that viewpoint and the overall text. The same can be said of folklore and its use in archaeological research, where the assessment of a tale's historicity overlooks and diminishes the meaningful nature of the narrative.

The argument for the holistic presentation of site narratives as derived from and supported by the case studies can be extended to other sites in the catalogue, and beyond. Looking back to Orange's (2006; Orange and Laviolette 2010) work at and interpretation of the 'conflicting' narratives of Tintagel, we can see how the concurrent *interpretive* presentation of folklore and archaeology may be beneficial to a site and heighten visitor experience of it. Orange's work considered the presentation of the archaeological and folkloric interpretations of Tintagel within the village (such as the Tourist Information point and shop) and on-site by English Heritage. The village shop and English Heritage's marketing material promote the Arthur legend to tourists and would-be tourists, in contrast to the 'debunking' of Arthur narratives by English Heritage in their introductory video on-site, which in turn appears to conflict with on-site information panels which declare that, in

spite of the lack of evidence, the atmosphere of Tintagel lends itself to the romantic nature of the legends and their persistence. Such conflicts in presentation have, Orange found through on-site surveys, led to a confusion over Tintagel's history and the place of Arthur narratives within that history, leading in many instances to an 'unsatisfactory heritage experience' (Orange 2006; Orange and Laviolette 2010).

Whilst, on the surface, this 'failure' in the presentation of Tintagel may suggest that the concurrent presentation of archaeology and folklore on-site only confuses visitors and inhibits their ability to learn about the archaeology of a site, it is argued here, from a survey of the theoretical literature, the background to case study sites and the results of the surveys conducted, that the failure of Tintagel is due to the lack of presentation of the *meaning* and *interpretation* of the folklore: *how* and *why* it came about, how it is connected to the site, and *why*, although there is no archaeological evidence to support its historical veracity, the folklore persists. The presentation and contextualisation of the invention and perpetuation of this tradition is no less interesting to visitors, or significant to the site, and simultaneously aids in English Heritage's quest to present the 'archaeologically accurate' interpretation of Tintagel, whilst including the folklore of Arthur that many visitors know about and expect to encounter at the site. As such, it is not a question of 'de-bunking' folk narratives in favour of archaeological ones, but taking a more critical approach to how the myriad of narratives about place intertwine and are presented.

#### 9.4.3. Breaking-Down Boundaries

A corollary of the synthesis of archaeology and folklore is that boundaries are broken down between false dichotomies as frequently expressed in social and historical sciences, which are not particular to one discipline or another, but are of concern to both. This ranges from broader concepts such as 'nature/culture' and 'intangible/tangible' divides, to specific considerations within/across the disciplines. The present section will therefore explore where archaeology and folklore (as materials and disciplines) meet and dissolve such divides, bringing their investigation full-circle to the original unity of the two subjects.

We have seen in this discussion and in the preceding chapters that the construction of narratives comes out of the features of a site, whether common to other sites (hence common motifs) or peculiar (hence variations). Such observations reinforce the notion that folktales and legends are inextricably connected to the particularities of place, but seeming incongruities between the archaeology and the folklore of the place are also overcome. People combine knowledge of local legends with other information they have encountered,

such as archaeological articles in newspapers, in order to make sense of the legend according to material findings (see Matsuda, 2010:456). Thus, if a tale is meaningful to a local (or wider) group, it alters according to new contexts and information. Therefore, the insistence on so-called 'myth-busting' and promotion of 'archaeologically accurate' interpretations at sites does not necessarily result in the eradication of folklore, but can affect changes to accommodate such interpretations. We can even see this in the medieval period, where the 'confirmation' of the death of Arthur through excavation of his remains at Glastonbury Abbey (Chapter 1) did not lead to the end of narratives of his return, but rather renewed and recast them, and perhaps even strengthened their connection with new places, as Elis Gruffydd's comment on the sleeping king narrative 'at a hill near Glastonbury' suggests (Chapter 6).

Increasing awareness of archaeological interpretation has, of course, led to the reconsideration of narratives told about sites, as we have seen in responses across the case study sites rejecting the folklore because of its historical inaccuracies. The popularisation of archaeological interpretations may, in turn, have contributed to the decline in the reproduction of folktales and legends about archaeological sites. However, for the most part, the two were not seen as incongruous, but as varying, related aspects of the site. The consideration of the persistence of folk narratives in the face of increased dissemination and understanding of archaeological narratives further tests Brink's (2001:83, 2013:35) assertion, based on his examination of mythological landscapes in pre-Christian Scandinavia and ethnographic comparisons, that landscapes have lost their numinous qualities with the coming and spread of Christianity and, in turn, the increasing modernisation and secularisation of society in the West. This is, to some extent, seen here, particularly in the assessment of the historicity of folk narratives by some members of the public and a number of academic discourses on landscape (see Chapter 2.6.2). However, on the basis of data collected, analysed and interpreted in the current research, I would contest Brink's claim in general. As we have seen in discussions on representation, the mythscape and sense of place above, historic and contemporary narratives *do* suggest that the landscape is imbued with a numinous quality, through the grounding of 'history'/historical consciousness in mythology and legendry (Chapter 2.4; especially Kvideland and Sehmsdorf 1988; J. Simpson 2008; also Nyberg et al 1985). The perpetuation of folkloric narratives may no longer be based in literal *belief*, but is still representative of the active construction of ideologies and the experience of being-in-the-world through the engagement with landscape. The notion, then, that the landscape has lost its supernatural or sublime qualities in such societies is by no means a universal, and to assert this in totalising terms misses nuances in these societies and of their engagements with landscapes and the past.

That chronology and site type may not necessarily themselves be complete obstructions to the reproduction of such narratives could instead point to the lack of knowledge of the existence of a site and its archaeology altogether as reason for particular folk narratives being little-known. As we can see through comparisons of the case study sites, knowledge of narratives appears to come out of knowledge of the places with which they are connected, and vice versa. The folklore of sites such as Caerleon and Cadbury Castle, which are well-known, as is their archaeology, is also fairly well-known, although Cadbury may be somewhat artificial or unrepresentative in this regard in that the historical assessment of the legend of Arthur, which was well-publicised, was a key aspect of the archaeological work undertaken here in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In comparison, Arthur's Quoit was little-known as a place or archaeological site in itself, let alone any folk narratives about it. The promotion of archaeology, then, can be considered to help rather than hinder the dissemination of folklore, and may be expressed, after the manner of Propp (1968 [1928]), as:

*knowledge of archaeology ≈ knowledge of folklore*

or, perhaps more often (with the exception of the following observation of Arthur's Seat),

*knowledge of archaeology ≥ knowledge of folklore.*

This relationship is further demonstrated, but in a different manner, at Arthur's Seat, which is, within the sample, predominantly seen as a landmark or volcano: the archaeology of the site appeared to be little-known among respondents, and may suggest that, despite its name, because of the imperceptibility of ancient human action, the site as a place of legends about a folk hero are little considered, since 'signatures' of their deeds are not overtly visible. Instead, narratives may be known more as a result of the name of the site, suggesting a connection to an individual named Arthur, which we have seen in visitors' responses to the questionnaire.

The consideration that places with clear archaeological signatures lend themselves more to folk narratives about heroes is not to say that there is a separation of the natural and the cultural, either within the interpretation of this investigation or within the attitudes of the majority of the population surveyed. Sites are enculturated through their folklore, of which archaeologies may be performed. Direct engagement with the site, which may not leave tangible traces but is nonetheless archaeological, is the mechanism by which folklore, and the past, is created. The false divide between nature and culture, therefore, is here rejected, since we have seen in the case studies – Arthur's Seat in particular, but also places associated with the case sites, such as Moelfre at Arthur's Quoit – that, despite the

heightened awareness of folk narratives through observations of the remains of the past at a particular place, places are 'archaeologised' through the engagement between people and place, and the creation and reproduction of such narratives.

This brings us to one of the key points within the theoretical approach of the current thesis: the debate between so-called 'tangible' and 'intangible' heritage, which will, in turn, lend some commentary on UNESCO's 2003 'Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage'. As has been noted at multiple stages throughout the present work, archaeological sites influence the production of folktales and legends, often through direct experience, and such narratives also influence engagements with archaeological sites (Research Question 2), both historically and today. In this, we can see that there can be no distinction between the 'tangible' ('the site') and the intangible ('the folklore') – the two are intertwined and cannot be separated. Indeed, the two should not be separated if either is to be fully understood. Both archaeology and folklore, as writers from each discipline have separately commented, turn 'spaces' into 'places', and thus a proper study of place and landscape should, where appropriate, consider both as signatures of meaningful and purposeful human activity.

Further, respondents across all case study sites do not differentiate between physical/tangible and immaterial/intangible aspects when referring to heritage: both are assimilated into the broader concept of 'heritage' to those experiencing the site (which may also extend to indirect experience through literary encounters). Thus, the distinctions made between 'tangible' and 'intangible' heritage are considered false constructs, after a modern Western academic tradition that even misrepresents contemporary social groups in Western societies. The 2003 ICHC and 1979 WHC are thus seen to represent false constructs in the concept of 'heritage', which the public sampled in the present work do not appear to share.

Additionally, the 2003 Convention can be seen to be limiting to the understanding of the historical complexities of tradition, since it only focuses on 'Living Heritage' and does not consider historical folklore. The exclusion of historical folklore not only limits the contextual exploration of such traditions, but also suggests that such traditions that are no longer practiced are irrelevant today, when we have seen that the historical folklore of archaeological sites is strongly connected to the socio-political and cultural contexts of particular periods, which are themselves representative of the biographies of archaeological sites. Moreover, in some cases, such historic folklore represents the subversion of dominant narratives and agendas, and their cessation may not, in some instances, be due to their diminishing importance to social groups, but to the oppression by the socially-dominant, or

the latter's appropriation of such customs. Thus, their 'heritage value' may not necessarily lie in their enactment today, but in the understanding of their enactment in the past, and the legacy of their enactment.

Following the reproduction and appropriation of folklore at archaeological sites not only provides a means by which researchers may examine the socio-political agendas of local, regional and national groups, and the changing roles of archaeological sites through time, but also the historical nuances and motivations of archaeology as a discipline. Comparing the history of archaeology and folklore presented in Chapter 1 with the case studies, particularly that of Cadbury Castle (Chapter 6), we can see that changing engagements, perception and use of sites as represented by their folklore and the study of their folklore reflect changing archaeological trajectories and the contexts in which they were performed (see Paphitis 2013). Changing folklore and its research at archaeological sites underscore the socio-political contingency of archaeological research and is a way in which the contextual basis of archaeological practice and interpretation can be investigated (Research Question 3).

The concurrent study of the archaeology and folklore of place and landscape is thus a contextual and holistic approach that sees both as representations of meaningful action through experience of place and engagement with social, political, cultural, religious, geographic and historical contexts. This not only has implications for how sites and landscapes are studied, as well as the development of certain traditions, but also in understanding the development and socio-political connotations of the disciplines of archaeology and folklore. It is hoped that the present research has shown that the use of folklore in archaeological research is compatible with the aims of archaeology, particularly since interpretive approaches of both disciplines often agree, although are rarely understood by interlopers and multidisciplinary researchers. Through the case study of Arthur, we are able to focus the investigation so that the particularities of the sites and folklore can be explored in depth, in order to make more generalised observations about the relationship between archaeology and folklore. Such an examination also allowed a reorientation of studies of the folk figure, which are often trapped in debates over his historicity, instead illustrating the reciprocal effects between him and sites, and which can be applied to other folk characters in order to reveal their particular meanings to social groups and influences on archaeology. Whilst the current research had the potential to explore a range of avenues, it was necessarily restricted to ideas that were felt to be most pertinent to the topic. The conduct and outcome of the research will be reflected upon in the next chapter, as well as the directions this study can take in the future.

## CHAPTER 10

### CONCLUSION

The overall aim of the present thesis was to explore the relationship between archaeology and folklore, so that the latter might be better incorporated into archaeological investigations, rather than be overlooked or dismissed, as is often the case, mainly, it is argued, through a lack of understanding of folklore as a subject and phenomenon. This was undertaken through:

- The examination of the development of archaeology and folklore, illustrating their common origins and histories, including their changing approaches, relationships to socio-political contexts, and appropriations (Chapter 1).
- A detailed consideration of both archaeological and folkloristic approaches to place and landscape, in which it was demonstrated that current interpretative approaches in both disciplines are in accordance with each other. The theoretical standpoint of this research thus incorporated the two, rather than being solely based on archaeological perspectives (Chapter 2).
- The creation of an explicit methodology for the concurrent study of the archaeology and folklore of place and landscape, which not only formed the basis of undertaking this research, but can also be a foundation from which researchers may undertake similar projects (Chapter 3).
- The archaeological, folkloric, historical and ethnographic investigation of case study sites in Britain pertaining to the folk figure Arthur as a means by which the relationship between archaeology and folklore can be explored, forming contextual life-histories of both sites and traditions (Chapters 4-8).
- An overall discussion of key findings of this research, particularly pertaining to the representation of the medieval past through folklore, and sensory and political connections with place and landscape, considering how the two disciplines contribute to wider archaeological discourse in public archaeology and heritage, and break down common conceptual boundaries (Chapter 9).

The present chapter will reflect on the conduct of this research, its contribution to archaeology, and possible future directions of investigations derived from it.

The history of archaeology and folklore presented in Chapter 1 not only contextualises this research, but also illustrates the identical development of the two disciplines, even after



their explicit divergence in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In examining the aims, methods and uses of the disciplines in tandem, we are able to identify in what ways the two can be used concurrently in social and historical studies – in this case, the investigation of landscape. The research was chiefly undertaken through an exploration of theoretical approaches to landscape in folklore and archaeology, and the development of a methodology in light of such perspectives. Whilst a few archaeological studies of landscape have incorporated folklore into their investigations, the current research is the first to *explicitly* employ folklore theory in archaeological research, as well as folklore data, in concert with archaeological theory and data. The majority of the examples of folklore theory here have been taken from Scandinavian research, since the exploration of legends and landscape is very well-developed here, and are seen as appropriate and applicable to the archaeological investigation of landscapes in Britain (and beyond). Although this research can be seen as theoretically-heavy, it was considered necessary, in order to fully explore the rich nature of the subject and in order to ground the research in practical strategies for the employment of folklore in archaeological research, on both ‘academic’ and ‘public’ levels. In turn, I hope to have shown in my Discussion that, through an understanding of the theories and methods of both disciplines, explorations of landscape can be undertaken (as seen in the case studies), and new theoretical perspectives developed, grounded in the data, analysis and interpretations of this research.

In considering the development/invention and reproduction/recontextualisation of the folklore of archaeological sites over the *longue durée*, we are able to see how closely folk narratives and their connection with particular places are related to changing historical contexts, and, by undertaking ethnographic archaeologies through social science surveys at the case study sites today, we are able to gauge more personal and nuanced responses to place from residents and visitors. The questionnaires conducted were themselves limiting, since they were designed to collect (mostly) quantitative data quickly, and, although I allowed respondents to elaborate as much as they wanted to, overall, more complex and detailed responses could not be gathered that might have provided more interpretive information for this research. The limiting nature of the questionnaires might have been remedied by undertaking longer interviews with selected/random respondents, however, because of the scale of the research and the historical data already forming a bulk of the material, primary data collection was necessarily limited.

In retrospectively considering the composition of the questionnaires, there were questions that could have been added, and existing ones reworded, although my view of the questionnaires and their content can be seen to be a response to the changes in my own

ideas and perspectives over the course of undertaking the research. However, although I might now find the questionnaires limited and insufficient at the end of the research, a respectable amount of data was gathered from them, from which interpretations could be made, and as such demonstrates that this research could form a methodological and theoretical basis for future work, as well as making new contributions to the study of the life-histories of archaeological sites, the development of traditions, and approaches to folk figures.

The present research was necessarily conducted through a thematic focus within folklore (folk narratives pertaining to Arthur) and case study sites, since a more generalised view would have been too unwieldy, and would have overlooked nuances that are crucial to a contextual understanding of place. Whilst such a close examination obviously does not cover the diverse experience of place and landscape, or the particularities of other archaeological sites and folklore, the case studies serve to work through the argument of this research and form a basis from which to identify more general trends or unique features, and make suggestions for the wider implications of these findings through comparison to each other and to other sites. The employment of the theme of Arthur simultaneously allowed for the reconsideration of how he and other folk figures might be approached in archaeological research. Since most historical and archaeological work on Arthur attempts to make cases for or against his historicity, the present study views this as overlooking the more important aspects of his representation and reproduction: namely, the meanings and motivations behind these narratives. A contextual, meaningful, interpretive approach was demonstrated through the historical and contemporary production and reproduction of Arthur folklore and their connection to socio-political contexts and personal responses. Additionally, the use of the figure had the benefit of being one of the longest ongoing folk narrative traditions in Britain, which made it possible to examine such engagements over the *longue durée*.

The problem with employing Arthur as a case study, however, is that a number of individuals within the sample tended to emphasise the controversy of his being a 'historical' figure or not, resulting in a focus on historical verifiability rather than the folklore itself. This was particularly the case with those who responded that he 'did not exist', or was 'mythical', thereby dismissing the folklore entirely in a way that may not have been dismissed had narratives been about more obvious fabulates, such as fairies, been the subject, thus engendering a different reaction. The historical assessment of folklore could also be a problem with similar examinations of other heroes, such as Robin Hood, where the function and meaning of the narrative is obscured by debates over its veracity. The

concern over historical veracity is, of course, a microcosmic representation of the problems with archaeology's relationship with folklore critiqued here.

Despite problems of debates over Arthur's historicity encountered here, however, the main point is that, regardless of what the folklore was about, it was still the case that people wanted to hear about it. For the most part, even those who did not consider the folklore at the site to be 'historically accurate' thought that it should be promoted because it was considered part of the site's social history and was part of local people's (and beyond) heritage. Rejection was mostly based on the popular identification of the folklore with another place, or, indeed, a perceived 'rival' social group (country). It would be interesting to substantiate the idea of the rejection of Arthur based on identity, as we saw at Arthur's Seat, through comparison with figures such as Thomas the Rhymer or Fionn MacCumhail, who are traditionally 'Scottish' or 'Gaelic' figures.

Comparisons may further be made with other folk heroes across Europe and beyond, considering the complexities of the role of folk figures in relation to various archaeological sites and social groups. Like this research, such comparisons may also take a historical approach over the long-term, or focus on a particular period. Such a study may take the comparative approach of the current thesis further, in order to undertake a more detailed examination of, for example, the movement of motifs – and therefore engagements between differential social groups, considering the emphasis on difference/sameness when different groups meet on a broader scale within particular contexts. Such investigations would, obviously, be relevant to political debates over the idea of, say, the European Union today, which have prompted many of these debates on difference/sameness. The employment of folklore, therefore, contributes to a critical archaeology that is sensitive to socio-political engagements.

The methods of this research can thus be used to examine other folk narratives; such studies may be examined regionally or thematically, and comparisons made can, again, help understand the varied engagements with place and migrations and mutations of traditions across time and geography. Such research can also reveal the extent to which different myths, legends and folktales are reproduced today, aiding in the understanding of the meanings of such narratives and how far certain tales are told about archaeological sites today. Many other folkloric tropes, such as ghosts, fairies and dragons have, as noted above, entered wider popular culture through fantasy and horror literature, film, art, music and gaming, thus bringing archaeological sites into new worlds and represented in ways very different to the traditional archaeological report. Investigations of the archaeological

imagination can thus go beyond these popular media and additionally look to folklore as a source for this field of study.

With so many folk narratives and other practices found at archaeological sites, or strongly connected to place and landscape in general, it is both ignorant and short-sighted to dismiss folklore as irrelevant and inferior to archaeological investigation and interpretation. The present investigation has developed and presented a methodology by which folklore may be incorporated into archaeological research, whether as an explicit research project in its own right, or part of a wider archaeological project. This research has not only demonstrated that the histories, aims and current approaches of both disciplines are almost identical, but has shown that the folklore of archaeological sites is strongly linked to socio-political contexts, particularly in the realms of identity-construction and nation-building. Such sites, through their folklore, are drawn into these worlds, and thus play an active role in them, additionally influencing, and being influenced by, folklore. Archaeological sites therefore influence the development and reproduction of traditions, and folklore is a form of archaeological data that contributes to the construction of life-histories of places. Issues touched upon here, of course, go beyond academic discourses of folklore and archaeology, but has an explicit public dimension, in that the public, past and present, play an active role in the perception and significance of archaeological sites through direct and indirect engagements. Such an approach further allows for reflexive considerations of archaeological practice, acknowledging the socio-political and historical contingency of archaeological work and interpretation. The folklore of archaeology, and the archaeology of folklore, then, is a form of social action, which deserves serious attention.

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Accessed 02/04/2012

## APPENDIX A

### TIMELINE OF ARTHURIANA

#### Selected works after 18<sup>th</sup> century

Period/Events	Literature	Recorded Sites
5 <sup>th</sup> – 10 <sup>th</sup> C <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Withdrawal of Roman administration from Britain (c.410)</li> <li>- Sub-Roman Britain (c.410-597)</li> <li>- Early Medieval Britain (c.597-1066)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Gildas <i>De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae</i> (540)</li> <li>- <i>Y Gododdin</i> (c.600 – suggested; recorded in later MSS)</li> <li>- <i>Historia Brittonum</i> (c.830)</li> <li>- <i>Preiddeu Annwfn</i> (suggested c.900)</li> <li>- <i>Pa Gur yv y Porthaur?</i> (suggested 10<sup>th</sup> C)</li> <li>- <i>Annales Cambriae</i> (suggested 10<sup>th</sup> C)</li> </ul>	
11 <sup>th</sup> C <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Early Medieval Britain (c.597-1066)</li> <li>- Norman Conquest of England (1066)</li> <li>- Crusades (11<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> Cs)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Legend of St Goeznovius</i> (c.1019)</li> <li>- Elements of the <i>Mabinogion</i>, inc. <i>Culhwch ac Olwen</i> (suggested c.1050 based on linguistic evidence)</li> <li>- <i>Vitae Sanctorum: Cadoc</i></li> </ul>	(Some possible sites noted in the <i>Mabinogion</i> , if early date is followed)
12 <sup>th</sup> C <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Crusades (11<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> Cs)</li> <li>- Welsh challenge to Anglo-Norman rule</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Liber Floridus</i> (1120)</li> <li>- William of Malmesbury <i>Gesta Regnum Anglorum</i> (1125)</li> <li>- Henry of Huntingdon <i>Historia Anglorum</i> (1129)</li> <li>- Geoffrey of Monmouth <i>Historia Regnum Britanniae</i> (c.1136)</li> <li>- <i>Wace Roman de Brut</i> (1155)</li> <li>- Chrétien de Troyes (1160-80)</li> <li>- Marie de France (1170)</li> <li>- Layamon <i>Brut</i> (1190)</li> <li>- Gerald of Wales <i>Journey Through Wales/Description of Wales</i> (1191/1193)</li> <li>- <i>Vitae Sanctorum: Padern, Gildas, Carannog</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Arthur's O'en, Central Region (1120)</li> <li>- Caerleon, Gwent (1136)</li> <li>- Silchester, Hampshire (1136)</li> <li>- Tintagel, Cornwall (1136)</li> <li>- Winchester, Hampshire (1136)</li> <li>- Arthur's Chair, Llydad Amr (1188)</li> <li>- Excavation of Arthur's 'grave', Glastonbury Abbey (1191)</li> <li>- Bwrdd Arthur, Gwynedd</li> </ul>
13 <sup>th</sup> C <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Wars of Scottish Independence (1296-1357)</li> <li>- Crusades (11<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> Cs)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Trioedd Ynys Prydein</i></li> <li>- Robert de Boron (1200)</li> <li>- Prose <i>Tristan</i> (1250)</li> <li>- Book of Aneirin</li> <li>- Black Book of Carmarthen (c.1250)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Arthur's Oven, Devon (1240)</li> <li>- Arthur's Stone, Herefordshire</li> <li>- Winchester Round Table (1290)?</li> </ul>
14 <sup>th</sup> C <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Crusades (11<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> Cs)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Sir Tristrem</i> (1300)</li> <li>- <i>Arthur and Merlin</i> (1300)</li> <li>- Alliterative <i>Morte Arthure</i></li> <li>- Red Book of Hergest (c.1385)</li> </ul>	(Places named in <i>Mabinogion</i> )
15 <sup>th</sup> C <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Welsh Revolt (1400-1415)</li> <li>- Wars of the Roses (1455-1485)</li> <li>- Tudor period (1485-1603)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Sir Gawain and the Green Knight</i> (1400)</li> <li>- Lovelich <i>The History of the Holy Grail</i> (1450)</li> <li>- Malory <i>Morte D'Arthur</i> (1470)</li> </ul>	- Segontium, Gwynedd
16 <sup>th</sup> C <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Tudor period (1485-1603)</li> <li>- Dissolution (1536-1541)</li> <li>- Acts of Union (1536-1543)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Elis Gryffydd (c.1522)</li> <li>- Leland <i>Itinerary</i> (1535-1543), <i>Assertio</i> (1544)</li> <li>- Camden <i>Britannia</i> (1586)</li> <li>- Churchyard <i>The Worthies of Wales</i> (1587)</li> <li>- Hughes <i>The Misfortunes of Arthur</i> (1587)</li> <li>- Spencer <i>The Faerie Queen</i> (1590)</li> <li>- <i>Buchedd Cohen</i> (Life of St Collen)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Arthur's Seat, Lothian (1508)</li> <li>- Arthur's Tomb, Cornwall (1542)</li> <li>- Cadbury Castle, Somerset (and nearby 'Cam-' names) (1542)</li> <li>- Camelford, Cornwall (1542)</li> <li>- King Arthur's Hall, Cornwall (1542)</li> <li>- Slaughterbridge, Cornwall (1542)</li> </ul>
17 <sup>th</sup> C <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Union of the Crowns (1603)</li> <li>- English Civil Wars (1642-1651)</li> <li>- English Interregnum (1651-1660)</li> <li>- Restoration (1660)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Sion (John) David Rhys (c.1600)</li> <li>- Purcell/Dryden <i>King Arthur</i></li> <li>- Drayton <i>Poly-Olbion</i> (1612, 1622)</li> <li>- Blackmore <i>King Arthur, Prince Arthur</i> (1695, 1697)</li> <li>- <i>The History of Tom Thumbe...</i> (1621)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Castle-an-Dinas, Cornwall</li> <li>- Moel Arthur, Clwyd</li> <li>- Snowdonia, Gwynedd (Rhys)</li> </ul>

18 <sup>th</sup> C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Act of Union (1707)</li> <li>- Georgian period (1714-1830)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Mortimer <i>Discovery of Prince Arthur's Tomb</i></li> <li>- Fielding <i>Tom Thumb</i></li> <li>- Stukeley <i>Itinerarium Curiosum</i> (1742)</li> <li>- Warton <i>The Grave of King Arthur, King Arthur's Round Table</i> (1777)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Arthur's O'en, Central Region, destroyed</li> <li>- Arthur's Quoit, Gwynedd, dismantled and restored</li> <li>- Ffon y Cawr, Gwynedd, as Arthur's Spear</li> </ul>
19 <sup>th</sup> C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Georgian period (1714-1830)</li> <li>- Imperial Britain (1815-1914)</li> <li>- Victorian period (1837-1901)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Myvyrian <i>Archaiology of Wales</i> (1801-7)</li> <li>- Finlay <i>Wallace</i> (1802)</li> <li>- Tennyson <i>The Lady of Shalott</i> (1833), <i>Idylls of the King</i> (1834-85)</li> <li>- Twain <i>A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court</i> (1889)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Arthur's Quoit, Dyfed, destroyed (1844)</li> <li>- Arthur's Quoits, Gwynedd</li> <li>- Sewingshields, Northumberland, destroyed</li> </ul>
20 <sup>th</sup> C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- World War I (1914-1918)</li> <li>- World War II (1939-1945)</li> <li>- Decolonisation of the British Empire (1945-1997)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- White <i>The Once and Future King</i> (1938-58)</li> <li>- Lewis <i>That Hideous Strength</i> (1945)</li> <li>- Stewart <i>Merlin Series</i> (1970-95)</li> <li>- Steinbeck, <i>The Acts of King Arthur and His Noble Knights</i> (1975)</li> <li>- Zimmer Bradley <i>The Mists of Avalon</i> (1988)</li> <li>- Cornwell <i>Warlord Chronicles</i> (1995-7)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Radford's Excavations at Tintagel (1930-39)</li> <li>- Alcock's Excavations at Cadbury Castle (1966-70)</li> </ul>
21 <sup>st</sup> C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Increased powers and unity of European Union; UK calls for separation</li> <li>- Debate on Scottish Independence &amp; (Run-up to) Referendum (2014)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Various works continuing 20<sup>th</sup> C tradition in fantasy and historical fiction, including Holdstock (2001-7), Yolen (2003), Yancey (2005), Reeve (2007), Fenton (2010)</li> <li>- Continuing hypotheses of the 'real' Arthur</li> </ul>	

## APPENDIX B

### CATALOGUE OF ARTHUR SITES

#### Abbreviations

Aberdeen. SMR	Aberdeenshire Sites and Monuments Record
CPAT HER	Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust Historic Environment Record
C&S HER	Cornwall and Scilly Historic Environment Record
DAT HER	Dyfed Historic Environment Record
D&D HER	Devon and Dartmoor Historic Environment Record
EH NMR	English Heritage National Monuments Record
GAT HER	Gwynedd Archaeological Trust Historic Environment Record
GGAT HER	Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust Historic Environment Record
Hereford. SMR	Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
RCAHMW	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales
Somerset HER	Somerset Historic Environment Record

#### Avon

<b>Site Name</b> Bath	<b>Location</b> Avon	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> ST751647	<b>ID</b> AV01
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b>	<b>Site Type</b> City	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Site of the Battle of Badon			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> L325.1. Victory over superior force: one against many V268.5. Image of Virgin Mary works miracles		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Scholarly suggestion (Glennie)	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Glennie 1869; Alcock 1971; Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> Little Solsbury Hill	<b>Location</b> Avon	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> ST768679	<b>ID</b> AV02
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Iron Age	<b>Site Type</b> Hill fort	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Site of the Battle of Badon			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> L325.1. Victory over superior force: one against many V268.5. Image of Virgin Mary works miracles		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Scholarly suggestion	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

### Borders Region

<b>Site Name</b> Eildon Hill	<b>Location</b> Borders Region	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> NT548322	<b>ID</b> BR01
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Settlement hill	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur and his knights lie under the hill in an enchanted sleep. The hill is so full of gold that sheep's teeth turn yellow if they graze upon it. The hill through which Thomas the Rhymer entered fairyland			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Arthur's knights Thomas the Rhymer	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> D1960.2. King asleep in mountain F721.4. Underground treasure chambers F329.1. Fairies carry off youth; he has gift of prophecy when he returns to earth (Thomas the Rhymer)		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>	
Grinsell 1976a			

## Central Region

<b>Site Name</b> Arthur's O'on	<b>Location</b> Central Region	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> NS879827	<b>ID</b> CR01
<b>Alternative Names</b> Arthur's Palace	<b>Site Age</b> Roman	<b>Site Type</b> Circular building	<b>Destroyed</b> 18 <sup>th</sup> C
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Liber Floridus (1120)	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Green 2009			

<b>Site Name</b> Loch Lomond	<b>Location</b> Central Region	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> NS879827	<b>ID</b> CR02
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Type</b> Lake		
<b>Folktale</b> Where Arthur lay siege to enemy Picts on an island in the Loch, and slaughtered an Irish army who came to their aid			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> Stirling Castle	<b>Location</b> Central Region	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> NS788941	<b>ID</b> CR03
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Medieval	<b>Site Type</b> Castle	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Residence of King Arthur. Beneath the castle is the 'King's Knot' or 'Arthur's Round Table'			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Romances	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition?'</b>	
Glennie 1869; Fairbairn 1983			

## Cheshire

<b>Site Name</b> Alderley Edge	<b>Location</b> Cheshire	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SJ854780	<b>ID</b> CH01
<b>Alternative Names</b>		<b>Site Type</b> Escarpment	
<b>Folktale</b> A farmer was travelling to Macclesfield in order to sell his white mare, when he was accosted by an old man who offered to buy it from him. The farmer refused, thinking he would get a better price at market, even though the old man insisted he would get no better offer. The mare went unsold at the market, and on his way back home the farmer again encountered the old man, who showed him to a rock face, whereupon a set of magical iron gates opened, revealing a host of sleeping knights, all furnished for battle, and each with a white horse, except for one. The wizard explained that they were waiting to redeem England in her hour of need, whereupon the farmer took the offered payment and left the cavern, hearing the gates close behind him. No-one has been able to find the entrance since. The host was later identified as Arthur and his knights.			
<b>Associated Customs</b> Offerings (bent pins) at the nearby Wizard's Well		<b>Associated Characters</b> (Arthur's) knights; Farmer; Wizard	<b>Associated Sites</b> Wizard's Well
<b>Motif-Types</b> D1960.2. King asleep in mountain E502. The Sleeping Army		<b>Source/Foundation</b> 18 <sup>th</sup> /19 <sup>th</sup> century	
<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>			
Fairbairn 1983; Westwood and Simpson 2005			

<b>Site Name</b> Chester	<b>Location</b> Cheshire	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SJ405665	<b>ID</b> CH02
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b>	<b>Site Type</b> Town	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Site of the Battle of the City of the Legion			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Scholarly suggestion	
<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>			
Alcock 1971; Fairbairn 1983			



## Clwyd

<b>Site Name</b> Carreg Carn March Arthur	<b>Location</b> Clwyd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SJ20246266	<b>ID</b> CL01
<b>Alternative Names</b> Maen Arthur (Arthur's Stone)	<b>Site Age</b> Early Modern	<b>Site Type</b> Boundary stone	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> "a stone which, in popular fancy, bears an impression of the hoof of the hero's steed"			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Arthur's horse	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> A972.5.3. Indentations on rock from paws of King Arthur's dog		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Glennie 1869; CPAT HER (accessed 14/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Craig Arthur	<b>Location</b> Clwyd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SJ22344708	<b>ID</b> CL02
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Cairn	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b> Nearby features sharing name by association
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
CPAT HER (accessed 14/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Moel Arthur (Arthur's [Bare] Hill)	<b>Location</b> Clwyd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SJ145661	<b>ID</b> CL03
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Iron Age	<b>Site Type</b> Hill fort	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic "This post is called Moel Arthur, perhaps in honor [sic] of our celebrated prince" (Pennant, <i>Tours</i> )			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b> Nearby features share same name by association
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> From at least 17 <sup>th</sup> century	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Glennie 1869; Davies 1949; Grinsell 1976a; Fairbairn 1983; Green 2009; CPAT HER (accessed 14/03/11)			

## Cornwall

<b>Site Name</b> Arthur's Tomb	<b>Location</b> Cornwall	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SX109857	<b>ID</b> CO01
<b>Alternative Names</b> Arthur's Stone	<b>Site Age</b> Unknown	<b>Site Type</b> Inscribed stone	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b> Slaughterbridge Camelford
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Leland	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Fairbairn 1983; Westwood and Simpson 2005; EH NMR (accessed 09/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Camelford	<b>Location</b> Cornwall	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SX101831	<b>ID</b> CO02
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b>	<b>Site Type</b> Town	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Camelot/Site of the Battle of Camlan			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b> Slaughterbridge
<b>Motif-Types</b> S74.1. Nephew (niece) kills uncle		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Leland	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>	
Camden 1586; Glennie 1869; Whitcombe 1874; Fairbairn 1983; Ashe 1996			

<b>Site Name</b> Castle-an-Dinas	<b>Location</b> Cornwall	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SW945624	<b>ID</b> CO03
<b>Alternative Names</b> King Arthur's Hunting Seat/Lodge Castle Dennis	<b>Site Age</b> Iron Age	<b>Site Type</b> Hill fort	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Whilst King Arthur was hunting here, his horse left a footprint on a nearby rock (Devil's Coyt). Gorlois, King of Cornwall, was killed here on the night of Arthur's conception. Armour for both horse and man found here as evidence for a battle between Arthur and Mordred.			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Gorlois; Mordred	<b>Associated Sites</b> Devil's Coyt
<b>Motif-Types</b> A972.5.3. Indentations on rocks from paws of King Arthur's dog		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Aubrey?	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Aubrey 1663-1693; Glennie 1868; Fairbairn 1983; Westwood and Simpson 2005; Green 2009			

<b>Site Name</b> Castle Killibury	<b>Location</b> Cornwall	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SX019736	<b>ID</b> CO04
<b>Alternative Names</b> Kelly Rounds	<b>Site Age</b> Iron Age	<b>Site Type</b> Hill fort	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur's fortress Celliwic, to which he retired after hunting the boar Twrch Trwyth			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Twrch Trwyth	<b>Associated Sites</b> Callington (suggested alternative, Alcock 1971)
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Scholarly suggestion	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>	
Alcock 1971; Alcock 1972; Fairbarin 1986; Ashe 1996			

<b>Site Name</b> King Arthur's Bed	<b>Location</b> Cornwall	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SX240757	<b>ID</b> CO05
<b>Alternative Names</b>		<b>Site Type</b> Tor	
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic (from humanoid natural depression in rock)			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> King Arthur's Consols	<b>Location</b> Cornwall	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SX05098905	<b>ID</b> CO06
<b>Alternative Names</b> King Arthur Mine; Galena Mine	<b>Site Age</b> Early Modern	<b>Site Type</b> Mine (lead)	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b> Tintagel
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>	
C&S HER (accessed 07/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> King Arthur's Down	<b>Location</b> Cornwall	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SX13487750	<b>ID</b> CO07
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Stone Circle Stone Circle	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b> King Arthur's Hall
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
EH NMR (accessed 09/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> King Arthur's Hall	<b>Location</b> Cornwall	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SX130777	<b>ID</b> CO08
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Unknown	<b>Site Type</b> Rectangular enclosure	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b> King Arthur's Down
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> First recorded 16 <sup>th</sup> century	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Glennie 1868; Grinsell 1976a; Fairbairn 1983; Green 2009; EH NMR (accessed 09/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> St. Michael's Mount	<b>Location</b> Cornwall	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SW515300	<b>ID</b> CO09
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b>	<b>Site Type</b> Town (Island)	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Where Arthur slew a giant; associated with giant-killing legend of Mont-Saint-Michel			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Giant	<b>Associated Sites</b> Mont-Saint-Michel
<b>Motif-Types</b> F531.6.12.6. Giant slain by man		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> Slaughter Bridge	<b>Location</b> Cornwall	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SX109857	<b>ID</b> CO10
<b>Alternative Names</b> Sloven's Bridge; Monument no. 434178	<b>Site Age</b> Early Modern	<b>Site Type</b> Path	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Site of the Battle of Camlan			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Mordred	<b>Associated Sites</b> Camelford; Arthur's Tomb; Lady Falmouth's Garden; Slaughterbridge
<b>Motif-Types</b> S74.1. Nephew (niece) kills uncle		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Whitcombe 1874; Fairbairn 1983; Heritage Gateway (accessed 07/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Slaughterbridge	<b>Location</b> Cornwall	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SX109858	<b>ID</b> CO11
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Early Medieval Early Modern (Civil War)	<b>Site Type</b> Battlefield Battlefield	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> (1) Site of the Battle of Camlan; (2) Site of a Civil War skirmish (confirmed)			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Mordred	<b>Associated Sites</b> Slaughter Bridge
<b>Motif-Types</b> (1) S74.1. Nephew (niece) kills uncle		<b>Source/Foundation</b> (1) Scholarly suggestion (Leland) (2) Oral tradition	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
EH NMR (accessed 11/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Tintagel	<b>Location</b> Cornwall	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SX052890	<b>ID</b> CO12
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Medieval	<b>Site Type</b> Castle Monastery	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur's birthplace/Arthur as a baby discovered on the shores here; also Arthur's seat. At certain times of the year, the ruins disappear and the completely restored castle briefly appears, before being transformed back into ruins.			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Igraine; Merlin; Uther Pendragon	<b>Associated Sites</b> Features associated with archipelago named after Arthur; Trethevy Quoit
<b>Motif-Types</b> A511. Birth of culture hero A511.1. Abandonment of culture hero at birth D658.2. Transformation to husband's (lover's) form to seduce woman		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Geoffrey of Monmouth	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Camden 1586; Glennie 1869; Whitcombe 1874; Fairbairn 1983; Mason 1999; Franklin 2006; Green 2009			

<b>Site Name</b> Treryn Dinas	<b>Location</b> Cornwall	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SW397221	<b>ID</b> CO13
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Iron Age	<b>Site Type</b> Hill fort	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Legionary fortress/castle used by Arthur against invading Danes			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>	
Fairbairn 1983; Green 2009			

<b>Site Name</b> Trethevy Quoit	<b>Location</b> Cornwall	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SX261689? SX078895?	<b>ID</b> CO14
<b>Alternative Names</b> Arthur's Quoit	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic/Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Chambered tomb	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Capstone thrown by Arthur from Tintagel			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b> Tintagel
<b>Motif-Types</b> F531.3.2. Giant throws a great rock		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>	
Whitcombe 1874; Grinsell 1976a; Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> Warbstow Bury	<b>Location</b> Cornwall	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SX202908	<b>ID</b> CO15
<b>Alternative Names</b> Giant's Grave; Arthur's Grave	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic/Bronze Age Iron Age	<b>Site Type</b> Barrow Hill fort	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Barrow on top of hill is Arthur's grave, or a giant's grave. Attempts to excavate it were hindered by bad weather			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Giant	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> F531.6.13. Graves of giants F790. Extraordinary sky and weather phenomena		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>	
Fairbairn 1983; Green 2009			

## Cumbria

<b>Site Name</b> Arthur's Round Table	<b>Location</b> Cumbria	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> NY523284	<b>ID</b> CU01
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Henge	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> "Called by the neighbouring people"; considered to be a place of jousting or 'tilting'. Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Aubrey?	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Aubrey 1663-1693; Glennie 1869; Thomas 1953; Alcock 1971; Grinsell 1976a; Fairbairn 1983; Green 2009; EH NMR (accessed 07/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Arthur's Seat	<b>Location</b> Cumbria	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> NY523284	<b>ID</b> CU02
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Type</b> Hill		
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> Camboglanna	<b>Location</b> Cumbria	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> NY514635	<b>ID</b> CU03
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Roman	<b>Site Type</b> Legionary Fortress	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Site of the Battle of Camlann			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Mordred	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> S74.1. Nephew (niece) kills uncle		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Scholarly suggestion	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Fairbairn 1983; Ashe 1996; Westwood and Simpson 2005			

<b>Site Name</b> Carlisle	<b>Location</b> Cumbria	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> NY395555	<b>ID</b> CU04
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b>	<b>Site Type</b> City	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur's court			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Scholarly suggestion	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>	
Glennie 1869; Fairbairn 1983			

### Devon

<b>Site Name</b> Arthur's Oven	<b>Location</b> Devon	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SX675813	<b>ID</b> DE01
<b>Alternative Names</b> King's Oven Furnum Regis	<b>Site Age</b> Medieval?	<b>Site Type</b> Smelter?	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b> Used as boundary marker for Dartmoor forests		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> From 1240	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>	
Ashe 1996; Westwood and Simpson 2005; Green 2009			



<b>Site Name</b> Arthur's Oven	<b>Location</b> Devon	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SX67158129	<b>ID</b> DE02
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic/Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Barrow	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> 12 <sup>th</sup> century (Gerald of Wales)	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Higham 2002; D&D HER (accessed 07/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Blackingstone Rock	<b>Location</b> Devon	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SX786856	<b>ID</b> DE03
<b>Alternative Names</b>		<b>Site Type</b> Crag	
<b>Folktale</b> Where Arthur met the Devil			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Devil	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

## Dorset

<b>Site Name</b> Badbury Rings	<b>Location</b> Dorset	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> ST964029	<b>ID</b> DO01
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Iron Age	<b>Site Type</b> Hill fort	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Site of the Battle of Badon. Arthur appears as a raven on the anniversary of the Battle. A colony of ravens nesting in pine trees on the top of the hill portends prosperity for the family of the manor of Kingston Lacy. Arthur and his knights ride around the fort at midnight. A coffin made of pure gold is buried on the hill top.			
<b>Associated Customs</b> The idea of Arthur in the form of a raven led to "popular prescription against killing ravens" (Lacey 1996)		<b>Associated Characters</b> Arthur's knights	<b>Associated Sites</b> Kingston Lacy
<b>Motif-Types</b> B147.2.1.1. Raven as bird of good omen D150. Transformation: Man to bird E613.7. Reincarnation as raven E715.1.6. Soul in raven E501. The Wild Hunt F852.2. Golden coffin		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Scholarly suggestion; local elaboration	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Guest 1883; Fairbairn 1983; Westwood and Simpson 2005			

## Dyfed

<b>Site Name</b> Arthur's Quoit (Coetan Arthur)	<b>Location</b> Dyfed	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SN00683617	<b>ID</b> DY01
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic	<b>Site Type</b> Chambered tomb	<b>Destroyed</b> 1844
<b>Folktale</b> Destroyed in 1844 by a man who later said the house he built from the stones did not bring him good luck. Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> N250.2. Persecution by bad luck (F531.3.2. Giant throws a great rock?)		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Grinsell 1976a; Green 2009; DAT HER (accessed 14/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Arthur's Quoit (Coetan Arthur)	<b>Location</b> Dyfed	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SN060394	<b>ID</b> DY02
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic	<b>Site Type</b> Chambered tomb	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> (F531.3.2. Giant throws a great rock?)		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Grinsell 1976a; Green 2009			

<b>Site Name</b> Arthur's Quoit (Coetan Arthur)	<b>Location</b> Dyfed	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SM725281	<b>ID</b> DY03
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic/Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Chambered tomb	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> (F531.3.2. Giant throws a great rock?)		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Grinsell 1976a			

<b>Site Name</b> Bedd Arthur (Arthur's Grave)	<b>Location</b> Dyfed	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SN130325	<b>ID</b> DY04
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic/Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Rectangular enclosure	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Grave of Arthur; stone that forms part of the enclosure was thrown by Arthur from nearby Dyffryn			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b> Dyffryn
<b>Motif-Types</b> F531.3.2. Giant throws a great rock		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Grinsell 1976a; Green 2009; RCAHMW (accessed 11/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Blaen Nant Arthur	<b>Location</b> Dyfed	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SN74707489	<b>ID</b> DY05
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Medieval	<b>Site Type</b> Platform	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b> Nant Arthur stream
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
DAT HER (accessed 14/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Buarth Arthur (Arthur's Enclosure)	<b>Location</b> Dyfed	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SN142266	<b>ID</b> DY06
<b>Alternative Names</b> Meini Gwŷr (Warriors' Stones) Sloping Stones	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic/Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Stone circle	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Grinsell 1976a; Green 2009			

<b>Site Name</b> Carreg [Coetan] Arthur	<b>Location</b> Dyfed	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SJ13130495	<b>ID</b> DY07
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Barrow	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
CPAT HER (accessed 14/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Foel-Cwmcerwyn	<b>Location</b> Dyfed	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SN171257	<b>ID</b> DY08
<b>Alternative Names</b>		<b>Site Type</b> Mountain	
<b>Folktale</b> Where Arthur hunted Twrch Trwyth			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Twrch Trwyth	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> B184.3.1. Magic boar F241.0.1. Fairy animal hunted E501. The Wild Hunt H1331. Quest for remarkable animal		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> Gwâl y Filiast (The Greyhound Bitch's Lair)	<b>Location</b> Dyfed	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SN171257	<b>ID</b> DY09
<b>Alternative Names</b> Bwrdd Arthur (Arthur's Table)	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic	<b>Site Type</b> Chambered tomb	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Where Arthur Hunted Twrch Trwyth			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Twrch Trwyth	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> B184.3.1. Magic boar F241.0.1. Fairy animal hunted E501. The Wild Hunt H1331. Quest for remarkable animal		<b>Source/Foundation</b> (after <i>Mabinogion</i> )	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Crawford 1925; Wheeler 1925; Grinsell 1976a; Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> Llanbadarn Fawr	<b>Location</b> Dyfed	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SN599808	<b>ID</b> DY10
<b>Alternative Names</b> Llanwit Major	<b>Site Age</b>	<b>Site Type</b> Town	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Where Arthur demanded a beautiful coat from St. Padern, who had acquired it from Jerusalem; to punish Arthur's insolence, the saint caused the earth to swallow the king whole, with only his head above ground. Arthur apologised and upon his release took the saint as his patron			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> St. Padern	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> C773.1.0.1. Tabu: Making immoderate request F942. Man sinks into earth F960.4. Extraordinary nature phenomenon at anger of saint L410. Proud ruler (deity) humbled		<b>Source/Foundation</b> <i>Life of St. Padern</i>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> Llys Arthur (Arthur's Palace)	<b>Location</b> Dyfed	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SN78668250	<b>ID</b> DY11
<b>Alternative Names</b> Arthur's Court/Hall	<b>Site Age</b> Medieval	<b>Site Type</b> Moat house	<b>Destroyed</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Green 2009; DAT HER (accessed 14/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Maen Arthur	<b>Location</b> Dyfed	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SN726730	<b>ID</b> DY12
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic/Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Standing stone	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Grinsell 1976a; Fairbairn 1983; DAT HER (accessed 14/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Maen Arthur Bridge	<b>Location</b> Dyfed	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SN7236372316	<b>ID</b> DY13
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Early Modern	<b>Site Type</b> Bridge	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
DAT HER (accessed 14/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Meini-Gwŷr	<b>Location</b> Dyfed	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SN142266	<b>ID</b> DY14
<b>Alternative Names</b> Buarth Arthur (Arthur's Enclosure)	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic/Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Henge	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> Nyfer	<b>Location</b> Dyfed	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SN113373	<b>ID</b> DY15
<b>Alternative Names</b>		<b>Site Type</b> River	
<b>Folktale</b> Where Arthur hunted Twrch Trwyth			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Twrch Trwyth	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> B184.3.1. Magic boar F241.0.1. Fairy animal hunted E501. The Wild Hunt H1331. Quest for remarkable animal		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> Pen Arthur	<b>Location</b> Dyfed	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SN717237	<b>ID</b> DY16
<b>Alternative Names</b>		<b>Site Type</b> Mountain	
<b>Folktale</b> Where Arthur hunted Twrch Trwyth			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Twrch Trwyth	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> B184.3.1. Magic boar F241.0.1. Fairy animal hunted E501. The Wild Hunt H1331. Quest for remarkable animal		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> Pentre Ifan	<b>Location</b> Dyfed	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SN100370	<b>ID</b> DY17
<b>Alternative Names</b> Arthur's Quoit	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic/Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Chambered tomb	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> (F531.3.2. Giant throws a great rock?)		<b>Source/Foundation</b> [Not noted in Aubrey – later?]	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Grinsell 1976a; Fairbairn 1983; Green 2009			

### Glamorgan

<b>Site Name</b> Arthur's Stone	<b>Location</b> Glamorgan	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SS491905	<b>ID</b> GL01
<b>Alternative Names</b> Arthur's Quoit (Coetan Arthur); Maen Cetti (Stone of Cetti)	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic	<b>Site Type</b> Chambered tomb	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Capstone is pebble Arthur found in his shoe as he was walking and threw towards the sea. Stone split by Arthur or St. David. Stone goes to the sea to drink or bathe on certain nights, especially Midsummer's Eve and All Hallows Eve. St. David commanded a spring of water to rise from beneath it to demonstrate to pagan worshippers that it was not sacred. A bright figure sits on the capstone.			
<b>Associated Customs</b> Offerings of honey-cakes made as late as the 19 <sup>th</sup> century for good luck, or maidens wishing to see or test the fidelity of their lovers. Participants crawled around the stone 3 or 7 times at certain periods of the moon.		<b>Associated Characters</b> St. David	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> A941.5. Spring breaks forth through power of saint A972.3. Holes in stone caused by saint (warrior) D1641.2.5. Stones go down to stream to drink F531.3.2. Giant throws a great rock		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Glennie 1869; Wilkinson 1870; Wheeler 1925; Grinsell 1937; Grinsell 1976a; Fairbairn 1983; Hayman 1997; Green 2009; GGAT HER (accessed 14/03/11)			



<b>Site Name</b> Craig y Dinas	<b>Location</b> Glamorgan	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SN914080	<b>ID</b> GL02
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Iron Age	<b>Site Type</b> Hill fort	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> A Welshman encountered an Englishman on London Bridge who enquired where he got his hazel stick from. The Welshman took the Englishman (who was a wizard) to Craig y Dinas, whereupon the wizard showed the man an entrance to an underground cavern, which was filled with gold and where Arthur and his knights were sleeping, who would awake when the Black Eagle and Golden Eagle go to battle and return to Caerleon. He entered and took some gold, but accidentally touched a bell, waking them up. When asked by the knights "is it time?", the man replied, "no, go back to sleep". But after spending all his gold, the man returned to the cavern, taking even more. This time, when he accidentally touched the bell, he was too tired to reply, to the question, whereupon the knights took the gold from him and beat him. He never found the entrance thereafter.			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Arthur's knights; Englishman; Welshman/Wizard	<b>Associated Sites</b> Caerleon; London Bridge
<b>Motif-Types</b> D1906.2. King asleep in mountain		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Iolo Morganwg (1850)?	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Rhys 1891; Gwyndaf 1994			

<b>Site Name</b> Llancarfan	<b>Location</b> Glamorgan	<b>Co-Ordinates</b>	<b>ID</b> GL03
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b>	<b>Site Type</b> Village	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Where Arthur waged a war against a British chieftain, who had killed 3 of his warriors, but taught humility and peace by St. Cadoc			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> St. Cadoc	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> L410. Proud ruler (deity) humbled		<b>Source/Foundation</b> <i>Life of St. Cadoc</i>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

## Gloucestershire

<b>Site Name</b> Forest of Dean	<b>Location</b> Gloucestershire	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SO6275910337	<b>ID</b> GO01
<b>Alternative Names</b>		<b>Site Type</b> Forest	
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur's hunting-ground			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> Gloucester	<b>Location</b> Gloucestershire	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SO832186	<b>ID</b> GO02
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b>	<b>Site Type</b> City	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Where a young farrier went in search for his master's horse under a hill and encountered a reclining Arthur in a grand palace, who was recovering from his final battle-wounds, which break out annually; the farrier explained how he had come there and the king had the horse restored. Where Arthur aided Culhwch to free his imprisoned son Mabon.			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Culhwch; Mabon	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> A571.1. Culture hero still alive in hollow hill D1960.2. King asleep in mountain F771.3.5.1. House inside mountain		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Elis Gruffydd; <i>Mabinogion</i>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Jones 1966; Fairbairn 1983			

## Grampian

<b>Site Name</b> Arthurhouse	<b>Location</b> Grampian	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> NO76107414	<b>ID</b> GR01
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Medieval	<b>Site Type</b> Moat house (rectangular enclosure)	<b>Destroyed</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b> Other local 'Arthurhouses'
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Aberdeen. SMR (accessed 11/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Arthurhouse	<b>Location</b> Grampian	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> NO748718	<b>ID</b> GR02
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic/Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Cairn	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic Arthur's grave?			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b> Other local 'Arthurhouses'
<b>Motif-Types</b> A988. Cairn marks burial place		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Green 2009			

## Gwent

<b>Site Name</b> Arthur's Chair (Cadair Arthur)	<b>Location</b> Gwent	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SO2717	<b>ID</b> GW01
<b>Alternative Names</b> Sugar Loaf (Pen y Fal) [entire hill]	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic/Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Settlement hill	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Gerald of Wales	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Wood 2004			

<b>Site Name</b> Caerleon	<b>Location</b> Gwent	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> ST337906	<b>ID</b> GW02
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Roman	<b>Site Type</b> Legionary Fortress & Amphitheatre	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> One of Arthur's 3 principle courts in Welsh tradition ( <i>Triads</i> ); amphitheatre as Round Table. Site of the Battle of the City of the Legion. Arthur and his knights are asleep in the Mynde (castle motte). When the Black Eagle and the Golden Eagle go to battle Arthur will wake from his sleep in Craig y Dinas and re-establish his court here.			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Arthur's knights; characters from the <i>Mabinogion</i>	<b>Associated Sites</b> Caerwent (suggested alternative by Alcock); Craig y Dinas; The Mynde
<b>Motif-Types</b> A580. Culture hero's (divinity's) expected return D1960.2. King asleep in mountain		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Geoffrey of Monmouth	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Aubrey 1663-93; Glennie 1869; Rhÿs 1891; Wheeler 1925; Alcock 1971; Alcock 1972; Fairbairn 1983; Henken 1996; Knight 2001; Pryor 2004; Green 2009			

<b>Site Name</b> Ffynnon Arthur	<b>Location</b> Gwent	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> ST5299	<b>ID</b> GW03
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Medieval	<b>Site Type</b> Holy well	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b> Healing well (Class D)		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> V134. Sacred wells		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
GGAT HER (accessed 14/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Llantarnam Abbey	<b>Location</b> Gwent	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> ST305935	<b>ID</b> GW04
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Medieval	<b>Site Type</b> Abbey	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Where King Arthur was crowned			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>	
Mitchell 1886			

<b>Site Name</b> The Mynde	<b>Location</b> Gwent	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> ST3358691475	<b>ID</b> GW05
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Medieval	<b>Site Type</b> Motte	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur sleeps in a cavern inside the motte, awaiting the call for his return			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b> Caerleon; Craig-y-Dinas
<b>Motif-Types</b> A580. Culture hero's (divinity's) expected return D1960.2. King asleep in mountain		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Knight 2001			

## Gwynedd

<b>Site Name</b> Arthur's Quoit (Coetan Arthur)	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SH499413	<b>ID</b> GY01
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic/Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Chambered tomb	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> (F531.3.2. Giant throws a great rock?)		<b>Source/Foundation</b> At least 19 <sup>th</sup> century	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Grinsell 1976a; Fairbairn 1983; Green 2009; GAT HER (accessed 14/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Arthur's Quoit (Coetan Arthur)	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SH230346	<b>ID</b> GY02
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic/Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Chambered tomb	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur threw the capstone from Carn Fadryn, leaving his thumb print on the stone; his wife took three stones from her apron and propped the quoit up. When the stones were dismantled and moved in the 18 <sup>th</sup> century, "the cattle in the field gathered round the site and remained on their knees until the cromlech was restored to its original position" (Hemp 1926) Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Arthur's 'wife'	<b>Associated Sites</b> Carn Fadryn
<b>Motif-Types</b> A972.6. Indentations on rocks caused by giants F531.3.2. Giant throws a great rock		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Grinsell 1976a; Fairbairn 1983; Green 2009; GAT HER (accessed 14/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Arthur's Quoit (Coetan Arthur)	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SH588229	<b>ID</b> GY03
<b>Alternative Names</b> Arthur's Stone (Cerrig Arthur) Dyffryn Burial Chamber	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic/Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Chambered tomb	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur threw this, along with two other 'quoits', from the top of Moelfre, leaving his thumb print upon it. Conceals treasure; revealed when a rainbow rests on the middle of the capstone. Causes unlucky weather if stones are meddled with; came to pass during excavations of 1961-2.			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b> Bron y Foel Isaf; Cors-y-Gedol; Moelfre
<b>Motif-Types</b> F531.3.2. Giant throws a great rock F721.4. Underground treasure chambers F790. Extraordinary sky and weather phenomena		<b>Source/Foundation</b> From at least 19 <sup>th</sup> century	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Grinsell 1976a; Green 2009			

<b>Site Name</b> Bron y Foel Isaf	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SH60852460	<b>ID</b> GY04
<b>Alternative Names</b> Arthur's Quoit	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic/Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Chambered tomb	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur threw this, along with two other 'quoits', from the top of Moelfre.			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b> Arthur's Quoit (Dyffryn Ardudwy); Cors-y-Gedol; Moelfre
<b>Motif-Types</b> F531.3.2. Giant throws a great rock		<b>Source/Foundation</b> From at least 19 <sup>th</sup> century	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Grinsell 1976a; Grooms 1993; Green 2009			

<b>Site Name</b> Bwrdd Arthur (Arthur's Table)	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SH586813	<b>ID</b> GY05
<b>Alternative Names</b> Dinslywy (Fort of the Slywy)	<b>Site Age</b> Iron Age	<b>Site Type</b> Hill fort	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic Formerly Dinslywy			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> 12 <sup>th</sup> century	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Glennie 1869; Grinsell 1976a; Fairbairn 1983; Padel 1994; Green 2009; GAT HER (accessed 14/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Bwrdd Arthur (Arthur's Table)	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SJ07743466	<b>ID</b> GY06
<b>Alternative Names</b> Cadair Bronwen	<b>Site Age</b> Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Chambered tomb	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
RCAHMMW (accessed 11/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Carn Arthur	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SH7100090	<b>ID</b> GY07
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Unknown	<b>Site Type</b> Crannog	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
GAT HER (accessed 14/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Carnedd y Cawr	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SH610543	<b>ID</b> GY08
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic/Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Chambered tomb	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Grave of the giant Rhitta, whom Arthur slew			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Rhitta	<b>Associated Sites</b> Snowdon
<b>Motif-Types</b> A988. Cairn marks burial place F531.6.12.6. Giant slain by man		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Rhys 1891; Fairbairn 1983; Gwyndaf 1994; Green 2009			



<b>Site Name</b> Carn Fadryn	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SH278351	<b>ID</b> GY09
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Iron Age	<b>Site Type</b> Hill fort	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur threw a 'quoit' from the top of this hill			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b> Arthur's Quoit
<b>Motif-Types</b> F531.3.2. Giant throws a great rock		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Rolt Brash 1859			

<b>Site Name</b> Carn March Arthur	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SN65049815	<b>ID</b> GY10
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Chambered tomb	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic Probably associated with tales of sites GY11 and GY19			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b> Carn March Arthur
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
RCAHMW (accessed 11/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Carn March Arthur	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SN650981	<b>ID</b> GY11
<b>Alternative Names</b>		<b>Site Type</b> Outcrop	
<b>Folktale</b> Where Arthur's horse left an impression on a rock whilst pulling an afanc out of Llyn Barfog			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Afanc; Arthur's horse	<b>Associated Sites</b> Llyn Barfog
<b>Motif-Types</b> A972.5.3. Indentations on rock from paws of King Arthur's dog		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> Cerrig Arthur (Arthur's Stones)	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SH632189	<b>ID</b> GY12
<b>Alternative Names</b> Sword Stones	<b>Site Age</b> Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Stone circle	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> One of the stones was split in half by Arthur's sword			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> A972.5.6. Hole in stone caused by weapon of warrior		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Grinsell 1976a			

<b>Site Name</b> Cors-y-Gedol	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SH603228	<b>ID</b> GY13
<b>Alternative Names</b> Arthur's Quoit (Coetan Arthur)	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic	<b>Site Type</b> Chambered tomb	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur threw the capstone from the top of Moelfre along with two other 'quoits'			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b> Arthur's Quoit (Dyffryn Ardudwy) Bron y Foel Isaf; Moelfre
<b>Motif-Types</b> F531.3.2. Giant throws a great rock		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Fairbairn 1983; Green 2009; GAT HER (accessed 14/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Ffon y Cawr (Giant's Staff)	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SH738717	<b>ID</b> GY14
<b>Alternative Names</b> Pincell Arthur (Arthur's Spear)	<b>Site Age</b> Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Standing stone	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Staff of a giant who threw it at his dog/spear thrown by Arthur			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Giant; Dog	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> F531.3.2. Giant throws a great rock		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Moses Williams (1685-1742)	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Grinsell 1976a; Fairbairn 1983; Green 2009; GAT HER (accessed 14/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Ffynnon Cegin Arthur	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SH55486488	<b>ID</b> GY15
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Unknown	<b>Site Type</b> Holy well	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b> Healing well (Class C)		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> V134. Sacred wells		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
GAT HER (accessed 14/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Glyn Arthur	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SH547649	<b>ID</b> GY16
<b>Alternative Names</b> Glascoed	<b>Site Age</b> Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Cairn	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
RCAHMW (accessed 11/03/11); GAT HER (accessed 14/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Llanuwchllyn	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SH880300	<b>ID</b> GY17
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b>	<b>Site Type</b> Village	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Where Arthur slew the giant Rhitta, who removed the beards of his victims and sewed them into his coat and challenged Arthur			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Rhitta	<b>Associated Sites</b> Carnedd y Cawr
<b>Motif-Types</b> F531.6.12.6. Giant slain by man P672.1. Fur made of beard of conquered kings		<b>Source/Foundation</b> <i>Mabinogion</i>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> Lligwy	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SH501860	<b>ID</b> GY18
<b>Alternative Names</b> Arthur's Quoit	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic/Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Chambered tomb	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> F531.3.2. Giant throws a great rock		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Grinsell 1976a; Fairbairn 1983; Green 2009			

<b>Site Name</b> Llyn Barfog	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SN683981	<b>ID</b> GY19
<b>Alternative Names</b>		<b>Site Type</b> Lake	
<b>Folktale</b> An afanc living in the lake caused a devastating flood in the area; Arthur fought and chained the creature and tied the chain to his horse in order to pull it out of the lake			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Afanc; Arthur's horse	<b>Associated Sites</b> Carn March Arthur (GY11)
<b>Motif-Types</b> F713.3. Lake monster turning over causes lake to overflow surrounding mountains G308.1. Fight with sea (lake) monster V229.4. Saint overcomes (destroys) monsters (dragons)		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> Maen Arthur	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SH368903	<b>ID</b> GY20
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic/Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Standing stone	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Grinsell 1976a; Fairbairn 1983; GAT HER (accessed 14/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Maen Chwyf	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SH432855	<b>ID</b> GY21
<b>Alternative Names</b> Arthur's Quoit	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic/Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Standing stone	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> (F531.3.2. Giant throws a great rock?)		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Glennie 1869; Fairbairn 1983; Green 2009			

<b>Site Name</b> Ogof Arthur (Arthur's Cave)	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b>	<b>ID</b> GY22
<b>Alternative Names</b> Barclodiad y Gawres	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic/Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Settlement cave	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Where Arthur sheltered during a war with the Irish. Contains treasure			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> F721.4. Underground treasure chamber R315. Cave as refuge		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Rhys 1891; Fairbairn 1983; Green 2009			

<b>Site Name</b> Parc Arthur	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SH57736771	<b>ID</b> GY23
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Unknown	<b>Site Type</b> Circular enclosure	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
GAT HER (accessed 14/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Segontium	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SH494623	<b>ID</b> GY24
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Roman	<b>Site Type</b> Legionary Fortress	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur's court Kinkenadon			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> <i>Morte D'Arthur</i>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> Snowdon	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SH610544	<b>ID</b> GY25
<b>Alternative Names</b>		<b>Site Type</b> Mountain	
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur killed the giant Rhitta here; the mountain is the giant's cairn. Arthur was killed here in an ambush at the Path of Arrows. Arthur sleeps under the mountain, awaiting the time when the country is in need of him.			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Rhitta	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> A969.1. Mountain from buried giant D1960.2. King asleep in mountain F531.6.12.6. Giant slain by man F531.6.13. Graves of giants		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> Tyddyn Arthur	<b>Location</b> Gwynedd	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SH77462079	<b>ID</b> GY26
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic/Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Cairn	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>	
GAT HER (accessed 14/03/11)			

## Hampshire

<b>Site Name</b> Silchester	<b>Location</b> Hampshire	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SU639523	<b>ID</b> HA01
<b>Alternative Names</b> Calleva Atrebatum	<b>Site Age</b> Roman	<b>Site Type</b> City	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur crowned here			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Geoffrey of Monmouth	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>	
Camden 1586; Aubrey 1663-1693; Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> Winchester	<b>Location</b> Hampshire	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SU485295	<b>ID</b> HA02
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b>	<b>Site Type</b> City	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Camelot; Arthur crowned and won his second victory over Mordred here. In the great hall hangs the Round Table			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Mordred	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Geoffrey of Monmouth	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>	
Aubrey 1663-1693; Alcock 1971; Alcock 1972; Fairbairn 1983; Ashe 1996; Westwood and Simpson 2005			

## Herefordshire

<b>Site Name</b> Arthur's Stone	<b>Location</b> Herefordshire	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SO318431	<b>ID</b> HE01
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic	<b>Site Type</b> Chambered tomb	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Site of a battle between Arthur and a giant; depressions in rock caused by giant as he fell and lay dying/Arthur's knees as he prayed/Arthur's fingers as he played quoits/Jesus as he knelt to pray.			
<b>Associated Customs</b> Christian service on the fourth Sunday of July		<b>Associated Characters</b> Giant; Jesus	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> A972.1.1. Indentations on rocks from footprints of Christ A972.5.4. Indentations on rocks from weapons, knees and elbows A972.6. Indentations on rocks caused by giants A989.4. Pile of stones (cairn) marks site of battle F531.6.12.6. Giant slain by man		<b>Source/Foundation</b> 13 <sup>th</sup> century	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Crawford 1925; Grinsell 1976a; Fairbairn 1983; Hayman 1997; Mason 1999; Westwood and Simpson 2005; Green 2009			

<b>Site Name</b> King Arthur's Cave	<b>Location</b> Herefordshire	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SO545155	<b>ID</b> HE02
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Palaeolithic	<b>Site Type</b> Settlement cave	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur hid his treasure here whilst being pursued by his enemies; cave enchanted by Merlin so that treasure cannot be found			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Merlin	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> F721.4. Underground treasure chambers R315. Cave as refuge		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Grinsell 1976a; Green 2009; EH NMR (accessed 07/03/11); Hereford. SMR (accessed 07/03/11)			



<b>Site Name</b> Llygad Amr (The Eye/Spring of Amr)	<b>Location</b> Herefordshire	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SO495304	<b>ID</b> HE03
<b>Alternative Names</b> Gamber Head	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic/ Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Barrow	<b>Destroyed</b> 19 <sup>th</sup> C
<b>Folktale</b> Tomb of Amr, son of Arthur whom he murdered and buried there. Any measurement taken of the tomb is never the same twice.			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Amr	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> S11.3.3. Father kills son		<b>Source/Foundation</b> <i>Historia Brittonum</i>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>	
Ashe 1996; Green 2009			

### Kent

<b>Site Name</b> Barham Downs	<b>Location</b> Kent	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> TR207516	<b>ID</b> KE01
<b>Alternative Names</b>		<b>Site Type</b> Downland	
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur's first battle with Mordred after his return from his march on Rome			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Mordred	<b>Associated Sites</b> Dover
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Malory	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

## Lancashire

<b>Site Name</b> King Arthur's Pit	<b>Location</b> Lancashire	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SD42071781	<b>ID</b> LA01
<b>Alternative Names</b> Monument no. 40313	<b>Site Age</b> Modern	<b>Site Type</b> Pond (filled-in)	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic "King Arthur's Pit was on our land. It was an old pond which, I remember, was filled in many years ago, and it was in the bend of the road about 100 yards from here, on the east side... There was only one pond and it had the reputation of being a bottomless pit, hence the old name for it, and people riding by used to close their eyes when they passed it, for it had a ghost. The old local name was King A[e]ter's Pit" (Mr Sutton snr., oral comm)			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Ghost	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> E272. Road-ghosts F713.2. Bottomless lakes (pools, etc.)		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
EH NMR (accessed 07/03/11)			

## Lincolnshire

<b>Site Name</b> Glen	<b>Location</b> Lincolnshire	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> TF282294	<b>ID</b> LI01
<b>Alternative Names</b>		<b>Site Type</b> River	
<b>Folktale</b> Battle of Glein			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Scholarly suggestion (after <i>Historia Brittonum</i> )	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

## London

<b>Site Name</b> London	<b>Location</b> London	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> TQ3236281398	<b>ID</b> LN01
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b>	<b>Site Type</b> City	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Where Arthur drew the sword from the stone and was crowned			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> Z254. Destined hero		<b>Source/Foundation</b> <i>Morte D'Arthur</i>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> Tower of London	<b>Location</b> London	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> TQ335806	<b>ID</b> LN02
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Medieval	<b>Site Type</b> Castle	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Where Arthur dug up the head of King Bran. Site also associated with more popular folklore, such as hauntings by ghosts of those who have suffered there (including the Little Princes, Anne Boleyn, Lady Jane Grey, Sir Walter Raleigh and Henry Percy), with accompanying sightings, sighs/groans/screams/footsteps.			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> King Bran; various ghosts	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> E282. Ghosts haunt castle		<b>Source/Foundation</b> <i>Mabinogion</i>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition' (Others – Arthur tale not popular)</b>	
Fairbairn 1983; Westwood and Simpson 2005			

## Lothian

<b>Site Name</b> Arthur's Seat	<b>Location</b> Lothian	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> NT2758672917	<b>ID</b> LO01
<b>Alternative Names</b> Dead Men's Rock (Creag nan Marbh); The Crag; The Lion	<b>Site Age</b> Iron Age	<b>Site Type</b> Hill fort	<b>Destroyed</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Where Arthur sat, either as a giant or in council with his men, or is now asleep under the mountain. Other stories relating to how the peak got its name are that it is a corruption of Gaelic <i>Aird na Saighed</i> ('Height of Arrows'), or <i>Ard Thor</i> ('High Thor').			
<b>Associated Customs</b> Suspected 'witchcraft'; or commemoration/symbolic burial of those who died abroad or at sea, or the known victims of Burke and Hare, based on the finding of small wooden figures and respective coffins in a cave in 1836. Edinburgh residents wash their faces in the dew of Arthur's Seat on May morning.		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> D1960.2. King asleep in mountain		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Recorded as 'Arthuri-sette' in 1508 in Dunbar and Kennedy's <i>Flyting</i>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Glennie 1869; Banks 1934; Alcock 1971; Fairbairn 1983; Green 2009; Westwood and Kingshill 2009; RCAHMS (accessed 07/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Bowden Hill	<b>Location</b> Lothian	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> NS977744	<b>ID</b> LO02
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Iron Age	<b>Site Type</b> Hill fort	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Site of the Battle of Badon			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> L325.1. Victory over superior force: one against many V268.5. Image of Virgin Mary works miracles		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Scholarly suggestion	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> Edinburgh	<b>Location</b> Lothian	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> NT275735	<b>ID</b> LO03
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b>	<b>Site Type</b> City	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Site of the Battle of Agned			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Scholarly suggestion after <i>Historia Brittonum</i> and <i>Mabinogion</i>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

### Northumberland

<b>Site Name</b> Glen	<b>Location</b> Northumberland	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> NT971313	<b>ID</b> NO01
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Type</b> River		
<b>Folktale</b> Battle of Glein			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Scholarly suggestion (after <i>Historia Brittonum</i> )	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> High Rochester	<b>Location</b> Northumberland	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> NY830980	<b>ID</b> NO02
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Roman	<b>Site Type</b> Legionary Fortress	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur's court; site of the Battle of Bregouin			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Scholarly suggestion after <i>Historia Brittonum</i>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> King Arthur's Well	<b>Location</b> Northumberland	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> NY68066664	<b>ID</b> NO03
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Medieval	<b>Site Type</b> Holy Well	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Green 2009; EH NMR (accessed 07/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Sewingshields	<b>Location</b> Northumberland	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> NY811706	<b>ID</b> NO04
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Medieval	<b>Site Type</b> Castle Crag	<b>Destroyed</b> 19 <sup>th</sup> C
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur's residence. Arthur and his knights lie in an enchanted sleep inside the crag, under the castle; they can be woken up by blowing on a horn, and drawing 'the sword of the stone' and cutting a garter with it. A man who once found his way into the cavern drew the sword, cut the garter, but forgot to blow the horn – the waking individuals fell back into slumber, as King Arthur exclaimed: "O woe betide that evil day,/On which the witless wight was born,/Who drew the sword – the garter cut,/But never blew the bugle-horn." No-one has been able to find the entrance to the cavern since.			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Arthur's knights	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> D1960.2. King asleep in mountain		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Glennie 1869; Jones 1966; Briggs 1971; Westwood and Simpson 2005			

## Oxfordshire

<b>Site Name</b> The Blowing Stone	<b>Location</b> Oxfordshire	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SU32418708	<b>ID</b> OX01
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Medieval	<b>Site Type</b> Standing stone	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> "Traditionally associated with King Arthur and the Battle of Ashdown" [confused with King <i>Alfred</i> ]			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Mistake in archaeological record	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'?	
EH NMR (accessed 09/03/11)			

## Powys

<b>Site Name</b> Arthur's Table	<b>Location</b> Powys	<b>Co-Ordinates</b>	<b>ID</b> PO01
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic/Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Chambered tomb	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Glennie 1869			

<b>Site Name</b> Carn Cabal	<b>Location</b> Powys	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SN942644	<b>ID</b> PO02
<b>Alternative Names</b> Carn Cafal/Gafallt	<b>Site Age</b> Neolithic/Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Cairn	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Uppermost stone bears the impression of Arthur's dog/horse whilst he hunted Twrch Trwyth. Arthur later piled the stones underneath it and placed it on top. If anyone takes a stone from the pile they possess it for a day and a night, and then it appears back on the pile.			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Arthur's horse; Twrch Trwyth	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> A972.5.3. Indentations on rock from paws of King Arthur's dog E501. The Wild Hunt F241.0.1. Fairy animal hunted		<b>Source/Foundation</b> <i>Historia Brittonum</i>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Ashe 1996; Higham 2002; Green 2007; Green 2009			

<b>Site Name</b> Pen y Fan	<b>Location</b> Powys	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SN012216	<b>ID</b> PO03
<b>Alternative Names</b>		<b>Site Type</b> Mountain	
<b>Folktale</b> Where Arthur assembled his men			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Arthur's men	<b>Associated Sites</b> Carn Cabal
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> <i>Historia Brittonum</i>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Fairbairn 1983			

## Somerset

<b>Site Name</b> Arthur's Bridge	<b>Location</b> Somerset	<b>Co-Ordinates</b>	<b>ID</b> SO01
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Unknown	<b>Site Type</b> Bridge	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> Arthur's Point	<b>Location</b> Somerset	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> ST538473	<b>ID</b> SO02
<b>Alternative Names</b> Arthur's Palace	<b>Site Age</b> Bronze Age	<b>Site Type</b> Hill settlement	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur's lookout point			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b> Wookey Hole
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Camden 1586; Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> Brent Knoll	<b>Location</b> Somerset	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> ST341509	<b>ID</b> SO03
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Iron Age	<b>Site Type</b> Hill fort	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Part of a payment from Arthur to Glastonbury monks in exchange for praying for Sir Ider's recovery after his battle with three giants			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Glastonbury monks; giants; Sir Ider	<b>Associated Sites</b> Glastonbury Abbey
<b>Motif-Types</b> F531.6.12.6. Giant slain by man		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Fairbairn 1983; Somerset HER (accessed 07/03/11)			



<b>Site Name</b> Cadbury Castle (South Cadbury)	<b>Location</b> Somerset	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> ST628257	<b>ID</b> SO04
<b>Alternative Names</b> Arthur's Palace; Cadbury Camelot; Camelot	<b>Site Age</b> Iron Age	<b>Site Type</b> Hill fort	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Camelot. Arthur and his knights sleep inside the hill until the day Britain is in need of him; they ride around the hill at full moon on horses shod with silver shoes and water at King Arthur's Well. Silver horseshoes have been found as 'proof' of this. Arthur can be seen on Midsummer's Eve, when golden/iron gates in the hillside briefly open. Arthur and his knights ride to Sutton Montis church on Christmas Eve to drink the water of the spring there. Arthur goes down to drink on St. John's Eve, and if he meets someone who is not pure in life, strikes them dead. When a party of antiquaries visited the site in the 19 <sup>th</sup> century an old man enquired if they had come to take King Arthur away.			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Arthur's knights	<b>Associated Sites</b> Glastonbury Abbey; King Arthur's Hunting Causeway; King Arthur's Well; Sutton Montis Church
<b>Motif-Types</b> A580. Culture hero's (divinity's) expected return D1960.2. King asleep in mountain E501. The Wild Hunt F211.1.1. Door to fairyland opens once a year F721.4. Underground treasure chambers		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Leland [claimed local tradition]	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Leland 1535-1543; Camden 1586; Evans 1895; Alcock 1971; Alcock 1972; Grinsell 1976a; Fairbairn 1983; Westwood and Simpson 2005; Somerset HER (accessed 07/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Carhampton	<b>Location</b> Somerset	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> ST005425	<b>ID</b> SO05
<b>Alternative Names</b> Church of St. John the Baptist	<b>Site Age</b> Medieval (rebuilt 19 <sup>th</sup> century)	<b>Site Type</b> Church	<b>Destroyed</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur, whilst hunting a dragon who was feasting on the local people, came across the alter of St. Carannog, which the saint had cast off to sea, declaring that he would preach wherever it would land. Arthur attempted to use the alter as a table, but every item he placed upon it would slide off. Arthur covered it with a cloth and went on his way. On the road he met a stranger, who declared that he was the saint looking for his alter. Arthur asked him to prove this by slaying the dragon he was hunting. The saint did this, upon which Arthur handed over the alter and permitted him to preach at Carhampton.			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> St. Carranog	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> B11.10.2. Dragon eats people B11.11. Fight with dragon B877.1.2. Giant sea-monster overpowered by saint D1153. Magic table N848. Saint (pious man) as helper V111.3. Place where church must be built miraculously indicated		<b>Source/Foundation</b> <i>Life of St. Carranog</i>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Briggs 1971; Fairbairn 1983; Westwood and Simpson 2005			

<b>Site Name</b> Dunster	<b>Location</b> Somerset	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SS990436	<b>ID</b> SO06
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Medieval	<b>Site Type</b> Castle	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur's residence with the chieftain Cador			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Cador	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> <i>Mabinogion</i>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> Glastonbury Abbey	<b>Location</b> Somerset	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> ST499389	<b>ID</b> SO07
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Medieval	<b>Site Type</b> Abbey	<b>Destroyed</b> (Dissolution)
<b>Folktale</b> Site of Arthur and Guinevere's graves discovered by monks in 1191. Henry II, learning that the body of Arthur was buried in Glastonbury Abbey in the songs of bards ordered that the body be recovered. A lead inscribed cross was found 7ft deep and, beneath it, an oak coffin containing the bones of Arthur. The bones attributed to Arthur were noted as that of a very tall person, with many marks of battle. A lock of Guinevere's golden hair was found but crumbled to dust when touched by a monk. Details of the exhumation were given to the contemporary chronicler Ralph of Coggeshall. Bones were re-excavated by Edward I after his conquest of Wales. Also associated with Joseph of Arimathea, who struck his staff into the ground and took root as a thorn bush.			
<b>Associated Customs</b> Pilgrimage		<b>Associated Characters</b> Guinevere; Joseph of Arimathea	<b>Associated Sites</b> Glastonbury Tor
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Abbey Monks/Henry II. Alcock (1971) suggests a 'traditional' connection prior to staging of discovery	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Camden 1586; Aubrey 1663-93; Glennie 1869; Alcock 1971; Fairbairn 1983; Ashe 1996; Gerrard 2003; Westwood and Simpson 2005; Green 2009; Somerset HER (accessed 07/03/11); EH NMR (accessed 09/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Glastonbury Tor	<b>Location</b> Somerset	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> ST512386	<b>ID</b> SO08
<b>Alternative Names</b>		<b>Site Type</b> Hill	
<b>Folktale</b> The 'Isle of Avalon'. The site of King Melwas's residence, to which he brought the kidnapped Guinevere and where Arthur fought for her return; St Gildas intervened to bring peace between the two kings. The residence of Gwynn ap Nudd, who invited St Collen to his fairy palace on the Tor; the saint refused all that was offered him and sprinkled holy water about, upon which the palace and fairies disappeared.			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Guinevere; Gwynn ap Nudd; Melwas; St Collen; St Gildas	<b>Associated Sites</b> Cadbury Castle; Glastonbury Abbey
<b>Motif-Types</b> D2031.0.2. Fairies cause illusions E481.4.1. Avalon F222.1. Fairies' underground palace F379.4. Saint visits king of fairies on invitation of fairy king F481.4.1.		<b>Source/Foundation</b> <i>Life of St Gildas</i>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> King Arthur's Hunting Causeway	<b>Location</b> Somerset	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> ST61612746-ST62062604	<b>ID</b> SO09
<b>Alternative Names</b> King Arthur's Lane	<b>Site Age</b> Medieval	<b>Site Type</b> Causeway (Path)	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur and his knights ride down the causeway in the manner of the Wild Hunt. The hunters stop to water their horses at the 'wishing well'/King Arthur's Well			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Arthur's knights	<b>Associated Sites</b> Cadbury Castle; King Arthur's Well
<b>Motif-Types</b> E501. The Wild Hunt		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Green 2009; EH NMR (accessed 07/03/11); Somerset HER (accessed 07/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> King Arthur's Well	<b>Location</b> Somerset	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> ST62972528	<b>ID</b> SO10
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Early Modern	<b>Site Type</b> Well	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur and his knights stop to take a drink here whilst riding down the causeway. Often confused with Queen Anne's Wishing Well. If one whispers into King Arthur's Well it can be heard at Queen Anne's, attesting to the hollowness of Cadbury Castle			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Arthur's knights	<b>Associated Sites</b> Cadbury Castle; King Arthur's Hunting Causeway; Queen Anne's Wishing Well
<b>Motif-Types</b> E501. The Wild Hunt		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Green 2009; EH NMR (accessed 07/03/11); Somerset HER (accessed 11/03/11)			

<b>Site Name</b> Wookey Hole	<b>Location</b> Somerset	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> ST530474	<b>ID</b> SO11
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Iron Age	<b>Site Type</b> Settlement cave	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur slew the witch of the cave/asked a local monk to rid the cave of the witch; witch turned to stone			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Monk; witch	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> A974. Rocks from transformation of people to stone G275.8. Hero kills witch N848. Saint (pious man) as helper		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

## Strathclyde

<b>Site Name</b> Ben Arthur	<b>Location</b> Strathclyde	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> NN259058	<b>ID</b> ST01
<b>Alternative Names</b>		<b>Site Type</b> Mountain	
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Fairbairn 1983			

## Tayside

<b>Site Name</b> Dumbarrow Hill	<b>Location</b> Tayside	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> NO552479	<b>ID</b> TA01
<b>Alternative Names</b> Arthur's Seat	<b>Site Age</b> Iron Age	<b>Site Type</b> Hill fort	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b>	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Fairbairn 1983; Green 2009			

## Wiltshire

<b>Site Name</b> Liddington Castle	<b>Location</b> Wiltshire	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> SU209797	<b>ID</b> WI01
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Iron Age	<b>Site Type</b> Hill fort	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Site of the Battle of Badon			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b> L325.1. Victory over superior force: one against many V268.5. Image of Virgin Mary works miracles		<b>Source/Foundation</b> Scholarly suggestion	
		'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'	
Fairbairn 1983			

## Yorkshire

<b>Site Name</b> Arthur's Oven	<b>Location</b> Yorkshire	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> NZ154016	<b>ID</b> YO01
<b>Alternative Names</b>		<b>Site Type</b> Cave	
<b>Folktale</b> Onomastic			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b>	<b>Associated Sites</b>
<b>Motif-Types</b>		<b>Source/Foundation</b> 18 <sup>th</sup> century?	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Fairbairn 1983			

<b>Site Name</b> Richmond Castle	<b>Location</b> Yorkshire	<b>Co-Ordinates</b> NZ172008	<b>ID</b> YO02
<b>Alternative Names</b>	<b>Site Age</b> Medieval	<b>Site Type</b> Castle	<b>Destroyed?</b>
<b>Folktale</b> Arthur and his knights lie sleeping beneath its foundations; can be woken up by blowing on a horn or drawing a sword in the chamber. Treasure is concealed beneath the Gold Hole Tower. An underground tunnel runs from the castle to Easby Abbey; a little drummer boy was sent down to explore it, drumming as he went, while others followed the sound above ground – suddenly the drumming stopped, and the little drummer boy was heard of no more.			
<b>Associated Customs</b>		<b>Associated Characters</b> Arthur's knights; Little Drummer Boy	<b>Associated Sites</b> Easby Abbey
<b>Motif-Types</b> D1960.2. King asleep in mountain F721.1. Underground passages F721.4. Underground treasure chamber		<b>Source/Foundation</b> 19 <sup>th</sup> century?	
		<b>'Folklorised'/'Local Tradition'</b>	
Jones 1966; Fairbairn 1983; Mason 1999; Westwood and Simpson 2005			

ID	Name	Location	Age	Type	Motif(s)	Onomastic	Literary location	Local tradition	Estimated Foundation (C)	Associated Characters	Associated Sites
AV01	Bath	Avon		City	L325.1 V268.5		x	x	19 <sup>th</sup>		
AV02	Little Solsbury Hill	Avon	Iron Age	Hill fort	L325.1 V268.5		x		19 <sup>th</sup>		
BR01	Eildon Hill	Borders Region	Bronze Age	Settlement hill	D1960.2 F329.1 F721.4			x	18 <sup>th</sup> / 19 <sup>th</sup>	Thomas the Rhymmer; Arthur's knights	
CR01	Arthur's O'on	Central Region	Roman	Circular building		x		x	12 <sup>th</sup>		
CR02	Loch Lomond	Central Region		Lake				x			
CR03	Stirling Castle	Central Region	Medieval	Castle			x				
CH01	Alderley Edge	Cheshire		Escarpment	D1960.2 E502			x	18 <sup>th</sup> / 19 <sup>th</sup>	(Arthur's) knights; farmer; wizard	
CH02	Chester	Cheshire		Town			x				
CL01	Carreg Carn March Arthur	Clwyd	Early Modern	Boundary stone	A972.5.3	x		x		Arthur's horse	
CL02	Craig Arthur	Clwyd	Bronze Age	Cairn		x		x			Nearby features sharing name
CL03	Moel Arthur	Clwyd	Iron Age	Hill fort		x		x	17 <sup>th</sup>		Nearby features sharing name
CO01	Arthur's Tomb	Cornwall	Unknown	Inscribed stone		x		x	16 <sup>th</sup>		Slaughterbridge; Camelford
CO02	Camelford	Cornwall		Town	S74.1		x	x	16 <sup>th</sup>	Mordred	Slaughterbridge
CO03	Castle-an-Dinas	Cornwall	Iron Age	Hill fort	A972.5.3			x	17 <sup>th</sup>	Gorlois; Mordred	Devil's Coyt
CO04	Castle Killibury	Cornwall	Iron Age	Hill fort			x	x		Twrch Trwyth	Callington
CO05	King Arthur's Bed	Cornwall		Tor		x		x			
CO06	King Arthur's Consols	Cornwall	Early Modern	Mine		x		x			Tintagel
CO07	King Arthur's Down	Cornwall	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Stone circle		x		x			King Arthur's Hall
CO08	King Arthur's Hall	Cornwall	Unknown	Rectangular enclosure		x		x	16 <sup>th</sup>		King Arthur's Down
CO09	St Michael's Mount	Cornwall		Town	F531.6.1 2.6			x		Giant	Mont-Saint-Michel
CO10	Slaughter Bridge	Cornwall	Early Modern	Path	S74.1		x	x		Mordred	Camelford; Arthur's Tomb; Lady Falmouth's Garden; Slaughterbridge
CO11	Slaughterbridge	Cornwall	Early Medieval & Early Modern	Battlefield	S74.1		x	x	16 <sup>th</sup>	Mordred	Slaughter Bridge

CO12	Tintagel	Cornwall	Medieval	Castle & Monastery	A511 A511.1 D6 D658.2			x	12 <sup>th</sup>	Uther Pendragon Merlin; Igraine	Trethevy Quoit; other nearby features named after Arthur
CO13	Treryn Dinas	Cornwall	Iron Age	Hill fort				x			
CO14	Trethevy Quoit	Cornwall	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Chambered tomb	F531.3.2			x			Tintagel
CO15	Warbstow Bury	Cornwall	Neolithic /Bronze Age Iron Age	Barrow Hill fort	F531.6.13 F790			x		Giant	
CU01	Arthur's Round Table	Cumbria	Bronze Age	Henge		x		x	17 <sup>th</sup>		
CU02	Arthur's Seat	Cumbria		Hill		x		x			
CU03	Camboglanna	Cumbria	Roman	Legionary fortress	S74.1		x	x		Mordred	
CU04	Carlisle	Cumbria		City			x				
DE01	Arthur's Oven	Devon	Medieval	Smelter		x		x	13 <sup>th</sup>		
DE02	Arthur's Oven	Devon	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Barrow		x		x	12 <sup>th</sup>		
DE03	Blackingstone Rock	Devon		Crag				x		Devil	
DO01	Badbury Rings	Dorset	Iron Age	Hill fort	B147.2.1.1 D150 E613.7 E715.1.6 E501 F852.2		x	x	19 <sup>th</sup>	Arthur's knights	Kingston Lacy
DY01	Arthur's Quoit	Dyfed	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Chambered tomb	F531.3.2? N250.2	x		x	19 <sup>th</sup>		
DY02	Arthur's Quoit	Dyfed	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Chambered tomb	F531.3.2?	x		x			
DY03	Arthur's Quoit	Dyfed	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Chambered tomb	F531.3.2?	x		x			
DY04	Bedd Arthur	Dyfed	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Rectangular Enclosure	F531.3.2	x		x			Dyffryn
DY05	Blaent Nant Arthur	Dyfed	Medieval	Platform		x		x			Nant Arthur stream
DY06	Buarth Arthur	Dyfed	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Stone circle		x		x			
DY07	Carreg [Coetan] Arthur	Dyfed	Bronze Age	Barrow		x		x			
DY08	Foel-Cwmcerwyn	Dyfed		Mountain	B184.3.1 E501 F241.0.1 H1331			x		Twrch Trwyth	
DY09	Gwâl y Filiast	Dyfed	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Chambered tomb	B184.3.1 E501 F241.0.1 H1331			x		Twrch Trwyth	
DY10	Llanbadarn Fawr	Dyfed		Town	C773.1.0.1 F942 F960.4 L410			x	12 <sup>th</sup>	St Padern	
DY11	Llys Arthur	Dyfed	Medieval	Moat house		x		x			



DY12	Maen Arthur	Dyfed	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Standing stone		x		x			
DY13	Maen Arthur Bridge	Dyfed	Early Modern	Bridge		x		x			
DY14	Meini-Gwŷr	Dyfed	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Henge		x		x			
DY15	Nyfer	Dyfed		River	B184.3.1 E501 F241.0.1 H1331			x			Twrch Trwyth
DY16	Pen Arthur	Dyfed		Mountain	B184.3.1 E501 F241.0.1 H1331	x		x			Twrch Trwyth
DY17	Pentre Ifan	Dyfed	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Chambered tomb	F531.3.2?	x		x			
GL01	Arthur's Stone	Glamorgan	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Chambered tomb	A941.5 A972.3 D1641.2.5 F531.3.2	x		x			St David
GL02	Craig y Dinas	Glamorgan	Iron Age	Hill fort	D1960.2			x	19 <sup>th</sup>	Arthur's knights; Englishman Welshman/ Wizard	Caerleon; London Bridge
GL03	Llancarfan	Glamorgan		Village	L410			x	11 <sup>th</sup>	St Cadoc	
GO01	Forest of Dean	Gloucestershire		Forest				x			
GO02	Gloucester	Gloucestershire		City	D1960.2		x	x	16 <sup>th</sup>	Culhwch; Mabon	
GR01	Arthurhouse	Grampian	Medieval	Moat house		x		x			Other local 'Arthurhouses'
GR02	Arthurhouse	Grampian	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Cairn	A988	x		x			Other local 'Arthurhouses'
GW01	Arthur's Chair	Gwent	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Settlement hill		x		x	12 <sup>th</sup>		
GW02	Caerleon	Gwent	Roman	Legionary fortress & Amphitheatre	A580 D1960.2		x	x	12 <sup>th</sup>	Arthur's knights; <i>Mabinogion</i> characters	Caerwent Craig y Dinas; The Myndes
GW03	Ffynnon Arthur	Gwent	Medieval	Holy well	V134	x		x			
GW04	Llantarnum Abbey	Gwent	Medieval	Abbey					12 <sup>th</sup>		Caerleon
GW05	The Mynde	Gwent	Medieval	Motte	A580 D1960.2			x		Arthur's knights	Caerleon; Craig y Dinas
GY01	Arthur's Quoit	Gwynedd	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Chambered tomb	F531.3.2?	x		x	19 <sup>th</sup>		
GY02	Arthur's Quoit	Gwynedd	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Chambered tomb	A972.6 F531.3.2	x		x		Arthur's 'wife'	Carn Fadryn
GY03	Arthur's Quoit	Gwynedd	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Chambered tomb	F531.3.2 F721.4 F790	x		x			Bron y Foel Isaf; Cors-y-Gedol; Moelfre

GY04	Bron y Foel Isaf	Gwynedd	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Chambered tomb	F531.3.2	x		x			Arthur's Quoit Dyffryn Ardudwy; Cors-y-Gedol; Moelfre
GY05	Bwrdd Arthur	Gwynedd	Iron Age	Hill fort		x		x	12 <sup>th</sup>		
GY06	Bwrdd Arthur	Gwynedd	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Chambered tomb		x		x			
GY07	Carn Arthur	Gwynedd	Unknown	Crannog		x		x			
GY08	Carnedd y Cawr	Gwynedd	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Chambered tomb	A988 F531.6.12.6			x	16 <sup>th</sup>	Rhitta	Snowdon
GY09	Carn Fadryn	Gwynedd	Iron Age	Hill fort	F531.3.2			x			Arthur's Quoit
GY10	Carn March Arthur	Gwynedd	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Chambered tomb		x		x			Carn March Arthur; Llyn Barfog
GY11	Carn March Arthur	Gwynedd		Outcrop	A972.5.3	x		x		Afanc; Arthur's horse	Llyn Barfog
GY12	Cerrig Arthur	Gwynedd	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Stone circle	A972.5.6	x		x			
GY13	Cors-y-Gedol	Gwynedd	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Chambered tomb	F531.3.2	x		x			Arthur's Quoit Dyffryn Ardudwy; Bron y Foel Isaf; Moelfre
GY14	Ffon y Cawr	Gwynedd	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Standing stone	F531.3.2	x		x	18 <sup>th</sup>	Dog; giant	
GY15	Ffynnon Cegin Arthur	Gwynedd	Unknown	Holy well	V134	x		x			
GY16	Glyn Arthur	Gwynedd	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Cairn		x		x			
GY17	Llanuwchllyn	Gwynedd		Village	F531.6.12.6 P672.1			x	16 <sup>th</sup>	Rhitta	Carnedd y Cawr
GY18	Lligwy	Gwynedd	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Chambered tomb	F531.3.2?	x		x			
GY19	Llyn Barfog	Gwynedd		Lake	F713.3 G308.1 V229.4			x		Afanc; Arthur's horse	Carn March Arthur (GY11)
GY20	Maen Arthur	Gwynedd	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Standing stone		x		x			
GY21	Maen Chwyf	Gwynedd	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Standing stone	F531.3.2?	x		x			
GY22	Ogof Arthur	Gwynedd	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Settlement cave	F721.4 R315	x		x			
GY23	Parc Arthur	Gwynedd	Unknown	Circular enclosure		x		x			
GY24	Segontium	Gwynedd	Roman	Legionary fortress			x		15 <sup>th</sup>		
GY25	Snowdon	Gwynedd		Mountain	A969.1 D1960.2 F531.6.12.6 F531.6.13			x	16 <sup>th</sup>		

GY26	Tyddyn Arthur	Gwynedd	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Cairn		x		x				
HA01	Silchester	Hampshire	Roman	City			x					
HA02	Winchester	Hampshire		City			x	x	12 <sup>th</sup>			
HE01	Arthur's Stone	Herefordshire	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Chambered tomb	A972.1.1 A972.5.4 A972.6 A989.4 F531.6.12.6	x		x	13 <sup>th</sup>	Giant; Jesus		
HE02	King Arthur's Cave	Herefordshire	Palaeolithic	Settlement cave	F721.4 R315	x		x		Merlin		
HE03	Llygad Amr	Herefordshire	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Barrow	S11.3.3			x	12 <sup>th</sup>	Amr		
KE01	Barham Downs	Kent		Downland			x		15 <sup>th</sup>	Mordred		
LA01	King Arthur's Pit	Lancashire	Modern	Pond	E272 F713.2	x		x		Ghost		
LI01	Glen	Lincolnshire		River			x					
LN01	London	London		City	Z254			x	15 <sup>th</sup>	King Bran; various ghosts		
LN02	Tower of London	London	Medieval	Castle	E282				14 <sup>th</sup>			
LO01	Arthur's Seat	Lothian	Iron Age	Hill fort	D1960.2	x		x	15 <sup>th</sup>			
LO02	Bowden Hill	Lothian	Iron Age	Hill fort	L325.1 V268.5		x					
LO03	Edinburgh	Lothian		City			x					
NO01	Glen	Northumberland		River			x					
NO02	High Rochester	Northumberland	Roman	Legionary fortress			x					
NO03	King Arthur's Well	Northumberland	Medieval	Holy well	V134	x		x				
NO04	Sewingshields	Northumberland	Medieval	Castle & Crag	D1960.2			x		Arthur's knights		
OX01	The Blowing Stone	Oxfordshire	Medieval	Standing stone								
PO01	Arthur's Table	Powys	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Chambered tomb		x		x				
PO02	Carn Cabal	Powys	Neolithic /Bronze Age	Cairn	A972.5.3 E501 F241.0.1			x	12 <sup>th</sup>	Arthur's dog; Trwch Trwyth	Pen y Fan	
PO03	Pen y Fan	Powys		Mountain				x	12 <sup>th</sup>	Arthur's men	Carn Cabal	
SO01	Arthur's Bridge	Somerset	Unknown	Bridge		x		x				
SO02	Arthur's Point	Somerset	Bronze Age	Hill settlement		x		x			Wookey Hole	
SO03	Brent Knoll	Somerset	Iron Age	Hill fort	F531.6.12.6			x		Glastonbury monks; giants; Sir Ider	Glastonbury Abbey	
SO04	Cadbury Castle	Somerset	Iron Age	Hill fort	A580 D1960.2 E501 F211.1.1 F721.4		x	x	16 <sup>th</sup>	Arthur's knights	Glastonbury; King Arthur's Hunting Causeway; King Arthur's Well; Sutton Montis Church	
SO05	Carhampton	Somerset	Medieval	Church	B11.11 B877.1.2 D1153 N848 V111.3			x	12 <sup>th</sup>	St Carranog		

S006	Dunster	Somerset	Medieval	Castle			x	x		Cador	
S007	Glastonbury Abbey	Somerset	Medieval	Abbey					12 <sup>th</sup>	Guinevere; Joseph of Arimathea	Cadbury Castle; Glastonbury Tor; King Arthur's Hunting Causeway
S008	Glastonbury Tor	Somerset		Hill	D2031.0.2 E481.4.1 F22.1 F379.4		x	x	12 <sup>th</sup>	Guinevere; Gwynn ap Nudd; Melwas; St Collen; St Gildas	Cadbury Castle; Glastonbury Abbey
S009	King Arthur's Hunting Causeway	Somerset	Medieval	Causeway	E501		x		17 <sup>th</sup> / 18 <sup>th</sup>	Arthur's knights	Cadbury Castle; King Arthur's Well
S010	King Arthur's Well	Somerset	Early Modern	Well	E501		x		17 <sup>th</sup> / 18 <sup>th</sup>	Arthur's knights	Cadbury Castle; King Arthur's Hunting Causeway
S011	Wookey Hole	Somerset	Iron Age	Settlement cave	A974 G275.8 N848					Monk; witch	
ST08	Ben Arthur	Strathclyde		Mountain			x				
TA01	Dumbarrow Hill	Tayside	Iron Age	Hill fort			x				
WI01	Liddington Castle	Wiltshire	Iron Age	Hill fort	L325.1 V268.5			x			
YO01	Arthur's Oven	Yorkshire		Cave			x		18 <sup>th</sup>		
YO02	Richmond Castle	Yorkshire	Medieval	Castle	D1960.2 F721.1 F721.4				19 <sup>th</sup>	Arthur's knights; Little Drummer Boy	Easby Abbey

## APPENDIX C

### EXTRACTS FROM SELECTED HISTORICAL, FOLKLORIC & LITERARY SOURCES

1. Let everyone who hears this believe, and let them regard this testimony as true (for it soon became common knowledge throughout the country) that, as soon as he arrived there, which was on the Sunday when they sing 'Exurge Quare O Domine' then immediately afterwards a great number of people saw and heard many hunters hunting. The hunters were dark and huge and ugly and all their hounds dark and broad-eyed and ugly; and they rode on dark horses and dark stags. This was seen in the deerfold in the town of Peterborough itself, and in all the woods that lead from the same town to Stamford. The monks heard the sound of the horns that they blew in the night. Trustworthy men who were on watch that night said that, as far as they could judge, there were about twenty or thirty horn-blowers. This was seen and heard from the time that Abbot Henry came there, throughout Lententide to Easter. This was his entrance; of his exit we cannot yet say anything...

(Joynes, 2001:75-6)

2. Arthur was a young man only fifteen years old; but he was of outstanding courage and generosity, and his inborn goodness gave him such grace that he was loved by almost all the people... In Arthur courage was closely linked with generosity, and he made up his mind to harry the Saxons, so that with their wealth he might reward the retainers who served his own household. The justness of his cause encouraged him, for he had a claim by rightful inheritance to the kingship of the whole island.

(Geoffrey of Monmouth, 1966:212)

3. Caerleon is the modern name for the City of the Legions. In Welsh 'caer' means a city or encampment... Caerleon is of unquestioned antiquity. It was constructed with great care by the Romans, the walls being built of brick. You can still see many vestiges of its one-time splendour. There are immense palaces, which, with the gilded gables of their roofs, once rivalled the magnificence of ancient Rome... There is a lofty tower, and beside it remarkable hot baths, the remains of temples and an amphitheatre... Two men of noble birth, Julius and Aaron, suffered martyrdom there and were buried in the city... Caerleon is beautifully situated on the banks of the River Usk. When the tide comes in, ships sail right up to the city. It is surrounded by woods and meadows. It was here that the Roman legates came to seek audience at the great Arthur's famous court.

(Gerald of Wales, 1978:114-5)

4. Lucius, Procurator of the Republic, wishes that Arthur, King of Britain, may receive such treatment as he has deserved. I am amazed at the insolent way in which you continue your tyrannical behaviour. I am even more amazed at the damage which you have done to Rome. When I think about it, I am outraged that you should have so far forgotten yourself as to not realize this and not to appreciate immediately what it means that by



vender of whiskey, or mountain (not May) dew, your approach to whom is always indicated by a number of “bodies” carelessly lying across your path, not dead but drunk. In another place you may descry two parties of Irishmen, who, not content with gathering the superficial dew, have gone “deeper and deeper yet,” and fired by a liberal desire to communicate the fruits of their industry, actively pelt each other with clods.

These proceedings commence with the daybreak. The strong lights thrown upon the various groups by the rising sun, give a singularly picturesque effect to a scene, wherein the ever-varying and unceasing sounds of the bagpipes, and tabours and fifes, *et hoc genus omne*, almost stun the ear. About six o’clock, the appearance of the gentry, toiling and *pechin* up the ascent, becomes the signal for serving men and women to march to the right-about; for they well know that they must have the house clean, and everything in order earlier than usual on May-morning.

About eight o’clock the “fun” is all over; and by nine or ten, were it not for the drunkards who are staggering towards the “gude town,” no one would know that any thing particular had taken place.

Such, my dear sir, is the gathering of May-dew. I subjoin a sketch of a group of dancers, and

I am, &c.

P.P., Jun.

(Hone, 1830:609-611)

8. Now *Arthur Seat* shall be my bed,  
The sheets shall ne’er be fyl’d by me,  
Saint *Anton’s* well shall be my drink,  
Since my true love has forsaken me.  
*Martinmas* wind, when wilt thou blow,  
And shake the green leaves off the tree?  
O gentle death, when wilt thou come?  
For of my life I am weary.

(‘Waly, Waly, gin Love be Bonny’, Ramsay, 1788:170-1, ll.17-24)

9. The happinesse of these daies [are] so rare and admirable, since that by a divine and heavenly opportunity it is now fallen into our laps, which wee hardly ever hoped, and our Ancestours so often and so earnestly wished: namely, that Britaine, for so many ages disjoined in it selfe and unsociable, should all throughout like one uniforme City, under one most sacred and happie Monarch, the founder of perpetuall peace, by a blessed Union bee conjoynd in one entire bodie. Who beeing through the propitious goodnesse of Almighty God elected, borne, and preserved to the good of both nations, as hee is a Prince of singular wisdom and providence, and, fatherly affected to all his subjects, doth so cut off all causes and occasions of feare, of hope, of revenge, complaint, and quarell, that the dismale Discord which hath set these nations (otherwise invincible) so long at debate might be stifled and crushed for ever, and sweet Concord triumph joyously with endlesse comfort, when (as one sometime sung this tenour), *iam cuncti gens una sumus*, that is, *Wee all one nation are this day*, whereunto as a Chorus both nations resound, *et simus in aevum*, that is, *God grant wee may so bee for aye*.

(Camden 1607:n.p.)

10. This Park [Holyrood], consisting chiefly of one Hill, arises into three Tops, the Southwesternmost whereof, is denominated *Arthur's Seat*, but that it should be so called, from *Arthur*, a British or Cimrian King, I cannot give into, for the Right Reverend (*Geffry of Monmouth*) Bishop of *St. Asoph's* Account of him is stuffed with such monstrous Fables and Absurdities, that it has given Reason to Men of great Eminence and Learning to think there was never such a Person in *Britain* as King *Arthur*; much more Reason I think have they, who take the Appellation of *Arthur's Seat* to be a Corruption of the *Gaelick Ard-na Said*, which implies, *the Height of Arrows*; than which nothing can be more probable: For no Spot of Ground is fitter for the Exercise of Archery, either at Butts or Rovers, than this, wherefore *Ard-na-Said*, by an easy Transition, might well be changed to *Arthur's Seat*.

(Maitland, 1753:152)

11. The green woods clothe the summit now; the green grass o'er it spreads;  
On golden flowers of 'Autumn Stars' the village maiden treads,  
But knows, that far beneath her feet, within the caverned hill,  
King Arthur and his mail-clad Knights are soundly sleeping still,  
With golden lamps reflected in polished marble floors,  
And ever-watchful dragons guarding the golden doors.

She knows that they, who ne'er have sinned, nor caused a heart to grieve,  
Whose faith is firm, and love is true, who kneel on St. John's Eve  
And lave their eyes in Arthur's Well, shall see the hill subside,  
The passage open at their feet, the golden gates divide,  
And Arthur couched amid his Knights, each girded with his sword;  
And by the trancèd monarch's head a priceless jewel-hoard.

(Anon., in Gray, 1913:5-6)

12. And hereupon comes to mind a Richmond legend, parallel with the various other stories told of king Arthur in the north. A person walking round Richmond castle, was accosted by a 'man,' who took him into a strange vault beneath the fortress, where a multitude of people were laying on the ground, as if in deep slumber. In this chamber a horn and a sword were presented to him, for the usual purpose of releasing the sleepers of other days from their long listlessness. But when he drew the sword half out of its sheath, a stir among them terrified him to such a degree, that he let the blade fall back to its place, and an indignant voice instantly cried:-

Potter, Potter Thompson!  
If thou had either drawn  
The sword or blown that horn,  
Thou'd be the luckiest man  
That ever {yet} was born.

The tradition adds, that no opportunity of breaking the enchantment will again be afforded before a definite time has elapsed.

(Longstaffe, 1852:115-6)



## APPENDIX D

### RESPONSES TO QUESTIONNAIRES

Number of responses indicated in red

\*Visitor question only

†Multiple choice

#### Caerleon Legionary Fortress and Amphitheatre, Gwent

##### 1. Why did/do you visit Caerleon?\*

Interested in history/archaeology 40	Interested in Arthur 1	Interest in the area 11	Good place to walk 7	'Must-see' site 8	Work 4
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Other: Bring friend 2 Festival 5 Location scouting for film 2 No particular reason 1

##### 2. There have been tales connecting Arthur to Caerleon – have you heard of any?

Yes 56	No 38
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No response 2

##### 3. What stories have you heard about Caerleon?

CLF1V: The Legion – King Arthur's Legion.

CLF2V: We only saw in a little paragraph on the map the name of King Arthur.

CLF3RV: Obviously the Roman connection, the Roman barracks; the fact that they were, obviously, more or less, concentrated around this area, and that, really, from looking at the amphitheatre and the barracks it was quite an incredible thing for, well, for Caerleon, really. And you know, they actually cultured us a bit [chuckles] – they always do, don't they? But of course, King Arthur is connected to the whole of Britain, he's got places everywhere, so he's very important all over Britain.

CLF4V: [Hesitantly] Oh, I have heard some reference to King Arthur, near that Roman Ffwrrwm [pause] there's a plaque on the wall.

CLF5V: I only really know about the Romans being here.

CLF6V: Only that, erm, after the Romans the Normans settled this area, didn't they, all the way down to west Wales, basically. And, um, although I was aware of the Roman ruins here, but I wasn't aware of the extent of them. But no, I wasn't really aware of the Roman history here, I was aware of the Normans, but they're everywhere [pause] I wasn't aware of anything with Arthur; I mean north Wales, yes, but not here. You know, like in the Snowdonia mountain range, waiting for the call.

CLF7V: I haven't really heard much about that, to be honest with you, although I must admit the first time I heard about it was in Mary Stuart's novels about Merlin – so I know the stories to some extent, but they're not what had driven me here.

CLF8V: I have heard about the Romans coming, and conquering, and subduing the local tribe here.

CLF9V: I've heard about the Romans being here, and read about all they did, and civilised the place, and left it all behind, and their technology behind.

CLF10V: Well, I've only heard mostly about the Romans at Caerleon, you know, and there was a mention of Arthur but I don't think there's much to it, to be honest with you. Mainly Romans.

CLF11V: I haven't heard anything about the site other than the Romans were here.

CLF12V: I haven't heard anything about Arthur here – I mean, he's supposed to be at Tintagel, isn't he? I only know about the Romans coming here.

CLF13V: Just saw that there were Roman remains here.

CLF14RV: It was rumoured that the Round Table was here; I think maybe because of this [gestures towards amphitheatre]. And there's the castle as well, that has got the connection to King Arthur as well.

CLF15V: Well, I knew Caerleon was a Roman site, and I knew they had an amphitheatre, but I'd never seen it. But I didn't know about King Arthur's connection, no.

CLF16RV: I've got my own theories. I think there were several British chieftains called Arthur. Because, as I understand it, 'Arthur' was a bit like a title, you know, it was a bit like, sort of, 'pharaoh', and, um, I'm sure there was an 'Arthur', or several 'Arthurs', and I know there were battles fought around here, and there was a big battle up on, erm, Christchurch ridge there [gestures towards Christchurch] involving *an* Arthur, so, I think that there was a lot, a lot of evidence that there was a major British chieftain in this area. Um, I'm not so sure about some of the rest of it, you know – wonderful myth and all that. I mean, some people used to think that this [gestures towards amphitheatre] was King Arthur's Round table, and I can understand that maybe this was where a British chieftain, you know, once the Romans had left, used it as a meeting-place [pause]; and it would be a good meeting-place, because the acoustics are good and would fit a hundred knights or so – well, they weren't knights in those days, but, er [pause] I think the stories are good for Caerleon, as brings in the tourists, and writers, like Alfred, Lord Tennyson, for example, and Arthur Machen, who sort of wrote those Gothic mysteries and I think Arthur comes into it a bit. So it's been great, because it's added another layer of interest, you know, tourists come here because they've heard of King Arthur.

CLF17V: Nothing. He's everywhere, though, isn't he?!

CLF18V: No [shakes head].

CLF19V: After the Romans left, and they had the Dark Ages, King Arthur was supposed to rule here, and they say that this [points to amphitheatre] was King Arthur's Round Table. So they would have had all of Arthur's [pause] all in here, as the Table.

CLF20RV: Well, legend is that this was the home of King Arthur, this was where Merlin was as well – mind, lots of places say the same thing, but obviously from Caerleon we believe that it's true about ours.

CLF21V: I only know about the Romans coming here – my friend told me about it, and so I've heard about the Romans at Caerleon.

CLF22V: This was once believed to be the site of King Arthur's Round Table [pause] but that's what they believed. Other than that, I'm not sure.

CLF23V: Once thought to be King Arthur's Round Table – they were wrong, of course.

CLF24V: I've only really seen the site – something on TV – as connected with the Romans.

CLF25V: I know the Romans came here, and conquered the local tribe, bringing all their technology and things.

CLF26V: Haven't heard about Arthur here – only the Romans. That's interesting.

CLF27V: No, I didn't know about Arthur – he's supposed to be in the south-west of England. This [place] I only know for the Romans.

CLF28V: Would be nice to hear more about this place. I only heard things about the Romans coming here, and settling, and building, but Arthur, hadn't heard of that. That's a fascinating thing, though, to claim.

CLF29V: Well, the Romans coming here, that's one thing. I've heard about that. They had Normans too, eh?

CLF30V: [Yes, but] Cannot tell you any specific tales – only that Arthur is connected to south Wales.

CLF31V: [Yes, but] Can't tell you any specific tales.

CLF32V: I've heard there was an amphitheatre here, so thought we'd have a look for ourselves, to see what the Romans left behind here.

CLF33V: Just heard that this place had Roman remains.

CLF34V: Nothing.

CLF35V: This is where Arthur had his stronghold, holding meetings in the amphitheatre, which is why it became to be known as his Round Table. And, er, well you can see this by dowsing [mimics dowsing action], dowsing is very good for detecting steel, which of course is all part of Arthur [swashing action]. So dowsing in the amphitheatre produces excellent results, and verifies Arthur's presence there.

CLF36V: [Yes] Not any particular stories.

CLF37V: [Yes] Don't know that much.

CLF38V: Just that one of the legends places King Arthur as being centred at Caerleon – among all the others and things – Cadbury, Tintagel, and north of Scotland, I think, and so on.

CLF39V: Well, it was one of his strongholds; I think he used to summer here, or winter here, or something, or was one of the places he used strategically.

CLF40V: Nothing specific – only that this was his base.

CLF41V: No, none.

CLF42V: Don't know anything [about Caerleon], really.

CLF43V: Nothing.

CLF44V: There's a problem there, with Arthur, he's all over the place, but the Romans were here, and they brought with them technology, and civilisation, and that's what we can see today.

CLF45V: Have only heard about the Romans coming here, being the most west that they came.

CLF46V: Just a mention of him here.

CLF47V: Just heard him mentioned here.

CLF48V: Heard he was somehow linked here.

CLF49V: Well, I knew that he was here years ago, but I don't know too much about it. We thought we'd saw where he'd been buried somewhere else [pause]. And that's all I know.

CLF50V: Only know that the Romans came here and built quite a few things.

CLF51V: There's the Roman connection, that's all I've heard.

CLF52V: Nothing.

CLF53V: I've heard the Romans coming here, this far west, and civilising the locals, and this [gestures towards amphitheatre] is what they left behind.

CLF54V: The Romans came, and conquered the local people – was it – were they called the Silures or something?

CLF55V: It's an ancient sort of place, important for the Romans.

CLF56V: No, none.

CLF57V: Saw a mention in the guidebook.

CLF58V: Something in the guidebook links him here – I'm not quite sure what it is.

CLF59V: Have only heard of the Romans here at Caerleon, I'm not even sure if I'm aware of any later – such as Norman – activity.

CLF60V: Don't know anything about this site, only hear that the Romans are here and built fort and this [gestures to amphitheatre].

CLF61V: I have only seen in the guidebook the Romans here came and conquered.

CLF62V: No, none.

CLF63V: Well, I know that there were the native Welsh here, who were then conquered by the Romans, and I then read something about Arthur in Wales after the Romans, but that his court was here – I guess he could reuse it if you thought he was here, but even if it's not true it's quite fun.

CLF64V: The Romans built loads of stuff here, and when they left the Normans came. There was something else about the wall later on, but I can't remember what that's about. That can't really have much to do with Arthur.

CLF65RV: He's supposed to have lived here, and I think I heard something about him being buried here, like in the big mound behind the wall, but didn't somewhere else say that too? Well, it was interesting enough for Tennyson to come here, and maybe other people would too.

CLF66V: Romans, Normans. That's it, really. And I think something about the Iron Age people before, what were they called? But they were conquered by the Romans.

CLF67V: We came here because of the Romans, really. We heard there was [sic] lots of remains here. Didn't hear about Arthur, but that's quite interesting.

CLF68V: Well, I was told that it would be a good place to come to see Roman stuff, and there is quite a nice 'Celticky' feel about it – that's definitely true in the little weird shop area. And when you stand on the bridge, and look at the hills.

CLF69V: Roman things, mainly, about building lots of important buildings, a lot complete, too.

CLF70V: Only a little bit about this being where he had his court, but I've only heard about the Romans and what they did, here and in Caerwent, we've just come from there.

CLF71R: None

CLF72R: The round table

CLF73R: Just that the "castle"/mound opposite the Hanbury Arms was Camelot.

CLF74R: Caerleon was one of the suggested sites for Camelot

CLF75R: Caerleon is a Roman Town – with Amphitheatre, barracks and Roman Museum. Some say King Arthur held court with the knights of the Round Table here, and had tournaments, possibly battles. There is a very special place – The Ffrwm [sic] in Caerleon – Created with great inspiration – it is a small area with Celtic and Roman Art, Carvings, Paintings, some Arthurian in nature, that brings the legend of King Arthur to life.

CLF76R: That Caerleon is the site of Avalon – but then other places claim similar. That the knights of the Round Table came to Caerleon to sit in 'court'.

CLF77R: [blank]

CLF78R: [yes; blank]

CLF79R: That the Amphitheatre in Caerleon was the location of King Arthur's Round table (or is thought to be by some people), and was apparently known to locals as "King Arthur's Round table" for centuries. Some people also claim that Caerleon is "Camelot" where king arthur [sic] held court.

CLF80R: the round table was the amphitheatre

CLF81R: As a child, the area behind the former garage on Caerleon Bridge was known as the Round Table Field. (50+ years ago) Close to the recent excavations, and below the Amphitheatre, in a hollow. Also my father maintained that the hospital at Lodge Rd St Cadoc's hid a lot of secrets of the Romans. My father worked with Dr Nash Williams Nat. Mus. Wales

CLF82R: local 'stories' say he held his meeting's [sic] here and was often here stay and visiting.

CLF83R: Buried in the Myndd. Site of Camelot.

CLF84R: a) Tennyson wrote that Arthur visited Caerleon. I'm not sure if it was Tennyson or Geoffrey of Monmouth who suggested The Mynde Castle wall is the real Camelot Castle. I have also heard that the Amphitheatre may be the round table. b) Captain Morgan smuggled his rum into the UK via tunnels under the Hanbury Arms. c) Charles Williams took refuge in St Cadoc's church and was so enamoured with Christian charity he left money for Caerleon children to have a Christian education.

CLF85R: [Yes; blank]

CLF86R: That the Round Table & the knights of King Arthur gathered in Caerleon

CLF87R: [blank]

CLF88R: King Arthur spent time I think at Chepstow Castle and also held courts at Caerleon, many stories that are understated as far as the history of Caerleon and Wales.

CLF89R: Supposed to be location of King Arthur's Camelot and where he held court

CLF90R: Possibly Camelot was actually based here in Caerleon

CLF91R: [blank – entire questionnaire]

CLF92R: I have heard stories about Arthur but to be honest I can't remember the details.

CLF93R: The Round Table being in the Mountain in the garden of the Mynde.

CLF94R: Sorry, unable to complete dont [sic] know enough about this subject. [entire questionnaire left blank]

CLF95R: That King Arther [sic] had a round table in caerleon [sic] & was here for a while.

CLF96R: 1. From the 'Mabinogion' – Caerleon contained Arthurs [sic] armoury. 2. That Arthur & his knights are 'sleeping' in the Myndd.

**4. Where did you hear this?†**

Family/friends 26	Books/leaflets 44	Film/television 5	Internet 9	Local museum/ tourist office 10	Can't remember 12
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Other: Map 2 Member of the public 1 Newspaper 2 "Own experience" 1 Plaque 3 School 2  
No response 5

**5. Do you think tales of Arthur at Caerleon should be promoted more?**

Yes 69	No 12	Don't know 13
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No response 2

**6. Why?/Why not?†**

It is/could be true 14	Attract more interest in the site/entertaining 45	Part of the site's social history 38	Part of local people's history/heritage 34
Part of humanity's history/heritage 5	Not historically accurate/true 12	It's promoted well enough 2	Don't really know much about it 8

Other: Atmosphere 1 Archaeology more interesting 1 English tradition 1 Found in other places 2  
No information on it 4 Part of British history 2 "Why not?" 1  
No response 2

**7. Do you consider Arthur to be any of the following...?†**

Celtic 43	British 24	Roman 2	English 22	Welsh 15	Scottish 1	French 2
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Other: Anything 2 Cornish 1 Don't know 4 Mythical 2 Northern European 1

No response 2

**8. Do you think *tales of Arthur* at Caerleon are significant to the image, history and heritage of Wales?**

Yes 61	No 24	Don't know 9
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No response 2

**9. Do you consider *Caerleon* to be significant to the image, history and heritage of Wales?**

Yes 88	No 4	Don't know 2
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No response 2

**10. Do you consider Caerleon to be part of *your* heritage?**

Yes 77	No 14	Don't know 3
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No response 2

**11. Why?/Why not?†**

Living in the same area 22	Cultural/social 21	Inheriting the archaeology 17	Grew up with stories about Arthur 11	Heritage of this country, therefore my heritage 41
Heritage of all humanity 8	Too distant/irrelevant 0	Social/cultural/religious difference 1	Not from this area/country 13	Don't know/doesn't 'feel' like my heritage 3

No response 2

**12. Gender**

Male 45	Female 49
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No response 2

**13. Age**

18-24 6	25-34 13	35-44 14	45-54 14	55-64 24	65+ 23
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No response 2

**14. Where were you born?**

Australia 3 Cambodia 1 Germany 3 India 3 Ireland 1 Iraq 1 Italy 1 Malta 1 USA 1

UK: Avon 1 Berkshire 1 Cheshire 1 Cleveland 1 Glamorgan 4 Grampian 1 Gwent 18 Gwynedd 1

Hampshire 1 Kent 1 Leicestershire 1 Lincolnshire 2 London 10 Lothian 1 Northamptonshire 2

Nottinghamshire 1 Somerset 1 Staffordshire 1 Sussex 2 Tayside 1 Warwickshire 1 West Midlands 3

Worcestershire 1 Yorkshire 2

No response 2

**15. Where is your normal place of residence?\***

Australia 6 France 1 Germany 2 India 3 USA 2

UK: Avon 3 Cambridgeshire 2 Cheshire 1 Devon 3 Glamorgan 4 Gloucestershire 2 Gwent 43

Gwynedd 1 Herefordshire 1 Lincolnshire 2 London 5 Lothian 2 Northamptonshire 2 Somerset 2

Surrey 2

Warwickshire 1 West Midlands 1 Wiltshire 4 Worcestershire 1

No response 2

**16. How would you describe your national identity?†**

English 12	Scottish 2	Welsh 26	Northern Irish 0	British 52	Irish 1
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Other: American 2 Australian 7 Celtic 1 Chinese 1 European 2 German 3 Indian 3 International 1

Italian 1 White 2

No response 2



## Arthur's Seat, Edinburgh

### 1. Why did/do you visit Arthur's Seat?\*

Interested in history/ archaeology 0	Interested in Arthur 0	Interest in the area 17	Good place to walk 48	'Must-see' site 37	Work 0
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### 2a. Have you heard of any tales about how or why Arthur's Seat has its name?

Yes 47	No 55
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### 2b. There are tales that relate the name of Arthur's Seat to (King) Arthur. Have you heard of any of these tales?

Yes 30	No 69
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No response 3

### 3. What stories have you heard about Arthur's Seat?

ASL1RV: Not to do with Arthur

ASL2RV: None

ASL3RV: I canna tell ye about anything like that – but you do get people coming up here who are experts about this thing

ASL4V: I thought I heard it was something to do with King Arthur using this place as a base or something

ASL5V: Something about Arthur being here, using this mountain

ASL6V: I think I heard that this may have been his [Arthur's] [pause] and his knights here, and that's where he was sitting [points to dip in peak] with his knights all around him

ASL7V: Where Arthur sat with his knights

ASL8V: Arthur and his knights sat here

ASL9V: Nothing

ASL10RV: 'Arthur's Seat' is all wrong. The archers, way back, years and years ago, practised down there [gestures towards northern slope of Arthur's Seat], spoke a language that is between Gaelic and Welsh, and used to fire the arrows up into the air, and it was a saying called, er, *arch na sach* [Aird na Saighed] – that means 'the height of the arrows'. And there's no Arthur, and no seat.

ASL11V: None

ASL12V: None

ASL13V: No, nothing

ASL14V: I did, when I was reading about coming here, but I've forgotten

ASL15V: Nothing

ASL16V: Nothing

ASL17V: None

ASL18V: Well, I heard it was King Arthur, sat up here to plan his battles, like, is that true?

ASL19V: No, haven't heard any

ASL20V: None

ASL21V: Nothing

ASL22V: None that I know of

ASL23RV: Er, *Ard Thor*, was from *Ard Thor*, an ancient name. I don't exactly know what it means, but I don't think anybody knows. [pause] But they found some little figures, have you seen those? They found those figures in a cave here and [pause] but I'd'a' said it were witchcraft – they don't know what they were for, exactly, but it seems to me to be witchcraft

ASL24V: Well, it's supposed to have been where Arthur came and sat for some reason, that's why it's called King Arthur's Seat

ASL25V: Nothing

ASL26V: No, haven't heard any stories. [pause] But when my sister told me that this was Arthur's Seat, I somehow connected it to King Arthur

ASL27V: I read that it's actually a mangled – a derivation – of something to do with Thor, actually. And maybe it's Danish or Norwegian, or something

ASL28V: I think I vaguely heard something like those stones in Northern Ireland, er, but I couldn't say now – it's something to do with Merlin or something like that

ASL29V: I'm sure I read it in a book, but I don't remember it

ASL30V: Nothing

ASL31V: No, haven't heard any

ASL32RV: It was from the Gaelic – something to do with Thor

ASL33V: Not really; I'm aware that it's an old volcano, or a volcanic plug. But why it should be called Arthur I have no idea at all because Arthur was down in the West Country, down Tintagel-way

ASL34RV: I think I heard something about it something to do with arrows – but I don't know why that would be, so I can't be sure

ASL35V: My daughter said it was something about King Arthur coming up here

ASL36V: I've heard – my boyfriend said – that King Arthur would come up to the top, and this would be kind of, like, to, er, to sit, and, like, to think – like, to stew over his thoughts. That's all I've heard, anyway

ASL37RV: [shakes head] But I don't think it's got anything to do with Arthur, really, because he's not Scottish

ASL38RV: You know, I do. Obviously it goes back to King Arthur, but that's about it. I've forgotten what the story is

ASL39V: None

ASL40V: Nothing

ASL41RV: There are several stories about Arthur's Seat. One is a legend that it was the seat of King Arthur of Britain, and that's why it was named after him. Another one is just that, er, it [Holyrood Park] was called 'the King's Park', so it was a hunting-lodge at one time [pause] um, I don't know whether Arthurian [pause], no, that's the only one I've heard. I know there is others

ASL42V: None

ASL43V: Not why it has its name – all that I know about it is it's over 2000 years old, and that it was a fort, with ramparts going all the way round, and there's ruins of buildings on the top. And someone's just told me about the little dolls that they found [pause] – somebody said that they were connected to paganism and witchcraft

ASL44V: Just that it's a dead volcano plug

ASL45RV: I presume it was King Arthur

ASL46V: I think it's volcanic – but apart from that I don't know about its name

ASL47V: Nothing

ASL48RV: I mean, some people call it 'Arthur's Seat', some people call it 'the Lion's Roar' or 'the Lion's Den'

ASL49V: Nothing

ASL50V: I think I probably have but I've forgotten. [pause] Are there any links to Arthurian tales?

ASL51RV: No, none

ASL52V: None

ASL53RV: I was under the impression that it had something to do with Thor, the Norse god

ASL54V: Nothing

ASL55V: None

ASL56V: Nothing

ASL57V: Nothing

ASL58RV: How embarrassing! I can't remember!

ASL59RV: Yes, but I can't remember

ASL60V: Apparently it's from King Arthur. So Arthur sat up here, did he? Why is it called Arthur's Seat? Fucking dumb [Puts hand to mouth] I wouldn't come up here all the time, it's knacking!

ASL61V: I heard that Arthur would come up here to strategize and stuff. Well, I tell you, Arthur must've been pretty fit to come up here all the time! Or he had a horse to bring him up!

ASL62V: Some reference to Arthur – King Arthur – but not sure of proper stories about it

ASL63V: It was supposed to be Arthur's base or something. Like he'd come up here and plot and scheme or whatever he'd do with his "knights" [quotation gesture]

ASL64RV: There are a number of them – I think the most realistic one is the corruption, as 'twere, of the Gaelic – now, I can't remember what the original is – but I think it has something to do with a peak or [forms point with hands] height of arrows. There's also something else, but I forget, now. [pause] And of course there's the idea that Arthur, the king, came here, but I don't know about that

ASL65V: I don't know any stories in particular. I assume it has something to do with King Arthur, like lots of other places?

ASL66RV: I believe it's from the Scottish language, that sounds like 'Arthur's Seat' when you say it, but has something to do with archery. I think archers used to come up here – you know, way back – to practice shooting. I'm pretty sure they found arrows up here, too

ASL67V: I did wonder why it was called 'Arthur's Seat' – I mean, it would be quite a nice place to sit! [laughs] For some reason, I would think that it might be connected to King Arthur, but he's not really Scottish, is he? It would be nice to know, we don't really have much information around here [the site]

ASL68RV: I've heard it was a Scottish name, originally, and then later the name 'Arthur's Seat' was applied to it. Something to do with King Arthur. He would come up here to examine the lie of the land, I think. Or is he asleep in the mountain? I can't remember! I suppose it's something else to say about what is essentially a dead volcano. Mind you, volcanoes are rather interesting

ASL69RV: Gosh, no, I haven't! Isn't that embarrassing? I've lived here all my life and don't know! I wonder what it is? My son would know, though, he knows about things like that. Sorry about that! I know only that it's a volcano, I come up here with Bertie [my dog] every day

ASL70V: I wondered what might be the story behind the name – but then, you always get lots of Scots called 'Arthur', don't you? Don't think I've heard of any stories at all

ASL71RV: I believe it is quite a recent name – before, it was called 'The Crag', but I heard that the name is Gaelic, I don't know what the original is – something to do with warfare, I think

ASL72RV: I thought it [the name] was Scottish for something, too, but I don't know what. I'd imagine there would be some stories attached to it – it's quite big!

ASL73V: I know that this is a volcano, or at least used to be

ASL74V: Only that this was a volcano, but it would be nice to hear more about anything else

ASL75V: I was told by someone in a pub that this is the best view in Edinburgh, you can see so far away! But I don't know any stories; that's interesting

ASL76V: Don't know of any related stories

ASL77RV: Arthur's Seat is a volcano. It's got lots of other names, too – some people call it a lion, because from certain views it looks like one. Holyrood used to be called 'the King's Park', so from that you could get 'Arthur's Seat' as a kind of projection – because he was a famous king. Not that I think anyone would say he actually came here. [pause] Have you also seen the dolls they

found here [in Arthur's Seat] in the Museum? They're quite something, but no-one knows what they're for

ASL78V: As a boy, my father had said that this was where archers would come and practice shooting. I think the name is derived from that. But of course you get other stories related to *King Arthur*, because of the name. I think he came up here, the stories say, to look at the lie of the land or sit with his men to plan

ASL79R: That the Castle Rock was formed from an eruption of the active volcano that was later called Arthur Seat in Prehistoric times

ASL80R: Arthur's Seat is the remnant of the Edinburgh Volcano. The shape of the formation resembles a lion. Associations with King Arthur probably originated with the Normans

ASL81R: I vaguely remember hearing a story at primary school, though I can't remember what they said! Probably a guide book too. Friends have mentioned King Arthur, but I don't think that's where the name really comes from (although I can't remember what they taught us at school, I'm fairly sure it had nothing to do with King Arthur)

ASL82R: [blank]

ASL83R: Association with King Arthur & Knights of the Round Table

ASL84R: None

ASL85R: The story I believe to be true is that King Arthur of the Lothians regularly sat at the top of Arthurs [sic] Seat, hence the handle, Arthurs Seat!!! The top of Arthurs Seat is a great place to ponder, I imagine this was Arthurs reason

ASL86R: No stories that I know of

ASL87R: I believe it is a volcanic plug. I would regard the area around it as circular in appearance. This would to my mind be liked to an appearance of the round table hence Arthur and his round table. This may be nonsnce [sic] but I will now check on goggle [sic]

ASL88R: [blank]

ASL89R: I grew up in Edinburgh and on & off lived here during my adult years. I have never heard any stories about King Arthur (nor have several friends I asked, all with Edinburgh connections) with regard to Arthur's Seat

ASL90R: Place where Kings of Scotland were crowned

ASL91R: Might refer to "King Arthur", Also other examples if Arthurian legends in this Area. For example, CAMELON near Falkirk may have been CAMELOT, and nearby COCKLEROY hill may refer to the Cuckolding of Arthur by Guinevere

ASL92R: That Arthur sat at the top of the hill looking down on Edinburgh Castle. He was contemplating how to storm the castle

ASL93R: It's [sic] name is derived from the myriad legends pertaining to King Arthur, such as the reference in Y Gododdin. Maybe Arthurs [sic] Seat is the final resting Place of Camelot?!

ASL94R: Man who killed his wife by throwing her off

ASL95R: [blank]

ASL96R: N/A

ASL97R: [blank]

ASL98R: Arthur's Seat named after a local hero who happen to have the name Arthur. The top of Arthur's Seat looks like a Lion's Head from a certain angle

ASL99R: You have only to go to the Arthur Seat Heritage Museum at Holyrood to find out all about Arthur Seat which has the Salisbury Crags, the Guttled Haddie, the Hangmans Hill & the Radical road & lots of stories about it having been a volcano which erupted and formed many islands in the Firth of Forth including the Bass Rock and Castleton Hill

ASL100R: [blank]

ASL101R: It's a derivation of the Gaelic for something or other (can't remember what!) [Later] Can't imagine King Arthur ever hoofed all the way up to Edinburgh! In any event, its [sic] a beautiful wilderness + escape from the city for walking/running/cycling/dog walking + picnics. No tourist tat required!!

ASL102R: /

#### 4. Where did you hear this?†

Family/friends 17	Books/leaflets 18	Film/television 0	Internet 5	Local museum/ tourist office 2	Can't remember 21
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Other: 'Folklore' 4 School 1

No response 41

#### 5. Arthur's Seat has often been associated with King Arthur. Do you think tales of Arthur at this site should be promoted more?

Yes 70	No 20	Don't know 12
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#### 6. Why?/Why not?†

It is/could be true 9	Attract more interest in the site/entertaining 44	Part of the site's social history 47	Part of local people's history/heritage 16
Part of humanity's history/heritage 0	Not historically accurate/true 12	It's promoted well enough 1	Don't really know much about it 13

Other: Folk history 1 Not Scottish 3 Not Special 2 Too many visitors 1 Would visit anyway 1

#### 7. Do you consider the figure of Arthur to be any of the following...?†

Celtic 26	British 15	Roman 1	English 44	Welsh 8	Scottish 3	French 4
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Other: Anything 2 Cornish 5 Don't know 4 "London-ish area" 1 Mythical 2 Nothing 2

No response 2

#### 8. Do you think *tales of Arthur* at this site are significant to the image, history and heritage of Scotland?

Yes 34	No 44	Don't know 24
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#### 9. Do you consider *Arthur's Seat* to be significant to the image, history and heritage of Scotland?

Yes 85	No 7	Don't know 10
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#### 10. Do you consider this site to be part of *your* heritage?

Yes 64	No 29	Don't know 9
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**11. Why?/Why not?†**

Living in the same area 34	Cultural/social 7	Inheriting the archaeology 6	Grew up with stories about Arthur 7	Heritage of this country, therefore my heritage 34
Heritage of all humanity 5	Too distant/irrelevant 0	Social/cultural/religious difference 0	Not from this area/country 26	Don't know/doesn't 'feel' like my heritage 10

Other: By visiting 1 Feeling 1 Frequently visit/familiar with area 2 "Full of history" 1 "Just a rock" 1 Memories 3 Owned by the Crown 1 Scottish heritage 3

**12. Gender**

Male 50	Female 52
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**13. Age**

18-24 8	25-34 16	35-44 24	45-54 15	55-64 19	65+ 20
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**14. Where were you born?**

Australia 6 Bangladesh 2 Canada 2 Germany 2 Greece 1 India 1 Iraq 1 Ireland 1 Italy 3 Lithuania 1 Poland 1 Sweden 1 USA 5  
 UK: Argyll 1 Berkshire 1 Borders 3 Cheshire 1 Cumbria 2 Dumfries & Galloway 1 Fife 1 Hertfordshire 2 London 6 Lothian 11 Merseyside 4 Suffolk 1 Surrey 3 Sussex 1 Tayside 1 Wiltshire 1 Worcestershire 1 Yorkshire 5

**15. Where is your normal place of residence?\***

Australia 6 Bangladesh 2 Canada 2 Germany 3 India 1 Italy 3 Lithuania 1 Norway 1 Poland 1 USA 4  
 UK: Berkshire 2 Cambridgeshire 2 Cheshire 2 Co. Durham 5 Cumbria 3 Devon 2 Essex 2 Lancashire 8 Lincolnshire 7 London 2 Norfolk 2 Nottinghamshire 1 Powys 2 Strathclyde 2 Tyne & Wear 5 West Midlands 1 Yorkshire 53

**16. How would you describe your national identity?†**

English 9	Scottish 31	Welsh 0	Northern Irish 1	British 39	Irish 1
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Other: American 5 Australian 6 Bengali 2 Canadian 2 European 6 German 1 Greek 1 Indian 1 International 1 Italian 1 Lithuanian 1 Polish 1 Nothing 1

## Cadbury Castle, Somerset

### 1. Why did/do you visit Cadbury Castle?\*

Interested in history/archaeology <b>15</b>	Interested in Arthur <b>5</b>	Interest in the area <b>10</b>	Good place to walk <b>32</b>	'Must-see' site <b>3</b>	Work <b>0</b>
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### 2. There have been tales of King Arthur related to Cadbury Castle – have you heard of any?

Yes <b>50</b>	No <b>12</b>
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No response **2**

### 3. What stories have you heard about Cadbury Castle?

CCS1V: It's King Arthur, there you go! And what's more, I believe it, too!

CCS2V: Not much, to tell you the truth!

CCS3V: Nothing, really. We only came here because we were in the area and saw it on the map.

CCS4V: Well, there was rumour that this could have been Arthur's Camelot. I don't really know where that comes from, but it is a wonderful site. Imagine what a town it was! You'd think you'd be safe here, against the English, but no, they took over anyway!

CCS5V: Just it's a fort from the Iron Age.

CCS6V: It's from the Iron Age, but nothing other than that, really.

CCS7V: Reputed to be Camelot in legend.

CCS8V: This was Camelot in local folklore – but it was originally an Iron Age hill fort and reoccupied in the Early Medieval period.

CCS9V: That on Midsummer's Eve the hill turns clear as glass and inside can be seen Arthur and his knights of the Round Table. But also, archaeologically, the Romans evicted the Iron Age people from here, who were the first ones here.

CCS10V: The story about the hill turning to glass on Midsummer's Eve, which is this week – we've come on the wrong day!

CCS11V: You can see him [Arthur] and his knights through the hill at Midsummer, but this also was said to be Camelot, wasn't it? Quite a good place for it.

CCS12V: This was said to be King Arthur's Camelot, but before that it was a town for Iron Age peoples. There's also the story about the hill turning clear on Midsummer's Eve, so you can see him inside – asleep?

CCS13V: All sorts relating to Arthur, including that this was Camelot after the Romans left.

CCS14V: This was a hill fort from the Iron Age, and resettled in the Dark Ages. People also said that this is a possible site of Camelot, but whether or not there's any truth in it, it's interesting as a piece of folklore.

CCS15V: Stories that this could be King Arthur's Camelot, I think, along [with] what ancient things you find here.



CCS16V: Something about a potential Camelot, but I mainly know it for its archaeology.

CCS17V: I've seen that it is a fort of some kind – is it pre-Roman?

CCS18V: Nothing, really. It's an archaeological site, isn't it?

CCS19V: They say that this is King Arthur's Camelot – there are lots of places that say he's been there, but it's still interesting here. And it tells you at the top where Glastonbury and that is – all those other sites belonging to King Arthur.

CCS20V: Nothing – we don't know anything about this place.

CCS21V: Nothing at all.

CCS22V: That this could be one of the sites of Camelot.

CCS23V: Possible site of Camelot.

CCS24V: That this may have been Camelot.

CCS25V: A potential Camelot.

CCS26V: Well, it was Arthur's Camelot.

CCS27V: Yes, a possible site of Camelot.

CCS28V: Well, it's clearly associated with Arthur because I see him at least twice a year! [TP: When do you see him?] He rides around on his horse. [TP: Where does he go?] Well, he goes down there [gestures towards Sutton Montis] and has a drink at the pub. [NB. There is no pub in Sutton Montis.] But they say it's likely that this was his Camelot. I know there are other places that are suggested – the only other place is Tintagel, but I don't think that's likely, and that's a really tasteless place. Whereas here [sweeps arm], it's got just the right atmosphere.

CCS29V: The great fort of Camelot!

CCS30V: That this may have been King Arthur's Camelot. That's great! Though they should change the name to Cowalot!

CCS31V: Something about Arthur's Camelot.

CCS32V: Well, that this was Camelot. And you have it linked to other places, like Glastonbury, which is a kind of, erm, magical place, isn't it?

CCS33V: Not very much – this and that. We're staying at the cottage at the bottom [of the hill]. But just about Arthur and Camelot and all that.

CCS34V: Not really many stories – things about Arthur's Camelot and all the other archaeology.

CCS35V: We saw King Arthur and his queen up there [points to summit of hill], and the Knights Templar.

CCS36V: Yes, King Arthur and his queen.

CCS37V: Nothing, really. I've just come with a group. There was told the story of King Arthur, that he was here, and that this place is connected to others around with Arthur.

CCS38V: Nothing, only that it's a historical site.

CC39V: Just that it's a hill fort.

CCS40V: Yeah, about Camelot – that this was Arthur's Camelot. Don't know if that's true or not.

CCS41V: Just about Arthur, again, but I think the place is older, isn't it? Iron Age. That's older than Arthur. But later it was said to be Camelot.

CCS42R: Factually that a post-roman [sic] meeting hall of Arthurian period contained high quality european [sic] pottery sherds. There is the Arthures [sic] causeway to Glastonbury on our Farm Map. The Saxon progress was halted [? halted?] at Persellnood [?] for 100yrs. Myth that Arthur and his knights ride round the perimeter of the hill on midsummer night.

CCS43R: There is a story that Arthur and his knights are sleeping in the hill and at Midsummer one can see into the hill and see them sleeping. On old maps there appears an Arthur's Causeway leading towards Avalon (Glastonbury Tor)

CCS44R: That he rides in ghostly form with his retinue along King Arthurs [sic] hunting causeway towards Cadbury Castle on midsummers [sic] night. One of the wells near the summit are named after him and the hill is hollow. If you call down King Arthur's Well you can be heard in Queen Anne's Wishing Well. That he rides out of the hollow castle on ?midsummers eve

CCS45R: A possible home of King Arthur. Loose connection to a shield unearthed on the site.

CCS46R: [yes: blank]

CCS47R: [yes: blank]

CCS48VR: The closest King Arthur came to Cadbury Castle was Glastonbury Tor – speculation rather than fact. I do not associate Arthur with Cadbury Castle.

CCS49R: Cadbury Castle is location of Camelot

CCS50R: John Leland's belief that Camelot is where Arthur lived & died. Also that knights ride up to the Castle on New Year's eve wearing silver horse shoes and you can hear them walking up the path.

CCS51R: Round table up at the hill

CCS52R: I am a firm believer that King Arthur did not exist as a historical figure. The stories about him indicate that he and his court were legendary. It may have been helpful to the population of the south-west of England at and after the time of his supposed existence to believe in an English 'hero'. The archaeological evidence shows that there has been human existence at Cadbury Castle for thousands of years.

CCS53R: Arthur's great hall was on Cadbury fort.

CCS54R: I have been told that archaeological findings showed good evidence to confirm that if Arthur existed his great hall was on Cadbury Hill fort.

CCS55R: 1. Cadbury Castle was the site of Camelot 2. Arthur and his knights lie in a cavern inside the hill and ride out on Christmas Eve

CCS56R: That Camelot was there, this was based on the lay out [sic] of hills surrounding it and the mention of Glastonbury tour [sic] in one of the Stories although I am not entirely sure about that.

CCS57R: The classic Arthurian story is that if you go to the top of the Castle at midnight on Midsummers Eve and you put your ear to the ground you will hear the sound of King Arthurs [sic] horses [sic] hooves. Have done it in my youth – only heard Archie Montgomery’s (who owns the hill) heifers running about!! Nevertheless, a magic, often dark place to live near.

CCS58R: That Arthur and his Knights ride through the village

CCS59R: That there was a tunnel between that Castle and Glastonbury

CCS60R: King Arthur, Guinevere, Lancelot, Knights of the Round Table. Excalibur?! Camelot.

CCS61R: [blank]

CCS62R: [blank]

**4. Where did you hear this?†**

Family/friends 28	Books/leaflets 33	Film/television 2	Internet 0	Local museum/ tourist office 1	Can't remember 12
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Other: Archaeologists 1 “Felt it” 1 Living here 1 Local folklore 5 Map 3 School 2

No response 2

**5. Do you think tales of Arthur at Cadbury Castle should be promoted more?**

Yes 44	No 10	Don't know 6
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No response 2

**6. Why?/Why not?†**

It is/could be true 12	Attract more interest in the site/entertaining 22	Part of the site's social history 32	Part of local people's history/heritage 38
Part of humanity's history/heritage 7	Not historically accurate/true 8	It's promoted well enough 1	Don't really know much about it 4

Other: Appreciate whole of the site 9 Good for local business 1 National heritage 1 “Nice to have some romance!” 1 Not interested 2 Not much to see 1 Touristy 1 Want to experience site first 2

No response 2

**7. Do you consider Arthur to be any of the following...?†**

Celtic 16	British 21	Roman 2	English 24	Welsh 4	Scottish 0	French 1
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Other: Cornish 1 Don't know 2 Mythical 2 Romano-British 1 West Country 9

No response 2

**8. Do you think *tales of Arthur* at Cadbury Castle are significant to the image, history and heritage of England?**

Yes 46	No 5	Don't know 9
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No response 2

**9. Do you consider *Cadbury Castle* to be significant to the image, history and heritage of England?**

Yes 52	No 4	Don't know 4
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No response 2

**10. Do you consider Cadbury Castle to be part of *your* heritage?**

Yes 49	No 7	Don't know 4
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No response 2

**11. Why?/Why not?†**

Living in the same area 18	Cultural/social 8	Inheriting the archaeology 11	Grew up with stories about Arthur 19	Heritage of this country, therefore my heritage 31
Heritage of all humanity 4	Too distant/irrelevant 0	Social/cultural/religious difference 0	Not from this area/country 3	Don't know/doesn't 'feel' like my heritage 6

Other: Feeling 4 French heritage 1 Not interested 2

No response 2

**12. Gender**

Male 34	Female 26
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No response 2

**13. Age**

18-24 5	25-34 6	35-44 8	45-54 13	55-64 12	65+ 16
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No response 2

**14. Where were you born?**

Indonesia 1 Norway 2 South Africa 1 Spain 1 USA 3

UK: Avon 1 Ayrshire 1 Berkshire 2 Dorset 2 Gloucestershire 3 Gwent 1 Hampshire 1 Kent 2 London 9 Merseyside 1 Norfolk 1 Nottingham 2 Shropshire 1 Somerset 11 Suffolk 2 Surrey 3 West

Midlands 3 Wiltshire 1 Yorkshire 1

No response 2

**15. Where is your normal place of residence?\***

Norway 2 Spain 1 USA 3

UK: Avon 2 Somerset 34 West Midlands 2 Worcestershire 1 Merseyside 1 Sussex 2 Suffolk 1

Berkshire 1 Dorset 5 Norfolk 1 Kent 2 Shropshire 2

No response 2

**16. How would you describe your national identity?†**

English 23	Scottish 0	Welsh 2	Northern Irish 0	British 29	Irish 1
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Other: American 3 European 1 Indonesian 1 None 2 White 2

No response 2

## Arthur's Quoit, Gwynedd

### 1. Why did/do you visit the Dyffryn Ardudwy burial chambers?\*

Interested in history/ archaeology 14	Interested in Arthur 0	Interest in the area 7	Good place to walk 12	'Must-see' site 0	Work 0
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### 2a. The Dyffryn Ardudwy burial chambers have also been known as Coetan Arthur/Arthur's Quoit – have you heard of this name?

Yes 8	No 68
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### 2b. Have you heard any tales about how or why Coetan Arthur/Arthur's Quoit has its name?

Yes 4	No 64
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### 3. What stories have you heard about the Dyffryn Ardudwy burial chambers?

AQG1RV: Only the Welsh side of it, the name and that, just that bit of it. And there's another one just over there [gestures towards Cors-y-Gedol] – you know. So just the language bit.

AQG2V: Not very much, actually, except I know them as 'dolmen'.

AQG3V: Nothing

AQG4V: Nothing

AQG5V: Absolutely nothing

AQG6V: Nothing at all

AQG7V: Not much, just what we saw on the sign, and reading a few books, like those by Glyn Daniel. ... [in response to Q5:] Add to the romance of them, even if they're not true – adds another dimension to them. [Pause] Yes, well, it's interesting, it's all part of the national heritage – everyone's heritage – and it's a good way to preserve the folklore, isn't it, side-by-side with the archaeology."

AQG8V: Nothing

AQG9V: Nothing, really, just in the sign – he's [points to AQG7V] more knowledgeable about this

AQG10V: Nothing at all

AQG11V: Just saw on the map this place and thought I'd go while walking

AQG12V: Nothing much, there's not really much information about it, though I know they're dolmen, or burial chambers, from the Neolithic

AQG13V: That's it, really [referring to answer given by AQG12V]

AQG14V: Not much, really, my mum and dad have a caravan [gestures south] and we saw this on the OS map and thought we'd take a look

AQG15V: Nothing, just saw it on the map

AQG16V: We saw that this was a burial chamber, and we're interested in archaeology, so we came to see it – we read quite a lot on archaeology, but we're not experts, of course!

AQG17V: Well, I know that there were stones piled up on top of the burial chambers, and then it was turfed all on top, built an awfully long time ago

AQG18V: Just that it's a Neolithic site. I'm very interested in megaliths

AQG19V: I don't really know anything about it, just that it was built thousands of years ago

AQG20V: Just that it's an ancient site

AQG21RV: I don't know what it [the name] is, but I know that it's very, very old. [TP: Have you heard anything else about the site at all?] No, nothing... [in response to Q5:] It's our heritage, isn't it? You know, apart from people coming to here [sic] for the tourist side, it's to keep it alive, though, isn't it? I mean, I'm not a local, of course, you can tell that by the accent, but my daughters – all my children – have been born here, and they probably know more about it than I do! Yeah, and the kids learn about it and it's, as I say, by word-of-mouth, isn't it? And apart from keeping alive the tradition, it's for people to come view it and, you know, take note of it.

AQG22V: Nothing at all

AQG23V: No, nothing at all – just that it's here

AQG24V: Nothing, really, just a little about it being here

AQG25V: Only a little in the – wie sagt man? [how do you say?] – tourist book

AQG26V: Absolutely nothing

AQG27V: Nothing – we just saw the sign

AQG28V: Just the age of the site

AQG29V: Just the age – that it was built so many years ago

AQG30V: Nothing, really – just that it's very old

AQG31V: None [shakes head]

AQG32V: Nothing at all

AQG33V: Nothing – we just saw the sign from the road

AQG34R: None

AQG35R: None – but believe it to be rare to have two cromlechs

AQG36R: [blank]

AQG37R: That the stone (we locals called it Carreg Arthur) was thrown from the summit of Moelfre, a mountain in the vicinity, by King Arthur himself

AQG38R: About the sort of lives the people lived and what they were for

AQG39R: None

AQG40R: None – sorry

AQG41R: None

AQG42R: Dyffryn Burial Chamber, is a cromlech an ancient burial chamber I think this goes back thousands of years before Christ Ancient man. There are many more in the Hills above Dyffryn they are at the foot off [sic] Moelfra [sic]

AQG43R: [blank]

AQG44R: None

AQG45R: [blank – includes ‘Dyffryn Cairn’ information leaflet, 1973]

AQG46R: None

AQG47RV: There is however Cerrig Arthur or the Sword Stones (as there is a stone further up the road in the forest which has the indentation of Arthur’s sword) [www.megalithic.co.uk/article.php?sid+762](http://www.megalithic.co.uk/article.php?sid+762) + sid+12545 A fun walk, but clearly made up, as the indentation could not have been used to forge a sword. The site in Dyffryn Ardudwy is a burial chamber, unique in that it is right next to the town. sid 4449 [Additional response to Q5:] The Cornwall and Scottish [sic] Arthurs are a lie. Arthur was born in Glamorgan according the Llandaff Charters contrary to Wendy Davies inaccurate proofs. See my site: [www.kingarthur.justwizard.com](http://www.kingarthur.justwizard.com) [Note at the end of questionnaire:] Given to me by a Dyffryn resident as I gave a talk on Arthur at the Harlech Historical Society. I ~~lived~~ live in Harlech.

AQG48R: None. I’m told it is unusual in that it is a double rather than a single chamber

AQG49R: [blank]

AQG50R: In Wales there are many Cromlechs called Coetan Arthur. (The Cromlech at Gors-y-Gedol (SH 603 228) is also called C.A. As with other C.A. folklore tells us that the flat stone was hurled by Arthur from a nearby peak, in Dyffryn’s case, the Moelfre (SH 625 247). They were probably called ‘Arthurs’ during Christian times as a reference to the ‘old’ – Neolithic/Bronze age ancestors. The third Cromlech associated with Arthur’s ‘throw is at Bron y Foel Uchaf SH 611 249. I have heard the Bron y Foel Isaf Cromlech SH 607 246 called Coetan Arthur as the other three. The Bron y Foel Uchaf stone is associated with the fable of ITHEL. It was here that Ithel – a poor shepherd, lived. He was barred from seeing the daughter of the plas (probably GORS Y GEDOL) but they corresponded by means of a carrier pigeon belonging to the girl. She was stopped by her father who imprisoned her in a room in the manorhouse [sic]. There she died from a broken heart. Some account that she committed [sic] suicide by drinking a poisoned chalice [sic], and another that she slit her wrists and bled to death. She wrote a final letter [letter] to Ithel with her own blood. When she was laid to rest in Llanddwyre [Llanddwyn?] cemetery [sic] a dead <sup>(dove)</sup>pigeon was found on the grave with a letter from Ithel, to her, in its beak. Her ghost has been seen in the window of the manor house and there exists a verse in Welsh about the ‘story,’ and how Ithel left Ardudwy leaving his beloved in the ‘earth’ of Ardudwy:

‘Yr Alltud digysuron aeth  
I bell estrond wlad,  
A’I gallon gyda’I Wenfron dlos  
Yrg ngro Ardudwy fad  
Caed y golomen yr un dydd

Yr far war ei bed  
A blodan olaf Ithel Wyn  
O dari'n wyrdd en gredd.

Translated

An exile without joys he went  
To a far off unknown land  
His heart was with his Gwenfron fair  
In her grave in Ardudwy's sand.  
That very day a dove was found  
Upon her grave, so cold.  
And Ithel Wyn's bouquet of blooms  
Beneath the dove, green and fresh, we're told.

Beneath the slopes of 'Moelfre', there are to be found large boulders, scattered over the grassy southern slopes. Folklore again tells us that they fell from the apron of a giantess while carrying them to build a castle/fort on top of the mountain. This story also tells of the giantess giving birth at a place called 'crud y gawres' (the 'giantess's cradle'). It is a large flat stone with a hollow in it, where the baby was laid. Obviously, there is a wealth of stories in Ardudwy about the 'forgotten past'. Fairies and giants (male + female) There are fables from the Mabinogion, probably going back to the 'bronze age' times. I trust this is of some use to you in your studies. As a final note, I wish more of these legends could be passed on to present and future generations. – Change the 'National' Curriculum!, [sic] and instil a pride in heritage!

AQG51R: Burial site in roman [sic] times

AQG52R: The stones are one of 3 mythical quoits thrown by Arthur from Moelfre (the mountain?) on the east of Dyffryn. It is believed his fingermarks [sic] are on it. Arthur was believed to be a giant; giants apparently challenged each other for prominence [sic] – this was one of Arthur's shows of strength. The chambers are actually Bronze Age burial grounds and there are adjoining [sic] field [sic] where surveys have found stone circles, with entrances facing the chambers.

AQG53R: [blank]

AQG54R: [blank – top of questionnaire reads: 'Dear Tina, I am unable to answer your questions and unfortunately am not aware of anyone who can [signed name]']

AQG55R: Never heard any stories/tales about the burial chamber and certainly none associating said burial chamber with King Arthur. Although I attended the local Primary School where we would often have visits to the site for drawing pictures, having out-of-class lessons if weather permitted or just for picnics we were just told bare facts i.e. use of site, est. age etc. Note:- Having recently visited Cyprus we discovered that they make the most of their archaeological sites attracting visitors & sharing knowledge/history and even charge entrance fees to some sites. They also use the sites to promote local produce wines etc.

AQG56R: It is a 2,000-3,000 year old Burial Chamber. Housing nearby called Bro Arther [sic] Didn't [sic] realise there was a connection.

AQG57R: None

AQG58R: Only that its [sic] a burial ground



AQG59R: None apart from seeing site and in guide book references

AQG60R: None

AQG61R: Site was excavated for Archaeologic [sic] examination in the 60's [sic] – stones were not replaced in their original position – (saw the excavation) Stones are known locally as Carreg Arthur

AQG62R: None

AQG63R: Only that they were burial chambers

AQG64R: None

AQG65R: (1) Brenin[?] Arthur was playing games with the Giant Idris and this is one of the stones used. (2) Arthur is found in cemetery of Maentwrog near Blaenau Ffestiniog

AQG66R: None

AQG67R: Non [sic] Only my own research e.t.c. [sic] This whole area is of archaeology, great interest of preservation! Volcanic rock e.t.c. e.t.c. e.t.c. [sic] Snowdonia National Park is already being eroded by human activity road drilling mountains chopped etc etc etc

#### 4. Where did you hear this?†

Family/friends 8	Books/leaflets 16	Film/television 0	Internet 1	Local museum/ tourist office 2	Can't remember 5
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Other: Children 1 History society 1 "Live nearby" 1 Local schoolchildren 2 Map 4 School 3 Sign 5  
No response 26

#### 5. Do you think tales of Arthur at these burial chambers should be promoted more?

Yes 57	No 5	Don't know 5
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No response 1

#### 6. Why?/Why not?†

It is/could be true 9	Attract more interest in the site/entertaining 39	Part of the site's social history 44	Part of local people's history/heritage 44
Part of humanity's history/heritage 9	Not historically accurate/true 4	It's promoted well enough 0	Don't really know much about it 7

Other: Burial site 1 Interesting – no harm 1 Interesting without 1 Adds layers to site 1  
Nice to have romance 1  
No response 1

#### 7. Do you consider Arthur to be any of the following...?†

Celtic 24	British 27	Roman 3	English 14	Welsh 7	Scottish 0	French 0
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Other: European 2 Legendary 2

No response 4

#### 8. Do you think *tales of Arthur* at the Dyffryn/Arthur's Quoit burial chambers are significant to the image, history and heritage of Wales?

Yes 42	No 14	Don't know 12
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#### 9. Do you consider *the Dyffryn/Arthur's Quoit burial chambers* to be significant to the image, history and heritage of Wales?

Yes 50	No 11	Don't know 7
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**10. Do you consider the Dyffryn/Arthur's Quoit burial chambers to be part of *your* heritage?**

Yes <b>49</b>	No <b>14</b>	Don't know <b>5</b>
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**11. Why?/Why not?†**

Living in the same area <b>23</b>	Cultural/social <b>10</b>	Inheriting the archaeology <b>11</b>	Grew up with stories about Arthur <b>4</b>	Heritage of this country, therefore my heritage <b>34</b>
Heritage of all humanity <b>7</b>	Too distant/irrelevant <b>4</b>	Social/cultural/religious difference <b>2</b>	Not from this area/country <b>6</b>	Don't know/doesn't 'feel' like my heritage <b>10</b>

Other: European heritage **2** Similar sites in Germany **2**

No response **2**

**12. Gender**

Male <b>35</b>	Female <b>31</b>
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No response **2**

**13. Age**

18-24 <b>3</b>	25-34 <b>7</b>	35-44 <b>4</b>	45-54 <b>18</b>	55-64 <b>14</b>	65+ <b>20</b>
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No response **2**

**14. Where were you born?**

France **2** Germany **2** India **1**

UK: Avon **1** Cheshire **2** Clwyd **2** Co. Durham **1** Essex **1** Gwynedd **9** Lancashire **2** Merseyside **7**

Nottinghamshire **1** Shropshire **2** Staffordshire **4** Surrey **1** Warwickshire **2** West Midlands **6**

Worcestershire **1** Yorkshire **2**

No response **22**

**15. Where is your normal place of residence?\***

France **2** Germany **2**

UK: Gwynedd **41** Northamptonshire **2** West Midlands **1** Yorkshire **1** Merseyside **8** Shropshire **4**

Lancashire **1** Staffordshire **6**

**16. How would you describe your national identity?†**

English <b>11</b>	Scottish <b>1</b>	Welsh <b>21</b>	Northern Irish <b>0</b>	British <b>33</b>	Irish <b>0</b>
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Other: American **1** European **4** Jamaican **1** Scouse **3** White **4**

No response **2**

## Richmond Castle, Yorkshire

### 1. Why did/do you visit Richmond Castle?\*

Interested in history/archaeology 62	Interested in Arthur 0	Interest in the area 6	Good place to walk 0	'Must-see' site 0	Work 0
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Other: Bring family/friend 2 Passing through 4

### 2. There have been tales of King Arthur related to Richmond Castle – have you heard of any?

Yes 27	No 77
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No response 2

### 3. What stories have you heard about Richmond Castle?

RCY1V: [None]

RCY2V: And the Drummer Boy! Well, King Arthur and his knights are supposed to be asleep under here [points to ground]. And the Drummer Boy disappeared, never to be seen again!

RCY3V: He [my husband] likes history and all that, and we know about Arthur being – well, supposedly – asleep under the castle.

RCY4V: Just that it was an interesting castle.

RCY5V: I heard that it was a big castle that was quite well-preserved.

RCY6V: Just what I've read in the book by the National Trust [English Heritage] – that he had associations with here. And isn't there something about a ghost that blows a trumpet or something? Or a drum? Isn't the little drummer boy connected?

RCY7V: Something about him being here – can't really remember the details.

RCY8V: Just the history of it – that it was an early castle from Norman times.

RCY9V: [None]

RCY10V: Only heard that there was a castle here.

RCY11V: That it's a medieval castle.

RCY12V: That it was an important castle when the Normans arrived.

RCY13V: That the Normans built it when they conquered England.

RCY14V: That this was a pleasant castle to come to with lots of history – from the Normans to the First World War.

RCY15V: We came because we knew it was an interesting medieval castle that was established by the Normans. It's got lots of fascinating history that we want the grandchildren to learn.

RCY16V: That it was a castle from the Norman period, but it was used until the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

RCY17V: [None]

RCY18V: Only that it was an interesting castle to visit.

RCY19V: We stopped on our way on our walk as we saw it was a good place to visit with lots of history and that it was quite an important place during the Norman period.

RCY20V: I've heard about Robin Hood's Tower here.

RCY21V: There's a Robin Hood's Tower here – but he's not Arthur!

RCY22V: Not about Arthur, but that's quite unusual, I'd say. I think all I've heard is that's a Norman castle, and I've just seen the World War I stuff.

RCY23V: I would have thought that this was more Robin Hood country.

RCY24V: This isn't where I'd put Arthur – it's the wrong time as well, isn't it? I know this is a castle, something that the Normans built. I didn't think Arthur got up here – he's down at Tintangel [Tintagel], that's where I thought.

RCY25V: That it's a castle with lots of history.

RCY26V: This castle was built by the Normans, and was in use for hundreds of years, even up to the First World War, when they had prisoners here.

RCY27V: Wasn't he s'posed to be buried here? Yes [pause]. And we've been to Cornwall in the past few weeks – he's supposed to be down there an' all!

RCY28V: Meant to be buried underneath here, or something. Gets around!

RCY29V: [None]

RCY30V: That there were Normans up here quite soon after conquering England – they built the castle on some land given to them by the king.

RCY31V: Somebody in the local pub was saying that the *father* of King Arthur was here – I don't know any more than that.

RCY32V: [None]

RCY33V: He's more down Tintagel way, isn't he?

RCY34V: I heard that there were objectors to the War imprisoned here – an interesting way to use a castle!

RCY35V: I saw a programme on TV where he was linked to places in Somerset. I wouldn't really place him here, but any story that adds to the history of the place is good. This [place] I only know for the Normans.

RCY36V: [None]

RCY37V: Heard about the conscientious objectors.

RCY38V: [None]

RCY39V: Just that it's a Norman castle.

RCY40V: That this was a Norman castle that was in use [for] a long time.

RCY41V: Only that this was where advancing Normans built their castle and took over the area.

RCY42V: Nothing. It would be nice to hear about unusual things about places like this.

RCY43V: [None]

RCY44V: [None]

RCY45V: I read a little bit about it in the heritage book, but I've not gone deeply into it. Some mention of him here.

RCY46V: We know it's a castle – that's about it.

RCY47V: Only that it's a medieval castle, and they used it during the Great War.

RCY48V: Haven't heard anything like that, I'm afraid. I saw that little bit on the objectors during the War, but apart from that and the Normans I'm not sure about anything else.

RCY49V: It's a castle, built by the Normans. I think they must have moved here pretty quickly by what it [the information board] says about the foundation.

RCY50V: It was built by advancing Normans – well, I think actually the king, William the Conqueror, granted this land to a friend of his, and that's why the castle's here. A very romantic location.

RCY51V: Unfortunately nothing, really. We know it's a medieval castle, perfect for lots of those sorts of romances. I'd like to hear more about all those kinds of legends.

RCY52V: Nothing much. There's a Robin Hood Tower, but I don't know why it's called that.

RCY53V: It's a castle, in use for a long time. I'd like to know more about the different stories linked to it – it's a wonderful setting.

RCY54V: Nothing about Arthur – he's not from 'round here! It's just a castle, as far as I'm aware.

RCY55V: Just about the Normans, et cetera.

RCY56V: Nothing. There are quite a few things around that tell you about the history of the place, which is good, sort of sets the scene of the castle. But I'd like to hear more about myths and legends too, just for some fun.

RCY57V: Thought we'd come here, seeing as it's a castle. Obviously it's medieval, but that's all I know.

RCY58V: It's from the Middle Ages, so I'd like to hear those sorts of stories too!

RCY59V: We just read in the book on English Heritage – they made a comment that Arthur was supposed to be here with some of his knights.

RCY60V: A little note in a book on Arthur coming here or being here with his knights.

RCY61V: Nothing. It's a castle – that's about it.

RCY62V: Not much.

RCY63V: No real stories, unfortunately. That would be good, if we could have that information on boards all over the place. I've seen from those that it's Norman, built quite early.

RCY64V: It's a castle, built by the Normans, but I saw this thing about the prisoners in the War. I never knew that, how fascinating. Great to hear something unexpected about a place.

RCY65V: Just that it's a Norman castle.

RCY66V: It's a castle from the Norman conquest, but other than that I don't know any other stories.

RCY67V: Nothing – only that it's a castle!

RCY68V: Haven't heard any stories other than this was established after the Normans came.

RCY69V: Nothing, really. Heard about the Objectors in the First World War.

RCY70V: Only that it's a castle but that it was also used during the Great War.

RCY71V: A Norman castle but used in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Very interesting how these places continue.

RCY72V: Nothing, until I came here, then learned about all the different periods the castle was used in, like during World War I.

RCY73V: Well, there's supposed to be a Robin Hood Tower here, isn't there? That's more of a person you'd put here: Robin Hood, rather than Arthur.

RCY74V: He's meant to be here with his knights, ain't he? But then again, you also have a Robin Hood's Tower there [points to tower], and he'd be more relevant 'round here [pause]. But isn't there a Little Drummer Boy too? What's that about? I'm sure there was something about that and Easby [Abbey].

RCY75R: King Arthur resided around Easby Abbey and Richmond Castle. While there he was famous for baking cakes which he would distribute to the community when they came to visit.

RCY76R: None

RCY77R: [Blank]

RCY78R: Scots Dike could have been eastern boundary of Rheged. Name "Catterick"

RCY79R: [Blank]

RCY80R: [Blank]

RCY81R: The Little Drummer Boy

RCY82R: [Blank]

RCY83R: None

RCY84R: Little Drummer Boy sent under castle tunell [sic], to be followed above ground listening for the drum. Sound stopped [on the] way to Easby[.] Boy never returned!!

RCY85R: [Questionnaire destroyed]

RCY86R: That a local man went into the woods near the castle and found a cave when [where] he pulled out a sword out of a stone[.] He saw King Arthur and the Knight[s] of the round table.

RCY87R: [Blank]

RCY88R: That King Arthur & his Knights of the Round Table sleep beneath the castle. Ref. "The Story of Richmond in North Yorkshire" by David Brooks (Page 44/45) 1946[.] No publisher[.] No ISBN number

RCY89R: The most famous legend in Richmond (which is incidentally the original Richmond town name in the world)! is that of the little Drummer Boy, who, it is said, plays his drums in a tunnel from the castle down to an abbey (underground)

RCY90R: [Blank]

RCY91R: [Blank]

RCY92R: *Dear Tina, I am an 88 year old new resident of Richmond so I really don't know much about the castle at the moment. I'm sorry I can't be of any help to you, but I do wish you good luck on your research and hope you get your PhD. Best wishes, [name]*

RCY93R: Tales of Arthur and his Knights sleeping beneath the castle and of Potter Thompson who staggering home one evening, (perhaps a little drunk) fell through a hole and came upon them, seeing a horn on the table he picked it up, then heard a voice urging him to blow it and wake them. Sadly he didn't as it scared him and he ran away.

RCY94R: I've hear stories of Arthur but [the] same stories from Carlisle and Wales. So maybe its [sic] because Richmond Castle is of about the right time in history. The other story is of cause [course] the Drummer Boy, but as kids we were shown the post marking where the drumming stopped at easby [sic] but also near this post there is a stone shaped like a hand and at certain time of the day if you place your hand on the stone you can feel the drummer boy drumming, wether [sic] its [sic] the river next to it I dont [sic] know but there's something there, although it was 35 years since I last did it.

RCY95R: Aparently [sic] conciently [conscientious] objectors were enclosed in Richmond castle (don't know from which war 1914-18 1939-45 but aparently [sic] theres [sic] one of the rooms in the castle with writing on the wall done by some of these men

RCY96R: That he, his Knights and the Round Table are buried under the castle. We know this t be complete ballony [sic] too. Oh, and Drummer Boy story – more likely, but unlikely.

RCY97R: The one tale I can recall is about King Arthur being buried under the castle keep!! Along with the Knights of the Round Table.

RCY98R: Look up the story of the Little Drummer Boy of Richmond Castle.

RCY99R: [Blank]

RCY100R: [Blank]

RCY101R: As a child I recall being taught about King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table – Like religion I have retained this knowledge and sincerely hope it is the truth.

RCY102R: Mainly about the caves under the castle and the Drummer Boy sent down into the tunnels[.] I would love to know more about the tunnels [but] nobody seems to be able to verify that they exist. There are also stories of a reservoir under the obelisk in the market square. There are lots of caves, potholes etc. along the cliffs of the Swale. My son and his pals have explored

most of them as young boys do! We do have a Pottergate[,] I don't know if that is linked to Thomas Potter who allegedly [sic] disturbed Arthur[.] I would love to know more. Good luck with your research.

RCY103R: That King Arthur has been sleeping under the Castle till England needs him!

RCY104R: [Blank]

RCY105R: Potter Thompson – stumbling across King Arthur and his sleeping Knights. Two small caves near Round House – one was called King Arthur's oven and the other his cave. The possibility of tunnels linking from the castle to various points.

RCY106R: None in particular, have heard that Arthur is buried within the castle grounds

**4. Where did you hear this?†**

Family/friends 22	Books/leaflets 51	Film/television 1	Internet 6	Local museum/ tourist office 5	Can't remember 1
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Other: Local person 1 Map 1 School 1 Site interpretation board 10

No response 22

**5. Do you think tales of Arthur at Richmond Castle should be promoted more?**

Yes 76	No 16	Don't know 11
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No response 2

**6. Why?/Why not?†**

It is/could be true 11	Attract more interest in the site/entertaining 43	Part of the site's history 39	Part of local people's history/heritage 32
Part of humanity's history/heritage 5	Not historically accurate/true 15	It's promoted well enough 0	Don't really know much about it 9

Other: Atmospheric 1 Fun 1 Know more about a place 3 Obvious they are legends 1 Robin Hood more relevant to area 1 Touristy 1

No response 2

**7. Do you consider Arthur to be any of the following...?†**

Celtic 8	British 31	Roman 1	English 46	Welsh 3	Scottish 1	French 2
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Other: Anything 3 Cornish 9 Don't know 11 Mythical 4 Wessex 1 West Country 5

No response 2

**8. Do you think *tales of Arthur* at Richmond Castle are significant to the image, history and heritage of England?**

Yes 61	No 20	Don't know 21
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No response 4

**9. Do you consider *Richmond Castle* to be significant to the image, history and heritage of England?**

Yes 97	No 4	Don't know 2
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No response 3

**10. Do you consider Richmond Castle to be part of *your* heritage?**

Yes 95	No 7	Don't know 1
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No response 2



**11. Why?/Why not?†**

Living in the same area 33	Cultural/social 14	Inheriting the archaeology 30	Grew up with stories about Arthur 12	Heritage of this country, therefore my heritage 63
Heritage of all humanity 7	Too distant/irrelevant 4	Social/cultural/religious difference 0	Not from this area/country 2	Don't know/doesn't 'feel' like my heritage 5

Other: Ancestral 7 Born in area 2 "Feeling" 3 Interest 1 "Proud" 1  
No response 2

**12. Gender**

Male 45	Female 58
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No response 3

**13. Age**

18-24 1	25-34 4	35-44 11	45-54 17	55-64 31	65+ 39
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No response 3

**14. Where were you born?**

Australia 2 Netherlands 1 Yemen 1

UK: Cambridgeshire 3 Cheshire 3 Co. Durham 9 Cumbria 2 Dorset 1 Gwynedd 1 Hampshire 1 Lancashire 8 Lincolnshire 6 London 3 Norfolk 1 Northamptonshire 2 Nottinghamshire 1 Powys 2 Strathclyde 2 Sussex 2 Tyne & Wear 5 Warwickshire 2 West Midlands 2 Wiltshire 1 Yorkshire 27  
No response 18

**15. Where is your normal place of residence?\***

Australia 4

UK: Berkshire 2 Cambridgeshire 2 Cheshire 2 Co. Durham 5 Cumbria 3 Devon 2 Essex 2 Lancashire 8 Lincolnshire 7 London 2 Norfolk 2 Nottinghamshire 1 Powys 2 Strathclyde 2 Tyne & Wear 5 West Midlands 1 Yorkshire 53

**16. How would you describe your national identity?†**

English 57	Scottish 3	Welsh 3	Northern Irish 0	British 37	Irish 0
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Other: Australian 2 International 2 Lancastrian 2 None 1 Yorkshireman 4  
No response 2

## APPENDIX E

### RELEVANT MOTIFS

- A511. Birth and rearing of culture hero (demigod)
- A511.1. Birth of culture hero
- A531.2. Culture hero banishes snakes
- A511.3.2. Culture hero reared (educated) by extraordinary (supernatural) personages
- A536.1. Culture hero (saint) defends Ireland against foreign invasions
- A571.1. Culture hero still alive in hollow hill
- A580. Culture hero's (divinity's) expected return
- A941.5. Spring breaks forth through power of saint
- A941.5.1. Spring breaks forth where saint smites rock
- A969.1. Mountain from buried giant
- A972.1.1. Indentions on rocks from footprints of Christ
- A972.3. Holes in stones caused by piercing by saint's finger
- A972.5.3. Indentions on rock from paws of King Arthur's dog
- A972.5.4. Indentions on rocks from weapons, knees, and elbows (of persons slain by hero)
- A972.5.6. Hole in stone caused by weapon of warrior
- A972.6. Indentions on rocks caused by giants
- A974. Rocks from transformation of people to stone
- A988. Cairn marks burial place
- A989.4. Pile of stones (cairn) marks site of battle
- B11.6.2. Dragon guards treasure
- B11.11. Fight with dragon
- B73. Sea-cat
- B147.2.1.1. Raven as bird of good omen
- B184.3.1. Magic boar
- B877.1.2. Giant sea monster overpowered by saint
- C773.1. Taboo: making unreasonable requests
- D6. Enchanted castle (building)
- D150. Transformation: man to bird
- D658.2. Transformation to husband's (lover's) form to seduce woman
- D762.2. Disenchantment by being wakened from magic sleep by proper agent
- D789.10. Disenchantment by ringing bell
- D791.1. Disenchantment at end of specified time
- D791.3. Disenchantment fails because conditions are not fulfilled
- D1153. Magic table
- D1641.2.5. Stones go down to stream to drink
- D1960.2. King asleep in mountain
- D2031.0.2. Fairies cause illusions
- E272. Road-ghosts
- E282. Ghosts haunt castle
- E402.3. Sound made by ghostly object
- E481.4.1. Avalon
- E501. The Wild Hunt
- E501.1.1. King as wild huntsman
- E501.2.1. Knights in wild hunt
- E501.4.1. Dogs in wild hunt

E501.11.1.3. Wild hunt appears on St. John's Night  
 E501.11.1.4. Wild hunt appears on stormy nights  
 E501.11.2.1. Wild hunt appears in winter  
 E501.11.2.2. Wild hunt appears between Christmas and Twelfth Night  
 E501.12.5. Wild hunt appears by hill or mountain  
 E501.15.7. Wild huntsman waters his horse  
 E501.18. Evil effects of meeting wild hunt  
 E501.18.1. Wild hunt harmful to certain persons  
 E501.18.6. Sight of wild hunt renders person insane  
 E501.18.10. Sight of wild hunt causes death  
 E501.19. Remedy for effects of seeing wild hunt  
 E501.20. Wild hunt as omen  
 E502. The Sleeping Army  
 E613.7. Reincarnation as raven  
 E715.1.6. Soul in raven  
 F211.0.1. Prehistoric burial mounds as dwellings of fairies  
 F211.1.1. Door to fairyland opens once a year  
 F222.1. Fairies' underground palace  
 F241.0.1. Fairy animal hunted  
 F244. Fairies' treasure  
 F271. Fairies as labourers  
 F271.5. Fairies clear land  
 F329.1. Fairies carry off youth; he has gift of prophecy when he returns to earth (Thomas the Rhymer)  
 F379.4. Saint visits king of fairies on invitation of fairy king  
 F388. Fairies depart  
 F451.5.9.3. Dwarfs dislike church bells  
 F531.3.2. Giant throws a great rock  
 F531.6.1. Giants live in mountains or caves  
 F531.6.12.6. Giant slain by man  
 F531.6.13. Graves of giants  
 F713.2. Bottomless lakes (pools, etc.)  
 F713.3. Lake monster turning over causes lake to overflow surrounding mountains  
 F718. Extraordinary well  
 F721.1. Underground passages  
 F721.4. Underground treasure chambers  
 F771.3.5.1. House inside mountain  
 F790. Extraordinary sky and weather phenomena  
 F852.2. Golden coffin  
 F942. Man sinks into earth  
 F960.4. Extraordinary nature phenomena at anger of saint  
 G275.8. Hero kills witch  
 G308.1. Fight with sea (lake) monster  
 H257. Holiness of saint tested: asked to perform miracles  
 L325.1. Victory over superior force: one against many  
 L410. Proud ruler (deity) humbled  
 M183.3. Vow to find Holy Grail before returning to Round Table  
 N250.2. Persecution by bad luck  
 N501. Where treasure is found

N511.3.2. Treasure placed in old fortifications by supernatural beings  
N512. Treasure in underground chamber (cavern)  
N516. Treasure at end of rainbow  
N573. Sleeping king in mountain as guardian of treasure  
N576. Ghosts prevent man from raising treasure  
N848. Saint (pious man) as helper  
P23.5. War to avenge queen's abduction  
P29.4. Queen (empress, lady) becomes nun  
P672.1. Fur made of beards of conquered kings  
R315. Cave as refuge  
S74.1. Nephew (niece) kills uncle  
VII.3. Place where a church must be built miraculously indicated  
V134. Sacred wells  
V144.1. Sacred relics carried into battle to aid victory  
V229.3. Saint banishes snakes  
V229.4. Saint overcomes (destroys) monsters (dragons)  
V229.24. Saint turns snakes to stones  
V268.5. Image of Virgin Mary works miracles  
Z254. Destined hero

## APPENDIX F

### GLOSSARY

**Allomotif.** Interchangeable details (*variants*) in *folk narratives* that fulfil the same function and do not alter the overall meaning/nature of the narrative.

**Custom.** A purposive action performed by members of a social group within a particular context, the meaning of which is understood by others within that group, and often expected, passed down generations (see *Tradition*).

**Fabulate.** A narrative told not with the intention that it is to be believed, but often for entertaining purposes or to relate some moral or other meaningful message. Often contains supernatural/fantastical or otherwise ‘unreal’ elements.

**Folklore.** The creation, enactment and reproduction of *traditions* of a group of people sharing one or more commonalities in relation to social, cultural, religious, political, economic and/or environmental contexts, transmitted orally, visually, by imitation or by other practice-based and active means. The term may also be used as a shorthand for ‘folklore studies’ or ‘folkloristics’ – the collection, study, analysis and interpretation of this material, and can thus refer to the discipline and the materials of study of that discipline. The term, developed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by William Thoms, is derived from the German *volk* (people/nation) and *kunde* (information); the term *volkskunde* developed in early 19<sup>th</sup> century Germany with the rise of romantic nationalism, but was maligned after the Second World War because of its connection to National Socialism. In Scandinavia, an equivalent to the term ‘folklore’ is little used, and terms such as *folketro* (folk belief) and *folkesagn* (*folktales*) have instead been coined.

**Folk narrative.** The verbal/written communication of a particular social group that holds some meaningful/explanatory value for that group. Folk narratives constitute the most common category of *folklore*, and include *myths*, *legends*, *folktales*, fables, songs, poems, and so on.

**Folktale.** A localised, meaningful narrative comprised of a plot and a cast of characters (human or otherwise), often told in entertaining contexts. Events of a folktale can be set in any time and in any place (this world, fairyland, or any distant or unknown place), and does not aim to represent the reality of the world that engendered it, often featuring aspects not found in the ‘real’ world. Folktales are thus *fabulates*, and are also often referred to by the German term *märchen*.

**Genre.** A general classification of *folklore* items, i.e. customary, material, verbal.

**Legend.** A meaningful, localised narrative of past events told as believable and is thus a symbolic representation of the beliefs of a social group. Legends are set in the world in which the society who engenders the narrative inhabits. They are often related in conversational mode, meaning that they are not necessarily plot-driven, and may sometimes only refer to one character/being.

**Märchen.** German term loosely equivalent to *folktale* employed by folklorists, often translated as ‘fairy tale’. Typically *fabulates*, märchen often relate narratives of fantastical beings, such as fairies, elves, giants, trolls, goblins and so on, or may be set in a ‘fairyland’ or otherwise unknown/otherworldly place, at any time.

**Memorate.** See *Oral history*.

**Motif.** The smallest element of a *folk narrative* that persists in other (variant or different) narratives. A number of motifs can be found in a single narrative and in various combinations. Classified by Stith Thompson (1966) into categories and given codes comprising of a letter (representing the category) and numbers or a series of numbers.

**Myth.** Narrative set in the remote past of a different world, or of this world in an earlier age/era, with the intention of describing reality, and therefore representative of the cosmological or other beliefs of the society to whom the myth belongs. Often reflects the ideals of the reality of a social group.

**Oral history.** The personal experience of an individual communicated first-hand by that individual, often connected to others' narratives with shared experiences and to the broader historical context.

**Oral tradition.** A body of beliefs or other narratives held collectively by a social group, passed down through word-of-mouth.

**Tale-type.** The combination of a set of *motifs* to produce a unique/particular narrative; stories thus have only one tale-type. Each tale-type is identified by a number, currently referred to as the ATU number after the compilers Aarne-Thompson-Uther (2004).

**Tradition.** A set of *customs* performed and passed on to successive generations within a social group. Generally considered to have become established after transmission for three generations, although the timespan of any one generation can vary.

**Variant.** A narrative that is frequently found in various contexts, but possesses slight differences through, for example, *allomotifs*, characters, settings or plot-twists.