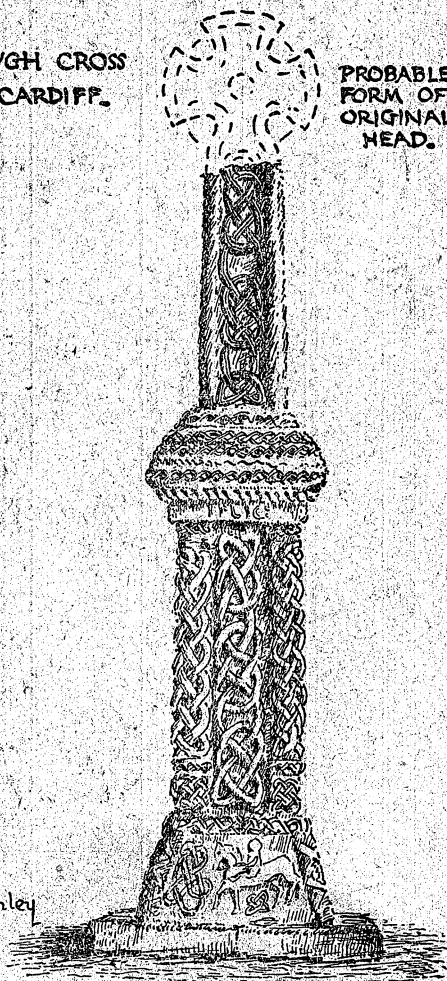


CORNISH SAINTS" SERIES, No. 40.

Saint Cadoc in Cornwall and Brittany.

LLANDOUGH CROSS
NEAR CARDIFF.

PROBABLE
FORM OF
ORIGINAL
HEAD.



M.H.N.C. Archley
1936

An Old Welsh Cross.

By CANON G. H. DOBLE, M.A.

"CORNISH SAINTS" SERIES, No. 40.

St. Cadoc in Cornwall and Brittany

BY THE

Rev. GILBERT H. DOBLE, M.A.

*Vicar of Wendron, Honorary Canon of Truro
Cathedral and Examining Chaplain to the Lord
Bishop of Truro.*

Author of

'S. Mawes,' 'S. Euny,' 'S. Mawgan,' 'S. Winwaloe,'
'S. Corentin,' 'S. Hermes,' 'S. Carantoc,' 'S.
Gwinear,' 'S. Melaine,' 'S. Feock,' 'S. German,'
'SS. Mewan & Austol,' 'S. Petrock,' 'SS. Docco
& Kew,' 'S. Melor,' 'S. Nonna,' 'S. Brioc,' 'SS.
Sithney & Elwin,' 'S. Senan,' 'Four Saints of the
Fal,' 'S. Neot,' 'S. Selevan,' 'S. Tudy,' 'S. Clether,'
'S. Cuby,' 'A John Wesley of Armorican Cornwall,'
'SS. Nectan & Keyne and the children of Brychan
in Cornwall,' 'S. Constantine & S. Merryn,' 'S.
Symphorian,' 'Two Cornish Parishes in the Eight-
eenth Century,' 'S. Decuman,' 'Breage in the
Eighteenth Century,' 'S. Perran, S. Keverne & S.
Kerrian,' 'S. Augustine of Canterbury in Anjou,'
'Les Saints du Cornwall,' 'Les Saints Bretons,'
'S. Gudwal,' 'S. Day,' 'Cornish Church Kalendar,'
'Some Remarks on the Exeter Martyrology,'
'Miracles at S. Michael's Mt. in 1262,' 'S. Meriadoc,'
'S. Samson in Cornwall,' 'S. Yvo,' 'S. Sulian & S.
Tysilio,' 'S. Gennys,' 'The Lanalet Pontifical,' 'S.
Budoc,' etc.

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Église catholique
en Finistère

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SAINT CADOC IN CORNWALL AND BRITTANY.

In the parish of Padstow, near the shores of Harlyn Bay, are the ruins of what was once a very important Chapel dedicated to Saint Cadoc(1). The building of this chapel is described in the 12th century *Life of S. Cadoc*. Close to it was one of the most famous holy wells in Cornwall, which is mentioned twice in the *Life* of the saint, and is also referred to, three centuries later, in the Itinerary of William Worcester, the first visitor to Cornwall who has left us a detailed account of his tour (the *Notabilia per W. Worcester scripta in viagio de Bristolia ad Montem Sancti Michaelis* was written in anno Christi 1478). In a recent study on Saint Maugan(2), the patron of the church of the adjoining parish of Mawgan, which is only a short distance from S. Cadoc's Chapel, I have shown how both Welsh tradition and the topography of Cornwall and Brittany seem to point to a connection between these two famous Welsh saints. It appears worth while to attempt to follow up this clue by studying the cult of S. Cadoc in Cornwall. In this way we might eventually be able to throw some light on the Christian origins of this part of the county.

Saint Cadoc is one of the chief saints of Wales. He was the founder of the great monastery of Llancarvan (originally *Nanteicarvan*) in Glamorgan, one of the largest and most famous in Wales, where (according to his *Life*) he "fed daily a hundred clergymen, and a hundred soldiers, and a hundred workmen, and a hundred poor persons, with the same number of widows, and many guests besides," and where some of the

(1) See Appendix I. *The Chapel of S. Cadoc at Harlyn Bay*.

(2) "*Cornish Saints*" series, No. 39.

Llangadog in Amlwch
ANGLESEA

Brecon

Llangadog

Crickhowel

Llangattock

Lingbed

Glyn Ael

Monmouth

Abergavenny

Llangattock-nigh-Verk

S. Cadoc Penros

Raglan

Llanover (Trevetlin)

Gelligaer

Cadoxton-juxta-Neath

Cheriton

Porthinion

Kidwelly

Bletherstone

Liawhaden

Penttyrch

Caeicleon

Pendulwyn

Llanmaes

Llanedern

Llangarvan

Cadoxton-juxta-Barry

(1) E.g. *Jacob Abbas Catoci* and *Gnouan Abbas altaris Catoci* are witnesses to charters printed on pp. 136 and 170 of Rees's edition of the *Liber Landavensis* (1840).

how many churches bearing the name of a Celtic saint were his personal foundations and how many were daughter establishments of one of his monasteries, but in any case the great number of places called *Llangattoek* or *Cadorton*, or where the church is dedicated to him, shows the extent of his influence, direct or indirect(1).

The *Life of S. Cadoc*, written by a Norman monk called Lifris(2) some time in the 12th century, is found in a collection of Latin Lives of Welsh Saints in a MS. at the British Museum (Vesp. A. xiv.), probably written, as Mr. Robin Flower has shown, at Brecon Priory, which was printed by Preb. W. J. Rees in 1853 in *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*(3). It is much the longest *Life* in the book. It contains a very

(1) Several scholars have confused S. Cadoc with S. Docco, the eponym of two Llandoughs in Glamorgan and of Docco (now St. Kew) in Cornwall. They are quite distinct. See J. Loth, "Saint-Doccus et l'hagio-onomastique" in *Mém. de la Soc. d'Hist. de Bretagne*, 1929.

(2) He may be the "Lifric, archdeacon of Glamorgan, *magister* of St. Cadoc at Nantcarvan," son of Herwald, Bishop of Llandaff (who died in 1104 after being bishop for 48 years). The numerous sentences or phrases which occur alike in the *Vita Cadoci* and in two *Lives* composed by Caradoc of Llancarvan (d. 1156 ?)—the *Vita Sancti Cungari* and the *Vita Sancti Gildae*, led the late Dr. Armitage Robinson, Dean of Wells, to conclude that "the writer of the Life of St. Cadoc had before him the Life of St. Cungar, and probably also the Life of St. Gildas . . . by Caradoc of Llancarvan" (*Journal of Theological Studies*, 1921, pp. 15-20). M. Ferdinand Lot however thinks that the *Vita Cadoci* is older than the other two *Lives*, and was copied by Caradoc of Llancarvan, rather than vice versa. (*Mélanges d'Histoire Bretonne*. Paris, 1907, p. 268). Dean Robinson's view is accepted by the Bollandists. For the early history of Nantcarvan see Wade-Evans, *The Llancarvan Charters*, in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1932, pp. 151—165.

(3) It was full of errors, which were to some extent corrected by Prof. Kuno Meyer in *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. XIII. An entirely new version of the *Vita Cadoci* has just been discovered at Gotha. See Appendix IV.

large number of local traditions of Lllancarvan and other places in South Wales—it is in part a Cartulary of Lllancarvan, which make it of great value to the historian, though we must not expect to find in it a trustworthy biography of the saint. It was written six hundred years after the time of S. Cadoc, and the author knew very little of the true story of his life. He has collected some stories about him handed down in a mangled form by oral tradition, mixed with much Welsh folklore,—it is possible that he may have seen an older written *Life*; and he adds numerous fancies of his own. He represents him as the descendant of a long line of Roman emperors, all descended from Augustus in unbroken succession from father to son. He ends the story of the saint's career by relating how one Palm Sunday, after preaching to the people for two hours, he was carried off by a cloud to Southern Italy, and deposited at Beneventum, where he became Abbot and Bishop, under the name of S. Sophias, and afterwards died as a martyr. The visit to Beneventum seems to be his improvement of a story he found of how Cadoc retired from Nantcarvan to Abergavenny or one of his foundations near Abergavenny—the ancient Gobannium, identified by Holder and Haverfield with the *Bannium* of the geographer of Ravenna. Abergavenny is the centre of a thick cluster of churches dedicated to S. Cadoc (no less than 10). Lifris knew that near Beneventum in Campania was “an ancient and celebrated church of Saint Sophia”(1), so he tells us that his hero bore the alternative name of *Sophias*.

The *Life* of S. Cadoc represents him as pre-eminently a great traveller. He visits Jerusalem

(1) See *Analecta Bollandiana*, L. 416. The newly-discovered Gotha version of the *Vita Cadoci* says “who lies buried at the city of Beneventum, as some say. Others say he is buried at St. David's in Wales.” See Appendix IV.

three times, and Rome seven times. He also visits Greece, Ireland, Scotland, Cornwall and Brittany. Pilgrimages to Rome and Jerusalem are, as M. Duine has pointed out, a characteristic feature of *Lives* of Celtic saints composed in the 12th century,—they occur, for example, in the *Lives* of SS. David, Patern, Teilo, Tudual, Petroc and Budoc; and hagiographers of Wales and Cornwall considered a visit to Ireland a necessary incident to be inserted in the story of their particular hero, whether he be Petroc or Cuby or Carantoc: but the references to the other three Celtic countries are in a different category and may be based on really ancient traditions. Topography shows that the church of Cambuslang, on the Clyde, above Glasgow, is dedicated to S. Cadoc (the Kilmarnock Hills close by may be, Bishop Forbes suggests, the *Mons Bannawc* of c. 22 of the *Vita Cadoci*)(1), and S. Machan, a saint who has many dedications in the Lowlands, is “said to have been the disciple of S. Cadoc.” He had a chapel dedicated to him in Cornwall, as we have seen, which must have been regarded as under his patronage for at least a century before the *Vita Cadoci* was written, since he is invoked in the 11th century Exeter Litany, and is mentioned in the Exeter Martyrology, which dates from about the same period(2),—there was no other dedication to him in the diocese of Exeter which could account for the inclusion of

(1) Dr. W. J. Watson, in his important short article on S. Cadoc and his cult in Scotland (*Scottish Gaelic Studies*, vol. II. pp. 1—12, Edinburgh 1927) suggests that “it is the old name of the range of hills about the basin of the river Carron in Stirlingshire from the north side of which the Bannock Burn flows into the Forth.” (In this article it seems to me Dr. Watson has been misled by the mistaken identification of Cadoc with Docco).

(2) 24th January. “Item, in Cornubia, sancti Cadoci confessoris.” Both S. Cadoc and S. Maucan are invoked in the Litany. See my “S. Mawgan,” pp. 7, 8.

his name in its liturgical books: while in Brittany he has a widespread popular cult.

It would require a volume to study the whole of the *Life of S. Cadoc* in detail and to discuss his place in the ecclesiastical history of Wales. This must be left to Welsh scholars. I propose to limit our present enquiries to the cult of the saint in Cornwall and Brittany.

I.

One of the most remarkable features of this *Life* is the intimate knowledge of Cornwall and Brittany possessed by its author. His Preface contains an account of S. Petroc and his monastery at *Botmenei* (Bodmin), which shows that Lifris must either have visited Bodmin, or at any rate known it well by reputation.

"There formerly reigned in a district of the region of Britain which is called Demetia [Dyfed] a prince named Gluiguis [Glywys] . . . whose eldest son was called Gundleius [Gwynllyw] . . . His brothers . . . divided their father's kingdom among themselves, allotting a province to each, except only to Petroc, the fourth son, who rejected a transitory inheritance in order to obtain one which is eternal. . . . Petroc forsook his native land, his brothers, and all this world's goods, became a pilgrim, and at length, in obedience to God's call, came into the land of the Cornish, to the territory which is called Botmenei; and there served God devotedly all his life; and a very large monastery is there built in his honour; and his festival is observed there as a Feast of the First Class (*venerabiliter, velut precipue sanctorum Solempnitates*) on the 4th of June."

On his way to Bodmin Lifris, or his informant, must have stopped at Padstow, which, of course, was on the route which everyone coming from Wales invariably followed, and there he must have seen the Holy Well and Chapel of S. Cadoc at Harlyn Bay, which he thus describes in c. 27.

"27. *How Saint Cadoc in Cornwall caused by his prayers a health-giving fountain to flow.*

. . . When the same most illustrious man had come from the Mount of Saint Michael, which is known to be in the region of the Cornishmen, and is called in the idiom of that province Dinsol, and there the same archangel is honoured by all who come thither; being wearied with his journey, he was very thirsty. Now the place where he was was exceedingly dry, so the blessed Cadoc struck the ground with his staff, and immediately a copious spring began to well forth from the soil, and there both he and those who accompanied him drank, as of old did the people of Israel in the wilderness, when Moses smote the rock with his rod and the waters poured forth abundantly. When all had quenched their thirst, he said to his companions, "Let us pray, brethren, to the merciful God, that all the sick who shall come to this holy fountain may receive, by the gift of His grace, healing of all their diseases; and that, as it has quenched our burning thirst, so it may cure their malignant sores. If any sick person, firmly trusting in the Lord, drinks of this well, his belly and bowels shall be healed, and worms therefrom expelled." Later, when Cornish folk of either sex had seen frequent cures continually wrought, by God's goodness, at this same fountain, they built a Chapel (*ecclesiolam*) of stone in honour of Saint Cadoc by the fountain."

A page or two further on he refers to the well again.

"30. *Of the mixture of the water of Jordan with [that of] the Cornish Well* (1).

The gentle Cadoc, desiring to go on pilgrimage, visited the *limina* of Saint Peter, and afterwards Jerusalem, and finally the river of Jordan, from which he filled a skin and brought it back with him to Britain; and he poured

(1) The rest of the heading of this chapter is a sentence that has got misplaced in Rees's edition and really belongs to the text. *Post temporis intercapidinem velle mancipavit effectui* should follow *Cupiens almus Cadocus peregrinari*, as the Gotha version proves (see App. IV.). In mediaeval Latin *velle* is a substantive, meaning *wish* (cf. old French *avel*).

the sacred water he had brought into the aforesaid fountain, which he had caused to flow in the province of Cornwall (in *Cornubiensi provincia*) by his prayers. And the fountain became more holy by this means; previously it had indeed restored a few to health, but its healing powers were now increased a hundred-fold."

These two chapters show us that the author of the *Vita Cadoci* was particularly interested in the Holy Well at Harlyn Bay. It is difficult to explain or account for the second of the two stories he tells about it, but at any rate it shows that the well and its traditions had greatly appealed to him. The first legend is the more important for our purpose. We learn from it that Lifris knew the reputation of S. Cadoc's well for special healing powers, for which it was still famous, as we shall see(1), 300 years afterwards, and had heard the local legend about its origin. He also knew that there was a chapel of the saint close to the well. The legend he had been told stated that S. Cadoc had caused the spring to flow one day when he was returning from Dinsol. Now this passage is of very great interest for students of Cornish history. If it could be accepted as, in its present form, reliable, it would prove that S. Michael's Mount, the most beautiful and historic place in Cornwall, was once called *Dinsol*, and perhaps possessed a hill-fort (*din*) in which the sun, or the Celtic divinity Sul, was worshipped, and also contained at a later date a monastery visited by S. Cadoc and other Welsh monks—for a party who "accompanied him" is mentioned. The idea has been welcomed with rapture, as we should have supposed, by the poetical and imaginative. But the late Mr. Charles Henderson has suggested that the original tradition, embodied (we may conjecture) in an older *Life* utilized by Lifris, probably stated that the "mount" from which

(1) Appendix I.

Cadoc was returning was Denzell Downs (*Dynesel* 1241, *Dineselle* 1274), a hill 5 or 6 miles south of St. Cadoc's Chapel.

The problem needs careful examination and mature consideration. Canon Taylor (*St. Michael's Mount*, 1932, pp. 22, 23) is duly cautious, but seems disposed to doubt the identification of *Dinsol* with Denzell. "A six-mile walk," he remarks, "would hardly warrant an expedient so expensive." It might be replied that people do sometimes get thirsty on a hot day after a six-mile walk in the sun, and that a walk from a place so far away as St. Michael's Mt. (50 miles of practically road-less country) would be impossible long for S. Cadoc and his companions. But surely no-one to-day believes that Cadoc really caused the well to flow after a long walk, whether the walk was six or fifty miles. The story is of course a legend, the essential point of which for the historian to note is that tradition at Padstow associated S. Cadoc with a place called Dinsol. The writer of the *Vita Cadoci* is interested, not in St. Michael's Mount, but in the well near Padstow. He had heard, or read, a story that it first flowed on the saint's return from Dinsol, where there was a chapel of S. Michael. There may once have been a chapel of the archangel on Denzell Downs, as there was on many a Cornish hill, as there was, for example, on the great peak of Skyrrid Fawr facing the Sugarloaf Mountain near Abergavenny, which Cadoc must have known, and where he may have prayed(1). The original tradition may

(1) We do not know how old the cult of S. Michael in Cornwall is. The late M. Largillière says that "the cult of S. Michael in Brittany seems not to be older than the 11th century." Celtic monasticism however was inspired by that of Egypt, and many Coptic monasteries possess chapels of S. Michael on the roof (cf. *Antiquity*, Sept., 1930, p. 320). S. Cadoc may have introduced the cult of the archangel into Wales and Cornwall. But see Wade-Evans, *Welsh Christian Origins* (Oxford 1934), pp. 284, 5.

have been that the saint had a hermitage on this lonely hill, to which he retired occasionally—a very suitable and likely spot. (It is to be observed that there is a place called *Ballelacadeu* in Carloggas in Mawgan parish, 2 miles S.W. of Denzell. The name is unique in Cornwall, and reminds us of *Pleucadeuc* in Brittany(1)). Lifris has worked over the story, and identified Dynesel with the more famous St. Michael's Mount in West Cornwall. There would surely be some local tradition about S. Cadoc at St. Michael's Mount, if he had really been associated with it. But there is not. William Worcester records several stories he heard when he visited the Mount in 1472, but he does not mention either Dinsol or S. Cadoc(2).

(1) Cf. "S. Mawgan," p. 19, Pydar edition.

(2) Prof. Max Förster, of the University of Munich, has sent me the following valuable Note on *Dinsol*:—

"I should like to point out that the name *Dinsol* occurs also in the oldest tale of the Mabinogion, in the story of 'Kulhwch and Olwen.' When young Kulhwch, in quest of his future bride Olwen, comes to King Arthur's gate and the keeper of the gate will not admit him, Kulhwch threatens: 'I will give three cries of distress at the door of this gate, so that it will be not less audible on the top of Pengwaedd in Cornwall than in the depths of *Dinsol* in the North and in Esgair Oerfel in Ireland.' (*The Mabinogion*, a new translation by Ellis and J. Lloyd, Oxford, 1929, I. 175). The word *Gogledd*=North is usually connected with the British kingdom of Strathclyde. Now it seems pretty certain that the tale of Kulhwch and Olwen is much older in origin than the *Vita Cadoci*. Could Lifris have imperfectly remembered the phrase 'Pengwaedd [?Penwith] in Cornwall and *Dinsol* in the North,' and transferred *Dinsol* to Cornwall, and then identified it with St. Michael's Mount? Unfortunately we cannot be sure what *Dinsol* really means, though the first part (*din*) probably refers to a hill-fort. There was an old Celtic goddess *Sul* (cf. Old Irish *suil*=eye), but this word has in Welsh the form *haul* (sun), Old Cornish *Heul*. The British *sul* (Welsh *sul*, Cornish *sil*—or *sul* pronounced as *sil*) is a loanword from the Latin *sol*, and means *Sunday*. Cornish *u* and *o* could hardly be mixed or interchanged, unless we assume

It is true that another mediæval *Life* of a Welsh saint, the *Life* of S. Keyne, mentions St. Michael's Mount, and connects it both with S. Keyne and S. Cadoc. It tells us that "Saint Cadoc, visiting St. Michael's Mount on a pilgrimage, found his aunt Saint Keyna there"(1). I think however that the author of the *De Sancta Keyna*, which is a very late composition, the work of a monk of Margam Abbey in Glamorgan, simply copied the *Vita Cadoci*. It is quite likely that S. Keyne and S. Cadoc really were associated with each other. Kynechurch in Herefordshire is near two Llangattock parishes, *Capel Cain Wry* is near Llangadog Fawr in Carmarthenshire, and there is a *Ffynon Gain* in the parish of Blettherstone, near St. Cadoc's Chapel in Llawhaden in Pembrokeshire. S. Keyne has two churches, and a very famous well named after her, in East Cornwall, not a very great distance from Padstow. As the monk who wrote her *Life*, and who knew that tradition connected her with S. Cadoc, had read in the *Vita Cadoci* that S. Cadoc used to visit St. Michael's Mount, he sends S. Keyne there. But there is no evidence of any ancient cult of either saint at the Mount. Lifris's story no more *proves* that S. Cadoc visited St. Michael's Mount than that he visited Beneventum.

It is remarkable however that Breton tradition connects S. Cadoc with another St. Michael's Mount—the Mont St. Michel in Finistère. This lofty hill, crowned by a chapel of S. Michael, is the highest ground in Brittany, and can be

that a late scribe associated the word *sul* with the Latin *sol*, and introduced the wrong vowel *o*. Thirdly, there was another loanword, Old Cornish *sol* (later *sel*), a late borrowing from Latin *solum*=‘base, groundwork.’ So I doubt whether we are allowed to translate *Dinsol* as ‘Hill-fort of the Goddess Sul.’”

(1) "S. Nectan, S. Keyne," etc., No. 25 in this series, p. 38.

seen for miles round. Moreover it is in Cornouaille, and consequently Lifris's expression *in regione Cornubiensium* might be applied to it. The parish of *St-Cadou*, with an ancient church of S. Cadoc, lies at its foot northwards (on its eastern slope is a chapel dedicated to another Welsh saint—S. Caduan). It is possible that there may have been in this case some confusion or transference of traditions from one Cornwall to another (as has happened, e.g., in the case of S. Gwinear). At present we can do nothing but note the fact.

There is one more consideration to be weighed in connection with the cult of S. Cadoc in Cornwall. *Cadoc* was a personal name not unknown in our county. In the parish of Budock is a place now called Roscarrock, which in 1286 was *Rescadek*, and in 1327 *Roscadok*, meaning, Mr. R. Morton Nance says, "Cadok's Ford" or "Heath" (1). The name must be a secular one, but it is just possible that there may have been a local Saint Cadoc at Padstow (perhaps a hermit), afterwards identified with the famous founder of Llancarvan. We may note that S. Cadoc has only a *chapel*, not a monastic foundation, in Cornwall. But in any case the chapel was regarded as dedicated to the Abbot at least as early as the 11th century, and the fact that S. Cadoc was said to have been a relative of S. Petroc, the founder of Padstow (2), may perhaps be considered as some evidence of the truth of the traditional ascription of the Cornish chapel to him.

There is also a Holy Well, now called *Venton-gassick*, but *Fenton-Cadoc* in 1230, in the parish of St. Just-in-Roseland (3).

(1) See "S. Budoc," No. 2 (2nd edition) in the "Cornish Saints" series, p. 31.

(2) Cf. p. 8.

(3) Mr. Henderson thought that the name Cadoc might enter into such names as *Tregaddick* and *Boscaddick*, which are found in Cornwall.

The probability of there being a connection between S. Cadoc and S. Maugan has already been referred to. In c. 65 of the *Vita Cadoci* "the holy man *Moucam*" is deputed by an angel "to restrain King Maelgon from his cruelty." The king despises the admonition, and becomes blind in consequence, whereupon he sends two messengers, *Maucan* and Argantbad, to ask S. Cadoc to come and see him, and restore to him his sight.

II.

The cult of S. Cadoc is much more widely spread in Brittany than in Cornwall. In the latter country he has only one dedication (unless we suppose that he is the patron of the Venton-gassick in Roseland), while in Brittany he has a great many.

First and foremost there is the celebrated island monastery on the inland sea of Etel, close to the Bay of Biscay, described in c. 32 of the *Vita Cadoci*.

"c. 32. *Of a monastery (de religionis edificio) which the man of God constructed in Armorica.*

At that time, when Cadoc, of revered memory, had been to Rome, and had visited all the places of the Saints throughout Italy and Gaul, for the sake of seeing the relics of the Saints, it came to pass that he reached a certain province formerly known as Armorica, then as Lettau, and now called Lesser Britain. He heard that there was a certain island there, without inhabitants, situated on a sheet of water about the third of a league from the shore. Embarking on a boat, with his disciples, he quickly reached the port of this island. Perceiving that it was both fair and fertile, he said to those who followed him, 'Brethren, God has led me here, and I have chosen this place, and decide to stay here, if you agree to do so.' And they answering said, 'Master, whatever seems good to you, we will gladly do.' And he constructed there an elegant basilica of stone. Later on he had a stone bridge

made, with cemented arches skilfully constructed by masons. After it was finished, he heard one night, as he slept, an angelic voice saying to him, 'Cadoc, most faithful servant of God, thou mayest not tarry longer here, but must return without delay to thy native country, since thy clerks are grieving at thy prolonged absence.'

So next morning, after saying Lauds, as usual, he summoned all his monks, and told them of the vision, saying, "Behold now, my dearest companions and brothers in the Lord, since I can abide no longer here, I beseech you to remain, and to persevere in the service of God." When they heard this, they began to weep bitterly, and he appointed one of his disciples, named Catgualader, to be their Prior, in his place. Having obtained their consent to his departure, he blessed them, and began the return journey; and, having safely traversed vast regions, finally arrived at his own basilica of Lancaruan.

But not long after, the monks of the aforesaid island went out one day to gaze at the sea over which their master had gone on leaving them, when suddenly, in the twinkling of an eye, while they beheld, the bridge was utterly destroyed, as if it had never existed. Greatly grieved at the sight, they returned to the church, and prostrated themselves on the ground, and fasted for three days and nights, praying for consolation in so great a misfortune. On the third night, the Prior, while sleeping, heard a voice from heaven saying to him, 'God, for love of S. Cadoc, has heard your supplication, and tomorrow you shall see the bridge completely restored.' After Lauds had been sung, the Prior imparted to his clerks the revelation he had received. The monks straightway ran with joy to see the promised wonder, and found the bridge perfect and entire, and seven times stronger than before. After inspecting the bridge and walking over it, they returned in raptures to their oratory, praising and blessing God. When the miracle became known throughout the country, all the inhabitants of that province gave glory and honour to God and to S. Cadoc. For the blessed Cadoc is called among that nation Catbodu, and from his name the island has received its name of Inis

Catbodu; in which are divers fruits which cure various diseases."

(A visit of the saint to Scotland is then described).

The writer is, beyond all possibility of doubt, referring to the "Ile Cado," a small island in the southern extremity of the lagoon called the Sea of Etel, close to the passage by which it communicates with the ocean. It contains a chapel of the saint, and is connected with the village of St. Cado on the mainland (called *Penpont-Cado* in the 17th century) by a causeway pierced by two bridges(1).

The first mention of this island is in a series of charters in the Cartulary of the Abbey of Quimperlé(2), the earliest of which was written about 1009. The group of charters is introduced by a short explanatory note, headed *DE SANCTO CATUODO ET DE TERRIS AECCLIESIAE EJUS*, which runs as follows:—

"There was a man most approved by good works, and very devoted to God, named Catuodus, in a certain island in the river which is called Ectell. This much we know about him for certain, and have heard from the testimony of noble men who have lived in the neighbourhood all their lives, and gather from our experience of the miracles wrought there by Almighty God through him,—that he was a man of great merit. For we know nothing else about his life, because a certain presbiter, named Judhuarn, when he left this province, secretly carried off with him his written Life beyond the river of Vicennonia [the Vilaine], and there died without having given it up."

Then follow grants of land to the Priory of Saint Catuodus, and finally a charter, dated 1089, by which Alan IV, "consul of the Britons," gives

(1) See Appendix II.

(2) Pp. 255—270 in the printed edition by L. Maitre and H. de Berthou. (Rennes and Paris, 1904).

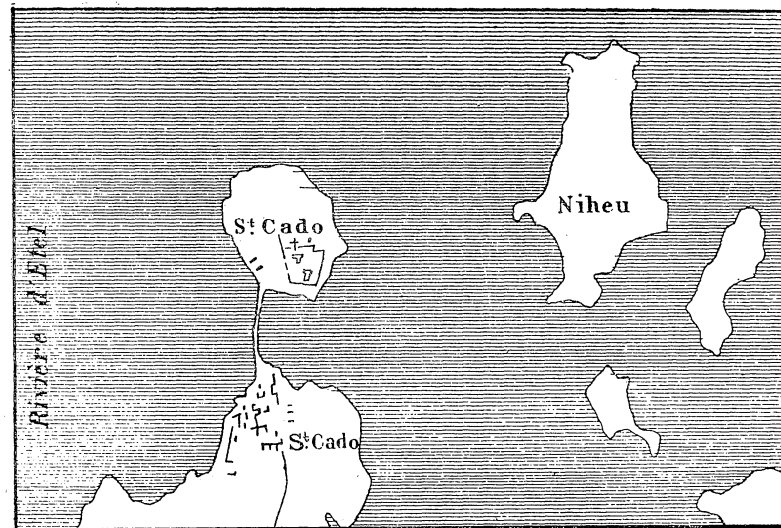
the "monastery of Saint Catuodus the confessor, of Brouerec," to the Abbey of the Holy Cross at Quimperlé.

These charters are older than the *Vita Cadoci*, and we observe that they give an entirely different account of the saint from whom the Ile Cado gets its name. Instead of being the well-known *Cadocus*, the Abbot of Llancarvan, he is *Catvodus*, and nothing whatever was known about him in Brittany in the 11th century. It is tempting to conclude that the saint honoured at the Ile Cado was really a local Breton saint, afterwards identified with the famous Welsh saint whose name was so similar. Lifris himself, it might be argued, may have been the first to make the suggestion that the two saints were one and the same. Of course all this is quite possible, and may prove to be the actual truth, more especially as St. Cado is not honoured in Brittany on the day (24th January) on which he is honoured in Great Britain, but on the 21st September (or 1st November) (1). Nevertheless, the late M. Duine was not disposed to believe in the existence of a Breton S. Cadvod, distinct from S. Cadoc.

(1) There is very little liturgical cult of S. Cadoc in Brittany, and what there is is entirely confined to the diocese of Vannes. Baring-Gould and Fisher are mistaken in saying that he had a place in the Quimper liturgical books. There is however one very interesting indication that S. Cadoc was honoured in Breton churches in the 10th century. He is invoked in the Litany in the Salisbury Psalter (Chapter MSS., No. 180) among a large number of typically Breton saints: CATOCE appears after ILTUTE and before BRANGUALADRE. As his name comes after that of the founder of Welsh monasticism it seems certain that it is the Abbot of Nantcarvan who is invoked (Branwalader is a saint of Brittany, honoured in Cornwall but *not* in Wales). Duine considered this Psalter to have been written for Breton clerks exiled in Wessex during the occupation of Brittany by the Northmen 919—936.

But S. Cadoc's name is not in the calendars of the Vannes Missals of the 15th and 16th centuries.

Cadvod, he remarks(1), is another form of the name Cadoc. "The localization of a saint whose story is forgotten is a frequent phenomenon in



(1) *Memento*, No. 102. The late M. Joseph Loth also says that "*Catvodus* (= *Catu-boduo-s*) is one of the complete forms of the name *Cadoc*." The *Vita Cadoci* tells us he was baptized as *Catmail*. Prof. Max Förster writes: "Cadoc is, of course, not the real, the full name of the saint, because this is a hypocoristic form, and might belong to any full name beginning with the word *cad*=*battle*, as, e.g., *Cadfan*, *Cad-farch*, *Cat-gen*, *Cat-gual*, etc., etc. Two forms are given as the full name of S. Cadoc, both of which seem possible: The *Vita Cadoci* gives us *Catmail*, which is an early Welsh spelling for the later *Cad-fael*, and later on it gives us *Cat-bodu*, which I think it would be safe to assume was the real name of the saint. *Cad-mail* would mean "Battle-prince," and *Cad-bod*=*Battle-victory*. One might point out that in c. 1 the angel does not say his name is *Catmail*, but only that the child "will be called *Catmail*." So *Elbodu* (*Eluodugus*) is now variously called *Elfoddw*, *Elfodd* and *Elbod*. (Note by Mr. Wade-Evans).

folklore. In this case Catvod was regarded by the people of the neighbourhood as a *Vannetais* who lived all his life on the shores of the Etel." The original traditions of the Ile Cado may quite probably have entirely perished during the 10th century. The place was peculiarly exposed to the attacks of pirates, who no doubt sacked it when they destroyed the monastery of S. Gudval on the island of Locoal further up the Sea of Etel (1). In any case the identification of Catvod with Cadoc was accepted everywhere in Brittany after the 12th century. The (now lost) *Legendary* of the Abbey of Quimperlé, which Albert Le Grand saw and utilized in the 17th century (2), seems to have contained simply an analysis of the story given in the *Vita Cadoci*, and the present-day traditions of the Ile Cado and of other places in Brittany dedicated to St. Cado or Cadou, all represent the saint as being the Abbot of Llancarvan.

Whatever conclusion we come to as to the truth of Lifris's story of S. Cadoc having founded the monastery on the Sea of Etel, it is certain that the author of the *Vita Cadoci* knew a great deal about Brittany. I do not think that he can have actually seen the Ile Cado, because he tells us that it is "about the space of the third part of a league from the land," and as a matter of fact the distance is little more than a hundred

(1) See No. 30 in this series.

(2) *La Vie de Saint Cado ou Cadoud, Evêque et Martyr, le 1 jour de Novembre*. He says "This life has been taken by us from the *Proprium Sanctorum* of the Diocese of Vennes, which has an Office for the saint on the 21st of September . . . the ancient manuscript *Legendaries* of the Abbey of Sainte Croix de Kemperlé." His *Life* has little which is not in the *Vita Cadoci*. He mentions the building of a monastery in Wales called *Sobrin*, and states that the saint purged the Enes-Cadvod of serpents, and that he visited "S. Gouard and S. Liliac in Aquitaine."

yards. A 6th century bridge a third of a league long would indeed have been a wonder. It looks like the characteristic exaggeration of a man who has heard a story about a place he has never seen. In such cases people's imaginations easily turn a thing that is simply remarkable into a thing that is absolutely marvellous. Still, it is clear that Lifris *had* been told about the island monastery, and about the destruction and subsequent rebuilding of the causeway. He knows, too,—what only a Breton would know—that the saint of the Ile Cado "is by that nation called Catbodou," that the island was then, as it still is, called after him, and that there was a *Priory* there. It seems as if the writer had been in Brittany (perhaps at Quimperlé, and almost certainly at Vannes). In any case c. 32 of the *Vita Cadoci* is a proof of the constant intercourse between South Wales and the diocese of Vannes in the 12th century. There are plenty of other proofs of a literary intercourse between the two countries at this time. In this same century Caradoc of Llancarvan wrote a *Life of S. Gildas*, founder of the Abbey of St. Gildas-de-Rhuys, a saint of the diocese of Vannes. One of the other *Lives* in the Welsh collection which contains the *Vita Cadoci* is the *Vita Paterni*, which professes to relate the Life of the first Bishop of Vannes, while identifying him with the founder of Llanbadarn Vawr near Aberystwyth. A Welsh *Kalendar* of the same period (12th cent.) and belonging to the same collection of Manuscripts (Vesp. A. xiv.), contains, among a large number of feasts of Welsh saints (1), two out of the three festivals of S. Patern observed at Vannes (one

(1) E.g. SS. David, Carantoc, Brynach, Barrucus, Kepius, Illutus. All these saints have biographies in Vesp. A. xiv, or are mentioned in one of those biographies. Vesp. A. xiv, Mr. Robin Flower says, was intended to form a South Wales legendary, and the *Kalendar* was clearly intended to accompany it.

of them being that of his Ordination). None but a clerk who knew Vannes well and was very interested in Vannes would have inserted both these festivals. Nowhere else are they observed.

The cult of S. Cadoc became a popular cult, and spread (radiating presumably from the Ile Cado) to many different parts of Brittany.

Thus at Nostang, on the northern shores of the Sea of Etel, there is a chapel of St. Cado. It is at Kergorh, near the "vieux bourg," and close by it is a small tapering menhir. East of the Sea of Etel, in the parish of Ploemel, are a chapel of St. Cado and a village called after him. Ploemel and Nostang are so close to the Sea of Etel that there can be no question as to the origin of the dedication of these two chapels. North of Ploemel, at the village of Le Reclus near Auray, is a 16th century chapel of St. Cado(1). The parish church of Auray is dedicated to St. Gildas, and was formerly a priory of the Abbey of St. Gildas-de-Rhuys;—we shall see that the cult of St. Cado is often connected with that of St. Gildas. North of Auray, in the parish of Baud, is a chapel of St. Cado, also of the 16th cent., which contains some curious old wooden statues of local saints(2). A few kilometres N.E. of Baud is a chapel of St. Cado in Guénin. Some miles to the N.W. we find a chapel of St. Cado in Saint-Caradec-Trégomel, with a stream close by also bearing the saint's name(3). A short distance to the east of Trégomel, in Lignol, is a heath called the Lande-Saint-Cado, and here too the stream is named after him. In the south of Cornouaille there are

(1) Duhem, *Eglises du Morbihan*, Paris, 1932, p. 6.

(2) *Ib.*, p. 8. The *Pouillé de Vannes* by the late abbé Luco shows that there were once chapels of St. Cado in Brech, in Redené, and in the church of St. Patern at Vannes (pp. 194, 661 and 792).

(3) *Ib.*, p. 171. It was built in the 17th cent., and depended on the Seigneurs of Kermérien.

chapels of St. Cado at Moëlan (S.W. of Quimperlé); Coatampodou in the parish of Melgven (formerly in that of Cadol), S.W. of Bannalec; and at Gouesnach, on the east bank of the Odet, between Quimper and the sea. The chapel at Gouesnach has been rebuilt; previously it contained a series of interesting old paintings representing scenes from the Life of the Abbot of Llanearvan. In the extreme N.E. of Cornouaille, close to Mont-St.-Michel, there is, as we have already seen, a parish church of St. Cadou. I visited this church in June, 1937. East of the high altar is a statue of Saint Cadou, in the style of Louis XIII,—the saint has a moustache and little beard, wears a mitre, and holds a big crozier. South of the high altar is a similar statue of S. Corentin, and over the north altar is one of St. Maudez. There is another statue of St. Cadou on the calvary in the churchyard, which is dated 1744. There are two pardons in the parish,—the Little Pardon, on the 1st Sunday in May, and the Great Pardon, on the 1st Sunday in October. Not very far from the Mont St. Michel, at Rospellem in Carnoet, in Cornouaille (but now in the Department of the Côtes-du-Nord), is a chapel of St. Cadou, close to an ancient earthwork by the river Aulne. It was rebuilt in the 18th century, but contains an old statue of St. Cado and one of St. Gildas. In the chapel of St. Gildas, in the same parish of Carnoet, are some panels from the former rood-screen, one of which represents the two saints meeting each other(1).

On the coast of Léon, in the extreme N.W. of Brittany, is another St. Cadou, in the parish of Plouguerneau, with a farm called *Enes-Cadec*, while in the opposite corner of Brittany, at Sainte-Reine near Guérande, not far from Nantes, is yet another.

(1) I am indebted to M. Couffon for this information.

The Department of the Côtes-du-Nord contains a large number of dedications to our saint. West of Loudéac (on the border of the Vannetais) was a parish called Cadélas (absorbed in that of Loudéac since the Concordat). The church was dedicated to St. Cado. It was destroyed by fire in 1807, and a little oratory of the saint was then constructed by the side of the road. I visited this simple wayside shrine in July, 1937. It contains only an altar, with statues of St. Samson and St. Roch, and smaller statues of St. Cado and Our Lady. There is just room for a priest to celebrate, while the people kneel on the grass around. A Pardon is held here in the 1st Sunday in August. M. René Couffon, who has made a careful study of all the churches and chapels in the Department, and tabulated their art treasures, tells me that "there was a chapel of St. Cado at Peumerit-Quintin [east of Carnoet], destroyed at the beginning of the 19th century. In the same parish, in the chapel of Coch, is an ancient statue of the saint. In the parish of Ploumiliau [near Lannion] is another chapel of St. Cado, rebuilt in 1758, which belonged to the Seigneurie of Canascol. (It contains a statue of the saint, and statues of 3 pilgrims showing their ulcers). There was also a chapel of St. Cado in the parish of St. Clet (near Portrieux, in the extreme north of the Department), sold at the Revolution: St. Cado is regarded now as the second patron of the Chapel of N.-D.-de-Clérin in the same parish, which contains an ancient statue of him, and his help is sought by those suffering from eye troubles and ulcers. There was a chapel of St. Cado in Cavan, destroyed during the last hundred years. There are ancient statues of St. Cado at N.-D.-des-Anges in Cavan; in the chapel of Kergrist in Le Faouet; in the chapel of Bonalery in Hillion; in the chapel of St. Melar

at Plouzélambre (as "St. Cadeau"); in the chapel of St. Mathurin in Caniscat; in the chapel of St. Roch at Plestin; in the church of St.-Michel-Glommel; in the chapel of Perros-Hamon in Ploubazlanec (where his intercession is sought against boils); in the church of Trebeurden; in the chapel of St. Lawrence-of-the-Seven-Saints in Yffiniac (where he is invoked for the cure of bruises and wounds); in the chapel of Kergrist du Faouet (C.-du-N.), in that of N.-D. de la Clarté in Plounérin, in the parish churches of Plestin, St Michel-Glommel, and of Kerperth (where S. Cado is the second patron), and in the chapel of St. Jean de Mur.

He is also honoured at St. Michel-en-Grèves, and appears in stained glass windows in the parish churches of St. Ygeaux and Ploumiliau; among the paintings (dated 1714) on the roof of the church of Bodeo; and on the reredos of one of the side-altars of the church of Yffiniac.

The great centre of the cult of St. Cado in the Côtes-du-Nord is clearly the district west of Lannion. *Tonquédec* was originally *Traon-Cadoc*=the Valley of Cadoc. It is possible that both at Carnoet and at Laniscat the cult of St. Cado has been propagated by that of St. Gildas."

But the earliest and most interesting proof of the cult of St. Cadoc in Brittany is at Pleucadeuc, in the east of the Vannetais, near Redon. The parish belonged to the Abbey of Redon, and the Cartulary of the Abbey contains a charter, dated 837, signed at Pleucadeuc, in *plebe Catoci*(1), by

(1) *Plebs condita Cadoc* 826. *Pluiucatoch* 848. The neighbouring parish of Carentoir contains a place called *Pecadeuc* and the Cartulary of Redon mentions a *Plucgaduc* in *Keminet villa* which has not yet been identified. In the parish of Guilliers, north of Ploermel (M.), is a *Leucadeuc*, and close by a place called *La Ville-Cado*. Cado became a family name at Ploermel. Rosenzweig says that the church of Guégon near Josselin is dedicated to "S.

a number of witnesses, among whom is a monk called *Guas-cadoc*, which means "Servant of Cadoc." This shows conclusively that the name Pleucadeuc=the "Parish of Cadoc," a saint so venerated that his name is born by a monk devoted to his cult(1). Places with names beginning with *Plou* belong to the earliest period of Breton history. The saint's name, too, is spelt *Catoc*, which is an earlier form than *Cataw*, from which the numerous *St. Cados* and *St. Cadous* of Brittany are derived. In the north part of the parish lies the great heath called the *Lande de St. Maugan*, where in feudal times was a *Seigneurie de St. Maugan*, and we have seen that S. Maugan is associated with S. Cadoc both in Wales and Cornwall. Less than 3 miles east of Pleucadeuc is the church of St. Congard (*Sanctus Conguarius* 1387, *Saint-Congar* 1422),—the parish once formed part of Pleucadeuc. S. Congar is a famous Celtic saint, eponym of Congresbury in Somerset, and patron of Badgeworth in the same county, and of a former chapel (now called "St. Ingongar") in the parish of Lanivet near Bodmin, whose *Life*, as we have seen, was written by Caradoc of Llancarvan (the latter tells us, probably quite untruly, that he is the same saint as S. Docco). About 4 miles south of Pleucadeuc is another *Plou* parish,—*Pluherlin* (*Plebs Huiernim* 833, *Plebs Hernim* 836), which reminds us of the *Lanherne* at Mawgan-in-Pydar in Cornwall. Twelve miles further down the River Oust, near Redon, is *Saint-Perreux* (*Saint-Perreuc* (2)

Peter and S. Cado," though Le Mené (*Hist. des paroisses du diocèse de Vannes*) gives "S. Peter and S. Paul." The parish church of Pleucadeuc is dedicated to S. Peter—a very common and early dedication in Brittany.

(1) For instances of this custom in Celtic Scotland see Dr. Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

(2) *Perec* or *Perreuc* are the popular Breton forms, as *Petherick* is the popular Cornish form, of the name Petroc. *Loperec* was *Locus Petroci* in 1468.

1398), where the patron saint is S. Petroc, the relative of S. Cadoc, according to Welsh tradition, in whose parish of Padstow lies S. Cadoc's chapel. The charters in the Cartulary of Redon which have given us these interesting early forms for the place-names in this area date from less than 400 years after the beginning of the British colonization of Armorica.

Our researches have thus led us to an important discovery, which promises to throw new light on the history of the Celtic peoples in the 5th and 6th centuries. South Wales during this period was covered with flourishing monasteries, founded, in many cases, by members of the princely houses of Brecon, Ceredigion and Dyfed, who had become monks. A great expansion of monasticism followed, and monasteries were founded all over the north of Somerset, in Devon and Cornwall, and in Brittany. Padstow, as being a key position on the ancient trade route from Wales and Ireland across the Cornish peninsula to the continent, played a very important part in this development of missionary enterprise. This we knew already. It is the result of recent discoveries,—the reader will not find it mentioned in any History of England. We have now added a further discovery. An important centre of work among the recently established British immigrants in Armorica was in the valley of the River Oust, which flows into the Vilaine(1) at Redon. Both rivers are tidal, and ancient Celtic monasteries and churches are usually found on tidal estuaries, as the latter provided the most convenient way of travelling at that period. (It is likely that the valley of the Oust may have been

(1) Is this why the author of the Note on the Priory of S. Catuodus in the Cartulary of Quimperlé tells us that the presbyter Judhuarn carried off the Life of the saint "beyond the River Vilaine"? It is quite likely that there was a close connection between the Ile Cado and Pleucadeuc.

evangelized from the very ancient monastery at Balon, near Redon. The 9th century *Vita Turiavi* states that S. Turiiau was a monk there, and describes a miracle wrought by him during the building of a church of S. Peter *super fluvium Ulda* (1).

It may be, then, that Lifris is right in telling us that S. Cadoc of Nantcarvan was a great traveller, and visited Cornwall and Brittany. Ordinarily, the founders of Welsh and Irish monasteries did not leave those countries, and Welsh saints who founded monasteries and parishes in Brittany, like S. Samson, S. Paul Aurelian, S. Malo and S. Brioc, usually have little or no cult in the country of their origin. This is what we should expect from the nature of the case. A man who does a great work in a colony and becomes famous there is often hardly remembered in the mother country which he left as a boy. Still, the saint whose cult we have been studying may be an exception to the rule.

Padstow is only a few hours' sail down the Severn Sea from Llancarvan, and Welsh monks may often have temporarily sojourned there. Welsh monasteries certainly had daughter establishments in Brittany as well as in Cornwall (2), and the Abbot of Nantcarvan may have visited them, as I have seen the Abbot of N.-D.-des Neiges in the Cévennes travelling to Palestine to pay an official visit to the Trappist monasteries there. This is all we can say at present. Meanwhile, we must await fresh discoveries in this fascinating but still mysterious field of the early history of Wales, Dumnonia and Brittany (3).

G.H.D.

(1) The monastery of Balon seems to have been destroyed in 845. It was a dependency of S. Samson's Abbey of Dol.

(2) See "S. Carantoc" (No. 14 in this series) pp. 24f.

(3) The clue as to the origin of the parishes of the valley of the Oust is well worth following up. It may prove that many of the eponyms of these parishes, saints with strange names unknown anywhere else, like St. Gravé (written indifferently in Latin *Sanctus Gravidus*, *Sanctus Gravius*, and *Sancta Gravida*), St. Sabulin of Peillac, St. Guyomard (*Languyona* 1510, *Saint-Dyomar* 1542), St. Cogo (*Senkoko* 1080), etc., may have been Welsh monks belonging to this same party. This may also give us fresh light as to St. Jacut, who has so many dedications in Brittany. Prof. Max Förster writes: "Your suggestion falls in with a fact I recently came across, viz., that Modern Breton contains some 60 loanwords from the Anglo-Saxon. Some of these Breton words must have been borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon as early as the first half of the 6th century, because they do not show old English mutations which appear about 550—600 (e.g. modern Breton *sanka* [=to sink] presupposes primitive old English *sankjan*, not the historic *sencan*)."

There is a *Cilhernin* in the parish of Llanboidy in the west of Carmarthenshire in Wales, and just east of the town of Carmarthen, in the parish of Llanegwad, is a *Llanhirnin* or *Hernin* (see Arch. Camb., 1925, p. 243). There is a *Saint-Hernin* in Cornouaille, and a *trève* in the parish of Seglien (Morb.) called *Les-Hernin* in 1411. The full form of the name seems to be, according to M. Loth., *Iserninos* (*Revue Celtique*, ix. 99, xi. 144).

APPENDIX I.

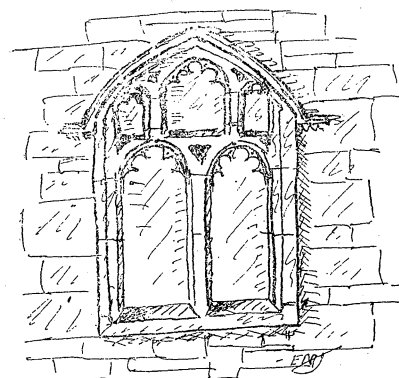
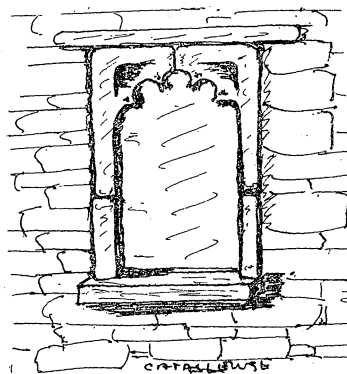
The Chapel of S. Cadoc at Harlyn Bay.

The following Note on St. Cadoc's Chapel is part of some materials for a book on S. Petroc which the late Mr. Charles Henderson hoped to write:—

"We have seen that the Life of St. Cadoc by Lifris gives the Life of St. Petroc in brief,—the oldest authentic reference to the latter saint. There was evidently some traditional connexion between Petroc and Cadoc(1), and it is therefore not surprising to find the latter's solitary shrine in Cornwall close to Padstow, the ancient centre of the cult of Petroc. In the *Life of St. Cadoc*, a document of little historical value, the saint is made to visit Cornwall and the Mount called Dinsul, which the 12th century compiler Lifris identifies as St. Michael's Mount. Coming down from Dinsul, the saint, "finding himself verie drye, prayed, and raised up a well, which at this day is called after his name, and also a church builded by it, and it is written that such as came to that well should by drinking of it finde helpe for their infirmities, and especially for expelling venomous diseases and wormes out of their bellies. His feast was wont to be observed in Cornwall, where there is a church dedicated to him nere the Well. His day is Jan. 24. Anno. 570." This is Nicholas Roscarrock's translation(2). Owing to Lifris's statement that Dinsul is St. Michael's Mount, the well at the foot of the Mount has recently been dubbed "St. Cadoc's." It is clear, however, that the Well and Chapel stood at Trewolla or St. Cadock's, on the western edge of Padstow parish, in the pleasant valley that goes

(1) "S. Cadocus, confessor, 24 Jan." appears in William of Worcester's abstract of the Bodmin Priory Calendar.

(2) MS. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.



CATALEWSE WINDOW.

These, and the following rough sketches by Mr. Martyn Jope, represent fragments of carved stone found near the ruins of S. Cadoc's chapel, or at Little Petherick, conjecturally restored to their original positions.

down to Harlyn Bay. William of Worcester, writing in 1478, from information supplied by the Canons of Bodmin, says "Sanctus Crodocus (sic) est honoratus in capella prope Patistow propter vermes destruendos bibendo aquam fontis ibidem." This was, curiously enough, the only Cornish shrine of this popular saint, and the only place-name in Cornwall approaching Dinsul is Denzell, about 5 miles south, anciently *Dynisel* and *Dinesel* (1271)(1). This is a lofty hill,—the nearest, in fact, to St. Cadock's. It is clearly the *Dinsul* of the *Life*.

St. Cadock's was an important chapel, and was in a sense regarded as a parish church for that part of Padstow parish styled *in Rure*(2), which lay in the Bishop's Peculiar Deanery of Pawton, while Padstow Town was in the Deanery of Pydar. Accordingly, in 1283(3) the Jury at the Assize presented that William le Rous of Polmaragh had taken sanctuary in the church of S. Cadocus of Poulton [Pawton]. In 1301(4) at another Eyre, the Jury presented that William de Trevelvargh and two others had come by night to the house of Benedict, the Vicar of S. Cadocus, whom they slew, and then fled, after looting the house. The *villata* or township of St. Cadoc made no pursuit, and was in mercy for the default. In 1339(5) Bishop Grandisson licensed John Polmarke, Chaplain of the Chapel of St. Cadoc, to assist the Vicar of St. Merryn by visiting the sick, and preaching in the *lingua Cornubica*, provided the Chapel was well served. In 1386(6) Sir Randulf, Vicar of St. Kadoc, pur-

(1) Prideaux Place deeds.

(2) Peculiar Records, Exeter Cathedral.

(3) Assize Rolls, 111.

(4) Ibid. 118.

(5) Grandisson's Register, 911.

(6) Archives of D. & C., No. 1402.

chased the Great Tithe of Towan in St. Merryn from the Dean and Chapter of Exeter. In 1445 Bishop Lacy(1) granted an Indulgence of 40 days to all sincere penitents contributing towards the Chapel of St. Cadoc in St. Merryn parish (an error for *Padstow*). As a result, the Chapel seems to have been rebuilt, much of the fine blue elvan from the neighbouring Cataclewse quarry being employed for the carved work. It appears that in 1537(2) the lands and Chapel of St. Cadock had become the property of the Priory of Bodmin, and so they passed to the Crown and the Priddeauxs at the Dissolution of the Monasteries. Since the "Offerings and Oblations to be made in the Chapels of S. Cadoc and S. Samson" passed to the new secular owners as manorial perquisites, it is easy to understand how both these ancient shrines fell into ruin and were desecrated. As late as 1745 the Bishop's Registrar clung to the old formula "Padstow Parish with Cadock Chapel,"(3) but the chapel was a mere ruin.

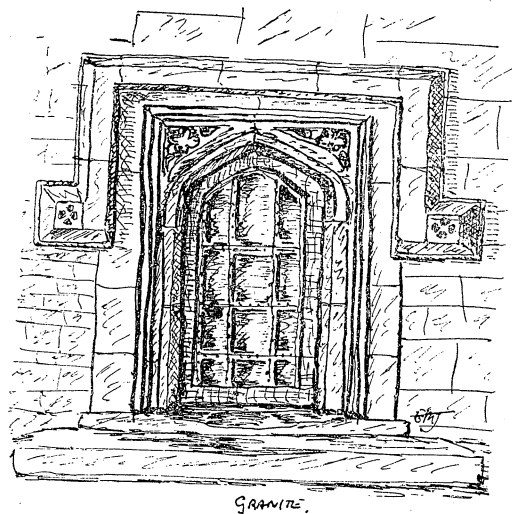
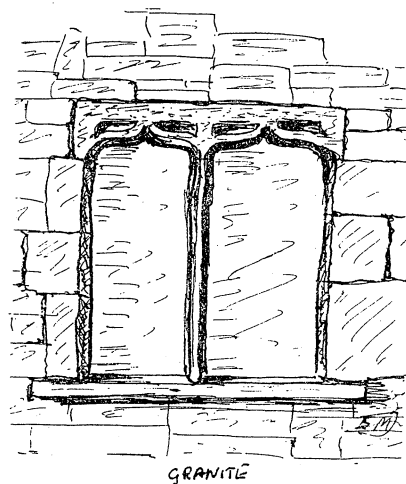
The Chapel is said to have had a tower, of which the pinnacles now adorn the tower of Little Petherick church. There seem to be no remains of the Chapel walls, and the very site is uncertain, but it probably stood in a small orchard, which is Tithe-free. Here human interments have been found. There are some well-wrought pieces of Cataclewse stone in the farm garden."

Mr. Martyn Jope, of Oriel College, Oxford, who has been exploring the site, writes: "During the last 50 years the valley has been allowed

(1) Lacy's Register, Fo. 265b.

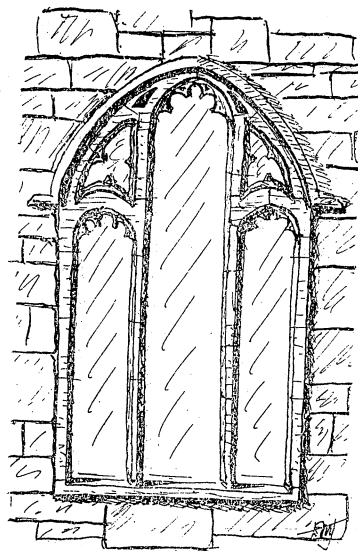
(2) Prideaux Place deeds.

(3) Ecton's *Thesaurus* (1742) has, among "Chapels, Donatives and Curacies" of the Deanery of *Pydre*, "Cranstock [sic], Chap. to Padestow, £8 certified Value."



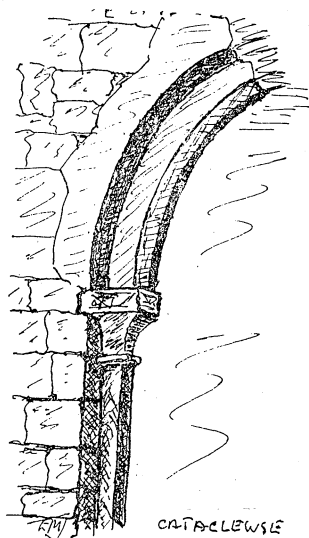
to silt up with the large quantity of debris brought down by the stream in winter, but previously to this the meadows in the bottom were considered the finest land on the farms of Polmark and Trewolla, on either side of the valley. There is now at least 3 feet of silt, and the rushes are 6 feet high. The whole valley bottom is flooded in winter. There is an old roadway passing alongside the Chapel, and crossing the old bed of the stream by a small overgrown stone bridge . . . The actual site of the Chapel has been used as an orchard, and large trees have upset much of the wall foundations and flooring: for the last 25 years the site has been neglected completely, and there are nettles 6 feet high,—even the footpath passing the chapel, marked on the Ordnance Survey map, has been disused for 15 years. The valley was once of some importance: there was a large Bronze Age settlement at Harlyn Bay, at the mouth of the stream half a mile below, and this was followed by an intensive Iron Age occupation of the site. There is as yet no evidence of occupation here after the Roman period.

By the quantity and style of the worked stone yet remaining strewn about the adjacent farm, and that in local buildings reputed to have come from this chapel, it must have a very handsome structure. That it was still in use in 1538 is indicated by the sale deed of the Manor of Padstow at the Dissolution of Bodmin Priory, in which the Fish Tithe, and the offerings at the Chapels of S. Samson (at Lelissick) and of S. Cadoc belonged henceforth to the secular Lords. The fact that S. Cadoc's Chapel, which served the country part of Padstow parish, and was in the Bishop's peculiar of Pawton—Padstow Town Church being within the monastic lands, came to be included in a sale of the lands of Bodmin Priory, is explained by a recently-discovered

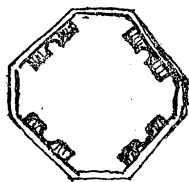


contract of sale from the Bishop to the Priory just before the Dissolution.

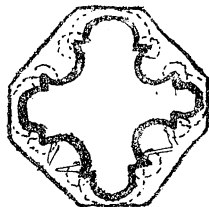
At the church of Little Petherick 3 miles away are four granite pinnacles and an arch and column of Cataclewse stone, which according to local tradition were brought from the chapel of St. Cadock, being then ruined. The evidence to support this is confusing. That the chapel possessed a tower is indicated by the presence on the actual site of both granite and cataclewse parapet stones of different design. The granite ones are battlemented, and of the same texture as the pinnacles of Little Petherick tower. The cataclewse ones are smaller, and show no battlementing. This suggests that the granite ones belonged to the tower and the cataclewse to the chapel or porch. There are among the debris several sections of columns of Pentewan stone which would have made a three-fluted column about 1 ft. 6 in in diameter. They may have come from the tower arch. (Some of these pieces are curved, and the width of the tower arch thus formed could be estimated at 7 ft.) The tower pinnacles at Little Petherick were erected in 1750, and there is little reason to doubt that they came from St. Cadock's. But the evidence regarding the cataclewse stone pillar and arch there, also said to come from St. Cadock's, is conflicting. It is of a design bearing small resemblance to any of the pillar sections still existing at the site, and it is several inches larger in diameter (it has been freshly recut, which would make its original size even larger). The design and size are almost exactly the same as those of the cataclewse pillars in St. Merryn church. The late Mr. Edmund Sedding may be right in supposing that they came "from the ruined chapel at Constantine" (by a slip he said "S. Cadoc's Chapel at Constantine.")



CATACLEWSE PILLAR MOULDINGS



S. CADOCK.

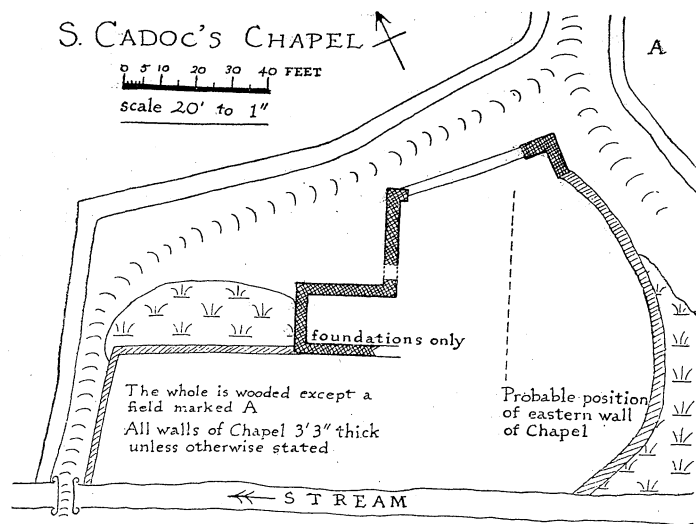


LITTLE PETHERICK.

The chapel of St. Cadock seems to have been 75 feet in length (local tradition says 100 feet). There are no traces of roof tiles except oblong slates, which again points to an almost complete re-roofing in the 15th century (it seems that clay ridge tiles were in use till the late 14th cent.,—many were found at Constantine Chapel and at Lamanna near Looe). There is one piece of excellent cataclewse tracery which implies a large 3-light window. Of entirely different type are the plain pentewan stone window-jambs at present built into a hedge on the site: yet another type is the square-headed granite window top-piece, and still another the smaller cataclewse architrave.

The plan of the original Chapel appears to be obscured by some later building on the site, as the N.E. plastered angle wall does not possess the correct orientation, and is not in a position in which it could form part of the Chapel. It may have been part of a Priest's house, and its position in the N.E. corner of the enclosure would then be accounted for by the fact that this is far the driest site, being higher than the rest. The causeway, a few feet outside the wall, is cut out of solid rock. (Or it may prove that this angle wall is part of the building over the Holy Well, but this can be only settled by excavation. The old enclosure wall joins it in a very curious fashion, and it may be that here, in the corner of the enclosure, was the Holy Well).

Most of the west end of the Chapel seems to be built into the orchard wall. But there is no surface indication whatever of the east wall. There appears to have been either a north transept or north chapel, but no indication of any on the south. All the walls are 3 ft. 3 in. thick, as are those of Lamanna monastery near Looe. Unfortunately we have no clue as to where the tower stood. There is no buttressing at any point.



There seems no decisive evidence as to the position of the Holy Well. No field names on either Polmark or Trewolla (St. Cadock's) farms give any clue whatever. I have discussed the possibility of its being in the churchyard. On the Polmark side of the river, by the ancient and deeply-cut trackway leading up from the valley to the farm, is a well cut into the rock face. No traditions exist concerning it. Many pieces of cataclewse stone are to be found lying near it, but none worked."

M.J.

NOTE ON "SAINT CRADOC."

An ancient French tradition speaks of a Cornish saint called Saint Cradoc, at whose tomb miracles took place. Annexed to the *Breviate* or Abridged version of Domesday (see Walter de Gray Birch, *Domesday Book*, London, 1887, p.31—36) is a French version of an old List of English Saints similar to those printed by Liebermann in

his *Die Heiligen Englands angelsächsisch und lateinisch* (Hannover, 1889). It begins with the words:

"Ci sunt les mervailles dites
Comme par ordre sont escrites
Ore parlerat cest escrit
Des seyns ou sont enseveliz,
En Engleterre par parties,
Par les Engleis establies." (1).

On pp. xli—xlii is this entry:

"Saint Cradoc en Corwaile pur ki amour Deus
fit grant miracles la ou il git."

Probably the site of this Chapel of S. Caradoc is St. Carroc's in the parish of St. Veep (now "St. Caddix"). William Worcester says the saint's body lay there. Still, it is remarkable that he also spells S. Cadoc *Crodocus* in speaking of the Chapel at Padstow.

APPENDIX II.

THE ISLAND OF SAINT-CADO.

M. Duhem (*Eglises du Morbihan*, p. 11) gives a technical description of the Chapel of St. Cado on the island, with plan, and drawings of two of the capitals. He calls it "one of the most curious Romanesque buildings in the Morbihan." The greater part of it dates from the 12th century. Lifris must have been told about it, and it must have been in his mind when he spoke of the saint constructing a "basilicam lapidibus elegantem." The English reader will find an account of the island and its chapel in Baring-Gould and Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints*, II. 26-28. M. Gilliouart, of Belz, tells

(1) It has been published by Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy and Ch. T. Martin in the preface to their edition of *Lestoire des Engles* by Geoffrey Gaimar (London, 1888 (Rolls), t. I. p. xxxix-xlii).

me that to-day there is only a low mass on the saint's festival, 21st. September, (as on 24th January, which is called "gouil Ado,"—"the winter Feast of St. Cado.") The great Pardon of St. Cado is held on the 3rd Sunday in September. "The procession leaves the *bourg* of Belz, carrying the statue of St. Saturnin, patron of the parish. Another procession starts from the island at the same time, carrying the statue of St. Cado. The two processions join at the village of St. Cado on the mainland, and make their way across the bridge to the Chapel on the island. The following Sunday, after vespers, a procession is formed at the chapel, and the statue of St. Saturnin, which has spent the week on the island, is taken back to Belz, the statue of St. Cado accompanying it as far as the end of the bridge. My mother remembers a great bullock Fair being held during the octave of the Pardon. The saint is invoked specially by those suffering from deafness, who put their heads into the hole under the 'Bed of St. Cado' in the chapel."

M. Gilliouart has collected an old Breton hymn of 49 verses in honour of St. Cado. (The hymn used at present, also in Breton, contains 22 verses). He has also sent me three verses of an ancient "Complainte," with the tune. It begins "Saint Cado and Saint Gildas were both friends of God." These 3 verses are all that his mother could remember. It is interesting to find again the association of St. Cado with S. Gildas, which we have noticed in other parts of Brittany. M. Gilliouart showed me the chapel, and the saint's Holy Well (only separated from the sea at high tide by a wall), on 6th July, 1937.

APPENDIX III.

THE MASS OF SAINT CADOC.

The Bristol Central Library possesses a valuable manuscript missal. "All the internal evidence," says Mr. M. H. N. C. Atchley (who has copied the Mass of S. Cadoc for me), "indicates its provenance as Bristol Abbey, a house of Black Canons of the rule of St. Victor of Paris, and since 1540 the Cathedral. The style of the initials and the lettering suggest that the book dates from c. 1420 . . . The Kalendar is lost, but the St. Cadoc mass comes between those for St. Vincent and for the Conversion of St. Paul [showing that his feast was kept on 24th January, the usual day]. St. Cadoc's name is not mentioned in the Litany for Easter Eve, though it contains St. Brigid, the only other Celtic saint named in the MS.—whose mass is also given." The Rev. S. M. Harris, M.A., says that the Bristol monastery was a daughter of the Austin Abbey of Wigmore in Herefordshire. "Many of the sequences and some of the festivals evidently derive from Wigmore, which was within the range of Welsh influence. This probably explains the presence of a special mass for St. Cadog in the book."

The extreme rarity of Welsh mediaeval liturgical books makes this mass of special interest.

"In festo sancti cadoci confessoris non episcopi. Ad Missam officium. Os iusti. [Ps. 37: 31].

Oracio. Concede quesumus omnipotens deus, ut beati cadoci confessoris tui frequentata veneratio ad perpetuam populo tuo perficiat salutem, et quem sepius veneramur in terris eum habeamus patrocini in celis. Per dominum.

Epistola. Iustum deduxit do[minus]. Wisd. 10: 10-14.

Graduale. Os iusti. Si ante septuagesima. Alleluia. V. Os iusti.

Sequencia.

Clangor sanctus nunc resultet
in sanctorum cordibus.
Sancta clangat et exultet
mentis puris fidibus. (? mens pura ex
sordibus).
Confessores venerentur
in hac die dominum.
Qua cadocus ex caducis
est assumptus hominum.
Sidus novum ornat celos
in sanctorum gloria.
Nove laudis novos melos
nova det memoria.
Adhuc vivens dum vir sanctus
teneret presencia.
Vita fuit admirandus
in signorum gracia.
Gratus deo gratus mundo
graciosus omnibus.
Nulli nocens recta docens
vixit in hominibus.
Vincens carnem vincens mundum
omne vincens noxium.
Superavit et calcavit
victor omne vicium.
In talentis servus prudens
sic negociatus.
Audit euge serve bone
celo muneratus.
Eius ergo precibus
Sanctis iungat civibus
nos christi confessor.
Nostre laudis munera
plena sumens gracia
vere intercessor.
Infera et supera dulce cantent alleluia.
Amen.

Si in septuagesima. Tractus. Beatus vir. [Ps. 112: 1].

Evangelium. Nemo accendit. [Luke 11: 33-36].

Offertorium. Desiderium. [Ps. 21: 2].

Secreta. Letantes domine gloriosa beati cadoci memoria venerandum munus offerimus, tribue quesumus, ut eius obtenta cuius merita recolimus subsidia nobis multiplicata senciamus. Per dominum.

Communio. Beatus servus. [Luke 12: 43].

Post communio. Recollentes domine sancti cadoci confessoris tui veneracionem misteria divina percepimus, quibus illum ad veram beatitudinum pervenisse predicamus, et per eum nobis indulgenciam donari postulamus. Per dominum.

APPENDIX IV.

Until the Gotha MS. has been thoroughly examined, it is impossible to say anything as to its provenance, since it contains Lives of Saints from every part of England. It may however be remarked that several of them are saints of whom the Abbey of Glastonbury possessed relics, as e.g. S. Petroc, S. Rumon and S. Cadoc (1).

Professor Max Förster has kindly copied for me the headings of the chapters of the Gotha *Vita Cadoci*, which, he says, is a "short epitome of the longer Life [in C.B.S.], condensing the 66 chapters of Rees into 27 shorter ones, filling fols. 156a—161a. Some sentences are very much the same. It does not contain the Introduction, nor c. 32." The writer of the Gotha *Vita* has rearranged many incidents.

VITA CADOCI.

"Here begin the Chapters in the Life of Saint Cadoc, son of King Guthlac [*sic*], who was in

(1) "Os unum de Sancto Cadoco." (Hearne, Oxford, 1726, p. 452).

the time of King Arthur, who lies buried at the city of Beneventum, as some say. Others say that he is buried at St. David's in Wales (*apud scm. David in Wallia*).

i. Of the vision of the four columns of fire in the four corners of the palace.

ii. Of the cellars full of an abundance of honey and milk, by God's permission.

iii. Of the multiplication of goods.

iv. Of the coming of the angel to King Guthlac.

v. Of the springing up of the fountain for the baptism of the child.

vi. Of the leap of the child into the fountain and of the changing of the water of the fountain into a liquid tasting of nectar and milk.

vii. Of the piety and religion of the boy, and his (text uncertain).

viii. Of the fire placed in his bosom which did not consume his mantle.

ix. Of his pious conversation, and of the blinding of the *subulcus*, and of the restoration of the latter's sight.

x. Of the showing of the buildings.

xi. Of the stag, who was yoked to the plough.

xii. Of the family of King Poulentus, which the earth swallowed up, and of the conversion of S. Iltutus, Confessor, through S. Cadocus, and of the migration of S. Cadoc to *gluad Morgan*.

xiii. Of the sojourning of S. Cadoc at Ned, and of the 3 gifts bestowed.

xiv. Of Lyuri the architect, who was killed, and was raised to life, and of the health-giving stone.

xv. Of the fountain which flowed through the prayer of S. Cadoc, and of the holding back of the River Taff (*Thamius*) and of its being

allowed to flow again. And of the immense heap of stones made by the rush of the river.

xvi. Of the sojourn of S. Cadoc through the season of Lent in an island.

xvii. Of the finding of the book placed in the water.

xviii. Of the two wolves changed into stones.

xix. Of the most health-giving fountain in Cornwall.

xx. Of the mixture of the water of Jordan with that of the aforesaid fountain.

xxi. Of the giant raised to life.

xxii. Of the cows changed into burdens of flintstones (*silicea honera*).

xxiii. Of the wicked enemy who vanished away.

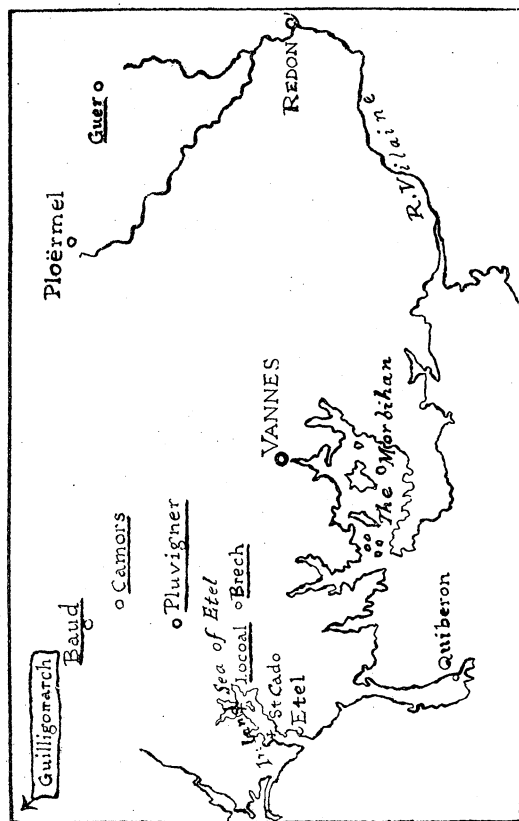
xxiv. Of the three wished-for stones of Jerusalem.

xxv. Of the expulsion of the Queen's barrenness.

xxvi. Of the two stags who were yoked to the plough.

xxvii. Of the last pilgrimage, and of the departing of the saint's soul at the city of Beneventum."

The stories of the Holy Well at Padstow are related as in Vesp. A. xiv., only in different words: "Postquam visitasset sanctus Cadocus ecclesiam Montanam sancti Michaelis Archangeli apud Cornubiam, in reuersione quodam die . . . innumerabiles infirmi sanati sunt, vomentes vermes vivos et multa alia humanis interioribus nocencia. Indigine, videntes tanta remedia et miracula inde fieri, construxerunt ecclesiam in honorem dei et sancti Cadoci iuxta sacratum fontem."



"The Vannetais."