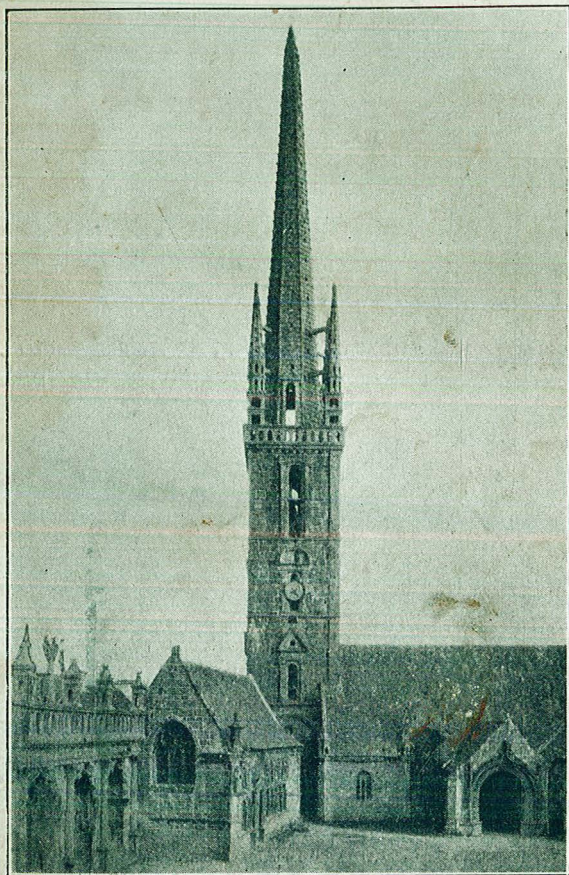


Chanoine Néron
Cornish Saints" series, No. 37.

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SAINT SULIAN AND SAINT TYSILIO



CHURCH OF SAINT SULIAU, SIZUN.

By the Revd. GILBERT H. DOBLE, M.A

SAINT SULIAN AND SAINT TYSILIO

BY

The Revd. GILBERT H. DOBLE, M.A.

HONORARY CANON OF TRURO CATHEDRAL, VICAR OF WENDRON AND
EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE LORD BISHOP OF TRURO

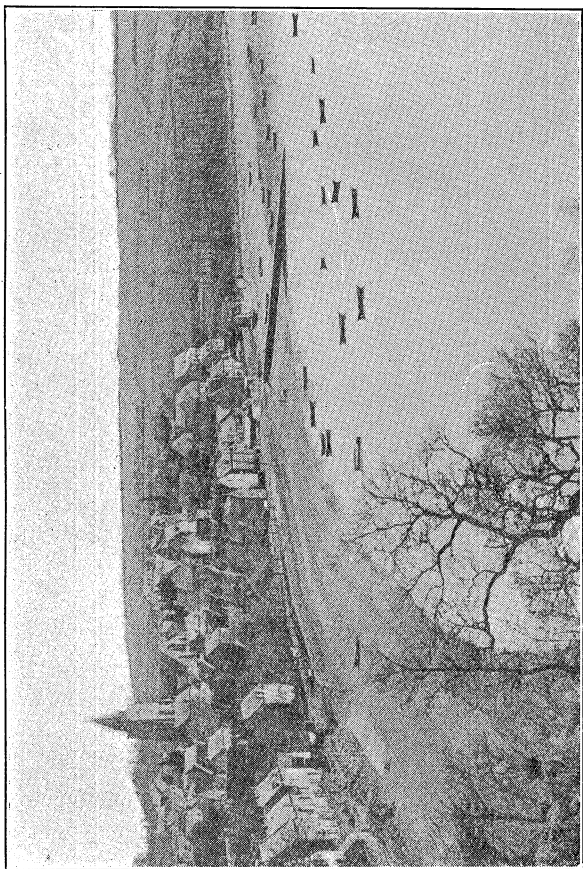
AUTHOR OF

"S. Mawes," "S. Euny," "S. Budoc," "S. Winwaloe," "S. Coarentin,"
"S. Melaine," "S. Carantoc," "S. Gwinear," "S. German," "SS. Mewan and
Austol," "S. Feock," "S. Petrock," "SS. Docco and Kew," "S. Melor,"
"S. Nonna," "S. Brioc," "SS. Sithney and Elwin," "S. Senan," "S. Tudy,"
"S. Clether," "Four Saints of the Fal," "S. Neot," "S. Selevan," "S. Cuby,"
"SS. Nectan and Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall," "S. Constantine
and S. Merryn," "S. Symphorian," "S. Perran, S. Keverne, and S. Kerrian,"
"S. Gudwal," "A Kalendar of Saints for the Diocese of Truro," "Some Remarks
on the Exeter Martyrology," "John Wesley in Cornwall and a John Wesley of
Armorican Cornwall," "Two Cornish Parishes in the Eighteenth Century," "Breage
in the Eighteenth Century," "S. Decuman," "S. Day," "The Lanalet Pontifical,"
"S. Yvo," "S. Meriadow," "S. Hermes," "S. Samson in Cornwall,"
"S. Gennys," etc.

BILLING AND SONS LTD., PRINTERS
GUILDFORD AND ESHER

1936





SAINT SULIAC-SUR-RANCE.



Église catholique
en Finistère

Document numérisé en 2021

SAINT SULIAN AND SAINT TYSILIO

IN a recent study on Saint Samson—*St. Samson in Cornwall* (No. 36 in my "Cornish Saints" series)—I pointed out that several churches in central Cornwall appear to have been founded by members of the party of Welsh monks who accompanied him on his journey from Glamorgan, through Cornwall, to Brittany, and that one of them might possibly be that of *Luxulyan*, a parish quite close to St. Sampson's, Golant. The eponym of *Luxulyan* is clearly *Sulian*, and a Breton saint of that name, or of a very similar name, is by tradition associated with St. Samson. It seems worth while, then, to see exactly what Breton topography and ecclesiastical tradition have to tell us about this saint, especially as one place-name of Brittany, *Lossulien*,¹ is almost identical with the Cornish *Luxulyan* (which indeed we find in 1412 spelt *Lossulyan*²).

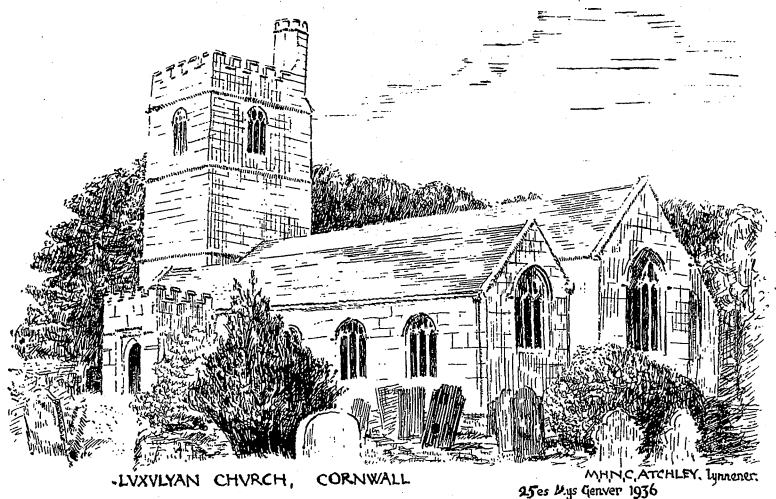
In the east of Brittany, in the ancient diocese of St. Malo, is a little village on the right bank of the estuary of the Rance called Saint-Suliac (*Ecclesia sancti Suliani* 1156, *Sancti Sulini* 1210, *St. Selya* 1256³), with a very interesting old church, formerly monastic (the parish priest is still called "the Prior"). The patron saint, whose cult has always been very vigorous here, is not honoured anywhere else in

¹ The manor of Lossulien was the largest *terre noble* in Guipavas. It belonged to the family of Cornouaille, and afterwards to those of Guengat and Kergorlay. The seigneur of Lossulien was one of the four knights of the bishopric of Léon who carried on their shoulders the chair in which the Bishop was seated when he made his *joyeuse entrée* into Saint-Pol on the occasion of his enthronement. In the gardens of Lossulien are ancient earthworks, showing that the manor-house has taken the place of a fortress dating from very early times. (See an article by M. Le Guennec in the *Bulletin de la Soc. Arch. du Finistère*, 1916, pp. 267-269.)

² See Appendix I., *Luxulyan*.

³ See Appendix II., *Saint-Suliac and its Traditions*.

this part of Brittany ; but at Sizun,¹ in the ancient diocese of Léon, Saint *Sulian* is the patron of the magnificent parish church, and for this reason (presumably) his name (*Sulianus*) is found, on July 29, in the calendar of the 1516 Breviary of Léon, which also contains nine proper lessons for his feast, in which his name is uniformly spelt *Sulianus*. Saint *Sulianus* is also found, on the same day, in the calendar of the manuscript Breviary (fifteenth century) of the neigh-

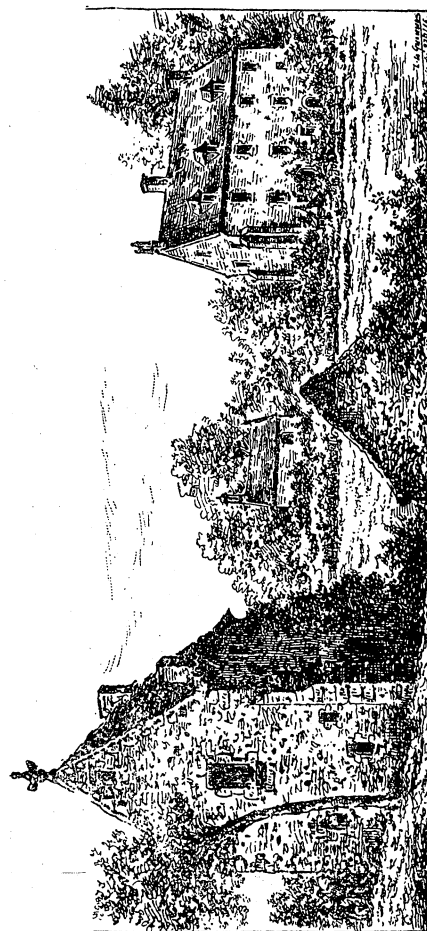


bouring diocese of Tréguier. The cathedral church of St. Pol de Léon and the collegiate church of Folgoat in the same diocese both possessed legends containing a *Life* of the saint. In the famous Missal (end of eleventh century) of St. Vougay, in the diocese of Léon, *SULIAUE* is found in the long list of Breton saints invoked in the Litany.² There

¹ The parish of Sizun possessed several chapels dedicated to Celtic saints, including St. Iltud and St. Maudez.

² Also in the tenth-century Litany printed by D'Arbois de Jubainville in the *Revue Celtique*, xi. 138.

were chapels of S. Sulian in three parishes in the west of Brittany : in the parish of Plomodiern is a chapel called in



LOSSULIEN MANOR-HOUSE.

From a sketch by the late M. Louis Le Guennec. The manor-house is seen on the right ; in the centre is the chapel, with its little Gothic bell-turret ; on the left is the manorial mill.

Breton *Sant Sula* (the name is spelt Sullien in the *Rolle des Décimes* of the diocese of Cornouaille in the eighteenth

century); in Pleyben was a chapel, situated in the north-west of the parish, at the village still called *St. Sulian*, frequently mentioned in the old parochial *comptes de fabriques* (sometimes the name is written *Sulio*, sometimes *Sullian*) down to the Revolution, when it was destroyed; while in Saint-Nic, north-west of the bourg, there is still a chapel of Saint *Sullian*.¹

This is the full extent of the liturgical cult of Saint Suliavus or Sulianus. (There does not seem to be any evidence for a popular cult of a saint of this name except in the east of Brittany, and, as we shall see, when the Rector of Sizun desired a *Life* of the patron saint he sent to Saint-Suliac for it.) But the late M. Joseph Loth has shown² that a good many place-names in the north and west contain the name *Sulian*. There are two *Lan* names (*Lan-Sulien* in Fouesnant and *Lan-Sulien* in Cleden, both in Finistère); a *Plou* name (*Plussulien*, between Dinan and Lamballe); an ancient fief which extended through several parishes in the modern Department of the Côtes-du-Nord was called *Saint-Sullien* (a *Saint Sulian* is mentioned in *Anc. Ev.*, III. 1164); there is a place called *Lossulien* in Releq-Kerhuon, near Landerneau, and a *Rossulien* (as I learn from my friend M. Le Guennec) in Plomelin. *Lansulien* is also found as the name of an old Breton noble family.

In the seventeenth century the famous Breton hagiographer Albert Le Grand examined most of the lessons for the feast of our saint in the liturgical books of the dioceses of Léon and St. Malo, and from them he composed his *Life of Saint Suliau*. As some of these authorities, including the *legendaries* (which always give the stories of the saints more fully than the *breviaries*), have since perished, it will be

¹ I am indebted for these interesting facts to Canon Pérennès, to the Rector of Pleyben, and to M. Henri Waquet, Archivist of Finistère.

² *Noms des Saints Bretons*, p. 115.

convenient first to give a translation of his *Life*, and then to study the more fragmentary versions contained in the liturgical books of the dioceses of Léon and St. Malo which have come down to us.

THE LIFE OF SAINT SULIAU OR SYLIAU,

Abbot and Confessor, the 1 day of October.

SAINT SULIAU was born in the province of Wales, in Great Britain, in the year of grace 530, under the Pontificate of Boniface II. & the empire of Justinian I. of that name. His father was Sovereign Lord of that country & was called Brocmail,¹ who had three male children, our Saint Suliau & two others, whom he caused to be carefully brought up, especially Suliau, as his eldest and the heir presumptive of his principality; but God disposed otherwise, drawing this young Prince to his service & inspiring him with the desire to quit the pleasures of the court, to embrace the Cross of Penitence & follow Jesus Christ by the narrow way of evangelical perfection. There was in that province a great town, then called Meibot,² near which the Princes of the country had founded a rich Abbey, which was then governed by an Abbot, named Guymarcus,³ who, going from time to time to the court of Prince

¹ *I.e.* Brochwel Sgithrog (= The "Tusky," referring to his prominent teeth), King of Powys.

² *I.e.* Meifod (Meivott, 1631, Myvot, 1663) in Montgomeryshire (see Appendix IV.). Mr. Wade-Evans says that Mathrafal, in Llangynyw, S.W. of Meifod, "was deemed the chief royal residence of Powys, as Aberffraw of Gwynedd."

³ One of the three churches which formerly stood in the large churchyard of Meifod (see Appendix IV.) was called Eglwys Gwyddfarch. Baring-Gould and Fisher (*Lives of the British Saints*, iii. 219, 220) say that "the local legend speaks of S. Gwyddfarch as an anchorite, who had his rocky bed, Gwely Gwyddfarch (a natural depression in the hill, 8 yards long), on the slope of Gallt yr Ancr (=the Anchorite's Hill), which is a bold eminence standing out above the village; and it was his warning voice, soon after his death, heard in the dead of night, that determined the exact spot whereon the church of Meifod should be built. He breathed his last, according to the tradition, in his stony bed. Eglwys Gwyddfarch stood, according to the terrier of 1631, on the west side of the present churchyard, just outside the wall, and had a small churchyard attached to it. In 1631 it was inhabited as a cottage, and its churchyard converted into gardens." In 1467 a grant was made at the Court of Rome of 100 days' remission to those who should repair to the chapel of S. Gwyddfarch, Abbot and Confessor, or to the cemetery of S. Tyssilio at Chirk, and perform certain acts of devotion. In the east window of the chancel of the present church

Brocmall, used to converse familiarly with Suliau, & so enflamed him with the love of God, that he resolved to make himself a Religious : he spoke of it to the said Abbot, who commended his designs & gave thanks to God therefor. The difficulty was how to leave the house of his father, whose consent he could not hope to obtain ; nevertheless he resolved to face this difficulty, preferring in this respect to fail in the duty he owed to his parents, rather than to fail to respond to his vocation. One day he gave out that he was going hunting, & when he was two leagues outside the town, he embraced his two brothers, having revealed to them his designs ; & , having taken leave of them, betook himself to the Monastery.

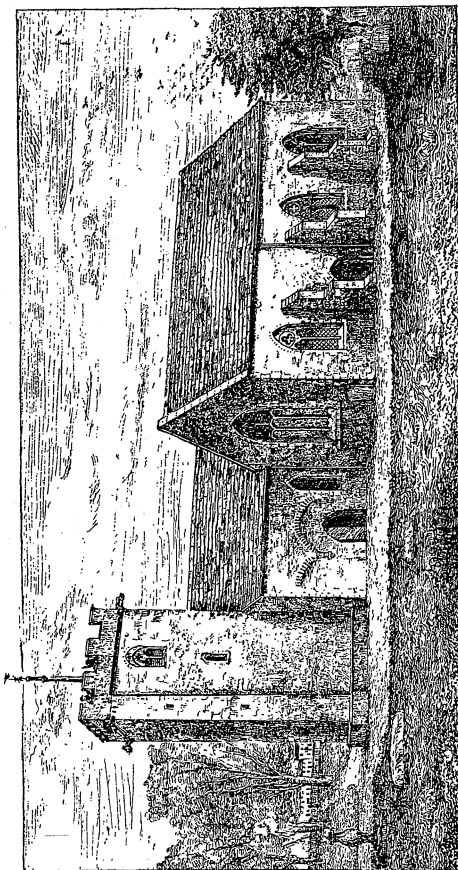
II. As soon as he saw Abbot Guymarch, he threw himself at his feet & most humbly besought him to give him the [monastic] habit as soon as possible, for he doubted not that, if there were any delay, his father would prevent his reception [as a monk] : the Abbot lifted him up, & , having presented him to his Monks, with their full consent he gave him the habit. Meanwhile his two brothers, having returned home, related to the Prince their father what had happened, & how their eldest brother had withdrawn [from the world] into the Monastery of Meibot. The Prince was exceedingly troubled at this news & immediately sent a party of 300 cavaliers to seek for his son Prince Suliau, and to bring him the head of Abbot Guymarch, if he refused, or resisted. The satellites mounted on their horses & did not stop galloping at full speed

of Meifod was, until the eighteenth century, some stained glass with an inscription invoking S. Gwyddfarch (*Scle Guydvarch*) and S. Tysilio.

Yr Eiddig
Sed trwmhae
Oretr mawr iaf
Korrr kettar

Only one Welsh kalendar commemorates him, and that not earlier than the middle of the sixteenth century (*Llanstephan* MS. 117,—the day assigned to him is November 3). S. Gwyddfarch is a purely local saint, who has no other dedication in Wales. His pedigree, however, is given in *Bonedd y Saint*, No. 36,—“Gwyddfarch y Me[i]lod ap Maelarus, dywysoc or Pwl.” (The name apparently means “wooden horse” in Welsh, and is totemistic.)

until they arrived at the town of Meibot, where, having refreshed themselves, they went to find the governor & the [officers of] justice to assist them & enforce obedience to the Prince's commands. They all alighted with one accord at the Monastery, & , having sent for the



MONT. COLL. Vol. X. p. 154

MEIFOD CHURCH.

Abbot, they reproached him with having corrupted Suliau, advising & commanding him to hand him over to them ; otherwise, they said, they had orders to put him to death. The Abbot mildly replied *that he had not corrupted the Prince, nor persuaded him to make himself a Religious ;*

but that since he had, of his own accord, come to his Monastery, he could not, without criminal ingratitude, refuse him what he asked for ; & said that, in order to show that he rendered due obedience to their master's wishes, & to prove he spoke the truth, he would cause the young prince to come, & if he wished to hand him back the Monastic habit & to return with them, he would not hinder him from doing so ; but that if he desired to remain in the Monastery, he could not force him to leave it, & would die rather than attempt to do so.

III. This humble and modest answer somewhat tempered their fury, but they still wished to see Prince Suliau, & were greatly amazed when he appeared in his [monastic] habit : for they had not believed that he would be clothed [as a monk] so soon, seeing that in this Monastery the Postulants were left in the dress they wore in the world for a year, in order to test their perseverance. Having greeted them & asked permission from his Abbot to speak to them, he said to them : *Gentlemen, I freely admit that if I have committed a fault in respect to my father (and yet it was not a fault, since I never intended to offend him), it was that I left his house without his leave & his blessing : but, when I saw that God was calling me to join this holy Company, & since I was certain that my father would never agree to it, but rather would prevent it, & having learnt that when God calls us to His service we must leave father & mother, & without regard to their tears, embrace with constancy the Cross of JESUS CHRIST, this being rather a work of piety & Religion than of cruelty and ingratitude,*¹—*Howsoever, if my father is so deeply incensed against this Monastery that his anger can only be appeased by the blood of the servants of God, be content to cut off my head & bear it to him, rather than imbrue your hands in the blood of my Father Abbot who stands here, & of his religious, who are entirely innocent, & since it is I who have committed the fault (if it be a fault), let me alone atone for it.*

IV. This reply of the young Prince appeased them, & they returned to their master to tell him that his son Suliau was resolved to die rather than quit the habit which he had received. Prince Brocmail, seeing his son's determination, was appeased. Nevertheless Saint Suliau, fearing that he might come himself to the Monastery looking for him, asked his Abbot to send him somewhere else for a time. His request was granted, & he had an obedience² to go & reside in a Priory dependant on his Monastery of Meibot, situated on an island made by the river *Mené*, which has ever since been called after him *Enez Suliau*, that is to say, The Island of Suliau, where he stayed for the space of seven years, leading the life of an angel rather than that of a man. When this time had expired, his Abbot recalled him to the Monastery, because he desired to journey to Rome ; but Saint Suliau, foreseeing the harm that would be caused by the absence of so good a Prelate, essayed to dissuade him from undertaking this journey, & seeing that

he had made up his mind to go, drew him apart one day, & said to him : " Father, you greatly desire to see the city of Rome, & are on the point of starting to visit it, leaving your children, like poor orphans, deprived of your presence. Now, if, without moving from this place, it was given you to behold that great city, its Temples & sumptuous palaces, would you be satisfied with that ?" The Abbot, seeing that his Religious did not approve of his proposed journey, accepted the condition, & promised that he would be satisfied if Saint Suliau fulfilled his promise.

V. The Saint passed that night in the Church, praying God to grant to his Abbot this gratification of his desire, that, without quitting his Monastery, his curiosity might be satisfied by the sight of that city : his Prayer was heard, & while the Religious were at recreation¹ after dinner, he led the Abbot to a little eminence, or hill, which was in the monastic enclosure, from which he caused him to see distinctly all the Churches, palaces, amphitheatres, obelisks & other rarities of that great city, which they contemplated at their leisure, from one o'clock till three o'clock in the afternoon, when the sound of the bell summoned them to Vespers. Abbot Guymarch understood from this marvellous vision he had seen that the will of God was that he should give up his projected journey & remain in his Monastery, & after tenderly embracing Suliau, gave thanks to God for the favour which had been granted to him ; & some time after, the Abbot fell ill, & seeing that his end was approaching, he had his Religious summoned to his room, & after giving them much eloquent instruction, said to them : *Brothers & dear children, I should not be a good Father to you if I were to die without first using all diligence to find you a good Pastor ; & although you are free to choose your own Abbot, I am impelled by the knowledge I have of the Holiness and uprightness of our brother Suliau to recommend him to you : frankly confessing that I regard him as most capable of undertaking this burden.* Having said this, he gave them his Benediction, & having devoutly received his sacraments, passed to a better life, in the year 558.

VI. After the funeral rites of Guymarch had been duly celebrated, the Religious unanimously elected S. Suliau & conducted him to the Bishop of *Kerleon* or *Menevia*, to receive his benediction ; then he returned to his Monastery, which he governed six years, down to the year 564, when his father fell ill. He visited him & assisted him during this illness, whereof he died. His second brother, named Jacob, succeeded to the throne, having been recognized by his subjects as their lawful Prince ; but he only reigned two years & died in the year 566, leaving his wife a widow & childless. However, being a woman of spirit & courage, she took up the reins of government over the State of her deceased husband, with the consent of the Barons & Lords, to whom she made a promise that she would marry Prince Suliau, Abbot of Meibot, who alone remained of the family of her late husband aforesaid. She came to the Monastery with this intention, & having

¹ A quotation from St. Jerome, *Epist. ad Heliodorum de laude vit. solitar.* : " solum pietatis opus est in hac re esse crudelem."

² A technical term in a monastery for receiving a formal command from a superior.

¹ A technical monastic term.

called for Abbot Suliau, declared to him the resolution she had made, which was to take him for her spouse, offering to obtain a dispensation from the Pope, seeing that it was for the good of the State. Saint Suliau was very astonished at this discourse of his sister-in-law, & answered : *That it was useless for her to speak of such a thing ; that he was a Professed Religious and Priest ; that he neither could nor would obtain a dispensation to marry ; that if he had desired to remain in the world he would have succeeded to the States of his Father, as the eldest son ; but that, for the love of Jesus Christ, he had renounced the vanities of the world & would not meddle with them at all, beseeching her to speak no more of it, & not to interrupt his solitude by proposals that could not possibly be accepted.*

VII. The Princess, taking this refusal as an affront, changed her love into hatred & left the Monastery in a fury, resolved to persecute Saint Suliau & his Religious in every way she could ; & , as soon as she was confirmed in the regency, she seized all the revenues of the Monastery of Meibot, which was thus reduced to great straits. Saint Suliau, grieving for the affliction of his Religious, who were persecuted for his sake, left the Monastery for a time, & withdrew to the Priory of Suliau Island ; but seeing that his sister-in-law, far from being appeased, was vexing his Monastery more & more, he resolved to leave his Country altogether & to cross the sea, with some of his Religious, whom he selected, to accompany him ; & , having taken leave of the rest, he went on board a ship, which safely crossed the British Sea and arrived at the city of *Guicaleth*, at the mouth of the river *Rance*, where he visited Saint Malo, Bishop of Aleth, who received him courteously and entertained him at the Monastery of Saint Aaron ; but the Saint, wishing to live a more solitary life, asked permission from Saint Malo to depart thence. This permission was granted, & so, leaving the city of *Guicaleth*, with some of his brethren, he walked two leagues along the shore of the river *Rance*, till he stopped at a deserted & solitary spot, exactly suited for his purpose, where he could be quiet and undisturbed by human intercourse. He enquired to whom the place belonged, & , having been informed that it was the property of a lord who lived in the neighbourhood, he went to him & obtained from him a grant of as much land as he needed in order to build a Hermitage for himself & for his brethren.

VIII. Having received this gift, he set to work, & , in a few days, built a little Chapel & fifteen little Cells, for himself & his Religious to lodge in ; & , having with his own hands tilled a piece of ground, the remaining part of the land which had been given him, he sowed corn there. It grew up very well ; but the cattle which used to pass that way to visit the neighbouring marshes, one night broke into the field, which was not fenced, & spoil part of the crop. S. Suliau was informed next morning of what had happened. He did not greatly disturb himself, but only fell to prayer, & then took his staff & with it traced a line round the field, & planted at its four corners four little switches, instead of a hedge & ditch ; praying to God that the cattle might not pass these limits to injure His servants' crops. God heard his Prayer, & next night the same animals, leaving the marshes & pastures, attempted to

invade the field again ; but (marvellous to relate) as soon as they touched the line which the Saint had traced around his field, they could not stir backwards or forwards & became as motionless as if they were made of marble or bronze. In the morning they were discovered in this posture all round S. Suliau's field by the neighbouring peasants, who had missed them from the marshes ; & the rumour of this marvel having reached all the country round, a great multitude of people flocked to the Hermitage to see so strange a sight. The holy Abbot, fearing that all this concourse might interrupt the exercises of his Religious, went out to the field, gave his Benediction to the animals, & forbade them hereafter to ravage his corn. The beasts went back to the marshes & obeyed the Saint's command, never giving any more trouble.

IX. The Lord who had given this land to the holy Abbot, having seen this miracle with his own eyes, held him in still greater respect than before, & , seeing that his Hermitage was too small, allowed him to take as much more land as he pleased, & offered to supply him with money to build a more spacious Monastery, which was soon done, with the aid of the people of the villages round, who spared nothing which they could give to help the work ; & in this Monastery he received a great number of young men, who lived there like incarnate angels. The blessed Prelate Samson, visiting his diocese, turned aside expressly to see S. Suliau, who received him in his Monastery, and lodged him there three days, feeding him in accordance with the régime in use at the Monastery, that is to say, bread, vegetables, butter & cheese. In the Archbishop's party was a somewhat dainty person, who did not find the Monastery bread to his liking, & concealed his portion in his bosom. The bread he put there was immediately changed into a serpent, which coiled itself round his body. Everyone was greatly alarmed at what had happened, but S. Suliau, making the sign of the Cross, compelled the serpent to let go its hold, and bade it retire to the furthest recess of a mountain called *Mont-Garutz* ;¹ which it at once did, obeying the holy Abbot's command. S. Samson then took his leave, & went away greatly edified and pleased with his (S. Suliau's) Religious.

X. While Saint Suliau was thus filling all men with admiration for his great Sanctity, it came to pass that his sister-in-law, who had persecuted his Religious on his account, died ; & , as soon as she was dead, the Religious of the Monastery of Meibot deputed two of the oldest monks, named Pellibesten and Caramanien, to go & search for him in Armorican Britain & bring him back to his own country. S. Suliau received them very graciously & willingly agreed to go back with them ; but the brethren of that place refused to allow it. Thereupon the holy Abbot went into the church and prayed Our Lord to reveal to him His will, from which he was resolved not to swerve by a hair's breadth. His Prayer was heard, & it was revealed to him that he was not to leave that Monastery, because he had only a short time to live ; but that, in order not to grieve the Deputies of his Religious of Meibot, he might give them something to take back to their Monastery. Having finished

¹ Now *Mont Garrot* in Saint-Suliac. See Appendix II., pp. 32-34.

his Prayer, the Saint sent for them & told them what was the will of God, which he could not disobey, & gave them the book of the Gospels which he was accustomed always to carry with him, & the staff on which he leaned when he travelled; then he accompanied them to the port of Aleth, where they embarked & were wafted by a favourable wind to the coast of Wales. Some time after, Saint Suliau fell ill; &, perceiving that he would not recover from this illness, he called all His Religious, & exhorted them to maintain strict observance of the Rule, & having received the Sacraments, he gave up his Soul to God, on the first day of October in the year of grace 606, and the 76th year of his age. His body was buried in his Abbatial Church, now a Parish & a Priory Church, called *S. Suliau-sur-Rance*, distant from Saint-Malo two leagues, 5 from Dol, 3 from Dinan, half a league from Chateau-neuf. God has wrought many miracles at his tomb, which is devoutly visited by Pilgrims, who receive great favours there by the intercession of this Saint.

This life has been compiled from the ancient MSS. legends of the Cathedral Church of Léon and the Collegiate Church of Le Folgoët, which have the History in full in 9 lessons, agreeing with the original of his Life, kept in his Church of S. Suliau-sur-Rance, a copy of which was sent by the Prior & Rector of the said S. Suliau, to the Noble and Discreet Mre. Rolland Poulpiquet, Canon of Léon and then Rector of the Parish of Sizun, in the said diocese, which is dedicated to S. Suliau. The Brev. of Léon has 9 lessons for this saint, on the 29th of July, and the Proper of the Diocese of St. Malo 3 lessons, on the 1st October.

Albert Le Grand has, as was his invariable custom, taken the materials at his disposal and worked them up into an agreeable and edifying narrative, such as might be read aloud in a monastery. He has touched up the story as he found it, omitting things which would not interest Breton readers, improving what he considered needed improving (such as the story of the serpent), providing dates and suitable speeches, and relating events as they would have happened in mediæval Brittany (which he always supposes to be the Brittany of the Age of the Saints). Let us now study, so far as we are able, the sources of his information.

His materials, he tells us, were the liturgical books of two dioceses, Léon and St. Malo. He lived at Morlaix and relied mainly on information he could obtain in Léon, which was close at hand, but the traditions of Léon had been, as he himself shows, very greatly influenced by others coming

direct from St. Suliac in the diocese of St. Malo. The *Life* of the saint used at St. Suliac and the two legends he mentions have all perished, but the Lessons for his feast in the Breviaries of Léon and St. Malo, which he also mentions, have been preserved. We will proceed to examine them.

The summer portion of the Breviary of Léon, printed in 1516, which contained the Lessons for St. Sulian, is now lost, but a copy of these lessons was made in the eighteenth century by the Benedictines who were collecting materials for Dom Lobineau's famous book, *Les Vies des Saints de Bretagne*. This copy is now in the National Library at Paris (MS. Fr. 22,321, f. 730). I have had it transcribed by M. Thuasne, and have given it in the original Latin in an Appendix, for the benefit of scholars. I will content myself for the present with giving the English reader an analysis of its contents.

July 29. Of St. Sulian.

(i. and ii.) The Blessed Sulian was the son of King Bromaillus, who ruled the kingdom of Britain which is called Gualentius. One day he was playing in the street with his three brothers, Maion, Jacob and Chanaam,¹ when suddenly the presbyter Guimarchus passed by with his twelve disciples. Sulian runs after them.²

(iii.) His brothers tell Bromaillus, who at once sends thirty armed men to kill Guimarchus and his disciples and bring back Sulianus.

(iv.) The armed men cannot prevent them safely reaching their monastery. [The copyist here has accidentally left out a sentence or two, owing to the repetition of the word *per-*

¹ A scribe's error for the Celtic name Cynan. In the Welsh genealogies St. Tysilio has a brother called *Cynan Garwyn*. *Maion* is the *Mawn*, son of *Brochwel*, of the *Life of St. Beuno*. (See Appendix IV.)

² This incident appears to be imitated from the well-known story of the conversion of St. Guenaël.

venit, making nonsense of part of this lesson.] Sulian goes to the island called Sulio near the bank of the river called Mene.

(v.) He lives seven years as a hermit on this island.

(vi. and vii.) St. Guimarchus is displeased at the length of his stay, and commands him to return to his monastery and city of Meibot. Sulian does so and meets Guimarch, who is vexed because he has not been to visit him all that time, outside the city.

(viii.) Guimarch announces his intention to go to Rome. Sulian attempts to dissuade him, and at his suggestion they spend the night where they are and see Rome in a vision from the first to the third hour.

(ix.) They return to the city, and Guimarch a year later is "touched with a little fever" and dies, after designating Sulian to his disciples as his successor. Dom Lobineau's copyist here notes: "Thus far from the old Breviary of Léon. 29 July. What follows is taken from the MS. of Father Du Pas."

A certain woman¹ who wishes to marry him persecutes him and his monks. Like Joseph of old, he flies from her, and goes to the province which is called Buelt, and there builds a church and a monastery.² Even here he is not safe from that miserable woman Haiarme³ [here first named], who sends after him a large force of horsemen. . . . So he crosses the sea to Lesser Britain, where he preaches, and converts many to the Christian Religion, restores lapsed Christians, and heals the sick who come to him. One day the prince of that land visits him, and leading him to the

¹ We observe that she is *not* described as Sulian's sister-in-law.

² Perhaps Llangammarch, in Breconshire, near Builth, as the poet Cynddelw mentions "the church of Cammarch" as a foundation of St. Tysilio (see p. 27). But St. Cynog is the patron of Llangammarch.

³ Mr. Wade-Evans suggests that this name is the modern *Hacarnwy* (*haearn*, formerly *haiarn*, = iron).

top of a hill close by offers to give him and his successors all that he can see from thence. "At that time the Blessed Samson . . ." The copyist adds, "The rest is missing."

Now anyone familiar with Breton hagiography will recognize at once in the Lessons for St. Sulian in the Breviary of 1516 one of the many enterprising efforts of the canons of Léon to provide a *Life* for a saint honoured in their diocese, about whom nothing was known, by identifying him with some well-known Irish or British saint. Thus the patron of Plou-sané was identified with the famous St. Senan, Abbot of Inis Cathaig, and a résumé of the *Vita Senani* was inserted in the Breviary of Léon, lessons of Irish origin appear in the office of St. Caradoc, and the *Life* of St. Ciaran of Saighir is adapted to make a *Life* of St. Sezni. In this case the compilers of the Breviary of 1516 have identified a Saint Sulian honoured in Léon, on the one hand with St. Sulinus of Saint-Suliac-sur-Rance, and on the other hand with a Welsh saint, Tysilio. To make lessons for his feast they have copied from a Welsh legendary, but not, I think, directly. In the Vannes Breviary of 1589 the lessons for the feasts of St. Meréadec and St. Gobrien are both described as taken "*ex legendario manu scripto Ecclesiae Venetensis*."¹ In the same way the lessons for St. Gurval, St. Malo and St. Méen in the 1615 *Proper* of St. Malo are described as taken *ex veteri legendario macloviensi*. The lessons for St. Sulian may well be similarly an abridgement of the *Life* of the saint in the lost Legendary of Léon which Albert Le Grand consulted. As in the case of the lessons for St. Caradoc and St. Goueznou in the same Breviary, the story is broken off abruptly in the middle. Dom Lobineau's copyist has remedied this defect by borrowing from another source, which he found among

¹ In my *St. Meriadoc* (No. 34 in this series) I have printed the *Vita* given in the Vannes Legendary and the Lessons taken from it in 1589.

the papers of Father Du Paz.¹ Unfortunately he does not give us any indication as to the nature of the document he utilizes. It may be from the Léon Legendary, or it may be from some St. Malo manuscript. The first part of this supplement is clearly taken originally from the same Welsh Legendary which is the ultimate source of the Léon Breviary lessons. The second part is inspired by the traditions of the church of Saint-Suliac. We do not know why it stops suddenly in the middle of the sentence "At that time the Blessed Samson," or why "the rest is missing," but we need not lament the fact overmuch, since the imperfect sentence is obviously the same as the one which begins the second half of the St. Malo *Life* of St. Sulinus which I am now going to put before the reader.

The church of St. Suliac now possesses no *Life* of its patron saint, but two short *Lives* formerly in use in the diocese of St. Malo have been preserved. They have been printed by the Bollandists in the *Acta Sanctorum*, October 1, pp. 1916-7 (Paris edition). For convenience we will call them "A" and "B" respectively.

The Bollandists in the eighteenth century (1765) describe A as "lessons from a MS. Breviary sent to us," but they do not say anything further about its source. The lessons for St. Gurval, St. Malo and St. Méen in the St. Malo Breviary of 1615 are described as taken *ex veteri legendario macloviensi*, and in 1628 Canon Doremé quoted a few lines "de nostre vieil légendaire." Duine² suspects that A is in reality taken from this legendary, though it is much shorter than the *Lives* of Saints in legends usually are.

¹ See my *St. Meriadoc*, pp. 51, 52.

² *Invent. Lit.*, p. 190. M. le Comte de Calan has found this *Life* in the Breviary of 1537 in the Public Library at St. Malo.

A

"The Blessed Sulinus, son of Brochmaum¹ king of the Welsh, while yet a boy was educated and trained by the Blessed Guimarchus, a presbyter. After his father's death, he crossed the sea, and came to a place called Letau, near the river which is called Rentio, and there constructed a little house (*tuguriolum*) in a solitary and wooded spot. And when he broke up the fallow soil, that he might plant herbs and vegetables to supply himself with food, a multitude of wild beasts devoured whatever he sowed and planted there. The Man of God complained about it to the prince of that region, who answered, 'If you wish to preserve your crop, take care to protect it by fencing it.' Returning home, he went round his plot of land with his staff, and fixing a rod at each of the four corners, left the staff outside the enclosure. When the wild beasts came again, as they were wont, to the pasture prepared for them (as they imagined), as soon as they touched the Man of God's staff they became rigid, and stood there fixed, unable to move backwards or forwards. When the Prince heard of this, amazed at the miracle, he hastened to the Man of God, and falling at his feet asked for pardon. But the Man of God, after praying, released the animals, and baptized the Prince, with many others.

"At that time the Blessed Samson, Archbishop of Dol, heard of the fame of St. Sulinus, but, misled by certain clerks, who were the slaves of envy, he began to be somewhat displeased because the Man of God presumed to baptize and preach in his bishopric without his licence. He forbade holy oil to be supplied to him, and commanded him to cease from preaching. But the Man of God, having regard to the spiritual needs of those who came to him, and

¹ *Sic* (a slip for Brocmail).

fearing lest any should die without baptism, prayed that God would give him what man's power denied. When his prayer was finished he found upon the altar a cup full of the purest oil. As soon as this miracle came to the ears of St. Samson, that man devoted to God, fearing lest the wrath of God should come upon him for presuming to vex His servant Sulinus, hastened to him, with his clerks and the faithful [laity], and asked pardon for what he had done, promising he would never displease him again. Greatly rejoicing at their coming, the Man of God granted the pardon he desired, invited them to his table and entertained his guests liberally. But one of the diners would not eat the flesh-meat set before him, and let it fall into his bosom, where it was changed into an adder. The others, seeing this, had compassion on the unhappy man, and besought Blessed Sulinus for him, prostrating themselves at his feet. The serpent was chased away by the prayer of the Man of God, and all who were present blessed the Lord and His servant St. Sulinus. The Saint, touched soon after by a slight fever, knew by the Spirit the hour of his calling [to a better life]: and commending himself to God, after receiving the sacraments, amid hymns and songs of praise departed to Christ."

Now the first thing that strikes us as we read this *Life*, which I think we may safely assign to the late fifteenth century,¹ is the fact that it is concerned almost entirely with the saint's doings in Brittany. His career in Wales is dismissed in a single sentence, and the rest of the narrative consists exclusively of stories about the founder of Saint-Suliac-sur-Rance, mostly of the usual type such as you find everywhere in Brittany where there is a popular cult of the patron saint. It is clear that there was already a written

¹ In the fifteenth-century manuscript Missal of St. Malo we find "*Sulini* abbatis" in the calendar on October 1.

Life of the saint at Saint-Suliac, containing the legends about him current there in the Middle Ages, but it had apparently had one or two details added by someone writing with a very definite purpose, who was hostile to the metropolitan claims of St. Samson's Church at Dol, and who was not on the rigorist side in the old controversy about whether a monk may eat meat.¹ The St. Malo author of A was mainly interested in Saint-Suliac and its traditions, but already people had begun to ask "Who was St. Sulinus?" and someone familiar with Welsh hagiography had offered to supply an answer. The answer was not altogether, it is true, a clear and unambiguous one. It appeared that there was a saint honoured in Wales whose name was almost identical with that of the founder of Saint-Suliac—St. Silin.²

¹ Duine (*Memento*, No. 91) calls it a "conte d'une cuisine peu primitive, qui semble l'écho de controverses sur le maigre absolu dans les monastères." Fr. Grosjean points out that the same story appears in the *Vita Brigidae* (Acta Sanctorum, Febr., t. I., p. 124, num. 50).

² Rees (*Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 220) says that "Sulien, called also Silin, a son of Hywel ab Emyr Llydaw, is said to have settled in Bardsey. He was the founder of Llansilin and Wrexham (Denb.) and of Eglwys Sulien, Cardiganshire. The chapels of Capel Silin under Wrexham, and Capel Sant Silin in the parish of Llanfihangel Ystrad, Cardiganshire, both in ruins, were called after him. His commemoration is September 1." Rees adds that he was the brother of Cristiolus, Rhystud, Derfel, Dwywau and Alan. There was also a Capel St. Silin in Mynachlogddu (Pemb.). Sulien is the patron of Corwen (Merioneth) and of Silian or Llansilian (Card.). September 1 is the Feast of St. Giles, and the latter saint is called *Silin* in Wales, but it does not follow that St. Giles is necessarily the original patron of places called Llansilin or Capel Silin. The cult of St. Giles is not older than the eleventh century, and cannot have been introduced into Wales before the Norman Conquest, so that his name can hardly enter into Celtic place-names. (The authors of *Lives of the British Saints* have made a serious slip in vol. iv., p. 305. St. Giles's day is *not* October 1.) It is a curious fact that apparently in Brittany too St. Giles has, at any rate in one instance, replaced a St. Sulian, as M. Gaultier du Mottay, in his *Iconographie Bretonne* (1861), p. 254, says that St. Sulinus is patron of Tressignaux, near Lanvolon (C. du N.), where "il est représenté par une statue de Saint Gilles."

Sullien is a Welsh name. A *Sullien* appears as a witness to a charter in the *Vita Cadoci*, and the father of Rhygyvarch, the biographer of St. David, was a Bishop of St. David's named *Sulien*.

Unfortunately he had no legend, so they turned for that to St. Tysilio, who had a very interesting one. Still, the writer of A, while identifying his hero with St. Tysilio, was more interested in Breton than in Welsh legends, and preferred mainly to copy the old Saint-Suliac *Life*. He may have read the Welsh *Life* of St. Tysilio, but he had not got it in front of him while he was writing, for he says that St. Sulinus died *tactus levi febricula*. Now this is almost word for word the same phrase as that used by the writer of the Léon lessons in describing the death of *Guymarch*. It looks as if the phrase was in the mind of the writer of A, but by a lapse of memory he uses it of the wrong person.

B

The lessons for the saint in the printed Breviary of 1615 are very different. They are as follows :

"Sulinus, son of Brochmail, a king in Greater Britain, studied both sacred and profane learning under Guymarchus, a most religious presbyter. While still a youth, he dedicated himself entirely to God, and desired to make his home in a monastery with the same Guymarchus. His father and his brothers sought to turn him away from the Religious Life, but at last saw they were labouring in vain, and allowed him to persevere in his holy resolve. Guymarchus and Sulinus therefore dwelt together until the death of the latter's father, occupying themselves in the praises of God. Then, after some years, his brother's widow became enflamed with love for him, and desired to join herself to him in marriage. When he rejected this monstrous proposal, the woman, inspired by a spirit of evil, was so enraged with him that she persecuted all who belonged to the holy man, wherever she found them. Consequently, for the sake of sparing the brethren, he left the monastery, and lived for seven whole years on a certain island. At

length, Guymarchus bade him to return to them, but finding that he could not escape that malicious woman, he determined to leave the country. Therefore, committing himself to the winds and waves, he arrived at a certain place in Lesser Britain, called Letau, near the river Rentius. There he landed and constructed a little house, and received from the prince of that region licence to fence certain lands. And since he excelled in many virtues, many of the inhabitants, the prince himself among them, came to him and were converted from the error of the pagans to Christianity, and were baptized. He became famous through the numerous miracles he wrought while he lived, by reason of which his name was honoured, and at last, touched with a slight fever, he rested in Christ, full of days, on November 8. His body was honourably buried in the church which bears his name."

The difference between these two *Lives* is most significant. The author of B has cut out most of the old local Saint-Suliac matter, partly rewriting the rest, not merely because he (rightly) considered the stories about St. Samson and the monk who would not eat flesh as not particularly edifying,¹ but still more because he was fascinated by the Welsh legend of St. Tysilio. He even goes so far as to assert that the patron of Saint-Suliac died on November 8 (the date of the Feast of St. Tysilio), a statement which, if made in a sermon in the church there, would assuredly have created a riot among the fishermen and peasants of the Rance shore, who all firmly believed he died on October 1!²

There is still one more document in Brittany, a much earlier one, which refers to St. Suliau—the *Miracula Maglorii*.

¹ Duine, *Memento*, No. 91.

² The Prior tells me that the Patronal Festival is now on the second Sunday in October, so as not to clash with the Festival of the Rosary.

The bones of St. Magloire were brought from the island of Sark by the monks of Léhon (on the left bank of the Rance, above Dinan) in the time of Nominoé (d. 851), perhaps with the object of interesting that prince in their monastery. Soon after, about 900, one of the monks wrote a *Life* of St. Magloire, which contains an anecdote about Saint-Suliac. The chief cook of the abbey of Saint-Suliac had swum across the Rance to visit his sweetheart. He was attacked by a gigantic conger in the middle of the river. In the struggle he invoked the aid of one saint after another, without avail. At last he called upon Maglorius, then living as a hermit in Sark, and immediately a shining figure appeared to him on the water and reminded him that he had a knife in his pocket. The cook pulled out the knife and killed the conger. On his return to Saint-Suliac, *Sulinus* sent him off to Sark to return thanks to his saviour, and to offer him a present. Magloire refused to receive any recompense for what he had done, but "in order that my brother Sulinus may not say I refused his petition, we will accept for our use a certain farm (*villa*) which he has in this island in which we are conversing [*i.e.* in Sark]. And we have another farm in the neighbourhood of *his* monastery, which he might well accept for his own use." "This exchange" (the story goes on), "as made by St. Magloire, has ever since been regarded as inviolable by the successors of either saint."

This story¹ was of course invented to settle the question of the ownership of a village, still called Saint-Magloire, on the Rance south-east of Saint-Suliac,² and of a farm in Sark to which the latter abbey had claims. It is of great importance as showing the antiquity of the form *Sulinus*, and also the

¹ Fr. Grosjean says that it "seems an adaptation of a well-known tale of St. Brigid, Nos. 83 and 86 (f) in Plummer, *Miscell. Hagiogr. Hibernica*. Catalogue."

² Duine, *Memento*, No. 91.

existence of a place called after our saint in Sark, which might indicate that, like St. Samson, he stopped in the Channel Islands on his way to Brittany.

The reader has now before him the sole remaining Breton traditions about St. Suliau older than the time of Albert Le Grand. The difficult task remains of attempting to explain their relation to each other, and the source of each. I do not think we have enough evidence definitely to settle the question, but I would point out that Albert's account of the materials he used for his *Vie de Saint Suliau* distinctly states that he derived his information from two Léon legends (probably identical with each other), both now lost, in which the story of the saint agreed with that contained in a third source (also lost)—a manuscript *Life* kept at Saint-Suliac, a copy of which he had seen at Sizun. The lessons in the Léon Breviary, fortunately preserved, were probably, as I have said, abridged from the Léon Legendary. Now a comparison of the Léon Breviary lessons with the lessons of the St. Malo Proper of 1615 will show several identical expressions, indicating a common source. This common source was *ultimately* a Latin legendary from Wales. But we are told by Albert Le Grand that the Lectionary of Léon was "conforme" to the *Life* at Saint-Suliac, with which the author of the St. Malo Proper of 1615 must have been familiar (though Albert's notions of what is "conforme" may not be ours). I think, then, that we may possibly look to the lost *Life* used at the Priory of Saint-Suliac as the Breton source of the fully developed legend of St. Sulian as we find it at St. Malo and in Léon in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This *Life* was certainly a fifteenth-century composition, consisting of an older local *Life* with the Welsh legend of St. Tysilio grafted on to it. Albert's story of S. Sulian's relations with St. Malo must have come from this amalgamated *Life* (the St. Malo *Vita*

Gurvalli shows us that any *Life* of a saint honoured in the diocese is sure to represent him as an associate of the founder of the see of Aleth). So, no doubt, did the story of Pellibesten and Caramanien¹—names which sound fictitious and which may be the invention of a canon of St. Malo. On the other hand, it is hard to believe that a Saint-Suliac *Life* could contain the statement that the saint died on November 8. Thus the literary problem must be left in a certain amount of obscurity.

The most casual reader glancing at the Breviary lessons I have given could not help being struck by the detailed knowledge of places and persons in Wales which they show. He would indeed be a simple-minded person if he imagined that all this wealth of circumstantial information had been preserved by tradition in Brittany for a thousand years! As a matter of fact, the evidence I have placed before the reader shows that it only reached Brittany in the fifteenth century. The cult of St. Sulian had probably almost died out in Léon, though his name was remembered. The cult of St. Sulinus still flourished on the Rance, and the church there possessed a written *Life* of him, which did not mention Wales or St. Tysilio. It was a collection of local legends—of no historical value, as the true story of St. Sulinus's life had long been forgotten. Then in the fifteenth century the monks of Saint-Suliac, or some canon of St. Malo interested in Saint-Suliac, identified the patron of the church with the Welsh saint. I think we may be quite certain that St. Sulian is *not* the same person as St. Tysilio, because the latter's day in all Welsh calendars is November 8.² Nor is he the

¹ Mr. Wade-Evans suggests the Welsh *Caranmail* or Caranfael.

² The evidence for the identification turns out to be most unconvincing. It rests (a) on Cynddelw's statement quoted in the text, which I have shown cannot refer to Armorica. (And if it did, it would not prove that ancient Welsh tradition represented Tysilio as emigrating to Armorica, any more than statements in Geoffrey of Monmouth can be

St. Silin, honoured in Wales, whose day is September 1. It is true that a twelfth-century Welsh bard, Cynddelw, states that Tysilio founded a church in Llydaw or Letavia, which is a Welsh name for Brittany. But there is a Llydaw¹ in Wales (Mr. Wade-Evans, in his book *Welsh Christian Origins*, has a whole chapter on "Letavian saints," who are all Welsh saints). And Cynddelw's words cannot mean (as some have fancied) that Tysilio "fled to Brittany" and founded a church there. He simply mentions when enumerating the foundations of Tysilio, "*the church of Llydaw, through the effect of his liberality,*" words which could not apply to the settlement on the Rance. I cannot therefore agree to the statement, too often made, that Welsh tradition knows anything of a visit of Tysilio to Armorica. No more does any early Breton tradition. But if St. Tysilio did not cross the Channel, his legend did, and in this way escaped destruction. The *Life of Saint Suliau* is interesting, not because it really tells us anything about the founder of Saint-Suliac and other places in Brittany bearing the name Suliau or Sulian, but because it shows the knowledge of Welsh traditions and liturgical books possessed by Breton writers of the late Middle Ages, and the intercourse between Wales and Brittany which this involves. Welsh liturgical books are very rare, having mostly perished at the Reforma-

regarded as genuine Welsh traditions. Cynddelw might well have met a Breton in Wales, whose ancestor had come over with William the Conqueror, and who knew St. Suliac.) It rests (b) on M. Loth's suggestion that the patron of St. Suliac is a *Suliau*, distinct from Sulian. But he gives no evidence for this, and the form SULINUS at St. Suliac seems decisive against it. One might also point out that the Welsh saint's name always has the honorific prefix *Ty*, while no Breton saint called Sulian or Suliau ever has it, though the prefix is given to many saints in Brittany. While the evidence for the identification is thus most doubtful, the evidence *against* seems to me overwhelming.

¹ The fact that the St. Malo lessons state that the saint "came to a place called Letau" suggests that they may be following a similar statement in the lost Welsh *Life*. *Letavia* means the whole of Brittany.

tion, and the information about St. Tysilio which has survived in Wales is exceedingly scanty.¹ There is no *Life* of St. Tysilio now remaining in Wales, only a few scrappy references. As in the case of several Cornish saints (*e.g.*, St. Kea, St. Gwinear, St. Petroc), the legend of a saint, lost in the country of its origin, has been preserved by Breton writers who copied it before the Reformation had begun its destructive work on this side of the Channel.²

The sixteenth-century Breton traditions about St. Sulian ought therefore to be of great interest to students of Welsh history, but, as I have said, they deal mainly with the life of a Welsh, not a Breton, saint. The study of the cult of the founder of Breton places bearing the name of, or dedicated to, St. Suliaw and St. Sulian seems, on the whole, to suggest that there were two saints, one called Sulinus, founder of a monastery in the east of Brittany, the other called Suliaw, Sulian, or Sulien, who founded churches in Cornouaille and Domnonée, the former saint being honoured on October 1, the latter on July 29.³ As the cult of St. Sulinus in the

¹ See Appendix II.

² A very interesting point is the question, *How did the original Welsh legend end?* Now Kerdanet (a lawyer of Lesneven in Brittany, who printed an edition of Albert Le Grand in 1837) in his notes to the *Vie de Saint Suliaw*, twice refers to *légendaires gallois* and a *légende galloise*, and tells us (p. 607, col. 2, n. 1) that "the Welsh legend, which agrees in every respect with what we have just read [in A. Le Grand], states, however, that St. Suliaw returned to his own country and was there placed at the head of the Welsh clergy in the famous quarrel with St. Augustine." Now Kerdanet cannot have invented this most intriguing detail. He tells us in his Introduction (p. vii) that his notes were made from contributions sent him by "MM. Aymar de Blois, Athanase de Lerchantel and Paul de Courcy; Mlle. Maria de la Fruglaye, MM. Clech, vicaire of Lanmeur, Macé, curé of Ste. Sève, and other ecclesiastics." Is it possible that one of these may have seen the Welsh legendary from which the Léon and St. Malo writers got the story of St. Tysilio?

³ It has been suggested that St. Sulian is commemorated in the diocese of Léon on the day after the feast of St. Samson because the latter saint appears in his legend. It is true that St. Austol is commemorated a week after St. Méen, but that is because of the story that

important monastery he had founded on the Rance lasted permanently, while that of St. Sulian disappeared, his legend was borrowed by writers in the diocese of Léon, who sometimes called their saint *Suliavus* and sometimes *Sulianus*, but preserved the correct date of St. Sulian's feast, though Albert Le Grand preferred the day on which St. Malo honoured St. Sulinus. The fact that at St. Malo the form *Sulinus* was used, by the learned, as early as the ninth century, while the popular name was *Suliac*, does indeed suggest the possibility that *Sulinus*, *Sulianus* and *Suliavus* are really the same name. It is certain that the canons of St. Pol de Léon thought so, and M. Loth admits that "St. Sulian and St. Suliaw have been confounded more than once." Saint-Suliac is called in 1156, as we have seen, the *Ecclesia Sancti Sulfiani*, and although *Sulfiani* may be, as Loth asserts, a mistake for *Sulfavi*, it may on the other hand have been intended to spell the name thus. So again, the tradition about the saint having been a contemporary of St. Samson might be interpreted as supporting the suggestion that the founder of Luxulyan may also be the founder of Saint-Suliac, though it must be borne in mind that the story may be due merely to the proximity of Dol to the important Abbey of Saint-Suliac and the consequent jealousy felt at St. Malo about relations between them. On the whole, I feel that the difference in the date of the festivals of St. Suliac (*Sulinus*) and St. Sulian seems decisive as to their not being the same person, though the *name* may be identical. The saint honoured in the north and west of Brittany may very probably be the founder of the Cornish Parish of Luxulyan.

Mevennus, the godfather and relative of Austol, foretold that he would die exactly a week after his own death. According to the legend of St. Suliaw the relations between him and Samson were not too friendly. Moreover at St. Malo, which is near Dol, St. Sulinus's feast is *not* in July, while Léon is far from the places associated with Samson. I think July 29 is really the *natale* of the Léon saint.

The eponym of Luxulyan may in turn be the Saint Julian who is the patron saint of Maker in Cornwall, where he has a holy well, and of Tenby in Wales, since it is clear the Latin name Julian was regarded as equivalent to Sulian¹ in the Middle Ages, at any rate at Luxulyan (and probably elsewhere), seeing that *Julitta* was so easily accepted as the patron saint there.

APPENDIX I

THE late Mr. Charles Henderson, in *Records of Luxulyan* (printed in the *Truro Diocesan Gazette* in May, 1929), says:

"The name Luxulyan is a curious and interesting one. The oldest spellings *Luxulian* 1281, *Luxulien* 1333, *Luxulyan* 1304, *Lussulian* 1319, and *Lossulyan* 1412 show that the 'x' sound is not a modern intrusion. *Lussulian* might indeed be a corruption of *Lan-Sulien*, 'the monastery of St. Sulien,' but the earlier form *Luxulian* makes this impossible. . . . To the Breton, the name *Lossulien* presents no difficulty. It is obviously a compound *Loc+Sulien*. *Loc* (from *locus*) is a late word for monastery or church which is found all over [western and southern] Brittany, but, unless Luxulyan is an instance of it, it does not appear in Cornwall. Be this as it may, the name Luxulyan evidently contains the saint name Sulien. The same personal name occurs in Tresillian (in Merther and Newlyn) anciently written Tresulyan (the Town of Sulien) and in Bossillian, anciently Bossulyan (the House of Sulien) in Creed. [N.B.—Luxulyan is locally pronounced *Luxilian*.—G. H. D.]

"The first reference to the dedication of Luxulyan Church occurs in 1412, when it is called the Church *Sanctorum Ciricii et Julitte de Lossulyan*. St. Cyric, the infant martyr, and his mother Julitta, were popular saints all over Western Christendom in the Middle Ages. St. Veep Church was reconsecrated in their honour in 1336, probably because there was already in the vicinity a chapel of a Celtic Saint Carroc, whose name lent itself to confusion with Cyric. At Luxulyan, Carroc may also have been venerated. The holy well below the church bore in the last century the name of 'St. Syors' well' or 'St. Cyors,' a corruption (like Newton St. Cyres near Exeter) of the name Cyric. Again the original saint, Sulien, may have been called Julien and

¹ *Sulien*, Mr. Wade-Evans says, stands for an earlier *Sulgen* (= Born of Sul). He identifies Sulien with St. Julian of Tenby, who was one of the sons of Erbin, and points out that in Cornwall there is a *Treverbryn* near Luxulyan. Mr. M. H. N. C. Atchley has pointed out to me that the fact that a dedication to St. Julian at Shrewsbury adjoins a dedication to St. Samson in the parish of Cressage a little lower down the Severn (we have seen that some traditions associate St. Sulian with St. Samson). A St. Julian is patron of Wellow in Somerset.

become confused with Julitta. Leland refers to the chapel of a Celtic Saint Julitta, within Tintagel Castle, as of 'St. Ulette' or 'Uliane,' showing that the names were capable of confusion. . . . That Luxulyan Church has its foundations far back in the Celtic period is, I think, evident. The parish contained at one time many Celtic crosses of the plain, round-headed type. . . . The earliest documents mentioning the church date from the twelfth century and refer to it as 'the Chapel of Bodwithgi.'" With the manor of Bodwithgi it was given to the Benedictine Priory of Tywardreath.

Luxulyan Feast is kept on the Sunday before June 24. This is, of course, because June 16 is the festival of SS. Cyricus and Julitta. The Hieronymian Martyrology has, under June 16, the entry "*Antiochiæ Cirici et Iulittæ matris eius et aliorum CCCCIII.*" The story of SS. Cyricus and Julitta, as it stands at present, makes no mention of these 404 companions, and says the two saints died at Tarsus. Though purely legendary, this story acquired great popularity and spread the cult of St. Cyricus throughout Christendom. He is often honoured alone, without any mention of Julitta. (See Delehaye, *Les Origines du Culte des Martyrs*, pp. 167, 168.)

Mr. M. H. N. C. Atchley has kindly sent me the following notes on the churches of Luxulyan and Maker:

LUXULYAN.—The present church, which was rebuilt in the fifteenth century, consists of a chancel and a nave, separated from continuous aisles by arcades, each of six bays supported on monolith granite piers, and of an embattled south porch, roofed by an interesting granite barrel vault of rare design, and a west tower of three stages which is specially noticeable for the great size of the masonry and for the unusual turret. At the west end of the south aisle is a fourteenth-century window head reused by the builders of a century later.

The old waggon roofs, fortunately retaining the plaster panels, have survived over the aisles. The roodscreen (the loft stairs are in the north wall) was broken down in 1825, and some parts of its lower panels were in the parish about fifty or sixty years ago. A few fragments are still in the church. The modern pulpit has some old carved panels on it, and the font was made in the middle of the twelfth century.

Below the church is the holy well with its fifteenth-century building.

MAKER church is of fifteenth-century work in granite and consists of a chancel and a nave with continuous aisles of five bays, a south porch and a lofty west tower of three stages.

The old waggon roofs, with very fine bosses, happily still retain the plaster panels. The openings in the arcades for passage way along the roodloft have been walled up, and all traces of the screen are lost. The south aisle east window has a niche on each side, an uncommon feature in Cornwall. The magnificent font dates from about the third quarter of the twelfth century, and was brought from St. Merryn. Not far from the church is the holy well of St. Julian.

APPENDIX II

SAINT-SULIAC AND ITS TRADITIONS

WE have seen that in the oldest mention of the Abbey of Saint-Suliac the saint is called *Sulinus*. In the Middle Ages Saint-Suliac became a priory dependent on the Abbey of St. Florent near Saumur. The charters and other documents of this famous religious house now form series H in the Archives of the Department of Maine-et-Loire at Angers. The Archivist, M. Jacques Levron, at my request has very kindly examined them for me. He finds (1) a sealed citation (1210) summoning William, *vicarium Sancti Sulini*, to appear at Gennes-sur-Loire to answer in a dispute about tithes; and (2) a deed of the sixteenth century (the exact year is not given) addressed to the Bishop of Saint-Malo, in which the Abbot presents Geoffrey of Domloup to the cure of Saint-Suliac (*Sancti Sulini*). There are several other deeds, of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in French, in which the place is called *Saint-Suliac*. But "the Latin form," M. Levron says, "seems certainly to be *Sulinus*."

The *Guide Bleu* to Brittany describes Saint-Suliac as "a charming little rustic village, with thatched roofs, and a little harbour on a bay of the Rance—at low tide the water goes out to the distance of one kilometre. . . . The Gothic church, of the thirteenth, fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, has a truncated stone spire. In the north porch is a (restored) statue of St. Suliac and two monks of his abbey in red granite. Inside the church is his tomb, in which was found a bishop's ring, which is kept in the church as a relic. Modern stained-glass windows picture the legend of the saint and the asses of Rigour-daine. . . . Above Saint-Suliac rises Mont Garot, from the top of which is a wide view over the Rance and the surrounding country, extending as far as Mont Dol and Mont St. Michel." The Prior says that local tradition places the original site of the Saint's monastery on Mont Garot. "On the southern slope are some vines popularly known as the Vines of Saint Suliac and believed to be the descendants of the vines he planted."

I visited the church in June, 1935. The chapel of the saint is at the west end of the south aisle. There is a statue there representing him as a monk, in white, holding a staff in his right hand and an open book in his left; at his feet is a white mitre. Behind the altar is a picture of the death of the saint, and his tombstone, on which are inscribed a cross and the words *LAPIS TVM SANCTI SULINI ABBATIS*. The inscription is probably not of any great antiquity. Several modern ex-votos, and a little box with the words "Offrandes à St. Suliac," show the vitality of his cult here. The late Rev. S. Baring-Gould says that "it is a popular belief that as the staff is turned (in the hand of the statue of the saint) so is changed the direction of the wind," and that "an old woman who acted as sacristan informed him that her husband, a fisherman, when once returning, could not enter the harbour owing to contrary winds. She turned the crosier in the hand of S. Suliau, and at once the wind

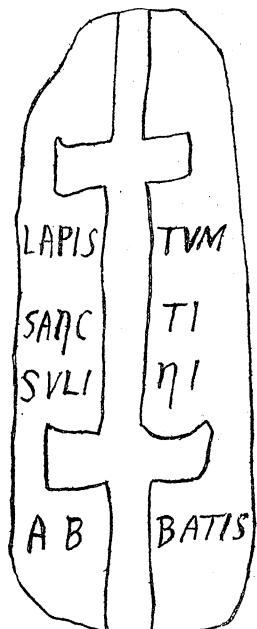
shifted, and the boat arrived with full sails." He also saw the ring mentioned above, and says it has "a large uncut stone in it."

Madame de Cerny, in *Saint-Suliac et ses Traditions*, says "Good Saint



Suliac had established his monastery in the place now called after him, had planted vines there and sowed wheat. The Rance was then only a tiny stream, which could be crossed on two ass's jaws, and opposite to

the Garot was the farm of Rigourden, the asses from which came over one day to feed in the monks' enclosure; the latter observed this, and drove them away. The Abbot went and complained to the farmer of the damage caused by his negligence, but no notice was taken of what he said, and one morning the Abbot found the animals feeding on his vine. He cursed them and struck them with his staff. Their owner came to look for them, and found them motionless near the monks'



THE "EPITAPH"
OF SAINT SVLIAC.
from a sketch by Canon G.H. Doble.

enclosure, with their heads turned over on their backs [another version says their heads had been placed where their tails ought to be, and vice versa]. Saint Suliac finally released them from this uncomfortable posture, and the asses went home, but made such a hideous noise as they departed that the saint, to prevent further annoyance from the creatures, made the Rance as wide as it is to-day."

Sébillot says that the saint's relics are visited by persons suffering from fever. His assistance is sought to preserve animals from epizooty.

APPENDIX III

THE LESSONS FROM THE LÉON BREVIARY OF 1516

(*Bibl. Nat.*, MS. Fr. 22, 321, p. 730)

29 Julii. De S. Suliano

1. FUIT igitur Beatus Sulianus filius Bromailli regis nobilissimi qui regnum Britanniae quod Gualentius dicitur suo quondam tempore strenuissime noscitur gubernasse. Puer autem Sulianus tenerae adhuc aetatis cum die quadam luderet in platea cum tribus fratribus Maion, Jacob et Chanaam, ecce subito contigit Guimarchum presbyterum cum duodecim discipulis suis praeterire juxta locum ubi pueri ad invicem ludebant.

2. Ut vidit igitur Sulianus puer fidissimus praesbyterum praetereuntem de divinis mysteriis aliqua cum discipulis concinentem adamavit illum et dixit fratribus suis: Volo sequi clericum istum ut doceat mihi id quod canit. Fratres autem dixerunt: Nolumus te dimittere. Ille autem flens et ejulans respondit: Si non dimiseritis me secum, moriar. Illi autem dimiserunt eum.

3. Et ille continuo secutus est Guimarchum. Illi vero qui ludebant secum cucurrerunt et nuntiaverunt patri suo Bromaillo qui continue misit 30 viros armatos ut occiderent Guimarchum cum discipulis suis et Sulianum retinerent.

4. Sed, miserante Domino, non potuerunt illos assequi quo usque ad monasterium suum pervenirent, mox autem ubi Guimarchus pervenit ad ecclesiam, pervenit ad insulam quae nomine hoc dicitur Sulio, juxta ripam fluminis quod nominatur Mene.

5. Quo in loco vir Dei septem annos continuos peregit in hymnis et canticis spiritualibus die nocteque deservire cupiens cum magna contritione cordis et spiritus, per hoc temporis spatium semetipsum omnipotenti Deo hostiam vivam immolare studuit.

6. Interea Sanctus Guimarchus non differens tam diuturnam discessionem illius, misit ad eum legatum suum, praecipiens ei ut rediret ad monasterium suum, et ad civitatem suam Meibot. Qui festinus patris imperio obedire cupiens, omissis omnibus quae ibidem erant, iter arripuit in revertendo. At Guimarchus cognito quod jam civitati appropinquaret nolebat eum expectare intra monasterium: sed quod diu cupiebat, Romam adire volebat.

7. Indignabatur enim aliquantulum quod ad eum non redierat per tantum temporis spatium. Sed per Dei providentiam exeunti illi extra civitatem obviis factus est ei Beatus Sulinus qui patrem dilectum intuens gaudio gavisus est non modico. Festinus tenuit pedes ejus postulans ab eo benedictionem; deinde interrogatus quo tenderet, "Vado," inquit, "Romam."

8. "Et quia tu me dereliquisti per septem annos continuos, derelinquam ego et hunc locum donec perficiam quam corde concepi peregrinationem." "Non ita," inquit, "facias pater; sed maneamus hic pariter hac nocte. Et si Deus tibi dignetur ostendere in hoc loco Romam,

sufficiat, et nusquam alibi eam quaeras; sin autem, crastina die quod Deo placuerit et tibi, facito." Manserunt ergo ibi nocte illa: prima hora diei apparuit eis Roma, et viderunt illam usque ad horam tertiam, qui, viso miraculo, laudaverunt Jesum qui salvat sperantes in se.

9. Et continuo revertentes in civitatem, manserunt in ea per spatium unius anni. Interea Beatus Guimarchus, parva febricula tactus, intelligens quod pius Dominus eum vocaret a mundo, convocatis discipulis suis eos commendavit beato Suliano, praecipiens eis ut non minus obedientes ei existerent quam sibi ipsi hactenus fuerant. Deinde benedicens illis et valedicens mundo, suis perceptis mysteriis in senectute bona obediens perrexit ad Dominum.

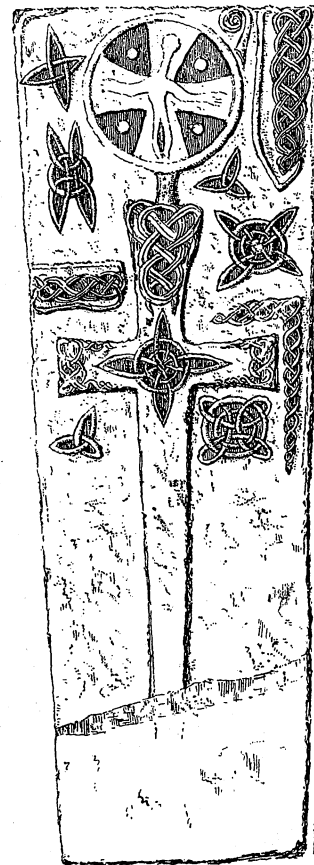
*Hactenus ex vet. breviar. Leon. 29 Jul. Quae sequuntur ex ms.
P. Du Pas desumpta sunt*

Post cujus obitum, videns S. Sulianus quod cujusdam mulierculae non cessaret rabies quin cum sibi conjugem fieri nephanda cupidine et mendaci libidine magis magisque appeteret, cedere loco disposuit, ne fratribus ibidem degentibus, causa illius aliquid mali contingeret. Ordinatis itaque rebus, et monasterio prout melius poterat, ut quondam Joseph de manu Aegiptiae dominae suae ad turpes complexus eum invitantis, relicto pallio, nudus evasit. Sic iste beatissimus miserae mulieris libidinem detestans, relicto monasterio, solus aufugit. Perveniens itaque in provinciam quae dicitur Buelt, ibidem aedificavit ecclesiam et coenobium construxit. Heu, diabole, quanta sunt erga servos Dei tuae malignitates, artes et insidiae. Nec servus Dei ibidem tutus esse potuit; prosecuta est siquidem eum Haiarme illa miserabilis cum maxima multitudine equitum, voluit enim eum vel neci tradere, vel ad suum nephandum conjugium quoquo modo reducere. Sed frustrata eius calliditas, Deo protegente, nec aliquid ad necem praevaluit. Cum igitur vir Dei animadvertisset quia diabolus per malitiam mulieris contra eum aperte saeviret, intelligens quod in tota regione illa nusquam ad habitandum tutum locum invenire potuisset, mala enim foemina insidias ei praeparabat, ad quaecunque loca veniret, optimo tandem reperto consilio ultra mare pergere et nativitatis suae patriam sua praesentia reducturus exul ille venerabilis esse curavit, qui ad ripam maris veniens, Deo duce, in minorem Britanniam transfretavit fidem Christianam praedicans, omnes qui ibidem erant increduli baptisavit, et Ecclesiae liminibus, Deo miserante, restituit, et de diversis partibus ad eum venientes qui infirmi erant sani redibant. Quadam vero die, cum princeps illius terrae virum Dei visitaret, manum illius tenens, duxit illum in montem qui prope situs erat, "Domine," inquit, "omnem quam circa montem hanc aspicias regionem tibi et successoribus tuis jure perpetuo commendo." Qua donatione firmata, princeps cum benedictione reversus est ad propria. Eo tempore Beatus Sampson. . . . *Caeltera desunt.*

APPENDIX IV

WELSH SOURCES FOR THE LIFE OF ST. TYSILIO

THE information about the career of St. Tysilio which Welsh Literature is able to supply to us is extremely slender.



TOMBSTONE IN MEIFOD CHURCH.

There are, first, the entries in Welsh genealogies relating to Tysilio and his family. In *Bonedd y Saint* (= "The descent of the Saints") the

thirty-second brief is as follows : "Tysilio ap Brochwel ap Kyngen ap Kadell Deyrnlluc, as Arddvn Penasgell verch Pabo Post Prydain i vam." (The genealogical tree of our saint's family is given by Mr. Wade-Evans in *Welsh Christian Origins*, p. 167.)

Next we have a poem in honour of Tysilio by a Welsh bard of the second half of the twelfth century called Cynddelw. The poem is entitled *Canu Tyssiliaw* (= Eulogy of Tyssilio). "Through frequent copying and misunderstandings by copyists," says Mr. J. W. Langstaff, "the text is corrupt in several places, and as the writer freely indulged in rhetoric and hyperbole, we cannot always penetrate the obscurity." At any rate it bears witness to the important place occupied by St. Tysilio in the traditions of the Welsh people. The following extracts seem to refer to his exile from Meifod and persecution by Haiarme. Meifod is described, and a list of Tysilio's foundations given.

"A very heaven is Eirionydd's sward,
From exile's bondage a benign resort,
A goal secure from exile's banishment.

Of pure descent and noble is he born,
Great ruler of a great society [*i.e.* Meifod Abbey].
Well doth he free the heart from heaviness
And women bind by vow devout to God [in a convent].
A woman, for her proud transgressings known,
Hath pierced his heart, and, by iniquity,
Llanvechan's beauty dwindled down to nought.¹

The churchyard trees are sepulchres of kings,
Bards pant to hold the thronging union there,
By chartered privilege a land of love,
No men of war possess our Meifod blest.
Stately is the holy place by candle light,
Gracious its men with their long drinking horns of flashing blue.
Free from Oppression's grip and foes' approach,
The three Saints' revenue brooks no dispute.
'Tis Meifod's pride to shield the frequent guest.

A church he raised with his fostering hand,
The church of Llugyrn, with a chancel for Mass ;
The church beyond the shore—beyond the glassy flood ;
The church filled to overflowing, beyond the palace of Dinorben ;²
The church of Llydaw, through the influence of his liberality ;
The church of Pengwern, chiefest in the land ;
The church of Powys, paradise most fair ;
The church of Cammarch, with a hand of respect for the owner."

¹ A church about seven miles north-east of Meifod.

² Dinorben Vawr is an Elizabethan house near Abergel. There is an ancient hill-fort known as Dinorben in Parc y Meirch Wood in Kimmel Park near St. Asaph. It was excavated by Mr. Willoughby Gardner, and many third and fourth century coins were found.

(Llanllugyrn may be Llanlulan in Montgomeryshire; Pengwern is Shrewsbury, "the ancient capital of Powys. . . . Possibly the church is St. Julian's, in that town."¹ For Llangammarch see p. 10.)

Thirdly, there is a *Life* of St. Beuno, in the Welsh language, of which Mr. Wade-Evans has given an English version, with commentary, in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, December, 1930 (pp. 315-341), from a MS. written in 1346 by the anchorite of Llandewi Frefi. It seems to be a translation from a Latin *Life*. It tells us that Beuno visited "Mawn son of Brochwel," who "gave for his soul and the soul of his father Aberriw, Berriew, to God and Beuno." A little further on we read that "Beuno came, he and his disciples, to Meifod. And there he dwelt with Tysilio Sant forty days and forty nights. Then he came to King Cynan son of Brochwel, and besought of him a place to pray for his soul and his friends. And then the king gave him Gwyddelwern. . . . And there Beuno made a church till the time that the grandsons of Cynan came from hunting to request food from Beuno." (It is interesting to note that *Beuno Sant* contains a reference to "a saint whose name was Tangusius." This name is otherwise unknown in Wales, but is the name of a Breton saint (St. Tanguy) of whom Albert Le Grand gives a *Life*.)

Lastly, let us see what clues to the history of St. Tysilio the study of Welsh topography may be able to afford us.

The chief centre of the cult of St. Tysilio is, of course, Meifod (the name means *May* or *Summer Residence*), a village on the river Vyrnwy, about three miles from the earthwork called Mathrafel, where was the palace of the Princes of Powys. The present parish church of Meifod is dedicated in his honour. There was also a church of St. Gwyddfarch as we have seen ; and a third church, called Eglwys Fair (= Church of Mary), is mentioned in the Brut y Tywysogion in 1155—"in that year Meurug son of Gruffudd, Lord of Powys, escaped from his prison. It was not long after that before the Church of St. Mary was consecrated at Meifod." Meifod "was the premier church of Powys, and had jurisdiction over a very extensive district." Its great circular churchyard, of five acres, the largest in Wales, was the favourite burial-place of the Princes of Powys, till the foundation of Valle Crucis Abbey by one of them (Madoc, son of Gryffyd Maelor) in 1200. Its daughter churches included Welshpool, Guilsfield, Llanfair Caereinion, Llanlulan and Alderbury. It may be observed that the Wakes at Welshpool and Guilsfield were held on November 8, the Feast of St. Tysilio, as was that at Meifod. (At Welshpool is a well called Pistyll Tyssilio, mentioned as "Fons Tessiliau" in a charter of 1202.) The *Taxatio* of 1291 gives the names of three priests ministering in Meifod church and its out-stations.

St. Tysilio is also patron of Landysilio in Montgomeryshire, and of Llantysilio and Bryn Eglwys in Denbighshire. There is a holy well called Ffynnon Dyssilio in both parishes. In Bryn Eglwys the *Valor* of 1535 records "Item in die Sancti Tyssilio in offering—xxd." At

¹ *L.B.S.* IV. 303.

Chirk in Denbighshire a "cemetery of St. Tysilio, confessor," is mentioned in a grant of 1467. In 1690 there was a "ffynnon Nant Dyssilio" at Oswestry. At Rhiwlas, in the parish of Llansilin in Denbighshire,



was a large stone called "Maen Tyssilio," which was "the rallying point of the youth in their games."¹

It will be observed that all these places are quite close to Meifod.

In addition, there are three outlying places called Llandysilio: one in Anglesey, on the Menai Straits, about which there is so much in the lost legendary; a second in Cardiganshire; and a third in Pembroke-shire.

¹ Much of the above is culled from *Lives of the British Saints*, IV, 303, 304.