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SAINT WINNOC,

Abbot and Confessor.

BY THE

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With a History of the Parish of St. Winnow, arranged from the Notes of the late Mr. Charles Henderson, M.A., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and a description of St. Winnow Church by Mr. M. H. N. C. Atchley.

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S. WINNOC, Abbot and Confessor.

The church of St. Winnow in Cornwall, which is one of rare beauty, with its ancient roodscreen and bench-ends and its 16th century stained glass, stands in a very picturesque situation on the shore of the lovely Fowey River, a little below the town of Lostwithiel. Its historic interest is equal to its artistic charm. Its name in the 11th century, *San Winnuc*, shows that it is on the site of the monastery of some famous Celtic saint. The shore of a tidal estuary was a favourite position for a monastery in the Age of the Saints. These estuaries, by which a boat can penetrate easily and quickly into the heart of the country, had been for centuries the avenues by which civilization had reached Cornwall, and the Fowey possessed special importance as forming part of the ancient trade route across the peninsula from the Continent to Wales and Ireland—Castle Dore and Lantyan, the residence of King Mark, are opposite St. Winnow on the further side of the river. Other facts point in the same direction. In Domesday Book we find that *San Winnuc* belonged to the Bishop of Exeter, and the possessions of the see of Exeter in Cornwall seem to have consisted almost entirely of the lands of former Celtic monasteries given to it by the West-Saxon kings. Moreover, the extensive parish of St. Winnow, which originally included four chapelries, two of which eventually became separate parishes, formed until 1839 a “Peculiar” of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter.

Who was the saint who first built a church here and gave his name to this important parish ?

Historians have hitherto found it a difficult problem.

Winnoc was a common British name,¹ which is also found in Ireland.² Gregory of Tours³ tells us that about the year 580 (or earlier) "Winnochus the Briton, a most self-denying man (*in summa abstinentia*), came from [the land of] the Britons to Tours, intending to go on to Jerusalem. He wore no other garment than a sheepskin with the wool cut off. He seemed to us a very religious man, and in order to keep him with us we ordained him presbyter." Later on, warning us against the wiles of Satan, he adds that this same Briton (he now spells the name *Vennocus*), who ate nothing but raw herbs, made such an impression at Tours that his admirers left offerings at his cell in the shape of bottles of wine. The wine of Touraine, taken

¹ There are places called *Trewinnow* in the parishes of Creed and Davidstow. That in Davidstow was *Trewennow* in 1554, the one in Creed is spelt *Trewynnnow Mure* in 1556. In Domesday Book there is a manor called TREVOCARWINNOC, belonging to the Count of Mortain. Canon Taylor identified it with Treveago in St. Winnow, but Mr. Henderson evidently doubted this, as he attempted no identification when referring to it in "Cornish Woodlands" (*Essays in Cornish History*, 1935, p. 138). From its place in Domesday it seems as if it might be in this part of Cornwall, but the second part of the name suggests the *Carn Winnioc* of Edgar's charter of 969 (Gray-Birch, *Cart. Sax.* III, p. 521), which was in Lamorran. See p. 31. The Rev. W. M. M. Picken tells me he has found Tregarvithick in Lansallos spelt *Tregowynnek* 1475-1485.

² A Winoc was a contemporary of S. Patrick, mentioned in his *Life* by Jocelyn of Furness; according to Colgan he was honoured on 29 August in the diocese of Armagh. Another Winoc, who lived near Luxeuil, is mentioned in the *Vita Columbani*. He was the father of Bobolenus. In *Irish Litanies*, edited by Plummer for the Henry Bradshaw Society in 1925, on p. 56, is the following passage:

"Hec sunt nomina episcoporum Cilli Achid.
Budoci (tres), Conoci (tres) Uennoci (xii)."

There were two places called Cell Achid, *viz.* Killeigh near Tullamore in King's County, and Killala, in the barony of Magunehy in Co. Kerry. The note on p. 115 of *I. L.* calls the above entries "groups of homonymous bishops." But it seems unlikely that there were 12 bishops called Winnoc in one place.

³ *Hist. Franc.*, Lib. V. xiv. 21, Lib. VIII. xxxiv.

on an empty stomach, naturally went to his head, and he was said to have attacked passers-by with knives and stones, and had to be chained up in his cell for two years, till he died.⁴

In Flanders, at Wormhout and Bergues-Saint-Winoc, a very well-known saint of this name was greatly honoured in the Middle Ages. It has been thought that the considerable distance from Cornwall, and the apparent impossibility of reconciling what the *Life* of S. Winnoc of Wormhout tells us about him⁵ with his ever having the opportunity of visiting our county and founding churches here, make it out of the question that this saint could be the same as the Cornish S. Winnoc. I hope, however, to show that the difficulty is more apparent than real, and that there may be after all good reasons for accepting the identification.

Saint Winnoc was the founder of Wormhout, now a small French country parish 12 miles south of Dunkirk, near the Belgian frontier, where he died and was buried. In the year 846, when the neighbourhood had become unsafe owing to Danish raids, his body was removed to St.-Omer.

In 900, Baldwin II., Count of Flanders, took it to Bergues-Saint-Winoc,⁶ a little town on an eminence surrounded by fens, which could be easily defended. In 1022 Baldwin IV. built a larger church on the summit of the little hill, and the canons took possession of it, taking with them the shrine of S. Winnoc. Soon after, however, the Count expelled the canons and replaced them by Benedictine monks, the first Abbot being a monk of St.-Bertin named Rumold. The presence of the body of S. Winnoc had been from the first regarded with the greatest reverence and it continued to work miracles after its translation to Bergues, where the numerous cures which took place at his shrine in the Abbey church made the town a kind of little Flemish Lourdes.

⁴ Renan's sarcastic comment on this anecdote in his *Souvenirs d'enfance et de jeunesse*—"ce fut un saint tout de même"—is quite unjustified. The British hermit who fell a victim to the indiscreet attentions of the people of Tours never, of course, received any cult, and Gregory only tells the story to show how "princeps tenebrarum mille habet artes nocendi."

⁵ The *Vita Winnoci* represents him as being "from his boyhood" (*a pueritia*, see p. 7) a disciple of S. Bertin, a 7th cent. saint, far away in Flanders, and spending all his life there.

⁶ *Mons Sancti Winnoci*. *Bergues* is of course the old English *berg*=hill, which survives in the word *iceberg*. The town was also called *Gruneberga* (= "Green Hill"), which every visitor will recognise as a most suitable name.

In the 7th century a very famous monastery had been founded at Sithiu (now St.-Bertin), a suburb of St.-Omer, by a monk from the shores of the Lake of Constance, named Bertinus. He had been a disciple of S. Columbanus at Luxeuil, and may have been invited by S. Audomarus (Omer) to help evangelize the *Pagus Morinensis*. Every traveller in the north of France has seen, near the railway station at St.-Omer, the imposing ruins of the magnificent Abbey of St.-Bertin, whose destruction is one of the shames of the French Revolution. It became a not unimportant literary centre. At some time before 846⁷ an anonymous writer, apparently a monk of this monastery, composed a *Life* of S. Winnoc. It is found in several manuscripts appended to *Lives* of S. Audomarus and S. Bertinus,⁸ and is almost certainly by the same author. As the compiler of the *Old English Martyrology* (to which we shall refer later), the date of which, in its original form, seems to be about 750, or soon after,⁹ quotes passages from all three of these *Lives*, they must have been in existence before that date. I will translate this, the oldest *Life* of S. Winnoc, and will afterwards go on to analyse the two later *Lives*.¹⁰

I.

Incipit vita vel actus sancti Winnoci confessoris Christi.

1. When Bertinus, the holy confessor of Christ, conspicuous for the signs and wonders he wrought, was ruling a multitude of monks in the monastery of Sithiu, religious men, prompted by

divine grace, came to him from every direction, desiring to serve God with him under the yoke of the sacred [monastic] rule. Among whom were four religious men from the far distant land of the Britons, whose names were Quadanocus and Ingenocus, Madocus and Saint Winnocus, who, according to the Lord's precept,¹¹ forsook parents and native land, and came to him with one accord, asking to be received into the holy flock of monks which was under his charge. So the blessed Bertinus, perceiving that they were on fire with the love of God, and feeling sure that there was in them a perfect will to live well, received them graciously and admitted them at once to the sacred band of monks.

2. But after a short space of time had elapsed, the holy Bertin, seeing that the aforesaid servants of God were prudent observers of the sacred Rule, and filled with perfect charity and true humility, and that they obediently devoted themselves to manual labour [as required by the Rule], commanded them to build in the name of God a monastery (*cellam*) in the *Pagus Terwanensis*.¹² For a certain rich man, named Heremar, offered to God and to blessed Bertin his fertile inheritance in the aforesaid country, called Woromholt, whence the *cella* derives its name. So S. Bertin, wishing to multiply habitations for the servants of God and to prepare hostels for the poor of Christ, the same being then rare in the aforesaid country, sent over to that country the aforesaid servants of Christ, with some other brethren, to construct in the same country a habitation fit for the servants of God. So those religious, who had, after the example of the Apostle, one heart and one mind, longing after a perfect life, solicitous rather for the poor of Christ and His guests than for themselves, built a convenient *cella* in the aforesaid country, as the holy abbot Bertinus had commanded, and persevering in the service of God for many years there ended their days.

3. But after the death of the aforesaid three holy men, *i.e.* Quadanoc¹³ and Ingenoc and Madoc, blessed Bertin granted that Saint Winnoc should rule over the community of servants of God abiding in the aforesaid *cella*, forasmuch as he had been brought up from his youth under the yoke of the sacred Rule by blessed Bertin

¹¹ Matt. 19: 29. Bretons seem to have visited St-Bertin in the 10th cent. (and, no doubt, earlier), as a manuscript of that date written there contains Breton glosses (*Rev. Celt.*, XI. 1890, p. 86, Duine, *Inventaire*, p. III).

¹² This district is called by Caesar the Land of the Morini; in the 8th century it took its name from the diocese of Thérouanne in which it lay.

¹³ One MS. reads *Quadonoc*.

⁷ The author, if he had written after 846, would have mentioned the translation of S. Winnoc's body to St.-Omer.

⁸ a MS. from Molsheim in Alsace, No. 86 in the old Bollandist library, which contains *Lives* of several monks of Luxeuil, inserts the three *Lives* referred to, with the rubric *In Dei nomine pauca de sancta conversatione et vita militum Christi Audomari, Bertini et Winnoci*. The Bollandists dealt with S. Bertin in the *Acta SS.*, Sept. II. pp. 549—630. The *Vita S. Bertini* is not really a *Life* at all. It does not mention his birth or his death, or anything whatever that he did, except two miracles, one wrought during his life, the other at his tomb, which are related at great length, and must be fragments of *legenda* for his festival.

⁹ See p. 25.

¹⁰ The three *Lives* of S. Winnoc and Drogo's *Miracles* are printed in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov. T. III. pp. 243—289, with introduction and commentary by the late Fr. C. de Smedt.

and among those holy compatriots of his, whom we have already mentioned. Between him and them there had been a considerable difference in respect of age, but in regard to perfect charity and obedience he was a true follower of those servants of God, and the Lord granted him a special grace of humility. For he considered himself to be viler than all men, fulfilling that which is written: *Whosoever shall be great among you, let him be your minister, for whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.*¹⁴ Accordingly the aforesaid servant of God, Winnoc, observing this precept of the Saviour, used to minister to the brethren placed under his rule and to the guests who came to him, and, by God's assistance, cheerfully carried out all those duties which seemed most disagreeable to the other brethren who were living with him. And so the bountiful Rewarder of all good works, Who is no acceptor of persons, Who says: *Upon this man will I rest, even upon him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at My word,*¹⁵ beholding the perfect charity and humility of His servant Winnoc, exalted him in glorious deeds, some of which, with God's assistance, we shall proceed to narrate in what follows.

4. For when the holy confessor of Christ Winnoc had reached an honoured old age, although his bodily powers had failed him, yet strengthened in the will to obey, he sought earnestly, by God's assistance, how he might continue, in spite of his old age, to serve God and the brethren under his rule by the labour of his hands, mindful of the saying of the Lord: *he that endureth to the end shall be saved.*¹⁶ So by the inspiration of the Lord the venerable man conceived a happy idea. He resolved to work the monastery mill with his own sacred hands, that so, converting the grain into flour for the brethren who lived there and for the guests who came from time to time and whom he hospitably entertained, he might in this way still serve his brethren by daily labour, mindful of the apostolic precept: *that if any would not work, neither should he eat.*¹⁷ And the merciful Lord, to Whom all things are possible, granted to His servant, on whom he had compassion, that the mill should turn by divine power without any human hand touching it, and in this way for many days was the grain turned into flour. As

¹⁴ Matt. 20 : 26 and Luke 14 : 11.

¹⁵ Is. 66 : 2, Vulg.

¹⁶ Matt. 10 : 22.

¹⁷ 2 Thess. 3 : 10.

for Saint Winnoc, he held up his hands to heaven, and, having shut the door, according to the Lord's precept [Matt. 6 : 6], he chanted holy orisons, and, standing undisturbed by the mill, he gave huge thanks to the Almighty God, Who in His mercy had granted him such succour in his old age.

5. Now this caused all the servants of God living in the aforesaid *cella* to wonder, for they said, 'How can an old man, whose bodily strength has forsaken him, grind every day with his own hands so much flour, unless the divine mercy aid him [in some miraculous way]?' At last one of them, wishing to find out the secret of this marvel, rashly approached the building in which Saint Winnoc, divinely aided, was working. Peeping in with inquisitive eyes through an aperture, he beheld Saint Winnoc intent on earnest prayer, with his eyes raised to heaven, and the mill turning, moved only by the power of God, while around it was a great heap of flour. But when the stupid man began to stare at it the mill suddenly ceased working, and the rash man received a well-merited punishment for his disrespect to the man of God, for suddenly falling to the ground he became blind, and was carried away trembling all over his body.

6. But next day, after relating to all the dwellers in the monastery the miracle he had witnessed, and confessing with tears his temerity, he approached Saint Winnoc, and falling at the feet of the confessor of Christ, besought him in the name of God to pardon him. Then the holy Winnoc, pitying the poor blinded man's misery, made the sign of the cross over his eyes and implored the clemency of the forgiving Lord to grant that he might recover his sight. And so the bountiful Helper of His servants, Who is nigh unto all that call upon Him and doeth the will of them that fear Him, restored in that same hour, through the devout prayers of His confessor Winnoc, the sight which the rash man had lost by his own fault. Then the unhappy man, full of joy, together with all who beheld this miracle, gave thanks unto the Almighty Lord and to Saint Winnoc, as was meet.

7. Moreover the merciful Lord wrought great miracles through His confessor Winnoc, not only, as we have said, while he lived here, but also after his happy decease. Of which we will speak, with God's assistance, in what follows.¹⁸

¹⁸ I have summarized these stories of miracles instead of translating them in full, but have generally used the language of the original.

8 & 9. A long time after S. Winnoc's death, one summer's day, during the siesta in the afternoon,¹⁹ a little house near the church caught fire. The flames reached the church and it was burnt down, with all the wooden buildings which surrounded it, but the sepulchre of S. Winnoc in the same church and the ornaments adjoining it were, by the protection of God, preserved uninjured. A wind, so it seemed, beat back the flames and prevented them from touching the shrine. When the conflagration had died down, the inhabitants of the place, visiting the sepulchre, were surprised and delighted to find it had been miraculously spared. They removed the saint's body from the shrine and intended to carry it to a suitable place some distance away until the church could be rebuilt. But when they had just got outside the ruins of the church, the body suddenly became too heavy to move. A consultation was held, and, after prayer, it was decided to transport the relics to a garden close by. This was done without further difficulty.

10. A lame man, suffering from trembling in head and hands, was completely cured one Easter morning during the reading of the gospel at the end of matins.²⁰ This section ends with a doxology.

C. 11—15 form a post-script, relating "certain events connected with the said holy man, which happened in our time." They were clearly added by a monk of Wormhout.

11. At the time when Count Gerard was beginning to build half of S. Winnoc's church, one of the workmen fell from the top of the wall and lay prostrate for some time on the ground. It was thought that he was dead, but after an interval he arose as if nothing had happened and continued his work. As he was a very corpulent and heavy man, it was regarded as a miracle, due to the merits of S. Winnoc, that he was not killed.

12. The same Count Gerard, of honoured memory, was building a church in honour of S. Winnoc on his property in the place which is called Spirliacus.²¹ Some of the brethren from the

¹⁹ "fratribus in praedicto loco commorantibus post meridianam aestivi diei horam somno quiescentibus."

²⁰ "in nocte dominicae resurrectionis, quando lectio evangelii eadem nocte post nocturnas more solito vigilias in eadem fuit ecclesia recitata."

²¹ now Esperlec, 10 kil. N.W. of St. Omer, on the way to Calais, said to have been given by Count Gerard to Wormhout in 821 (*Acta SS.* p. 254).

monastery were invited by him to go over to inspect the work, and one Sunday, when mass was to be celebrated (which it is a sin to omit on such a day) the chalice could not be found, and it was decided to use a glass vase instead. This vase fell and was broken to pieces, but was miraculously repaired and is still used for that purpose.

14. On one occasion, at Rogation-tide, while we, with all the people of the place, were having the procession, it chanced that we got back to the monastery rather later than we ordinarily do. The Saint's body was being carried in the procession, as usual, and between the two crosses was borne a crozier with relics. A small gold reliquary attached to the latter was, owing to some carelessness, allowed to fall. It was not missed till the following day. Eventually the guardian of the church found it in his cowl, to the great relief of the whole community.

15. Quite recently, while Sext was being sung one day in Lent and a large congregation was present, the cord from which hung the glass lamp which is suspended in front of the saint's tomb broke, and the lamp fell with a terrific crash. When the Lenten veil²² was lifted, the lamp was found unbroken, with hardly any of the oil spilt.

A second *Life of S. Winnoc* was written at Bergues two or three hundred years later.²³ Its author, who tells us that he had sojourned for some time in the Abbey of Bergues and that the monks there had asked him to re-write the older *Life* "in the style of Cicero," and that he had undertaken the task in obedience to their request and out of gratitude for their kindness, was probably Bovo, a bishop in Saxony, who (as Drogo tells us in his *Miracula*, with which we shall deal next) spent some months at Bergues in 1058. To a large extent it is merely a *réchauffé* of the First Life. I will briefly indicate the principal additional matter.

Two 13th century manuscripts of this *Vita* insert, between the prologue and chapter I., the following, which is plainly an addition, made long after the time of Bovo.

²² For the Lenten veil, which in the Middle Ages completely hid the chancel throughout Lent, cf. Appendix I, note 7.

²³ Apparently not before 962 nor after the middle of the 11th century, since Drogo seems to have used it.

"The Genealogy of Saint Winnoc the Abbot.

Riwal, Duke of Brittany, was the son of Deroch, the son of Guitol, the son of Urbien, the son of Catovius, the son of Gerento. Now this Riwal, coming from the Britains beyond the seas, with a multitude of ships, took possession of the whole of Lesser Britain in the time of Clothaire, King of the Franks, who was the son of King Clovis. This Riwal begat a son named Deroch and Deroch begat Riatha. Riatha begat Jonas, and Jonas begat Judwal, and Judwal begat Juthael. Now Juthael begat Saint Judichael the king, and Saint Judoc and Saint Winnoc, Eoc, Eumahel, Dohetwal, Gorhel,²⁴ Largel,²⁵ Riwas, Riwald, Judgoret,²⁶ Helom, Guenmael.²⁷ Now the same Juthael begat daughters, of whom these are the names: Saint Euriala,²⁸ Onnenna, Brede, Guen,²⁹ Cleor, Prust.³⁰ On the 17th December is the *transitus* of Saint Judichael the Confessor, King of Brittany, who became a monk in the monastery of Gael (*Gwadellesi coenobio*) and yielded up his spirit to Christ when Meguennus [*i.e.* S. Mewan] was abbot. This Judichael ruled Brittany in the time of Dagobert son of Clothaire."

Chapter I adds nothing to our knowledge about the saint except that he was of royal descent. In c. II we are told that after a short stay at Sithiu the four monks are sent by S. Bertin to build a monastery in the region of the Morini in a place called to this day *Mons Sancti Winnoci*. After a time Heremar offers them a fertile piece of land belonging to him called Woromholt, on the little river Pena, where they build another monastery. In c. VII. we learn that the saint died on 6th November, and that he was buried in the monastery he had built in honour of S. Martin at Woromholt. The stories of the miracles are re-told, and the author then relates the translation of the relics to St.-Omer when the coast of Flanders was ravaged by the Danes, in the time of Charles the Bald. He tells us how the able and patriotic Count of Flanders, Baldwin surnamed *Calvus*, "optimum inter milia caput," fortified Bergues as part of his plan to defend the coast from pirates, and built a church there in honour of

²⁴ or, Gozel.

²⁵ or, Larzel.

²⁶ or, Judgozeth.

²⁷ or, Quenmael.

²⁸ or, Curiola, or, Curiela.

²⁹ or, Cruen. *Mabillon* read Bredequen.

³⁰ or, Cleopust.

SS. Martin and Winnoc. In 900 he brought thither the body of S. Winnoc from St. Omer. In c. XVII we are told that it was formerly the custom to carry the saint's body annually to Wormhout³¹ on the Feast of the Nativity of S. John Baptist, which is now (the writer says) done on Whitsunday instead. On one of these occasions a blind man named Tanchrad was among the great crowd of people making their way to Wormhout. He spent the long vigil in prayer before the shrine, and finally fell asleep as the brethren were beginning Matins. When they had reached the Lord's Prayer before the Gospel there appeared to him a vision of a white-haired old man, leaning on a staff, surrounded by rays of light, who touched his eyelids with his little finger, and he awoke to find he could see, and carried the cross before the saint's shrine in the procession back to Bergues. There are two stories of blind women being healed, and two of captives being set free by the power of the saint, one of them being a man of Zvevezele, the prisoner of a brigand of Boulogne who used to sell his captives to foreign slave-dealers. He escaped by night and made his way safely back to the saint's church across eight miles of fens.

At some time after 1050³² a monk of Bergues called Drogo wrote a kind of appendix to the Second Life, which is called the *Liber Miraculorum, auctore Drogone*, containing stories of thirty miracles worked by the prayers of S. Winnot, many of them during the life-time of the writer. They occupy ten folio pages of the *Acta Sanctorum*, and although they are of great interest as pictures of life in the 11th century, especially of course to students of the history of Flanders, it is obviously impossible to describe or even to enumerate them here, except where they throw light on the history of the cult of the saint which may afford clues to forgotten incidents in his career. Thus in c. I. and X. there are references to miracles which took place at "the church (*templum*)" at Wormhout "which Winnoc had built in honour of S. Martin."³³ This is of great interest in view of the fact that there is a chapel of S. Martin at St. Winnow

³¹ "convenit sacrosanctum corpus sancti ad pristinae quietis locum W. quotannis deportari."

³² He dedicates his other book (on the Translation of the body of S. Lewinna to Bergues in 1058) to Rumold, Abbot of Bergues, who died in 1068. He speaks of Adela, Countess of Flanders (1036—1067), Malbold, Abbot of St.-Amand, Drogo, Bishop of Théroutanne, Alard, Abbot of St.-Vedast, and Bovo, Bishop of Saxony, as contemporaries.

³³ The parish church at Bergues is also dedicated to S. Martin.

in Cornwall. One of the foundations of S. Judoc not far to the south of Montreuil, on the borders of Picardy, is called *Dommartin* (= "Saint Martin"). S. Ninian's church at Whithern was dedicated to S. Martin, and so was the ruined British church at Canterbury. These facts are important as showing the popularity of the cult of S. Martin in the British Church, and may explain the numerous dedications to that saint in Cornwall (several being in the ancient Deanery of West Wivelshire). One of the miracles (c. I.) described takes place at the annual pilgrimage to Woromholt on Whitsunday, already referred to, and another (c. IV.) at the Trinity Sunday procession still held at Bergues³⁴; "it is the custom [Drogo says] among the people of Bergues that on the Octave of Pentecost, when the commemoration of the Holy Trinity, one and true God, is celebrated, the bones of the venerable father Winnoc are carried in procession, together with the offerings given by those who are seeking relief from some infirmity, a multitude of both sexes following." We learn that in time of drought the saint's relics were carried in procession from church to church,³⁵ with prayers that there might be rain, and that sometimes they would be absent from Bergues for several months.³⁶ In c. XXI. and XXII. we are told that the first Abbot, Rumold, made a new shrine, of gold adorned with gems, to contain the relics. The old one, which was of silver, was opened and was found to contain another one, firmly fastened with iron nails and hoops, which was only with great difficulty opened. When the bones had been duly placed in the new shrine, the old one in which they had lain for so long was reverently suspended over an altar in the Abbey church. The exclamation of Count Baldwin, recorded in c. XXVII., which describes one of the numerous instances of workmen falling from a wall without being injured, may be taken as typical of the universal veneration felt for S. Winnoc throughout Flanders during the Middle Ages: "Qui haec et hujusmodi operatur, credendus est quod vivat in caelis, et quia intercedere ac supplicare Deo queat pro nostris peccatis."

The third *Life* printed in the *Acta Sanctorum* appears to date from the 14th or 15th century, and its original provenance is unknown. It repeats the information contained in the first and second *Lives*, and summarizes some of Drogo's *Miracles*. It remedies the deficiencies in the opening sections of the older *Lives*

by inserting a long and highly imaginative romance, which tells us that Winnoc was a son of a king of the Armorican Britons named Juchael. On the latter's death his eldest son Judichael succeeded him, but renounced the kingdom in favour of his brother Judoc and retired into the monastery of Guadel (St.-Méen). Judoc, however, had no mind to rule an earthly kingdom, and fled secretly to the *Pagus Morinensis*, i.e., *Tarvanensis*, and became a hermit in *loco dicto Ubalis*. The people determined to make the third brother, Winnoc, king, and to marry him to the fairest maiden who could be found. But Winnoc refused, as he had determined to follow his brothers' example. In anger over their disappointment the nobles took him on board ship and flung him, bound hand and foot, into the sea. The waters however refused to drown him, and retired, leaving him safely in a green and flowery meadow. He was picked up by a passing vessel and brought home, accompanied by a shoal of fish, to the amazement of the Britons. Great numbers of the fish were carried home by the spectators in memory of the miracle. Winnoc pardoned the nobles who had tried to slay him. He still refused to be king, and shortly afterwards fled, accompanied by three noblemen, called Madoc, *Indevoc* and Quadanoc, to Saint Bertin, Abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Sithiu. The rest of the *Vita* consists of passages borrowed from the first and second *Lives* and from Drogo's *Miracula*, the stories and miracles from all three sources being jumbled up together without any regard to their chronological order. The author follows the Second *Life* by making Winnoc and his companions first reside at Bergues, on the site of the later Abbey, before going to Wormhout, but boldly invents a new incident by asserting that before his death he returned to Bergues and founded a monastery in honour of S. Martin in *medio oppido Bergensi, quod Mons dicitur*, and died there on 6th November, 716, and was buried in a wooden tomb. Later on, the saint's body was translated to a new tomb in the east of the Abbey church, behind the high altar, the tomb being partly built into the wall of the choir. The original wooden tomb was hung up in the higher part of the choir behind the altar, as a visible sign of the humility for which the saint had been conspicuous. These latter details may be true, though in most of the rest of the *Life* an extraordinary disregard for historical accuracy is shown.

II.

The First *Vita Winnoci* is, as we have shown, unusually early, and Fr. de Smedt regards it as more or less reliable, so far as it goes, though he considers that little credence is to be given to the

³⁴ See p. 28.

³⁵ C. XXIV. "per ecclesias patriae deportaretur."

³⁶ C. XXV.

additional information contained in the other much later accounts of S. Winnoc. If the *Life* was written (as we have seen that it probably was) before 750 and the saint really died in 716 or 717³⁷ it would be practically contemporary, and almost the only contemporary account of any Celtic saint. But a careful examination of the *Vita Winnoci* will, I think, make it seem impossible to believe that the saint could have lived so near the time of the writer. The way in which the latter speaks of "Quadano, and Ingeno, Madoc and Saint Winnoc," the vagueness of the language in all except the last sections, the colourless and indefinite character of his references to S. Bertin, all point to a period long after the events described. In fact the author himself speaks (in c. 8) of "a long time having elapsed after S. Winnoc's death." He only knows one single anecdote about the saint whose life he professes to relate, though Winnoc's posthumous miracles are described in considerable detail. (cf. p. 6, note 8).

We are told that S. Winnoc came with three other "religious men" from a "far distant land of the Britons," without any indication whether this land was Great Britain or Armorica.

Who were these three companions, and why are they mentioned? The names are clearly not invented. One of them is a typical British name found in Wales and Cornwall, as we shall see, and the other two are also no doubt genuine Celtic names, though one at any rate appears to be much corrupted. There must, of course, be some reason for their insertion. It is not an uncommon thing in Celtic hagiography to find a list of a saint's companions, without any details being given about them. Sometimes (as in the *Vita Breacae*) the names are those of the eponyms of neighbouring parishes, rightly or wrongly supposed to have been his fellow-travellers in his missionary journeys. Now in this case it is not so. The names Madoc, Ingenoc and Quadano are not found anywhere in Flanders. More remarkable still, there is no mention, either in the *Vita Winnoci* or anywhere else, of their tombs or relics at Wormhout, or of any cult paid to them. What is the explanation?

I think that most probably the names of S. Winnoc's companions are part of an ancient tradition our author found at Wormhout. There must have been a far older *Life* of the saint there, in which these three monks figured. Now it is significant that while no traces of them, apart from the *Life of S. Winnoc*, are to

³⁷ The authority for this statement is the *Chronicon Sti Bertini* of Johannes Iperius (14th cent.): see *Acta SS.*, pp. 258, 260. 16]

be found in Flanders,³⁸ recent research has discovered at any rate two saints bearing these names in the "far distant British lands" from which they are said to have come.

MADOC was a common personal name in British countries, and is found in place-names. In Wales we find a *Tremadoc* and *Portmadoc* in Carnarvonshire; in Cornwall *Coysmadoc* (= "Madoc's wood") in the parish of Lanhydrock, and *Polmassick* (*Ponsmadek*, i.e., "Madoc's Bridge," in 1301) in that of St. Ewe; in Brittany *Villa Madoc* in the parish of St. Suliac (13th cent. charter).³⁹ A saint of this name must be the eponym of *Llanmadoc* in Glamorgan (in the NW. corner of the peninsula of Gower). Another dedication to a S. Madoc (perhaps the same saint), more useful to our purpose, (the discovery of which we owe entirely to the late Mr. Charles Henderson) is that of the Chapel of S. Madoc at Halwyn in the parish of St. Issey in Cornwall, near which is "St. Maddick's Well" and "St. Maddick's Rock." I shall give some most interesting information about this chapel, collected by Mr. Henderson, in an appendix. I wish here only to point out the significance of the position of this Cornish chapel and holy well of S. Madoc. They lie in the parish of St. Issey, which is at the northern end of the ancient trade route crossing Cornwall at this point, as St. Winnow is at its southern end. Moreover the parish of St. Issey was, like that of St. Winnow, a Peculiar of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter. It is possible that this S. Madoc may be the *St. Amadoc* formerly honoured at Dol.⁴⁰

The name INGENOC is not so easy. We remark, however, that in the diocese of Dol was a parish called Pleugueneuc, which in the 14th century was spelt *Plogoneuc*.⁴¹ The eponym of this parish and of the Plogonnec near Quimper, in the opinion of the late M. Loth, is a saint *Connec* or *Conoc*, who has given his name to Saint-Connec (W. of Loudéac) in the Côtes-du-Nord and Saint-Queneuc in Quessoy (S.E. of St.-Brieuc), and who may well be the "*Quonocus*, quem alii sub additamento more gentis transmarinae

³⁸ Fr. de Smedt observes that "these three men are otherwise unknown" (*op. cit.*, 268, Note 3).

³⁹ *Madeuc* was a personal name at Dol in the 18th cent. (Duine, *SS. de Domnonée*, p. 32, Note 3.) Duine warns us against identifying *Madoc* with the Irish *Maedoc* (= Mo-Aed-oc), see *Mem.* No. 158.

⁴⁰ Duine *Hist. de Dol*; *SS. de Domnonée*, pp. 32, 33. St. Neot and St. Kevern are *Aniet* and *Achebran* in Domesday, and in Brittany *Maethlu* and *Amaethlu* are the same name.

⁴¹ Loth, *Noms des Saints Bretons*, p. 26.

Toquonocum vocant,"⁴² a companion of St. Pol de Léon, who has given his name to St. Thégonnec. The IN may have been added, as in the name *In-Connare* and other similar names.⁴³ We have an example in Cornwall at *St. Ingongar* in the parish of Lanivet, where the patron of the chapel and holy well seems to be the famous S. Congar. M. Loth identifies S. Conoc both with the Welsh S. Cynog, one of the Children of Brychan, and with the eponym of *Boconnoc* in Cornwall. Now the parish of *Boconnoc* was formerly a chapelry within the parish of St. Winnow. Again the coincidence is very striking.⁴⁴

QUADANOC is much more difficult. There seems to be no such name.* It may be a blunder of a scribe. In the *Chronicle of St. Bertin* the name is spelt *Bradano*. If this is a genuine form, it might be compared with the name of the parish of Bradock, which, like *Boconnoc*, was formerly a chapelry to St. Winnow. The old forms however always have an *o* instead of an *a*. In Domesday the name is spelt *Brodehoc*, and may have been a three-syllabled word. In any case the name of this Cornish parish is very hard to explain. It is certainly not "Broad Oak," as Hals suggested, and the late Mr. Whitley Stokes's idea that the name is *Bro-tioc*—"Farmer's Country" is equally unlikely. It is tempting to think that the *h* in *Brodehoc* might be a mistake for *n*, but I fear we must admit, with Mr. Henderson, that "the meaning of *Bradock* is very doubtful," and that the name of S. Winnoc's third companion is no less so.

These considerations seem to point to there having once existed (as I have suggested) a *Life* of S. Winnoc which represented him as coming from Cornwall and Brittany where he had been associated with three once-famous saints. Their tombs are not found in Flanders because in all probability they never came there, and the author of the *Vita Winnoci* is mistaken in saying that they did.

⁴² *Wmonoc's Vita S. Pauli Aureliani*. For the name *Conoc* in an Irish monastery see p. 4, Note 2, in this booklet.

⁴³ M. Loth says the prefix *In* in this name and in *Indelgent* and the *En* in *Ennoquent* is the same as *Iun* in *Iunivus*. *St. Innan* (now St. Aignan) is the "ecclesia Sti Iunani" of a charter of 1184.

⁴⁴ cf. also pp. 24, 25, 30. For the *Collar of St. Canauc*, the eponym of Merther Cynawg near Brecon, see Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerary through Wales*, p. 24 in *Everyman's Library* (cf. also pp. 28, 29).

* *Quethiock* in Cornwall, usually spelt *Quedik* in the Middle Ages, is *Quedoc* in 1201, (Cornwall *Feet of Fines*, No. 27. 18]

Nor, perhaps, is this the only untrustworthy statement in the *Vita S. Winnoci*. The vaguely-told story of Winnoc's arriving as a very young man at Sithiu and becoming a disciple of S. Bertin there may also be an invention of the writer. It is quite possible that Wormhout had been founded long before Sithiu, but that the foundation and rapid growth in wealth and importance of the latter monastery had thrown it into the shade. The story of Winnoc's relations with Bertin need in reality imply nothing more than that the far older monastery of S. Winnoc eventually became a cell of the Abbey of Saint-Bertin.

We must now consider the additions to the story of S. Winnoc contained in the later documents which we have summarized on pp. 11—15. The reader will observe that, with the exception of the statement that Winnoc lived for some time at Bergues before he founded Wormhout (which, as Fr. de Smedt says,⁴⁵ is probably an invention of the monks of Bergues prompted by the natural desire to have some personal association of the saint with their Abbey), the additional matter consists in stories representing Winnoc as brother of S. Judoc, and therefore, like him, of royal descent. Their source must be the Abbey of St. Josse-sur-mer (St. *Josse* is the French vernacular form of St. *Judoc*), which is only about 45 miles distant from Bergues-Saint-Winoc.⁴⁶

One of the chief facts to consider in endeavouring to investigate the origins of the cult of S. Winnoc is the existence of the cult of S. Judoc at several places in the North of France, all in the neighbourhood of S. Winnoc's monastery. S. Winnoc and S. Judoc are the only Celtic saints whose cult is found in this neighbourhood before the occupation of Brittany by the Normans

⁴⁵ *op. cit.*, pp. 258, 9.

⁴⁶ The unknown author of the *Genealogy of Saint Winnoc* (see p. 12), which Fr. de Smedt thinks cannot be older than the 13th century (Duine, *Mém.* No. 17, suggests that it is "une composition factice du XIe siècle") has apparently borrowed from Ingomar, the tenth century monk of St.-Méen, but has made alterations and additions of his own. All these Breton genealogies are the compositions of *littérateurs*, writing hundreds of years after the time when the personages they mention lived. For the references to Welsh genealogies in Wrdisten's *Vita S. Winwaloei* I would refer the reader to my "S. Winwaloe," 2nd ed., pp. 26, 27. I have said that the *Genealogy of S. Winnoc* and the other additions to the story of our saint of ultimate Breton origin, probably reached Bergues from the Abbey of St. Josse, rather than directly from a country so distant as Brittany, but it must be admitted that they are inconsistent with the *Life of S. Judoc*, and must have been adapted and "improved" at Bergues.

caused the dispersal of the relics of Breton saints which brought the cult of S. Winwaloe, S. Corentin, S. Conogan and S. Malo to Montreuil and that of S. Gudwal to Ghent. St.-Josse-sur-mer, called *Sanctus Judocus* as early as the 8th century, is among the earliest examples in France of a place-name beginning "Saint——".⁴⁷ S. Judoc is a saint who has a considerable cult in the north of Brittany. He is the patron saint and eponym of St.-Judoce in the diocese of Dol (close to Evran, S.E. of Dinan) and of Lohuec (N.W. of Callac in the C.-du-N.), patron of Yvias (S. of Paimpol) and of a ruined chapel in the parish, also of chapels at Bourbriac (S. of Guingamp), Pleumeur-Bodou (N. of Lannion), Boquého (W. of St.-Brieuc) and Peder nec (W. of Guingamp)—the last two now destroyed. At Pleumeur he is called St. *Uzec*. He has statues at Boquého (in the chapel of N. D. de Pitié), Bringolo and Hillion in the C.-du-N. There is a place called *Lohuzec*, also spelt Loc-Iudet, at Plougras, N. of Lohuec.⁴⁸ S. Judoc has a *Life* which Duine considered to date from c. 800. It tells us nothing about any foundations of his in Brittany. It says that the saint was a son of Juthael, King of Brittany, that he left his country and went to Ponthieu, where Count Haymon welcomed him and gave him lands on which to build a monastery, the site of which was several times changed. He made a pilgrimage to Rome and died at St.-Josse-sur-mer. The abbey became important, and the centre of a famous pilgrimage, which still attracts great numbers of pilgrims annually—especially (for some inexplicable reason) from Germany.⁴⁹ The celebrated Alcuin was made Abbot of St.-Josse by Charlemagne. It was ruined by the Danes but rebuilt, only to be destroyed finally and completely by the French Revolution. Some relics of S. Judoc were given by Athelstan to the Abbey of Newminster at Winchester, and the festivals of S. Judoc on 13 Dec. and 9 Jan. (his translation) are found in the Exeter Martyrology and in many English kalendars, especially those showing Winchester influence.

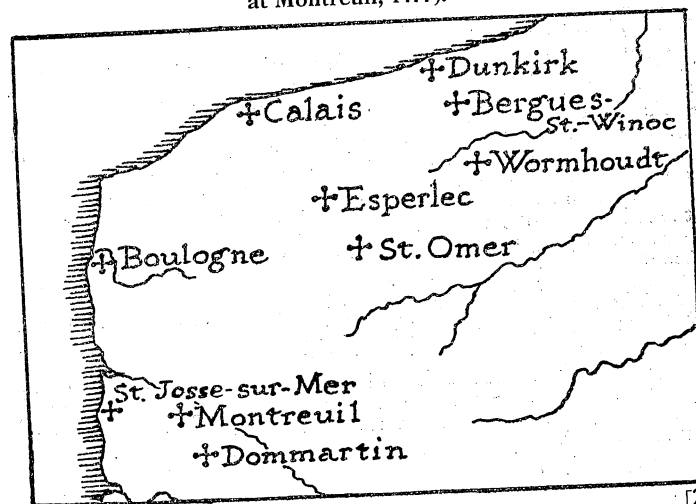
⁴⁷ Auguste Vincent, *Toponymie de la France* (1937), pp. 339, 350.

⁴⁸ I owe these facts to the kindness of my friend M. René Couffon, who has made a special study of the churches of the C.-du-N. Mr. R. Morton Nance says that *Uzec* may be contained in the Cornish name *Trevithick*, which may be *Tref-Judoc*.

⁴⁹ See Rodière, *La Picardie historique et monumentale* (1933), pp. 194f and 368—397, for St.-Josse-au-Bois near Dommartin and St.-Josse-sur-mer. He gives some interesting pictures of the latter abbey before and during its destruction, including a 17th century sketch of the Tomb of S. Judoc with an effigy of the saint and another representing one of his nephews attending to his corpse, as mentioned in the *Life*. St. Judoc is also patron of a parish on the 20]



S. Judoc (vignette from the "cueilloir" of the Hôtel-Dieu at Montreuil, 1477).



The *Life of S. Judoc*, in spite of its antiquity, abounds in legendary matter and cannot be considered as a biography of the saint. It contains however some grains of truth. We learn from it that the saint had a disciple called *Winnoch*: "after his most holy soul had departed to the perpetual felicity of the heavenly kingdom on the Ides of December," it says, "his two nephews, namely Winnoch and Arnoch,⁵⁰ who succeeded him [as hermits] in the same place, used frequently to wash the lifeless body of the blessed man, which remained long uncorrupted." Fr. de Smedt asserts⁵¹ that the rôle assigned to *Winnoch* in the *Vita S. Judoci* makes it impossible that he should be the hero of the *Vita S. Winnoci*. I cannot see why this should be so, even if both these *Lives* were trustworthy,—the nephew of S. Judoc, presumably a young man, might well have gone on to Sithiu from St.-Josse-sur-mer, but in any case the statement in the *Life of S. Judoc* does not prove that the *Winnoch* mentioned in it is a different person from our saint unless the *Vita Winnoci* is accepted as historically accurate throughout, and I have given reasons for believing that this is not true. Neither the *Vita Winnoci* nor the *Vita Judoci* are true and trustworthy biographies of those saints, and I think that the mention of a *Winnoch* in the latter may be an indication that there *was* some connection between S. Judoc and S. Winnoc handed down by tradition, though its exact nature may have been forgotten in the 9th century.

outskirts of Montreuil, called St.-Josse-au-Val, one of two dedicated to S. Judoc given by Hugh Capet to the Abbey of St.-Sauve ("duabus ecclesiis in memoriam Sancti Judoci sacratiss")—the other has disappeared: cf. Rodière, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-41. There was until the Revolution a small parish church in the *Ville* of Paris dedicated to him (it stood at the angle of the Rue Quincampoix and the Rue Aubri le Boucher, S.E. of St.-Sépulchre). There is a St.-Josse in the ban-lieu of Brussels. *Judoc* became a common Christian name in Belgium, and was the name of the *donateur* of the famous picture of the Adoration of the Lamb. In the Middle Ages the abbey of St.-Josse and Bergues-Saint-Winoc, on the strength of the supposed descent of their founders from a royal Breton dynasty, took as their arms the arms of England and Brittany: Quarterly, 1st and 4th Gules, 3 lions passant guardant in pale or (for England), 2nd and 3rd Ermine (for Brittany), and over all, on an escutcheon or, a lion rampant gules.

⁵⁰ *Arnoch* has not yet been identified. I can only suggest that he may perhaps be the eponym of Plerneuf, W. of St.-Brieuc, which, as M. Loth points out, was formerly *Ploerneuc*. (*Ploermel* is from Plou-Arthmael).

⁵¹ *op. cit.*, p. 257.

This brings us to the consideration of a fact which may eventually throw a good deal of light on the true history of our saint. Every student of Celtic hagiography is familiar with the Welsh legend of the saintly Children of Brychan, and its adaptations in Cornwall and elsewhere. The Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans has printed three versions of the legend in *Brychan Brycheiniog*.⁵² The first, entitled *De Situ Brecheniauc*, is contained in a MS. of about the year 1200, in the British Museum (*Vesp. A. xiv*): "the Welsh forms and glosses show it to have been copied by some one, who did not understand Welsh, from an older MS." (Phillimore, *Y Cymmrodor*, vii., 105, 6). The second, *Cognacio Brychan*, is in a MS. of c. 1650, but the forms of the Welsh names and words show it to be a copy of a much older one. The third, *Ach Kynawc*, is in Welsh, and much shorter; it dates from the 14th century. Now it is to be observed that several of the churches in the neighbourhood of St. Winnow in Cornwall are dedicated to members of the family of King Brychan as found in the Welsh legend. Thus in *De Situ Brecheniauc* we find the following in the list of Brychan's sons:

"Berwin, filius Brachan, in Cornwallia."

"Rydoch [*i. Judoc* interlined above], filius Brachan, in Francia inde dicitur Ton [*i. eurus* interlined above] Ridoch Windouith [*de vent.*⁵³ interlined above]."

The list of daughters includes "Guen, filia Brachan, in Talgarth," and "Kein, filia Brachan, ythr auil Ogmor [*i. in bifurgatione illius fluvii* interlined above]." In *Cognacio Brychan* the first two entries are given as follows: "Berwyn apud Cornubiam. Ridoc gwindout in Francia inde dicitur collis Ridoc gwindout." *Ninid* appears in the list of daughters. *Kynauc* is given as a son: "Sepulchrum Kynauc," we are told, is "in Merthyr Kynauc in Brecheiniawc," *Ach Kynawc* begins with the words: "This is the way one treats of the pedigree of Saint Cynog. Cynog, son of Brychan," etc. Rydoch's entry is given as follows: "Reidoc, son of Brychan, in France, in the place which is called Twmbreidoc from his name." It is further to be noted that the patron of S. Nectan's Chapel in St. Winnow is the eldest son of Brychan according to the Cornish story.⁵⁴

⁵² *Transactions of the Brecknock Society*, 1928 and 1929.

⁵³ *i.e.* Winchester. cf. p. 20.

⁵⁴ See "S. Nectan, S. Keyne, and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall" (No. 25 in this series). *Yse*, the eponym of *St. Issey* (see p. 17) is also a child of Brychan in the Cornish list.

We have seen (p. 18) that Loth regarded *Kynauc* as bearing the same name as the eponym of *Boconnoc*. *Berwyn* (of whom the Welsh writer expressly says that he is honoured in *Cornwall*) is the S. Barry who is the original patron of Fowey, now replaced by S. Fimbar of Cork. *Kein* is the patron of St. Keyne near Liskeard, and of St. Martin-by-Looe, formerly "Keyne the More." *Nunid* may possibly be the eponym of Pelynt, originally *Plou-Nonita*. Morval is dedicated to S. *Wenn*, and *Rydoc* is the eponym of Lanreath (*Lanredoch* 1085, *Lanreydhou* 1260, *Lanreythou* 1263 and 1321, *Lanraytou* 1309)—"most Cornish names ending in *ou*," Mr. Henderson remarks, "had a guttural termination and dropped it." Now although it may seem unlikely that *Rydoc* and *Judoc* are the same name, it must be recognized that it was believed in Wales in the 12th century that they were. It is particularly interesting to find the eponym of a parish very near St. Winnow identified with S. *Judoc*, as in these three Welsh documents he is. Of course we must be on our guard against building too much on the statements in the Welsh genealogies of Brychan. The scribe who drew up the version copied by *De Situ Brecheniauc* must have been one of the Norman clerks to whom we owe the vast majority of the *Lives* of Welsh saints which have come down to us. He may have known St. Josse-sur-mer and have added to the genealogy the identification of *Rydoch* with *Judoc*, which may be his own invention. Still, it is a very curious coincidence that the Brychan genealogies should give us so many names of King Brychan's children whom we find honoured in Cornwall, close to St. Winnow. The Welsh author seems himself only to have heard of one Cornish church with a Brychan dedication. We have thus some entirely independent evidence in support of a connection between Winnow and *Judoc*.

In a recent study on Dedications to Celtic Saints in Normandy I have shown that before the coming of the Normans the dioceses of Dol and St.-Malo possessed daughter monasteries along the coast almost as far as the Somme*, as well as far up the valley of the Seine. I think we may have reason to believe that the abbey of St. Josse-sur-mer and Wormhout were a part—the most distant part—of this far-flung line of Breton monasteries. The uniform tradition in Flanders of S. Winnoc dying as a very old man at Wormhout may be founded on fact. We have several instances in Celtic hagiography⁵⁵ of a famous abbot retiring before his death to a hermitage or to a much smaller monastery. It is not impossible that this may have happened in the case of S. Winnoc. The founder

* There is a place called Buigny-Saint-Maclou north of the Somme, between Abbeville and St.-Josse.

⁵⁵ e.g., in the *Lives* of S. Petroc, S. Cadoc and S. Patern.

of St. Winnow, who was very likely a Welsh saint (cf. p. 32), may perhaps have been a companion of S. Samson, whose church at Golant lies on the other side of the Fowey. In any case he and those with whom tradition associates him were clearly connected in some way with S. Samson's foundation of Dol and its numerous enclaves. He may finally have retired to the distant settlement at Wormhout and been buried in its church, and there may have been many traditions about him and his companions in Cornwall and Brittany, of which a few fragments remain in the extremely slight and unsatisfying *Life of S. Winnoc* and in that of S. *Judoc*.

III.

S. Winnoc's name is not found in the kalendars or litanies of a single Breton church.⁵⁶ His liturgical cult is confined to Flanders and adjoining districts, and to England, and is ultimately due entirely to the success of the *Vita Winnoci* written at Sithiu in the 8th century.

We have already referred⁵⁷ to the Anglo-Saxon martyrology edited by Dr. G. Herzfeld for the Early English Text Society in 1900. In its present form it must date from c. 850, but it is clearly translated from a Latin original, which cannot be much later than c. 755, since it does not contain the name of S. Boniface of Crediton, whose festival the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cuthbert, commanded, immediately after the martyrdom, to be observed throughout the Church of England. The martyrology has the following entry for:

"November 6. Saint Winnuc.

On the sixth day of the month is the decease of the abbot *sancti Wunnoci*. He was the head of the monastery south of the sea that is called Wurmholt, and yet he was so humble that he would perform all the work that was hard and irksome for the other brethren. When at last he grew old and could not work outside, he would grind with his holy hands for the food of the indigent brethren in Christ. Immediately when he approached the mill and put the corn into it, the mill moved by divine power, and the abbot locked the door and stood near the mill and sang his prayers. At last there was such an abundance of flour that they all wondered whence it did come. One day one of the brethren looked

⁵⁶ The name of S. *Judoc* is only found rarely in Breton kalendars, viz., (as we should expect) in those of Dol, St.-Méen and St.-Malo (in the last as *Idocus* on 13 Dec. There is a parish of St.-Idéuc near St.-Malo).

⁵⁷ p. 6. This martyrology contains no Celtic saints except S. Winnoc, S. Columba and S. Aidan. [25]

into the house through a small opening : then the mill stood still at once, and the man became blind. The others, greatly affrighted, led him away, and he told the brethren of the minster the miracle that he had seen there. The next day he threw himself weeping at the abbot's feet and asked his forgiveness ; and then the abbot blessed his eyes in the Lord's name, and he was immediately able to see."

It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the compiler had read the first *Life of S. Winnoc*, and that he had read it in a manuscript in which it was found in conjunction with the Lives of the other St.-Omer saints, S. Bertinus and S. Audomarus, for it also contains notices of those saints,⁵⁸ while it does not mention any other saint honoured in that part of Europe.

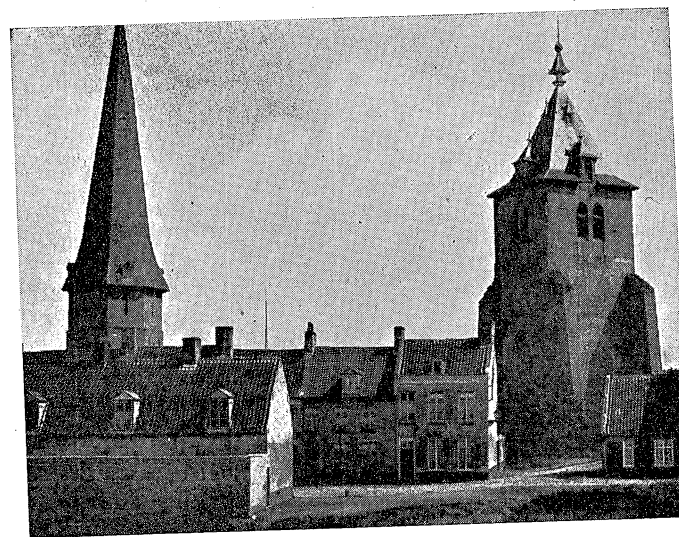
Of about the same date as the martyrology in its English form is the Sacramentary of Amiens, now in the Bibl. Nat. at Paris (ms. lat. 9432). In the kalendar, on 6 November, we find the entry *Sancti Vuinoci confessoris*. It is to be noted that the only other Celtic saints in this kalendar are Brigit, Patrick, Samson, Melaine and Malo. Now the Celtic saints to whom we find the greatest number of dedications in Normandy are Samson, Maclou or Malo, Patrick and Mellon—in that order (one or two dedications to S. Melaine of Rennes seem to be due to a confusion with S. Mellon). I have pointed out⁵⁹ that devotion to S. Patrick seems to have been specially popular at Dol, and to have been inculcated in all its enclaves. (Brigit is found everywhere in France and England, but especially in Brittany.) This choice of names in the Amiens kalendar may thus be cited as some evidence in favour of the suggestion I have made on pp. 24, 25. The Sarum Psalter (Salisbury Cathedral MS. 180), a manuscript of the 10th century, considered by Duine to have been written for Breton clerks exiled in Wessex 914—939, has a Litany, in which, after the names of SS. Paul (Aurelian), Guidgual, Courentin, Leutiern, Guenleu, Ediunet and Iunanavus, come the invocations

"S. iudoce, ora,
S. guinnoce, ora."

The names of S. Winnoc (*et sancti Winnoci conf.*), S. Judoc,

⁵⁸ "Sept. 5. Saint Berhtinus. On the same day is the departure of the holy abbot Berhtinus. . . . The body of this venerable abbot is entombed in the monastery of Sithiu," etc. "Sept. 8. On the same day is the decease of the bishop *sancti Audomari* his body rests in the monastery in Sithio," etc.

⁵⁹ "S. Winwaloe" (No. 4 in this series, 2nd ed.), p. 29.



The towers of the Abbey of Bergues-Saint-Winoc

S. Samson, S. Brigit and S. Melaine are also found in the kalendar of the Sacramentary of Ratold, Abbot of Corbie (d. 986), which was written for the Abbey of S. Vedast at Arras.⁶⁰ A 9th century martyrology of St. Quentin (called *Pseudo-Florus* by the Bollandists), which is "inspired by Bede" (Duine), has had *depositio S. Winnoci abbatis* added in the Arras, Tournai and Liessies copies, and *Depositio S. Judoci confessoris* has been added in the Tournai copy. *Winnoci, abbatis* appears in the 1497 Breviary of Cambrai: the Abbey of St.-Sepulchre at Cambrai had a *Vita Winnoci* in the 15th century.

It is due to the influence of the Abbey of Sithiu, either directly or through the Anglo-Saxon martyrology with which we have dealt, that the name of S. Winnoc, always accompanied by that of Bertinus and frequently by that of Audomarus, has found its way into seven English kalendars dating from before 1100. With S. Bertin and S. Omer, he is found in the North Country kalendar (date 9th cent.) in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Digby Ms. 63), in the West Country kalendar (c. 969—978) in the Cathedral Library at Salisbury (Ms. 150), and in that of Bury St. Edmunds: with S. Bertin, in the Exeter kalendar (late 11th cent.), also in the Brit. Mus. (Cotton Ms. Vitellius A. xii), in the Wells Kalendar (compiled under Bishop Giso, 1061—1088) in the same collection (A. xviii), in one perhaps used at Evesham (11th cent., Bodl. Libr., Hatton Ms. 113): in the Wessex kalendar (11th cent.) in the Brit. Mus. (Cotton Ms. Nero A. II.), and in S. Wulstan's Homiliary at Worcester (*The Leofric Collectar*, H.B.S., II. 599). In a manuscript in the British Museum (Galba A. xiv), written apparently at Winchester, is a Litany (printed by the Henry Bradshaw Society in "*The Leofric Collectar*," p. 622), in which, after the names of SS. Judoc and Swithun and before the names of SS. Valery, Wandreuil, Ywi, Petroc and Felix, comes the invocation *S. winnoce, ora*. In a Litany of the 11th century in a Psalter which belonged to Leofric, Bishop of Exeter (Brit. Mus., Harl. MS. 863), also printed in the *Leofric Collectar* (p. 438), S. Winnoc is invoked after S. Willehad and before S. Ouen. S. Winnoc was also invoked in the Sarum Litany for Fridays in Lent. His name is also found in the Irish *Martyrology of Gorman* (1166—1174), where, on 6 November, appears the entry "Winnoc, great, gentle." He is invoked, among Abbots, in the Scotch *Litany of Dunkeld*. His name appears in

⁶⁰ This sacramentary has a proper mass for SS. Samson and Patern.

they had formerly been kept, having been destroyed by Revolutionary fanatics). Among his relics was the stole he had used while he lived. Minute fragments of this stole, enclosed in ordinary stoles, were taken to women in child-birth who wished to pray for a safe delivery through the intercession of S. Winnoc.

There was formerly a chapel of S. Winnoc in the churchyard at Wormhout. It is mentioned in the *Catalogue of the Abbots of Bergues* in 1633, when a relic of the saint in a wooden reliquary was placed in it. It was destroyed in 1736.

The ancient Confraternity of S. Winnoc at Bergues, frequently referred to in the *Catalogue of Abbots* in the 17th century, has been restored, and had 500 members in 1870.³

In an article in *Le Folklore Brabançon* for April 1935 on *Les Cultes liturgiques et populaires de la Flandre française* M. Arnold van Gennep has given a list of the parishes of the district of Dunkirk, with the names of their patron saints and notes on any *dévotions populaires* observed in their churches. The only parish in which there is a 'devotion' to S. Winoc is Bergues, the *spécialité* for which his aid is invoked being "fever and whooping-cough." Apparently he no longer shares with S. Martin the patronage of the parish church either here or at Wormhout. At the latter place there are *dévotions populaires* to S. Roch, S. Eutrapiste and N.D.-des-Larmes, but not to S. Winnoc.

In Brittany, in the diocese of Cornouaille, there is a parish call Plouhinec, (*Ploehinec* 1264), near Audierne, W. of Quimper, where the patron saint is S. Winnoc. The eponym may really be, as at the Plouhinec between Auray and Lorient (where the patron saint is *not* Winnoc) a saint bearing the name *Ithinuc*,⁴ but S. Winnoc has been regarded as the patron at least as early as 1374, when (on 25 Oct.) Pope Gregory XI granted an indulgence of 50 days, during ten years, to those who should visit the church of Saint *Vinoc* of

³ For the history of the cult of S. Winnoc see de Smedt., *op. cit.*, pp. 260—263; Mury, *Saint Winoc, patron de la ville de Bergues; sa vie ses reliques et son culte* (Lille, 1887); R. Flahault, *Le culte de Saint Winoc à Wormhout* (Dunkerque, 1903).

⁴ Plouhinec in the diocese of Vannes was *Plebs Ithinuc* in the 6th cent., *Ploihinoc*, alias *Ploehidinuc* in 1037, *Ploezinec* 1283. Loth compared this name with the *Trev-Eithinauc* of the Book of Llandaff. *Ithinuc* might mean "fuzzy," but *Eithin* is a proper name in the B. of L. The Cornouaille Plouhinec was spelt *Ploezinec* in 1405.

Plezinec on the great festivals, especially on that of S. Vinoc, and during their octaves, and contribute by their alms to the repairs of the said church. There is a 17th century statue of S. Winnoc in the church, and *Winoc* is a common Christian name at Plouhinec. In 1900 Mgr. Dubillard, Bishop of Quimper, was present at the millenary fêtes at Bergues and obtained a relic of the saint. On Sunday, 5 August, he placed it in the church of Plouhinec, accompanied by the Archbishop of Cambrai and the Curé of Bergues, in the presence of a vast congregation. S. Winnoc also had a chapel dedicated to him in the parish of *Mahalon*, which adjoins Plouhinec on the N.E.. It was in the village of Stang-Irvin, apparently on the waste bit of ground called *Menez-ar-Zant* (all traces of it have disappeared). Close by is a holy well, with a wooden statue of S. Vinoc as a monk. A pardon was formerly observed at the chapel, with an annual procession from the parish church. In the latter there is a statue of S. Vinoc. A *gwerz* in the Breton language, *Kantik sant Vinoc*, is sung at Plouhinec. The refrain begins, "O sant Vinoc benniget." It is worth noting that Plouhinec is near *Plogonnec* (see p. 17) and *Lanneizan*⁵ (=Nectan's Lan).

As a "royal saint" S. Winnoc appears in a satire, written by some member of the Tiers Etat in 1789, directed against the Breton noblesse, printed at "Demophilopolis," in which there is a "Supplication to Mgr. S. Winnoc, Breton gentleman, of ancient extraction, son of Hoël, 3rd of the name, King of Brittany, for the sole purpose of asking the saint to obtain from God for the noblesse of Brittany a separate quarter in Paradise."

There is a *St. Guinec* in Huelgoat, which, according to Loth (*Noms*, 56), would be from an old Breton *Winoc*=*Winac*-os. Another name, very like *Winnoc*, *Winnioc*, found in a place-name in Cornwall in 969 (see p. 31), appears to have been borne by a Breton saint who is the eponym of Lanvignec, (formerly *Lanviniec*), in an enclave of Dol on the coast just north of Paimpol, and of Vignoc⁶ (*ecclesia Vignocii* 1170), N. of Rennes, S. of Hédé, on the road to St. Malo.⁷ Whether *Winnioc* and *Winnoc* can be the same must be left to philologists. I have found no early forms for Laouënnec (S.E. of Lannion) or for Louannec (N.E. of Lannion)—the latter name is

⁵ In Renfrewshire in Scotland, Mr. M. H. N. C. Atchley tells me, there is a *Lochwinnoc* not far from *Cambusneithan*. For *Mahalon* see *Bull. d'Hist. et d'Arch. du diocèse de Quimper*, 1931, pp. 5, 8.

⁶ Loth, *Noms*, pp. 55, 6.

⁷ See *Pouillé de Rennes* VI. 464f. and Banéat's *Ille et Villaine*, vol. iv.

pronounced exactly as *Lewannick* in Cornwall (see below). Loth considered that the name of the parish of St.-Launeuc, an enclave of Dol, N. of Merdrignac (C.-du-N.), was probably a corruption of *Lawenoc*, as there was a noble family called *Saint-Leveneuc* in the neighbourhood.⁸

There is no documentary evidence whatever relating to the cult of S. Winnoc in Cornwall. We do not know what was the pre-Reformation tradition at St. Winnow about the patron saint. We have nothing but the name of the church in the 11th century to go on.

It is not easy to come to a definite conclusion as to whether or not St. Winnow is the only foundation of S. Winnoc in Cornwall. It has been suggested by M. Loth (*op. cit.*, pp. 52 to 54) that the parish of *Lewanick* in East Cornwall (*Lanwenec* 1261, *Lawaneke* 1288), as well as those of *Towednack* (S. *Tewennoc the Confessor* and S. *Tewynnocus* 1409) and *Landewednack* are called after a saint who has been either identified with both S. Winwaloe and S. Winoc, or is a hypocoristic form of the name *Winwaloe* (he makes the former suggestion on p. 52 of his *Noms* and the latter on p. 53). In my "S. Winwaloe"⁹ I have given reasons for supposing that S. Wethenoc, and not S. Winwalo, is the eponym of *Landevennec* in Brittany and of *Landewednack* in Cornwall. S. *Wethinoc*, the original patron of Padstow, is said in the *Götha Vita Petroci* to have abandoned Padstow to S. Petroc and have retired to another monastery, by which the writer may mean *Lewannick*.

It has been suggested, by the authors of *Lives of the British Saints* (iv. 352, 3) that the eponym of St. Winnow might be the *Winiavus* or *Iuniavus* mentioned in the *Life of S. Samson*. M. Loth, in *Noms des Saints Bretons* (pp. 56, 7), says "it is possible that St. Winnow might be Saint *Winiaw*," but in his brochure *La vie la plus ancienne de saint Samson de Dol* (Paris, 1914) he withdraws this. "The two names are entirely distinct. In an Anglo-Saxon charter of 969 King Edgar grants *hraet Winiaw*, *Penhel* and *Carn Winnioc*" (lands in Lamorran). Further, the form *Winnow* only arose in the 17th century. In the Middle Ages, Mr. Henderson says, *Winnoc* is the form always found.

It is worth noting that there are two places in St. Winnow called after someone bearing the name of *Maugan*—*Polmaugan* and *Bosmaugan* (the latter containing a field named *Chapel Park*)

⁸ *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁹ No. 4 in this series (2nd ed.), p. 42.

It is possible that S. Winnoc may have been connected with the well-known Welsh S. Maugan, who is the eponym of a parish on the north coast of Cornwall, near S. Madoc's chapel in St. Issey, and of another in Kerrier, and of at least one parish in Brittany.¹⁰

Finally, there are two parishes in Wales where the patron saint is S. Winnocus. The church of St. Twinnels, in the extreme south of Pembrokeshire, next to St. Petrox, is called *Ecclesia Sancti Winnoci* in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas (1291), and *Vicaria de Sancto Wynoco* in the Valor of 1535. William of Worcester says "Sanctus Wymocus (*sic*), Anglice Seynt Wynelle, confessor, distat a Pembroke per 11 miliaria." The parish of Llanwnnog in Montgomeryshire was *Sanctus Gwinocus* in the 14th century.¹¹ S. Gwynnog is also patron of Aberhavesp in the same county, and of a chapel at *Llanwynnog* in the parish of Clodock in Herefordshire.

There seems to have been some cult of S. Winnoc of Wormhout in Wales in the Middle Ages, as a 13th century hand has added *et Winnoci abbatis* on 6 November in the Kalendar in the British Museum (Cotton MS. Vesp. A. xiv.), which was clearly intended to accompany the Welsh Legendary printed by Rees in *Lives of the Cambro British Saints* in 1853.

THE CHURCH AND PARISH OF ST. WINNOW IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

St. Winnow first emerges into the clear light of written history in the year 1085. The ancient Celtic monastery on this spot must have ceased to exist some considerable time before, like that which the spade of Mr. Raleigh Radford has discovered at Tintagel, and its land now belonged to the Bishop of Exeter. In Domesday we read: "The Bishop has a manor which is called SAN WINNUC, which Bishop Lewric held in the time of King Edward, and it rendered geld for one hide. Six teams can plough this. Godfrey now holds it of the Bishop. . . . There Godfrey has of woodland half a league in length and 1 furlong in breadth, and of pasture half a league in length and the same in breadth. And it is worth yearly 20s. and when the Bishop received it it was worth 40s." In the 14th century it still belonged to the Bishop and was held of the Episcopal Manor of Cuddenbeak in St. Germans (in 1370 Sir Nicholas Tamworth, Lord of the Manor of *Seynt Wynnoc*, held of the Bishop's Manor of Saint *Jermain*, was instrumental in bringing a relic of S. German from Auxerre to the Cornish parish bearing his name).¹ In 1238 Odo de *Sancto Winnoco*, Godfrey's successor, sold the advowson of St. Winnocus to Bishop William Briwere, who in July of the following year appropriated the rectory to the Dean and Chapter.² The Rector, John de Kilkenny, resigned. After this the Dean and Chapter were Rectors, and appointed a *Vicar* or representative to exercise the cure of souls in the parish. In 1269 Robert de Sancto Wynnoco (no doubt a relative of Odo) was collated to the Vicarage, by lapse, and on this occasion the definite division of the property of the church between the Chapter and their Vicar was settled, the Bishop drawing up a *Taxacio* whereby the whole altalage of the church was assigned to the Vicar, together with

¹ This has led to the erroneous suggestion that the Manor of San Winnuc lay near the Chapel of St. Winnols in St. German parish. The late Mr. Charles Henderson has explained the mistake in his *History of St. Germans*, 1929, p. 15.

² "in propriis usus 24 canonicorum et 24 antiquarum prebendarum Exon. ecclesie" to hold and possess the same for ever, "free of all episcopal and archidiaconal exactions."

¹⁰ See "S. Mawgan" (No. 39 in this series) and pp. 51—53 in this book.

¹¹ *Arch. Camb.*, 1901, 145.

the pensions of 16/8 each out of the Chapels of *Brozeche* and *Boskennech*. It is thus certain that Braddoc and Boconnoc were originally only Chapels of St. Winnow. In the *Inquisitio Nonarum* of 1340 we find four chapelries in St. Winnow: "*Ecclesia Sancti Wynnoci cum capella de Brothek, Botkonnok, Nectan et Resprynna*." For this reason Bradoc and Boconnoc are not mentioned in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas in 1288,³ in which the "*Ecclesia de Sancto Winnoco*" is assessed at £2/10/0 and the *Vicaria* at £1, appearing among the Peculiars of the Dean and Chapter.

The benefice of St. Winnow had now become a vicarage, in the presentation of the Chapter, who received the greater tithes, and the constitution of the parish, in the form it has ever since retained, was completed.

Owing to the fact that the parish belonged to the Chapter, the archives of Exeter Cathedral possess a number of documents about it, describing the church and its ornaments, and the revenues due to the benefice and its patrons. These inventories enable us to picture the appearance of the church in the Middle Ages and what its services were like, and the records of agreements settling disputes as to property often contain the names of old-time parishioners of whom we should otherwise know nothing, and early forms of place-names which are of great value to students of topography. An example of this is found in the complaint of the parishioners of St. Winnow attending St. Nectan's Chapel in 1321, led by William Dounad, Robert Aelwydel, Henry de Ayshe, Senarius⁴ de Collewode, John de Leghe, Richard de la Wyll and Thomas de Bodou. The proctorial letter they drew up appointing Philip de Combe, clerk, to represent them and to explain their grievance to the Bishop, is sealed with the seal of the Dean of West *Wevelschire*. The reader will find a reference to this affair, together with a great many matters affecting the Chapel of St. Nectan, in the article on "The Cult of St. Nectan or St. Nighton in Cornwall," contributed by the late Mr. Charles Henderson to my "S. Nectan, S. Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall"

³ The first recorded institution of a Rector of Bradoc was in 1342, but a "*domus Rectoris ruinosa*" is mentioned in 1331. After they had become separate parishes, Bradoc and Boconnoc remained within the Peculiar of St. Winnow.

⁴ Evidently a Norman, as S. Senier or Senator is an Avranches saint (he succeeded S. Patern as Bishop of Avranches).
34]

(No. 25 in this series). As Mr. Henderson has dealt very fully with the history of St. Nectan's Chapel I shall say nothing more about it in this book, to avoid repetition.

Again, we find in the archives at Exeter a Composition by the Bishop's Official between the Prior (Philip) and Convent of Tywardreath and the Chapter of Exeter together with Mr. Richard de Coleton, [Canon of Exeter], Farmer of the Church of St. Wynnocus, and Sir Reginald, the perpetual Vicar there, touching certain great and small tithes in *Polscoth* (Polscoe) in the parish of St. Wynnoc, which the Religious (of Tywardreath) claimed by prescription. It was decided, on 26 July 1324, that the tithes belong to the Chapter, but that the Vicar and his successors *pro bono pacis* shall pay the Religious 4/- at Michaelmas yearly, and the Vicar shall hold the houses, closes and glebe at St. Wynnoc and St. Nectan's Chapel at the will of the Chapter by paying 8s. instead of the old pension of 1 mark. There shall be reserved for the Chapter a place to sell their tithes, and a *hospicium* in the Vicarage houses, and also a barn, to be kept in repair by the Vicar, with a sufficient *area* of a half acre English adjacent, on which to stack their corn.

The following extract from the Chapter *Rotulus Debitorum* for 1385 shows how the income due from the Great Tithes was gathered in:

"Dominus Johannes Kentelwode for the tithe of St. Wynnoc sold to him 33/4, John Reperne for the tithe of Reperne owes 6/8, John Moyl for the tithe of Bosmalgan owes 8/-, John Kendall for the tithe of the other [part of] Bosmalgan 10/-, John Gerard for the tithe of Polscoth 20/-, Waltyn Batyn for the tithe of Heuthy 2/-, Warinus Daunet for the tithe of Daunet 4d."

In 1281 an enquiry (*inquisicio*) was made by Philip de Trewynno, Robert de Polscot, Roger the smith, Alexander and Henry de Pennelen, Roger de la Cumb and Reginald de Bodou, jurors, who say:—"that there are in the sanctuary [=glebe] ix acres *cum ambitu curie*,⁵ which are in the hand of the Vicar [struck through, and 'Farmer' substituted]; the value of each acre is 6d, and all the houses of the *curia* are badly roofed and the *solarium* is almost in ruins . . . Also the sheaf tithes of the Church of Saint Wynnoc are worth normally xx marks. Item the vicarage consists of the whole *altilagium* and two English acres of land which are estimated to be worth vi marks a year." The annual pensions of 16/8 each from the Churches of Bradoc and *Boskennoc* are mentioned.

⁵ For *curia*, or *aula* (in Cornish *lys*) see my "St. Ives" (1939) p. 39.

The carelessly written statement about the glebe is partly explained by the following:

"A true certificate concerninge the Vicarage of St. Winnow, Maye XVth 1602.

First for the patronage . . . the value of it in her Majestie's Booke is £5. Concerninge the Glebe Lande, firste there is lyinge by the Vicaradge house the value of 8 acres, in 4 parcels, besides orchards and herbe garden plots. This is bounded on the east side by the high way to St. Winow Church, and on the S.W. and N. sydes with the bartayne of Thomas Lower esqr. There is also within the bounds aforesaid a parcell of glebe land under the valew of one acre, wherof parte belongeth to the sheaffe of this parishe and parte to the vicarage. There is also belonginge to the vicarage the valew of xv acres more, which lyeth by the Chappell of St. Nightons within this parishe, whereupon are 2 little houses belonginge to the vicarage. This is bounded with the landes of Sir Rainolde Mohoune on the south side, with the common downe on the W. [etc.] . . .

By me Christopher Leache, Vicar of Winow."

In 1331 it was "reported by the parishioners of Saint Wynnoc that the Vicar of Saint Wynnoc does not receive the tithes due from the mills in his parish: viz., from the Mill of Saint Wynnoc, which is worth xxx s. a year, he only receives vj d.; from *Seprwaschse* Mill, which is worth xjs. a year, he only receives vj d. for tithes; from Polscoth Mill, which is worth vij s. a year, he receives vj d. for tithes; for the two mills of Dounans, viz., the water mill and the fulling mill, which are worth xvjs. a year, he receives vjs. for tithes. The Vicar is told to see that he gets the tithes justly due."

In 1288 the Commissary of the Dean and Chapter held a Visitation at St. Winnow. He found that the church possessed:

- a chalice of silver, gilt within, but entirely black without, weighing xvjs;
- ij pairs of corporals;
- ij pairs of vestments in a satisfactory condition;
- iiij blessed *tualle* [i.e., "fair linen cloths" for the altar];
- j surplice;
- no rochet;
- j pix for the Eucharist of ivory silver-mounted, without lock;
- a fairly good chrismatory of wood [to hold the oil for baptism and anointing the sick] with a lock;
- a small *sacrarium* [piscina];

- iiij tin cruets;
- a font in satisfactory condition, with a lock;
- j poor processional cross of wood, none of metal;
- no banner;
- j Lenten Veil;
- j thurible, not satisfactory;
- no [Paschal] candlestick (*candelabrum*);
- j earthenware bucket for holy water;
- Item j satisfactory Missal, j Gradual, with a satisfactory Troper;
- Item another satisfactory Troper;
- j Manual. Also another Manual not so satisfactory;
- No separate Ordinale;
- j good *Legendary* (*legenda*) in two volumes;
- j good Antiphonary, with Capitular [book containing the "Little Chapters"], Hymner and Psalter;
- j Psalter with Hymner;
- Item two bells;
- ij little bells;
- Also a wheel with little jingling bells (*tintinnabulis*) in good condition;
- Item the chancel with windows and roofs in good repair;
- Item an iron for making the hosts;
- j chest for placing the ornaments of the church in.

It is particularly interesting to find that St. Winnow church in the 13th century possessed a "Wheel of Fortune," like those which have survived in several Breton churches (e.g. in N.-D.-de-Comfort near Pont-Croix): they were used at the Elevation of the Host⁶, and no doubt on other occasions. It is greatly to be regretted that the two-volume *Legendary* has been destroyed, as it might have told us what the Cornish tradition about the patron saint of St. Winnow was.

In 1331 a second Visitation was held by the Official of the Dean and Chapter. He reported, under the heading "At Saint Wynnoc," that—

"There are three corporals there without *repositoria* [i.e. what are now called "burses."], but one is worn out;

⁶ as they are still in Mexican churches. The *Wheel of Fortune* is described in the *Arch. Journal*, 1846, Vol. I., p. 63.

The rochet is lacking ;
 The Lenten Veil and the Nuptial Veil and the Pall for the dead are lacking ;
 The Banner is unsatisfactory (*inconveniens*) ;
 There is one Gradual, badly bound ;
 The Pix for the Eucharist is flimsy, and has no lock ;
 The *Asser* for the Pax⁷ is badly painted ;
 There is no vase for incense, nor any Paschal Candle ;
 There is no *celatura* (canopy) over the High Altar ;
 The little bells for the dead and the sick are lacking, also the one used at the Elevation of the Body of Christ ;
 There is no lock for the Baptistery.
 There is a little window of one light in the Chancel, in good condition and (? but) without glass."

It is evident that even in the Middle Ages there were times when the guardians of country churches did not look after them properly and ornaments necessary for the reverent celebration of divine service were lacking. But the 15th century saw a great revival of interest in building and beautifying churches. Most of our Cornish churches were rebuilt and richly furnished in the 15th and early 16th centuries, and S. Winnow was no exception to the rule, as the chapter on the Church will show. Unfortunately the campaign of church spoliation initiated by Henry VIII. and carried to much greater lengths by Edward VI. and Elizabeth, and the sweeping liturgical changes forced on the people by the two last-named, made the churches bare and the services infrequent and unattractive, and the people generally lost interest. The clergy were much reduced in numbers, and were often non-resident and greatly wanting in zeal, as the Returns of the incumbents of the diocese of Exeter to the queries sent them on different occasions during the 18th century by the bishops show. The Vicar of St. Winnow in 1779 was resident, but the number of communicants had seriously decreased. He reported :

"I reside in the Vicarage. Services are held at St. Winnow on Sunday mornings and St. Nighton in the afternoon. There are 4 yearly celebrations at St. Winnow, and 20—30 communicants. 80 families in the parish."

⁷ The *asser pacis* or *tabula pacis* ("pax-brede"), a picture of the crucifixion on wood or copper, handed round by the parish clerk for the people to kiss, had taken the place of the scriptural kiss exchanged by the faithful at mass: (described in Rock's *Church of our Fathers*, ed. 1905, iv. pp. 186f., with 3 illustrations). For the original Latin of these inventories, with further explanatory notes, see Appendix I.

LIST OF VICARS OF ST. WINNOW.

(JOHN DE KILKENNY was Rector in 1239 ; see p. 33).

ROBERT DE SANCTO WYNNOCO was collated (by lapse) to the Vicarage 4 Sept., 1269.

PHILIP occurs as Vicar in 1297, when he was imprisoned in Launceston gaol for publishing the Papal Bull *Clericis laicos*.

HUGH DE WELLIA, priest, instituted 4 May, 1313. Patrons—the Dean and Chapter (as always after this date except when otherwise noted).

SIR REGINALD occurs as Vicar in 1324.

SIR WALTER DE BAUCOMBE was inst. 30 July, 1335. He exchanged for Altarnon with

SIR IVO DE ASTONE, inst. 7 Jan., 1336/7.

SIR RALPH DE TRELOUGAN, priest, inst. 13 March, 1338/9.

ROBERT LANSCOEGEKE, a poor priest, collated by Papal provision 4 June, 1367. He exchanged (as *Lascoseke*) for Sancreed with

SIR ANDREW BOVY, inst. 13 July, 1378. In 1381 he submitted to repair his chancel, after first refusing to do it. He is mentioned as "late Vicar" in 1384 when he owed the Chapter £3 8s. 8d.

EDWARD GYST, ordained subdeacon as Vicar of S. Winnoc in 1387, Deacon and priest in the same year. He is mentioned in 1389.

SIR WALTER ALLERYSFORDE occurs as "late Vicar" in 1389. He was succeeded by

THOMAS WOODLEGHE. On 10 Dec., 1390 letters of administration of the goods of this Vicar, who died intestate, were granted to John Opy and Roger of Hervy, his next of kin.

PHILIP BOLE, priest, was presented by the Chapter 17 Nov., 1390. On his death,

WALTER GALY, chaplain, inst. 21 Novr., 1404. On his death,

THOMAS HENDEMAN, chaplain, 2 Jan., 1411/2. He became Vicar of Widecombe on 26 Oct., 1412.

JOHN GILLE, inst. 15 Sept., 1412. He is named in the will of Ralph Kayl, who left him 20/- in 1419.

MR. ROGER TOKERE. He exchanged for Stoke Rivers with

SIR RICHARD TRENHAM, or TREVELYAN, inst. 24 Feb., 1422/3.
On his resignation,

MR. THOMAS FORSDONE (or FURSDON), inst. 30 Jan., 1428. He occurs as Vicar in 1464. On his death,

SIR RICHARD BENET was inst. 1466/7.

SIR JOHN EDMUNDE. On his resignation, with pension of 6 marks,

SIR WILLIAM KELYOW, chaplain, was inst. 1491. On his death,

MR. THOMAS MORYS, M.A., inst. 28 March, 1504 (by Archbishop Warham, *sede vacante*). On his resignation,

SIR ROBERT CHANTRELL, chaplain, inst. 1510. On his death,

SIR THOMAS VALENCE, M.A., inst. 1517. On his resignation,

SIR JOHN HUNT, chaplain, inst. 3 March, 1519. In 1522 he had *licencia tractandi super pensione*.

SIR THOMAS GYRTLYS. On his resignation,

RALPH TREDINECKE, clerk, inst. 1530. On his resignation,

NICHOLAS GEST, priest, inst., 1537/8. On his death,

SIR WILLIAM CADLEY, priest, inst. 1545.

MARK CURTEYS, inst. on resignation of the last Vicar, 13 Aug., 1566.

The next two Vicars were intruders:

THOMAS TRIGGS. On his cession,

THOMAS TRIGGS, inst. 20 May, 1594 (by Archbishop Whitgift, *sede vacante*). Patron—the Queen. In spite of this however, on the death of Mark Courtys,

CHRISTOPHER LEACHE, was inst. 6 Oct., 1599. Patrons—the D. and C. On his resignation (he died 1639),¹

PHILIP LEACH, inst. 8 Apr., 1630. He was ejected during the Great Rebellion by the Puritans, who intruded one Thomas Hancock, a tanner. Mr. Leach returned to St. Winnow in 1660, and Hancock was ejected in 1662 (see Calamy's *Nonconformist Memorial*). Mr. Leach died in 1681/2. On his resignation,

THOMAS LAURENCE, inst. 15 May, 1678. He died and was buried 16 Sept., 1723, aged 70

JOHN TORRE, inst. 20 Jan., 1723/4. He was buried 11 Sept., 1728.

WILLIAM GEE, inst. 27 Feb., 1728/9. Buried 27 Apr., 1739.

¹ In 1610 "Gilbert Dugdale of St. Winnow clerk's daughter Hester" was buried at St. Veep.
40]

CHARLES HAWTREY, inst. 19 May, 1739. He resigned and became Sub-Dean of Exeter Cathedral. He died in 1770, aged 84.

JOHN CARY. He died 9 May, 1759.

CHICHESTER TOMKYNS, inst. 25 June, 1759.

ROBERT WALKER, inst. 18 Apr., 1781. Buried 11 Dec., 1834. He had been a great supporter of Parliamentary Reform. He built the present Vicarage and planted the avenue of beeches.

PERCIVAL FRYE, inst. 11 Feb., 1835.

GEORGE HILL, 16 Feb., 1864.

GEORGE KYNGDON, inst. 3 Feb., 1888.

GEORGE CARTWRIGHT, inst. 11 Dec., 1891.

RICHARD BOLES, inst. 31 March, 1897.

GERALD SAMPSON, inst. 19 Dec., 1911.

MARC ANTONY BUCKNALL, inst. 12 Jan., 1916.

GEOFFREY CAPEL, inst. 4 Feb., 1924.

CLEMENT WILLIAMS, inst. 15 Aug., 1933.

PHILIP GENDALL, inst. 10 March, 1937.

ST. WINNOW PARISH CHURCH.

St. Winnow Church stands on a flat piece of ground on the edge of the tidal part of the Fowey River, only a few feet above high water mark. Behind it, on rising ground, is the Barton farm occupying the site of a mediæval manor house.²

Among the Cathedral Archives at Exeter are a few references to the church which show that repairs and alterations were being carried out in the chancel in 1331 and again in 1381. In the former year we find among the payments of personal legacies by the executors of Bishop Stapeldon one of 10s. to the Vicar of St. Winnow "for the repair of the chancel."³ It will be remembered that 1331 was the year of the Visitation held by the Official of the Dean and Chapter. His report mentions "a little window of one light in the chancel, without glass." Mr. Henderson thought that this might be the westernmost of the two northern windows of the present chancel. It is a Norman window, which has first been converted into a lancet, and then widened in the 15th century. In 1381 the Act Book at Exeter records that "Sir Andrew Bovy submitted to repair his chancel."

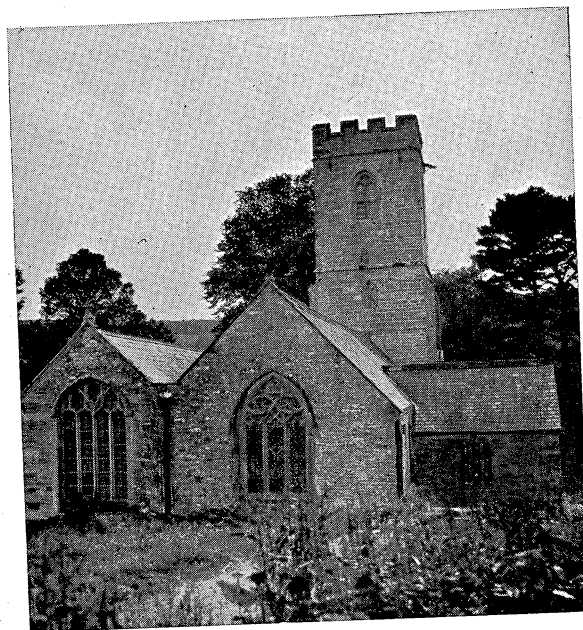
In the 15th century several gifts were made to the church by the Kayls of Ethy. In 1419 Ralph Kayl bequeathed 20s. to the wardens of the fabric for an obit for ever, and about eighty years later William Kayle founded a chantry in the church, which is thus described in the Chantry Roll of 1547:

"SAYNT WYNNOWE.

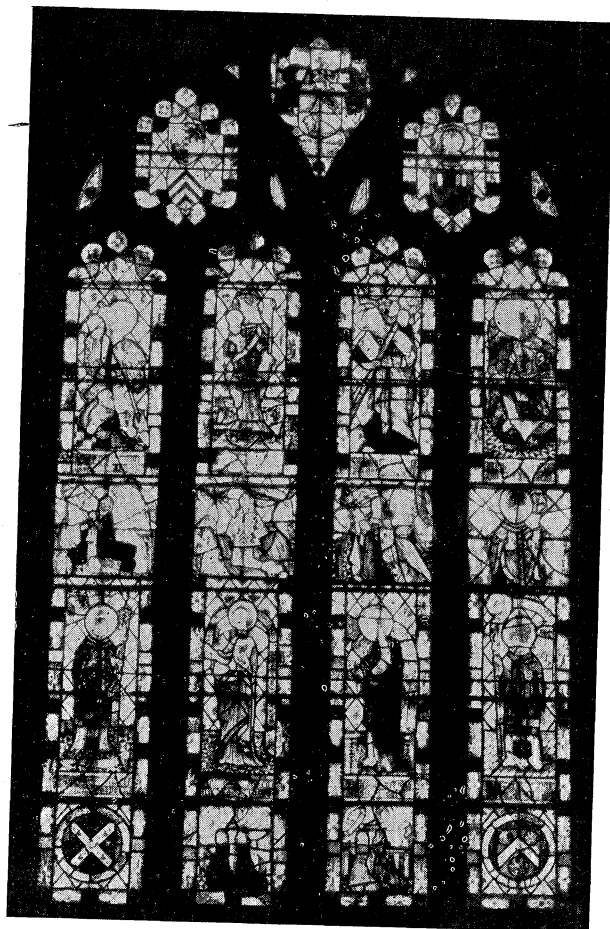
21. The chauntrye called Kayells. Founded by William Kayell. [To find] a pryst to praye for hym, and to celebrate an obytt yerely in the paryshe church of Saynt Wynnowe. The yerelye value of the lands and possessions, ix pounds xviii d.

² "Against the walls and hedges round the Barton are lying many 16th and 17th century wrought granite stones—mullions, sills, heads, jambs and arches. The jetty below the church is built up with a number of similar wrought granite stones. All apparently are from the old Barton." M.H.N.C.A. There is a detailed description of the Barton house and its gardens in 1676: see C. G. Henderson, *Essays in Cornish History* (1935), p. 152.

³ "Item liberat' Vicario Eccl. Sti Wynnoci pro reparacione cancelli dicte ecclesie 10s."
42]



Exterior of St. Winnow Church



Ancient glass in East window of South aisle

The said chauntrye was dissolved vij yeres past without ye kyng's lycence."

This appears to be the same chantry as that referred to in another similar list made a few years later according to a Commission dated Feb. xiiijth, 2 Edw. VI., which runs: "S. Winnowe. An obytt. Founded by William Keysley, who willed that of his lands and tenements to the yerelye value of xij marks shuld be gyven [for finding a] prest in ye parysh churche of Seynt Wynnowe for to praye for ye sowles of the sayd William and his ancestors. The lands and tenements ys of the clere yerely value of viij pounds. Mem.—The heires of ye founder sayed thei entred into ye same x yeres past, sith which tyme no preste hath ben founded there nor obytt kepte."

The Kayle chantry appears to have been at the altar in the south aisle, where the arms of the family of Kayle of Ethy (Quarterly battely counter battely argent and sable) appear in the glass of the east window.

The following notes are taken from an essay on the architectural history of the parish church of St. Winnow, by Mr. M. H. N. C. Atchley, F.I.A.A., Architect in Cornwall for the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings.

Of the early building nothing remains; probably it was entirely rebuilt by the Normans, for the arch and responds in the North transept, together with the lower courses of masonry of the North walls of the nave and chancel, and those of the transept walls, tell us that there was a Norman cruciform church here. Probably there was also a Norman central tower, replaced by one at the West end nearly four centuries later. The transept arch is clearly a Norman one re-constructed in the 13th century.

Perhaps, as so often happened, larger windows and embellishments were added during the 13th century according to the fashion of the day, the growing wish for greater comfort making what had seemed satisfactory to the older generation inadequate to the younger. Seemingly, also, an increase in the population necessitated enlarging the church in the later 15th century by building the *South aisle*, the *porch* and the *tower*. The windows of the North transept were inserted about this time. The old Norman South wall of the nave and chancel was replaced by arches supported on monolith granite piers with softer porcelain granite capitals. Consequently the South transept was merged into the new aisle. The two-light window (with plate tracery) high up in the Nave wall next to the transept is 13th cent. (it had been built up and was discovered some

years ago.) The other two windows in this wall are modern, but indications of the arch of an older 13th cent. window may be seen between them.

At the same time as the aisle was built the *font* was made. It has a rounded bowl with angels bearing shields, and the inscription "Ecce karissimi de deo vero baptizabuntur spiritu sancto." (Behold the Beloved of the True God shall be baptised with the Holy Spirit). At Treslothan and at St. Anthony-in-Meneage are similar fonts with the same inscription. The *roofs* over the transept and nave, the South aisle and South aisle chancel are ancient,—simple work with well carved bosses: the high chancel roof is modern. Of the six bells in the tower three are of 18th century date.

THE ROODSCREEN.

Presumably the Rood figures were partly or wholly destroyed in Elizabeth's reign. Vandalism or neglect caused the loss of the loft and vaulting, and the aisle section of the screen was cut down to the transome, leaving only the wainscotting, a perverse fashion that grew up in some places in the early 19th century due to a pretence that the priest's voice could not be heard if the screens remained. Many Cornish roodscreens suffered from this cause.

But at St. Winnow the chancel section remained, with its tracery: that of the aisle section, together with all the vaulting and cornice, were re-instated, more or less on the old lines, in 1907, and the Rood was added some years later as a memorial.

The ancient tracery of the St. Winnow screen is essentially Cornish in character: the design and craftsmanship are both excellent: and similar work may be seen in many churches, *e.g.* in the extreme East—Morwenstow, and in the extreme West—St. Buryan. Above each open light the arch rises, forming a canopy, into a crocketed finial that is distinct from the rest of the tracery.

The normal West Country construction of screen wainscotting has been boarding, with applied tracery, the panels so formed being painted with figures of saints and prophets, as may be seen in the neighbouring church of Lanreath. But here at St. Winnow the construction follows a more usual Cornish method—little known up the country, but employed also in Brittany—whereby the panels are held in position by strong muntins giving a robust character to the work which the skilfully shaped mouldings prevent from looking coarse. In Mawnan Church the panels, though similarly constructed, are painted with figures, but here, as in so many Cornish screens of the later 15th and early 16th centuries, they are a mass of rich carving.

Some of the St. Winnow panels display a fanciful leaf twisted into a circle, the serrated edges resembling a "Catherine wheel" firework, an imaginative design that does not seem to be known East of the Tamar. The standards, or main uprights, of the screen have a kind of honeycomb from which the finely carved enrichments start, a Cornish feature that may also be seen on the St. Ewe and other screens.

It is much to be regretted that the ancient gilding and colouring have been scraped from the carved wood.

There is nothing that definitely fixes the date when this work was executed: the construction and the style of the craftsmanship suggest the late 15th or early 16th century, which, with the absence of genuine Renaissance detail, makes it most likely that it was carved and erected complete by the early years of Henry VIII's reign.⁴

THE BENCHENDS.

The visitor will notice the old seating, of which there are considerable remains of the carved ends, though the backs and fronts of blocks of pews are now modern. Cornish benchends are not only of exceptional merit in design, but usually of excellent craftsmanship as well. The work here consists of three groups of apparently three different periods of carving.

The first is what we may describe as the "Cornish design," as it is so very common here and is only found elsewhere occasionally in Devon in such places as seem to have been under Cornish influence. In this design the outlay of the benchend is arranged in three parts within a carved border on the sides and top: (1) the upper area is traceried: (2) the centre is divided into one or two panels like windows (according if it be a deskend, or a seat and deskend) in which is a shield with charges such as symbols of our Lord's Passion: (3) below there is a base of a quatrefoil, or similar device, under each panel. St. Winnow has now eight of these that are ancient, and they date from the later 15th century.

The 2nd group belongs to a class with simple carved borders, or merely moulded edges, that is seen at its best in Laneast and Davidstow, Minster and Forrabury churches, and date from the second quarter of the 16th century. (A few of a like character, but a century earlier in date, are in the neighbouring church of St. Veep.) The upper part is usually an "all over" design, perhaps floral, and with an arcade below—a simple treatment but none the less effective. Others of this group at St. Winnow are entirely covered with the subject.

⁴ The rood-loft stairs in the N. wall are approached from the transept.

The 3rd group dates from the first half of the 17th century,—
No. 2 below is an example: the rest of the benchends are modern.

The subjects of the carving are:—

The North side of the nave gangway from East to West:

1. Seatend, pattern found also in Forrabury church. 2nd group.
2. "All over" pattern. 3rd group.
- 3, 4, and 5 are modern.
6. A ship.¹

Nave, South side:

7. Deskend: Heart and shield.
8. "A" / 3 nails. 1st group.
9. Pincers and hammer / Pillar, rope, two triple scourges.
10. "H" / 3 chevrons: Archdekne arms.
11. Floral device: arcade below. 2nd group.
12. Spear and hyssop / Two scourges.
13. Similar to 11.
14. "IHS" single panel.

North side of South aisle:

- 15, and 16 are modern.
17. Cross and crown / Spear and hyssop.
18. "A" / Crowned "M."
19. Similar to 11.
20. Man drinking, a very fine figure.
21. "IHS."

South side of South aisle:

- 22, and 23 are modern.
24. Wheel, (? wheelwright's trade). 2nd group.
25. Hanging bell, (? bellhanger's trade).
26. Three crosses and (?) gate below.
27. Concentric flower design.
28. Large axe, (? woodman's trade).
- 29, and 30 are modern.
31. Three flowers.
32. Crossed keys of St. Peter.
33. This end is against the wall at the end of the desk of No. 30.

¹ Ships were built and launched at St. Winnow as late as 1701
(see Par. Hist. of Corn., iv. 330, 1). G.H.D.
46]

The *pulpit* covered with ornamentation was made towards the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign. There is a parish chest of about the same date, and in the transept is King Charles the Martyr's letter of thanks to the Cornish people for their loyalty, and for the services of the Cornish Army, on a 17th cent. board.

THE STAINED GLASS.

Among the glories of this church are the windows containing mediæval stained glass. This collection is the third most interesting in the county.

The *East window* of the high chancel (the masonry is modern) contains the remains of glass depicting the Crucifixion: in the left the Virgin Mother: centre, her Divine Son on the cross: right St. John. The figures stand on an almost entirely original green ground partly acid-ed and partly painted, in the 15th century manner, to produce light and shade in a most satisfactory way. The two side figures are strangely squat, giving rather a South German look, but the probable explanation is that they are of local provenance but designed for smaller lights, perhaps 13th century lancets that may have been existed before the present modern window. Nevertheless the general effect of this glass is most pleasing.

The *East window of the South chancel*, though well known, has never been accurately described, and has often been vaguely referred to as "circa 1500." The truth is that it consists of parts from different windows and not all of the same period. The glass seems to have been repaired in 1874, and again altered some 20 or 30 years later.

At present the subjects in the tracery from left to right are:—A shield quarterly battelly argent and sable (the Kayle arms); below is another shield (the Archdekne family¹) arg. three chevrons sa. In the centre a shield-crest and mantling are entirely modern, but the cartouche work below is domestic glass dated 1580 and must have come from a house in the parish. In the right hand light is a roundel with the head of our Lord, but apparently not in its ancient place, and below the coat of the Courtneys. The right and left hand lights are bordered with the usual conventional detail.

The main lights are divided into two rows of figures, left to right:—1. St. George. 2. The Madonna and the Divine Child. 3. St. Christopher. 4. St. Michael. Below these figures and

¹ Mr. Henderson considered this a mistake.

across the four lights is an inscription which cannot now be deciphered properly, many letters being obscure. Below again are donors (kneeling towards the North). The first with a label "Sc . . . ora pro nobis." The 2nd invokes St. George and has the tabard of the Archdeknes quartered with the coat, in the tracery above, quarterly battelly arg. and sa. The 3rd is a woman, probably the wife of No. 2. The 4th is an archbishop with cross and book of a cruder work, from another window, and of 16th century date.

Then follow these figures:—One (vested in apparelled amice and alb, chusuble over dalmatic as a bishop or mitred abbot, but without the mitre on his head, and holding a crozier) is traditionally supposed to be St. Winnow himself. The label over it bears the name "Petrus," but it does not belong to this figure, and the label under may not be in its original place. The shield beneath the figure is modern though the wreath and the background are original. The 2nd figure is difficult to identify: it is of a gracefully drawn female holding a book and apparently a scythe. The inscription on the donor's invocation below is uncertain. The 3rd figure is clearly our Lady of the Annunciation, the angel Gabriel is missing, and underneath are two more donors. The 4th figure is of St. Leonard, patron saint of prisoners—hence the chains. The inscription belongs elsewhere. (St. Leonard's day is the same as that of St. Winnoc, 6th November.) The arms under the figure are modern but the wreath is ancient.

The donors kneeling all the same way instead of towards the centre indicates that some of the lights were originally South windows of the South aisle. The subjects, also, suggest that very likely, apart from domestic glass, this window contains material from at least two South aisle windows as well as any originally in it. Unless otherwise stated above, this glass is mainly of the later 15th century, and there is nothing to show that it is not of Cornish provenance.

In the South aisle West window, tracery centre light, is a shield of the Archdekne arms of late 15th century date, and in the tracery of the transept North window is a shield sa. a chevron betw. 3 stars and a mullet impaling the Lower arms and another Lower shield.¹

The porch is c. 1500. On the door is some good ironwork. Over it is a niche. In the south chapel is an aumbry.

Outside the slate memorial stones should be noted on account of the well spaced lettering.

¹ The transept was appropriated to the manor of St. Winnow.

THE CHAPELRY OF RESPRYNN.

In the northern part of the parish is a beautiful bridge over the Fowey, dating (in part at least) from the 15th century, known as Resprynn Bridge. The first syllable of the name is the common Celtic word *rit* or *res*, meaning a ford, but a bridge had been built here before 1300. "This pass over the river was once of strategic importance and of great utility for those who journeyed from Bodmin to the parts of West Wivellshire."¹ Not far from the bridge once stood a chapel of St. Martin. It is first mentioned in the 12th century, when one of the Lords of Cardynham gave to the monastery of Tywardreath, which his ancestors had founded, the "*capella de Rithbrene cum una acra terre.*" We have seen how the monastery also claimed the tithes of *Polscoth* further to the south, but were unsuccessful. By 1331 their rights over the Chapel of Resprynn had lapsed to the Dean and Chapter, for the latter's commissary made the following report upon it: "In the Chapel of Reprina almost everything required for Divine Service is lacking. There is, however, a perpetual (*continua*) chantry, and the parishioners there receive all *sacramentalia* save only the right of sepulture." In 1340 *Resprynna* appears as a separate fiscal district under St. Winnow, and in some civil documents it is called a "parish."

In 1389 John Moyle and Emma his wife had licence from Bishop Brantyngham "for the Chapel of Bodmalgan in honour of St. Martin, recently constructed at their expense within the parish of St. Wynnoc." In 1400 this licence was renewed "for the Chapel of St. Martin near their mansion in St. Wynnoc." It is not clear whether this chapel at Bosmawgan is the same as the parochial chapel of Resprynn. It may have been only a private chapel of the Moyle family, and a field name at Bosmawgan shows that a chapel once stood there (see p. 54), but in this case there must have been two chapels of St. Martin close to each other. In any case it is interesting to find a chapel dedicated to that saint at Bosmawgan, in view of the fact that there is a Chapelry of St. Martin united with the parish of Mawgan-in-Kerrier.²

¹ C. G. Henderson, *A lost Cornish parish—Resprynn* (Truro Diocesan Gazette, Aug., 1927). For the history of Resprynn Bridge (with a photograph) see Mr. Henderson's *Cornish Bridges*, pp. 76, 7.

² cf. "S. Mawgan" (No. 39 in this series, ed. 1936), p. 4.

The Chapel of St. Martin of Resprynn is mentioned several times in the 16th century. In 1528 Thomas Carminow bequeathed an ox to the *Chapel of St. Martin of Repryn*, and in the same year Thomas Tretherle left 6/8 to the parish store of St. Martin at *Reprynne*. In 1545 John Carminow of Fentongollan by his will devised some lands to Nicholas Carminow on condition "that his priest shall serve God with divine service in the Chappell of St. Marten in Resprine, and every day, when he says or sings masse there, shall have me in his *memento* all ye Mass Tyme." Unfortunately this generous benefaction seems to have proved the ruin of the Chapel and served as a pretext for its desecration under the iniquitous Chantry Act of 1547, two years later, by which Henry VIII. made one last seizure of Church property by confiscating every foundation left by the piety of past generations in which there was any provision for prayers for the founder's soul. In spite of its having been for so long practically a parish church, St. Martin's chapel was sold, and its site is now an orchard, from which quantities of carved stone and window tracery have been removed to a neighbouring garden for preservation.³ The font was given later to the church of Herodsfoot. Sedding considered it "the best Early English font in Cornwall," and to date from about 1300.

There were formerly several other chapels in St. Winnow parish, as the large number of fields called "Chapel Park" shows (see p. 54).

Near the site of S. Martin's Chapel at Resprynn stands the cross called by Langdon "Waterlake Cross" (illustrated on p. 68 of his *Cornish Crosses*): no doubt it had some connection with this chapel. There was formerly a local custom of visiting it yearly, digging around it and throwing some earth on its head. A cross of similar design, of red granite, was found at Higher Combe by the late Mr. Richard Foster, and re-erected in St. Nighton's churchyard. "Trevery Cross" (see p. 54) seems to have disappeared. The list of field names in the parish called *Cross Park* (see p. 54) shows that

³ I visited Resprynn in company with the Vicar on 17 July 1940. A few yards N. of the cottage which stands near the bridge is a cowhouse, which contains a very considerable number of pieces of cut stone-work, large and small, from the old Chapel. Two large stones look like the two sides of a lancet window, others are mullions, doorposts, etc. The E. end of the cowhouse might, I think, be the E. end of the Chapel. In front of the door of the cottage are two pieces of tracery, fragments of a richly-carved window, which were found in the bed of the river some years ago. Other cut stones lie near the cowhouse.

there were many more at one time (I have given the number in the Tithe Map of the fields called after ancient chapels, crosses, entrenchments, etc., so that persons in the neighbourhood interested in such things may know where to search.)

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ST. WINNOW.

The place-names of St. Winnow, although unfortunately Mr. Henderson had not found very many early forms of them in documents, are of special interest. As usual, they often describe features of the landscape, or refer to ancient customs and occupations, but a large number contain personal names of great antiquity. Two of these, as I have remarked already, commemorate a *Maugan* (one of them shows as late as 1389 the early form *Malgan*, from which, as M. Loth says¹, *Maugan* has developed). A place in the adjacent parish of Lanreath is called *Castlemawgan*, which may perhaps be regarded as an additional reason for thinking that there may be grounds for the suggestion (see p. 22, 24) that there was a connection between the eponyms of Lanreath and St. Winnow. Another very interesting fact is that two places in St. Winnow—Bedwindle and Trewendell—appear to be called after a *Uuinhael*. There is a well-known Breton saint *Guenhael*, whose *Vita* tells us that he visited Great Britain and founded several monasteries there.² It is noteworthy that in the parish of Bradock, formerly part of St. Winnow, there is also a *Trewindle*. Six other place-names seem to contain personal names, not including those called after the mediæval parishioner *Moile*.

Finally, there is a considerable number of field-names in the parish showing the existence of numerous ancient chapels and crosses which have long disappeared.

Mr. R. Morton Nance has again placed his unrivalled knowledge of Cornwall and the Cornish language at our disposal, and suggested meanings for many of the place names of St. Winnow.

¹ *Noms*, p. 89.

² see "S. Winwaloe," No. 4 in this series, 2nd ed., p. 47.

(Field-names of interest are placed after the names of the holdings where they are found.)

ASHTON in Trevego (Aysse 1321).

BAWDOE (Bodou 1279, 1281, 1321, pl. of *bod*, dwelling, later *bossow*). Crooksans (cf. "Crocksons Parks" in POLMAUGAN). Round Close (No. 1036).

BEDWINDLE (?=*bod*+Uuinhael, Gwinhael, dwelling of G., *gwin*, fair, *hel*, generous). Hartswell. Moiles Barrow.

BOFARNEL (Bodfernam 1224, 1281, Bodfarnan 1396, ?=*bod* *Firinan*, dwelling of F.) Denabole (? *tal*, front + *pol*, pool, cf. Delabole and Dinnabowl [Gorran]). Maudley.

BOSMAUGAN (Bosmagan 1385, Bodmagan 1356, 1389, *bos*+Malgan for older *bod* Maelogon, dwelling of Maglocunus="mighty prince," cf. Trevalgan [St. Ives]).

BRANSTONE. (? Brendon 1327). Planvills.

BREN (Bryn 1321, *bron*, hill. It adjoins Branstone and Brownqueen).

BRIGEND. The Butts (used formerly for archery practice—the "Bounds of the Manor of Penlyne" in 1606 mention "duo tumulos terre voc' *The Butts*." Calamere (see CALAMEER). Spaniards Hill.

BROWNQUIN (*bron gwyn*, "white (or fair) hill.")

CALAMEER, CALLYMERES (*kelly vur*, "great grove," mutation of *mur* ignored).

CANACOMBE HEAD (Bounds of Penlyne Manor 1606); ? Old English *cean*, fir-tree, *comb*, valley.

COLIBECKON (*kelly vyghan*, "little grove"; mutation of *byghan* ignored).

COLWOOD (Collawode 1321, Collewoda, 1390, ? for *Kelly* Wood). Slowney Well (? Old English *slán*, sloes, "sloans.") Bawdoe.

COOM (La Cumb 1288, Craftis Combe 1321, Cornish *cum* or Old English *comb*, valley).

COURLAND (*corlan*, sheepfold).

CUTBRAWN (*cuit bron*, "wood of the hill").

DALAWHIDDEN (Delwydel 1321, Dellawhidden 1726, ? *talwydhal tal*, front, *gwydhal*, thicket). Pennyquick (? *pen an wyk*, end of the wood, *gwyk*, mutation ignored).

DAWNA (Dounad 1321, "duobus molendinis de *Dounans*" 1331, Dannant 1442, *down-nans*, deep dale, or *deu-nans*, two valleys).

THE DEAD LANE (Bounds of Penlyne).

DRIFT (?=*dor rift*, Welsh *rhiff*, ground of the cleft). Burrow Park, No. 1060. Plain Park, No. 1064.

ELWELL.

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ETHY (Ewthy 1196, Euthy c. 1215, 1345, Heuthy 1297, 1385, ? *hūdh*, pl. of *hūth*, covert). The Rilands (rye-land). Kemson. Windmill.

FAIRY CROSS ("the water called Faire a Crosse Water"—Penlyne Bounds, 1606; perhaps="fare across," pass over).

GNAGETT (?=*knowguit*, nut-wood).

GOILY MOOR ("goil," gully).

THE GREY STONE and THE GREYMARE (Bounds of Penlyne).

HELLAND (Hethenant 1396, as Huthnans in Breage and Kenwyn, ="Valley of Shade," *hūthnant*).

KEMSON.

KERREL ("monte de Kerrel" 1345, apparently in St. Winnow).

LANE END. Culver House (No. 512)=dovecot, Limery (? O. Eng. *lomber*, lamb, + "hay"). Pingar (No. 606). Calamere. Rowdy.

LANTIVERS, near the Church (possibly *nant deve*, "sheep dale"). Landgoodix (No. 300, 9 acres) ?=*nant godegh*, vale of cover. Chronicle Meadow (? for "Conygree," Rabbit Warren). Deer Park. Pound Park.

LANWITHAN (Lankeweithian 1367, Lantwithien 1381, Langwaythan c. 1470: ? *lan* + Uuethen, Gwethan's enclosure or monastery, cf. Manywithin, field in NEWHAM, and TREWITHE). Madderhay (madder was formerly grown for dyeing).

LERREN (Leryan 1345 and c. 1470).

MENEWITHAN—a tenement now lost, see under NEWHAM: (Menewithan early 13th cent., Manawithan 1297, Merewithin 1327, Menewythan c. 1470. The Rev. W. M. M. Picken thinks the second element in this name may be different from the second element in Lanwithan).

MILLHAM.

MOILES CROSSE (Penlyne bound, 1606).

MOILES PARK CORNER (Penlyne bound, 1606).

NEWHAM (Nyweham, early 13th cent., Neweham c. 1470). Manywithin (No. 305. This suggests *maen* + Uuethen, *Men-Wethan*, Gwethan's rock, or *Meneth-Wethan*, G.'s hill).

ST. NIGHTON.

PENAVARRA (Pennaverou 1321, ? *pengoverow*, brooks' head).

PENLYNE (? *pen an lyn*, end of the pond).

PINGARS.

POLMAUGAN (? *pol Malgan*, M.'s pool, cf. BOSMAUGAN). Peaton. Crocksons Parks. Penhays (? "*pind-hay*," pound enclosure).

POLMENA (Penmene 1196, 1298, 1327, Penmena, c. 1470, *pen meneth*, hilltop). Maddary (cf. Madderhay, LANWITHAN). Coppathorn (=top [O. Eng. *cop*] thorn). Birda Down.

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POLSCOE (Polscat 1085, Polscathou 1309, Polscot 1281, Polscoth 1324, 1331, 1367, *pol scath* would mean "boat pool," *pol scod* (*skes*), shade pool. There is a pool here, formerly larger, which feeds several mills.) Calameer. Round Park (No. 269), Roada Field.

REDLAKE (Redford alias Redlake, 1606, "lake"=watercourse).

REDDOWNE alias REDDPITTS, 1606 (if Cornish ? *red down*, "deep ford").

RESPRYNN. (Rithbrene 1150, Redbreni 1170, Redprinne 1235, Retperhenne 1250, Ritperenee 1260, Ridpryne 1270, Ritpryne 1281, Ritperhene 1300, Reprina 1331, Resprynna 1340, Reprina 1400. ? *rit perghen*="owner's ford," or *brynn*=crows' ford, or *pren*=timber (Respryn Bridge is among trees).

SHEEPWASH MILLS (Sepwaschse 1331).

TAWELLS (Atte-wylle 1321).

TOLLGATE. Troyes Cottage.

TREDARRUP (Tretharup 1279, *tre* + ? *dorrep*, waterside. The same name occurs at Lanreath, St. Cleer and St. Neot).

TREDETHICK (? *tre* + Tethoc as personal name). Guild House Meadow. Bakes Parks. Cold Beacon (*Kelly vyghan*, see COLIBECKON).

TREGAYES (Tregoy 1436, ? *tre ges*, hedged homestead). Helland. Mendy (if Cornish="stonehouse," but "y" may="hay"). Buddle Pk. Deer Pk. The Gratton. Piskey Pk. (*pesky*, to fatten). Bowhay (? for "mowhay" or "above hay," upper enclosure).

TREVEGO (Trewegga 1321, apparently with same personal name as in Treveago, Bosvigo).

TREVERY CROSSE ("ad quandam crucem voc' Moiles Crosse alias Trevery Crosse"—Penlyne Bounds, 1606, ? *tre* + Uere or Weri, personal name).

TREWEDELLE (? *tre* + Uuinhael, Gwinhael, cf. BEDWINDLE).

TREWETHER (? *tre* + Uuithur, Gwythor, Lat. Victor).

TREWITHEW (? *tre* + Uuethen, Gwethan, cf. LANWITHEW, Manywithin). Castle Hay (No. 228).

WATERLAKE (see REDLAKE).

ST. WINNOW Woods, Mill and Beacon.

WRECKET (possibly *rak cuit*, front wood).

There are fields called *Cross Park* at Bosmaugan (No. 638), Colwood (12), Courland (54), Ethy (71), Lantivers (282, 3), Polmena (345, 6) Tawells (38) and Tregayes (182).

There are fields called *Chapel Park* at Bosmaugan (No. 645), Newham (311), and Tredarrup (1065), *Chapel Meadow* at Bofarnel (No. 747), and *Chapel Field* at Trevego (1063).

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APPENDIX I.

The St. Winnow Inventories, with notes by
Mr. E. G. Cuthbert F. Atchley, author of
English Liturgical Colours.

Inventory of 1281.

Est ibi j calix argenteus interius deauratus et foris totus niger
ponderis xvjs.

ij paria corporalium¹.

ij paria vestimentorum sufficiensium².

iiij tualle benedict³.

j superpellicium⁴.

nullum rochetum.

j pixis ad eucaristiam de ebore argento ligat' sine sera.

crismatorium ligneum satis competens cum sera.

sacrarium parvum⁵.

iiij feole stagnee.

fontes sufficienses cum sera.

Item j crux processionalis lignea minus bene sufficiens et nulla
crux de metallo.

nullum vexillum⁶.

¹ "A pair" may only mean one large one that could be folded so as to cover the chalice, as well as lying on the altar underneath the chalice and paten.

² "A pair of vestments" means all the vestments worn by a priest for mass—alb, girdle, stole, chasuble, etc. Bishop Quivil required "two vestments," one for festivals and one for other times.

³ Bishop Quivil at Exeter in 1287 required four *tualle* to be on the altar at mass, of which two were to be blessed by the bishop, those not blessed were placed under the others. At St. Nectan's two were blessed and one was not.

⁴ Quivil required 2 surplices and 1 rochet: the latter was for the clerk or server.

⁵ At this date *sacrarium* commonly denoted the piscina: but here perhaps it means a *super-altar* or small consecrated stone slab placed on an altar which had not been consecrated.

⁶ In some places a banner was attached to the processional cross at Easter and at other times.

j velum quadragesimale⁷.

j turibulum insufficiens.

nullum candelabrum.

j vas t'ren ad aquam benedictam.

Item j missale sufficiens, j gradale cum tropario sufficiente.

Item j troparium sufficiens. j manuale. Item aliud manuale minus sufficiens.

nullum ordinale per se⁸.

j legenda bona in duobus uoluminibus (containing the lessons to be read at matins).

j antiphonarium bonum cum capitular', collectar'⁹, ympnar', & psalterio.

j psalterium cum ympn. Item ij campane. ij campanicule¹⁰.

Item circulus cum tintunablis (*sic*) competens.¹¹

Item cancellum bene fenestratum & coopertum.

⁷ The Lenten veil hung between the high altar and the quire, on the line of the *gradus presbyterii* or step at the E. end of the quire, from the beginning of Lent till Wednesday in Holy Week, when, at the words in the Passion "the veil of the Temple was rent in twain," it was let fall. The custom is still observed in Spain and Sicily.

⁸ The Gradual contained the words and music of the Introits, Graduals, etc., sung at mass: The Proper the Sequences and Tropes (acclamations inserted into the Kyries, etc., on great festivals): the Manual all the occasional services (Baptism, Wedding, Funeral, etc.): the Ordinal the rubrics directing what was to be said or sung throughout the year.

⁹ The Antiphoner contained all that was to be sung at the quire offices: the Capitular the short lessons at Vespers and the lesser hours.

¹⁰ The "little bells" were handbells used in the funeral procession to invite prayers for the departed (the wooden cross already referred to would be carried at funerals, also in Lent). [These handbells were known by the name of *Bangu* in Wales. cf. Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerary through Wales* p. 16, Note 2 (*Everyman's Library*). G.H.D.]

¹¹ Apparently a "wheel of Fortune" (no other instance seems to be known of this being found in an English church). Or it might be a rowell—a wheel to hold a circle of candles—with little bells hanging underneath.

j ferrum ad obletas faciend.¹²

j cista ad ornamenta ecclesie reponenda.

Inventory of 1331.

Apud Sanctum Wynnocum.

Sunt ibi tria corporalia sine repositorijs set unum debile. deficit rochetum.

Velum quadragesimale et Nupciale¹³ et Palla mortuorum deficiunt.

Vexillum inconueniens.

Est unum gradale, male ligatum.

Pixis ad Eukaristiam debilis et sine serura.

Asser ad Pacem male depictus.

Deficit vas ad incensum et Candelabrum Paschale.

Deficit celatura [= "tester"] supra majus Altare.

Campanelle pro mortuis et infirmis¹⁴ et campanella pro Levacione Corporis Christi deficiunt.

Deficit serura ad Baptisterium.

Parva fenestra unius luminis in Cancellu sufficiens, et sine vitro.

¹² *obletas* is an error for *oblatus*, but in English the wafers used at mass were called *obleys*. Originally the wafers were made by the clergy (Bishop Wm. de Blois at Worcester ordered the ministers of the Church to wear surplices while baking them). The irons used for holding the moistened flour in the oven were shaped like a large pair of nut crackers, and were sometimes called *singing-irons*.

¹³ The *carecloth* was held over the bride and bridegroom from the Sanctus to the kiss of Peace (Rock, *op. cit.* iv. 201). The Pall or Herse-cloth has never quite gone out of use in the Church of England.

¹⁴ The bells "for the dead" have been already mentioned: that "for the sick" was carried by the clerk when the priest visited a sick person with the Eucharist.

APPENDIX II.

THE CHAPEL OF SAINT MADOC AT HALWYN IN ST. ISSEY

(from one of the late Mr. Charles Henderson's notebooks).

"Halwyn is a very ancient place, and was in the Middle Ages the mansion of the Hamelys and then of the Champernownes.¹ As early as 1694, however, the homestead on the Barton had been moved half a mile southward, and their house appears as 'The decayed house and Townplace.' The spot is desolate to-day. A small but bold promontory, known as Ball Hill, juts out into the estuary of the Camel, forming the western side of a small inlet called 'Old Town Creek.' On the east side of the creek stands the interesting mediæval Pigeon House, a circular building now roofless but similar to those in other parts of Cornwall. Almost on sea level across the creek are the ruins and foundations of extensive buildings, probably once a sea mill. Just above is a meadow called *Chapel Close*, and still higher, on the summit of Ball Hill, are remains of earthworks—perhaps a mediæval protection from pirates.

I could discover no carved stones in Chapel Close to indicate which part of the ruins might have been the chapel, but the occupier of Lower Halwyn has a fine collection in his garden. They are of 14th and 15th century date, well executed, and mostly of cataclewse stone. It is said locally that the splendid cataclewse stone reredos now in St. Issey church came originally from Halwyn. In 1690 Hals speaks of 'the stained glass windows of the chapel lately to be seen' in the Chapel at Halwyn. It was a ruin in Tonkin's time (1730):—he refers to the former magnificence of Halwyn and mentions the 2-arched stone bridge over the mouth

¹ In 1347 an assignment of dower was made to Margaret, widow of Sir John Hamely, Knight, including "all the chambers round the gate of *Helwyn* up to the chapel there, and a chamber abutting on the N. side of the hall." On 2 Jan., 1423-4 Arthur Hameliagh and his wife had licence for Divine Service in their mansion of *Holewyn* in St. *Cissie*. He died in 1427, and Halwyn passed to the Champernownes, but in 1442 Isabella Hamely, widow, had dower in two rooms south of the gate of *Helwyn* Court, and a garden (Deed at P.R.O.)

of the creek. The ruins of the chapel were still visible thirty years later, according to Dr. Borlase, who observes that several of the Champernowne family were buried in it.

That the Chapel at Halwyn was of a semi-parochial nature is evident. It is probable that it is one of the *capellae* mentioned in 1199 as attached to St. Issey church. In 1312 it is laid down that the Vicar shall have the burden of maintaining the Chantry in the chapel of Saint Madoc at Helwyn ['cum onere ejusdem cantarie que in capella Sancti Madoci, confessoris, apud Helwyn infra limites parochie Sancte Ide predicate situata, per loci vicarios fieri consuevit'].]

Mr. Hedges, in a letter to Dr. Borlase, 17 Aug., 1753, refers to a rock having a basin cut into its surface, called *St. Maddick's Rock*, in the cliff on the N.E. side of St. Issey parish, and less than half a mile from *St. Maddick's Well*. Less than 20 years before, a farmer had cleft it asunder to make gate-posts."

NOTE ON S. CYNOG AND S. MADOC.

From the *De Situ Brecheniauc* in Vesp. A. xiv. we learn that the torque described by Giraldus Cambrensis (see p. 18, Note 44) was given Cynog by his father Brychan (see *Brychan Brycheiniog* by Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans (1929) p. 14). The cult of S. Cynog and legends relating to him, together with places in Wales where churches are dedicated to him, are described in *Lives of the British Saints*, by Baring-Gould and Fisher, ii., 264—271, to which I must refer the reader. S. Cynog's day is 8th October.

Cynog and Madoc are often found close to each other in Wales. Merther Cynog and Castell Madoc are side by side just N. of Brecon. There was a chapel of S. Madoc at *Llanfadog* close to Llangamarch in the same county, where the patron is S. Cynog (Wade-Evans, *Par. Wall.*, pp. 19, 20), while at Gesel Gylfarch near Tremadoc is an inscribed stone with the name CUNACI.

Besides being the eponym of Llanmadoc in Gower, S. Madoc is the patron of Haroldston and Nolton, W. of Haverford West (Pemb.), and of a former Llanfadog in Llansanffraid, in Radnorshire but near Llangamarch, as just stated, called "Capella Sancti Madoci" in 1339. Some mounds mark its site on the banks of the Elan. Llanbadoc in Mon. was *Lanmadok* in 1254. A *Ffynnon Fadog* is found both at Llanfair Caereinion and at Llanddodog in North Wales. There is a Kilmadock in Scotland.

A *Maidocus* appears, as a companion of S. Teilo, in the *Vita Teliavi* in the Book of Llandaff (p. 101, ed. 1893), and in the *Vita Cadoci* (c. 18), where he is associated with Keneder. "Maidocus, Bishop and Confessor" is inscribed in the Kalendar in Vesp. A. xiv. on 28 Feb., and "Kenedrus, Bishop" on 8 Dec. The "Gwyl Mabsant" at Llanmadoc, however, is on 12 Nov. (see L.B.S., iii. 395). *Kenhender* (? for *Keneder*) and *Canauc* (= Connoc) appear in the list of the Children of Brychan in the *Vita Nectani*. An ancient quadrangular bell has been ploughed up at Llanmadoc (ib., Note 4).

Page 18, line 13, *Bradano*. See *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 257, Note 7. The Chronicle says Bradanoc, Madoc and Ingenoc were Winnoc's brothers.