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THE LIVES
OF
THE BRITISH SAINTS

THE SAINTS OF WALES AND CORNWALL AND SUCH IRISH SAINTS AS HAVE DEDICATIONS IN BRITAIN

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By
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Publishers' Note

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION, in issuing the fourth and last volume of *The Lives of the British Saints*, desire to express their thanks to those subscribers who by their contributions enabled the Council to carry the undertaking to a satisfactory conclusion. Some of the further support hoped for on the production of the first volume, is still required to meet the heavy expense incurred in the publication of the complete work, and the favourable reception accorded to the *Lives* by the Home and Foreign Press, justifies the further appeal which is now made, for additional subscriptions. To the joint authors, the Society and the subscribers are most deeply indebted for many years of ungrudging and unremunerated labour. *For the Society*, E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary, and Editor of Transactions.*

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LIVES OF THE BRITISH SAINTS

Vol. iv.

S. NECTAN, Bishop, Martyr

A REPUTED son of Brychan, according to the lists given by William of Worcester and Leland. His great foundation was at Hartland, Devon; but he had other churches, at Wellcombe, where is his Holy Well, at Poundstock, where he has been displaced to make room for S. Neot, and at Ashcombe, in Devon. He had a chapel at Trethevy in Tintagel, and another at S. Winnow, which has been restored, and is still in use. Anciently there must have been one at Launceston, for a Nectan fair is there held on his day. There was also one at S. Newlyn.

The account of the Martyrdom of S. Nectan is in an extract from his Legend at Hartland, made by William of Worcester. He was fallen upon by robbers, at Nova Villa, i.e., New Stoke, where now stands the church; and his head was struck off. After which, he took up his head and carried it for the space of a stadium, a little over 600 feet, to the spring near which he had dwelt in his cabin, and then he placed it on a stone, which long remained dyed with his blood.

Nectan, or Nechtan, is not a Welsh name, nor even, originally, an Irish name, but is Pictish.[1] Nectan does not occur among the sons of Brychan given by the Welsh authorities.

The late Rev. R. S. Hawker, of Morwenstow, related, as a legend picked up by him there, that when Morwenna was dying, her brother Nectan came to minister to her, and she bade him bear her to the cliff, and turn her head so that with her dying eyes she might look towards Wales. But Mr. Hawker was a man of lively imagination, and the story may be merely *ben trovato*.

William of Worcester says that Nectan's day is June 17. This is also Nectan's day in the Exeter Calendar, in the Altemps Martyrology of the thirteenth century, and in a Norwich Martyrology of the fifteenth century (*Cotton MS. Julius*, B. vii). Curiously enough, the Irish Martyrologies give "The Sons of Nectan" on the same day. They are said to have been of Drumbric, but in what part of Ireland is not

[1] In Welsh it assumes the form Neithon, and occurs in Bede as Naiton.

known, nor are their names recorded. Wilson, in his Martyrology, 1640, gives February 14, and for this he must have had some authority, as on this day a fair is held at S. Nectan's Chapel, in S. Winnow. The feast at Hartland and at S. Winnow is on June 17.

S. Nectan's Well is at Stoke, near Hartland Church.

A tradition exists at S. Winnow that S. Nectan lived at Coombe, a ruined farm near S. Nectan's Chapel, and that he was martyred at Tollgate, some distance off.

S. Nighton's (Nectan's) Keive is a waterfall at Trethevy where was his chapel.

S. Nectan is represented on the tower of Hartland Church, and in the west panel of the Churchyard cross, as a Bishop.

Nicolas Roscarrock says: "The Life of S. Nectane at the end of a booke very auntiently in the library of Martine Collidge in Oxford, which my learned and laborious friend Mr. Camden haveing took a briefe note of which he imparted to me, and when I importuned to gett me a coppie of the life at lardge which by report was not very longe, hee found att the second search that it was imbezled, being cutt out of the booke and carried away. . . . I have besides a manuscript that telleth me that the day of his feast is the 18th of May, and that he was a Martyr and buryed att the monastery of Hartland . . . and sonne to S. Brachan or Brechanus a great name of Wales, and this note following which I received off Mr. Camden my fore-named friende, and necessary I thinke to bee layde downe." Then come the usual Life names of the children of Brechanus. The MS. was probably the same as that consulted by William of Worcester. Roscarrock adds that a bone of S. Nectan was reserved as a relic in Waltham Abbey.

S. NEFFEI, Confessor

NEFFEI was, according to the late lists, a son of Brychan by his third wife, Proistri, a Spaniard. He and his brothers-german, Pasgen and Pabiali, are said to have left this country and gone to Spain, where they became "saints and principals." [1] But the authorities are late.

Neffei is, no doubt, a misreading of the Dettu, or Dedyu, of the *Cognatio*, given as the name of a son of Clydwyn, son of Brychan. In

[1] *Peniarth MS.* 178 (sixteenth century), p.21; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 419, 428; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 119, 140.

fact, Hugh Thomas (d. 1741), the Breconshire herald, makes him, as Nevith, a son of Clydwyn, and adds that he "was King of Brecknock and had issue a son called Tudor . . . he went with Pasgen who was the son of St. Dingad and Pabiel or Pabien to Spain where they were all Saints." [1]

S. NEFYDD, Confessor

THERE is considerable confusion respecting the Brychan saint of this name. It is given in the Iolo documents—our sole authority—as the name of— (1) a son of Brychan; (2) a son of Rhun Dremrudd ab Brychan; (3) a son of Nefydd Ail ab Rhun Dremrudd; and (4) a daughter of Brychan.

As son of Brychan he is said to have founded the church of Llannefydd, Denbighshire, and afterwards to have become a bishop in the North, where he was slain by the pagan Saxons and the Picts.[2]

The *Cognatio* knows nothing of a Nefydd as related to the Brychan family; and the Iolo notices say nothing of either Nefydd ab Rhun or his son, beyond giving the former a brother, Andras, and the latter a son, Tewdwr Brycheiniog.[3] Nefydd is a well-attested man's name, the best known being Nefydd Hardd, who lived in the twelfth century.

Bishop Forbes identifies him with Neveth, who was killed by the Picts and Scots and is esteemed a martyr. "The ecclesiastical district of Neuyth (Nevay), now united to Essie, near Meigle, lies within the old Pictish territory. Perhaps S. Neveth was buried at Neuyth." [4] Skene also brings Nefydd ab Rhun up North, where he was bishop, and thinks his name is probably preserved in Rosneveth, now Rosneath.[5]

Llannefydd Church has been dedicated for centuries to the Blessed Virgin, with festival on her Nativity, September 8 (in Lhuyd, "Gwyl Vair Dhiwaetha"). The name is usually spelt in early documents Llan-yfydd, -ufydd, or some similar form, which Leland [6] and others have, properly enough, rendered "fanum obedientiæ." Ufydd, or

[1] *Harleian MS.* 4,181, f. 72*a*. [2] *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 119, 120, 140.
[3] Pp. 121, 140. [4] *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, 1872, p. 420.
[5] *Celtic Scotland*, 1887, ii, p. 36.
[6] *Itin.*, v, p. 62. In Willis-Edwards, *S. Asaph*, 1801, i, p. 383, the church is given as dedicated to S. Efydd. Edward Lhuyd, in his notes on the parish (1699), says, "There are stones on end, etc., by the churchyard wall, which are called Bedd Frymder, with a circular dike about them. He [Frymder] was a saint according to the inhabitants." Ffrymden's grave is also mentioned in *Peniarth MS.* 267, and *Llanstephan MS.* 18.

Ufudd, meaning "obedient, humble," is the present-day local pronunciation of the second part of the name, and it may possibly be regarded as a Christian name derived from an adjective, like Afan from Amandus. However, in support of Nefydd it may be mentioned that we find two other supposed sons of Brychan in the neighbourhood, Cynbryd at Llanddulas, and Cynfran at Llysfaen; and the disappearance of the initial *n* might well be due to that letter being the final one in *Llan* and *Ffynnon*, just as Llanidan, with its Ffynnon Idan, in Anglesey, has resulted in the confusion there of Aidan with Nidan, the proper patron.

Ffynnon Ufydd, a small bath at the bottom of a field below the village, is now in a dilapidated and uncared-for condition. Huw Llifon informs us in a *cywydd* written in 1604, when the stone-work round the well was reconstructed by the Vicar, Evan Morris, that cures were effected by bathing in it three Fridays in succession.[1]

For Nefydd as a daughter of Brychan see S. HUNYDD.[2] Theophilus Jones,[3] and others, make her also patron of Llannefydd.

S. NEFYN, see S. NYFAIN.

S. NEOT, Hermit, Confessor

THE material available for the Life of this saint has been collected by the Rev. G. C. Gorham, Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, in his *History and Antiquities of Eynesbury and S. Neot's in Huntingdonshire*, London, 1820, in the Appendix, pp. 249–63.

In Asser's Acts of King Alfred a reference occurs to the "Life of the holy father Neot" (ut in Vita Sci Patris Neoti legitur), showing that there was a contemporary biography of the saint, written between 877 and 893, unless the passage be an interpolation.

This, however, no longer exists, but to this probably reference is made in an Anglo-Saxon Life of the saint, composed in the eleventh century. "He was in youth, thus the Book saith, set to biblical lore," and again, "It is said in writing that this saint went to Glastonbury."

Eight MS. Lives of Neot exist; but these may be reduced to four; three being merely abstracts, and one a copy.

[1] The poem occurs in a seventeenth century MS. of Welsh Poetry, at f. 124*b*, at S. Beuno's (Jesuit) College.
[2] iii, p. 285. [3] *Breconshire*, ed. 1898, p. 31.

1. The Anglo-Saxon Life, *MS. Cotton Vespasian*, D. xiv, a tract of twelve pages. The scene is laid in the West of England, and no mention is made of the translation of the body into Huntingdonshire. It was probably a Homily for the Church and College of Priests at S. Neot's, Cornwall. It omits all the miracles attributed to the saint in the other Lives, but has in it one legend not in the rest. But it contains the strange anachronism, common to the other Lives, which asserts that Neot, who died about 877, was ordained by Elpheg, Bishop of Winchester (936–51). It has been printed by Gorham, pp. 256–61.

2. A second Life in the Bodleian Library, *Bodley* 535, a MS. of the twelfth century. It omits the legendary tales, respecting the saint's residence in Cornwall. A copy of this Life was seen in 1538 by Leland in the library of S. Neot's Priory,[1] and another fell into his hands at Croyland.[2] The prologue begins: "Incipit prologus de vita Sti Neoti presbyteri et confessoris"; and the Life begins: "Scs igitur Neotus fecunde Britanie que nunc Anglia dtr." It has been very inaccurately printed by Whitaker, in his *Life of S. Neot*, London, 1809, pp. 339–65; and extracts by Gorham, in his Appendix, pp. 261–3, also an account of the Translation, pp. 266–70.

In Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, *MS. Parker* 161, is a thirteenth century abridgment of this Life.

3. A third Life, *MS. Cotton Claudius*, A. v, written at the close of the thirteenth or early in the fourteenth century. The prologue begins: "Incipit plogus in vitam Sancti Neoti abbatis"; and the Life begins: "Dns aut. noster jhc. xpc." It is from this Life that the fabulous tales respecting S. Neot's residence in Cornwall are derived. It has been printed by Mabillon, from a MS. formerly at Bec, in *Acta SS. o. s. B.* sæc. iv, 2, pp. 324–36; and by the Bollandists, *Acta SS.* Jul. vii, pp. 319–29.

From this Life, John of Tynemouth composed his biography, which is printed in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*.

4. A metrical Life, Magdalen College, Oxford, *MS.* 53, a composition of the fourteenth century, based on the third Life. It has been very incorrectly published by Whitaker in his *Life of S. Neot*, pp. 317–38.

Considerable obscurity hangs over the birth-place and parentage of S. Neot. His biographers make contradictory statements upon these points. The father of Neot is variously stated to have been King of the East Angles,[3] King of the West Angles (West Saxons?) and of Kent,[4] and Tetrarch of Kent;[5] but they agree in the name of the father,

[1] Leland, *De Script.*, C. cxiii. [2] Leland, *Itin.*, iv, app. pp. 1–2.
[3] *MS. Bodley* 535. [4] *MS. Cotton Claudius*, A.v and John of Tynemouth.
[5] Mabillon and *Acta SS.*

though giving it in various forms as Fidulf, Eldulf, Edulph and Adulph, which are all variations of Ethelwulf, who was the father of King Athelstan (illegitimate, d. 854), and of King Ethelbald (858–60), Ethelbert (860–6), Ethelred (866–71), and Alfred (871–901).

We may suspect that he was an illegitimate son of Ethelwulf.[1] In early life he had some inducements to enter the army, but he was a little man, far below the average height, and that probably weighed on him in his abandonment of a military profession, in which he would incur ridicule, and his adoption of the religious life.[2] He retired to Glastonbury, where he assumed the monastic habit.

There he became eminent for his literary attainments, as well as for his piety and modesty of demeanour; and he delighted in spending the night in prayer in the church.

Having been admitted to Holy Orders he was made sacristan of the abbey; but at last, yearning for the solitary life, he abandoned Glastonbury, accompanied by an attendant, named Bari, and sought refuge in Cornwall. He probably went first to S. German's, where he may have rested awhile and instituted inquiries as to where he could find a suitable retreat. Thence he would take the road to Liskeard, and perhaps he made his first lodgment at Menhenniot (Maen-hen-Neot), the Old Stone of Neot. This, however, can only be matter of conjecture. From thence by a very ancient road leading from Liskeard to Bodmin and Wadebridge, along which at intervals are prehistoric camps, he travelled till he dropped down on an exquisitely beautiful valley, through which dances a crystal stream that flows out of Dozmare Pool on the great moors to the North. Behind rose furzy downs to the height of nine hundred feet, crowned by an earthwork, and before was Goonzion, over which climbed the ancient track, past a quadrangular camp, probably of Roman construction.

The valley was dense with wood, "a very fair place," says the author of the Anglo-Saxon Life, a sweet sunny valley, sheltered from cold blasts, and there, on the steep slope of granite and turf and moss, basking in the full sun, Neot planted himself for the rest of his days. The Saxon name for the place was Hamstoke, the pasture under the stockade on the heights above, where English soldiery had been kept to overawe the Britons of West Wales.

Hard by in a dell, where was level lush sward, a clear spring gushed

[1] "Non de matrimonio natus," Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiar.*, and Matt. Westmonast., *ad an.* 837.

[2] To this day, at S. Neot's, Cornwall, the people speak of him as "our little S. Neot," and show a stone on which he had to mount to throw the key into the lock so as to open the church door. "Aspectu angelicus, sed corporis brevitate alter Zacheus." John of Tynemouth.

forth from under the oak-clothed hill, and here Neot constructed his fish-pond. Upon the rock where was his oratory, there he set up a cross as his preaching station. A tall shaft, covered with Celtic interlaced work, remains in the churchyard, and can hardly be later than the time of the saint.

Here Neot remained for seven years, and then departed on pilgrimage to Rome to obtain the Pope's blessing and counsel respecting some scruples that had arisen in his mind as to the expediency of changing his eremitical life. The Pope dissuaded him from solitary devotion, and exhorted him to return to Cornwall, and to "scatter the Word of God among the people."[1]

In compliance with this paternal advice, Neot again sought his Cornish valley, and founded there a College of Clergy, gathered about him some religious brethren, and became their Abbot.

It can hardly be supposed that, when he arrived at Hamstoke, Neot can have been able to speak or understand the British tongue, and he must have confined his ministrations to the handful of English soldiers in the fort. But he had found on the spot a British hermit named Guerir, and though Guerir retired and left the place clear for the Saxon eremite, it is possible enough that this did not take place till Neot had resolved on turning his hermitage into a monastery. The seven years may have sufficed to enable Neot to acquire the tongue of the natives, perhaps assisted by Guerir, and now he energetically set to work to declare the whole covenant of God to the natives in their own tongue. Local tradition, fondly clung to still, tells how they one and all made excuse, alleging that the crows came down in such flights on their fields as to destroy the prospect of crops, and that accordingly they could not spare the time from watching their fields to attendance on his discourses.

Then Neot summoned the crows to him and empounded them in the old Roman camp on Goonzion Down, and bade them remain there during the time of Divine worship and instruction. And they obeyed.[2] Perhaps it was at the period when Alfred was at Exeter that he found time to visit his half-brother. The Danes had possession of Exeter, but when the winter of 876–7 was over, Alfred collected forces and hastened into Devonshire and besieged the city, and sent his fleet to watch the mouth of the Exe to prevent transports laden with troops and provisions entering the river and relieving the garrison.

[1] *MS. Bodl.* 535; *MS. Cott. Claudius*, A. v.

[2] The entrenchment is now called "Crow Pound." The woman at S. Neot who told the story to the writer said: "Some people doubt that this was so. But S. Neot was a very holy man. There is Crow Pound, and there on the opposite side of the valley is the Rookery."

The Danes in Exeter were reduced to the greatest extremity; and as no help appeared, they were obliged to sue for permission to make a conditional retreat. They gave him hostages, and swore many oaths beside. Early in August, 877, they left Exeter, and retreated northward. It was probably now that Alfred found opportunity to pay a hasty visit to Neot. He had been to the place before according to Asser, who relates how that Alfred had been afflicted by a very troublesome malady since his childhood, "but once . . . when he was on a visit to Cornwall for the sake of hunting, and had turned out of the road to pray in a certain chapel, in which rests the body of S. Guerir, and now also S. Neot rests there," he prayed to be delivered of this infirmity, and his petition was soon after granted.

But now that he came to see Neot, the latter took occasion to rebuke him. "When he was a youth," says Asser, "influenced by youthful feelings, he would not listen to the petitions which his subjects made to him for help in their necessities, or for relief from oppressors; but repulsed them and paid no heed to their requests. This gave much annoyance to the holy man Neot, who was his relative, and who often foretold to him that he would suffer great adversity on this account; but Alfred neither attended to the reproof of the man of God, nor gave heed to his prediction."

When Alfred visited Neot, the latter renewed his reproofs, and a long lecture is supplied out of the imagination of the late Latin biographer, and of the earlier Anglo-Saxon writer.

Probably, owing to the difficulties and distresses of the times, it had been quite out of Alfred's power to relieve those who had appealed to him. Neot must have known that, and have only exhorted him to refuse the petitions in a more gentle and courteous manner.

The well-known story of Alfred and the cakes was taken into *Alfred's Life* by Asser, who was a contemporary; he quotes from the *Vita Sti Neoti*, already written. Asser's *Life* reaches only to 887, before the death of Alfred, but it is not possible to admit that this story stood in the original of Asser's *Life*. It was ingrafted into it at a later period.

According to the advice of Neot, Alfred is said to have sent contributions to restore the English school at Rome, which had been founded by Ina, King of the West Saxons.

The death of Neot must have taken place before 878, and the victory of Ethandune, for, the night previous to the battle, Alfred dreamt that Neot appeared to him in shining apparel and promised him victory, and that during the battle, he encouraged his men by assuring them that the little man was actually engaged fighting for them.

S. Neot was buried in the church that bears his name in Cornwall, but the body was stolen.

About the year 974, Earl Alric, a powerful noble in Huntingdonshire, and his Countess Ethelfleda, founded a priory at Eynesbury subordinate to Ely. But a patron saint was wanting to give popularity and to bring money to the new foundation. What made the Earl and his Countess think of Neot we do not know, but it was resolved to obtain possession of his body. The management of the theft was committed to the guardian of the shrine, who was heavily bribed to decamp with the sacred deposit trusted to him. He absconded from Hamstoke on S. Andrew's Day, November 30, and he reached Eynesbury on December 7.

When the inhabitants of Hamstoke, or Neotstoke as it was now called, found that the body of their saint had been carried off, their rage was excessive. But the sanction to the theft had been previously obtained from Brithriod, Abbot of Ely, Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, and King Edgar, so that the poor Cornish men had no chance. They sent an armed band into Huntingdonshire to forcibly bring back their treasure, but Edgar despatched troops "to drive the Cornish men out of the village, and to put them to the sword in case of resistance."

A more scandalous story of robbery can hardly be found, only to be exceeded in shamelessness by some of the "Inventions" of sacred relics.

It remains to add some of the legends that have attached themselves to the story of S. Neot.

He is said to have been so diminutive in stature that to say Mass he was constrained to stand on an iron stool at the altar, and this stool was long preserved at Glastonbury.

As he was too small a man to be able to reach the lock of the Abbey, the lock complacently descended to a position suitable to his convenience. As Mr. Whitaker remarks, "In the soberer style of truth, the lock was lowered in consequence of S. Neot's distress. . . . Thus, what was left, as a consequence of a little alteration made, and a memorial of a little event in the life of the saint, was shaped by the plastic imagination of devotees into the memorial of a miracle that had never been wrought."

His pond was stocked with fish as food for the saint, but on condition that he took only one for his daily meal. The stock consisted of but two for ever, like a guinea in a fairy purse. It happened, however, that Neot fell ill, and his servant Bari, in his eagerness to please his master, cooked the two, boiling one and frying the other. Great was the consternation of the saint, and he ordered the fish to be thrown

back into the tank. When this was done, the boiled and grilled fish revived and sported unconcernedly in the water, and when the proper meal was prepared, the saint on tasting it was immediately restored to health. The story is common to several Celtic saints.

At another time S. Neot was praying at his well, when a hunted deer sought protection at his side. On the arrival of the hounds the saint reproved them, and none dare approach, and the huntsman, affected by the miracle, renounced the world, and hung up his bugle in the monastery church of Bodmin.

Again, oxen belonging to the saint had been stolen, and wild deer came of their own accord to replace them. When the thieves beheld S. Neot ploughing with his stags, they were conscience-stricken, and returned the cattle they had carried off.

There is a well-preserved window of the fifteenth century in the Church that contains the legend of S. Neot in a series of subjects, and a tablet with the story of S. Neot in rhyming couplets of the seventeenth century. The Holy Well has been restored.

His festival is on July 31, but curiously enough Whytford gives July 8. At S. Neot's the feast is kept on the last Sunday in July.

S. NEWLYNA, Virgin, Martyr

THE Church of Newlyn, in Cornwall, is described in the Exeter Episcopal Registers as that Stæ Neuline (Bronescombe, 1263). Bishop Bronescombe dedicated it, on reconstruction, on September 28, 1259, as Ecclesia Stæ Niwelinæ. It is similarly described by Bishop Quivil, 1283; Bishop Bytton, 1309; Bishop Grandisson, 1332, 1349, etc., and by Bishop Stafford, 1400.

Newlyn is the same as the Breton Noualen, Latinized into Noyala. Unhappily, there is extant no Life of this saint. This is greatly to be deplored, as it would perhaps throw a flood of light on early Cornish history, if the conjecture we offer, and which shall be mentioned presently, be accepted.

All known of S. Newlyna is from tradition, which asserts that she was a virgin from Cornwall, who crossed into Armorica, along with her nurse or foster-mother, and arrived at Bignan, in Morbihan, where she was put to death by a local chieftain named Nizam, who cut off her head. She is, in fact, a Breton *replica* of S. Winefred. When she was beheaded, she rose, took up her head in her hands and carried it as far

as Noyal-Pontivy, full thirty miles. As shall be shown presently, this fable springs from a very simple scurce.

Pontivy possesses a chapel dedicated to the saint, and the local story there is that she was beheaded on a stone which is shown near it. In this chapel there was a *jubé*, or rood-screen, on which her legend was depicted. This was wantonly destroyed in 1684, by order of the Vicar-General of Vannes, because it obstructed a full view of a gaudy reredos, in the debased style of the period. This tasteless construction has been swept away, and the paintings that formerly decorated the screen have been reproduced in stained glass in the parish church, and on the walls of the chapel. In the chapel is the Holy Well.

The inscriptions that were under the paintings on the *jubé* were, happily, copied by the curé into the parish register at the time of the destruction. They are as follows :—

1. Comment Sent Noial en son commencement hantait l'église et donnant lomone aulx pauvres pour l'amour de Dieu.

2. Comment Sant Noyale et sa nourice passa la mer sur une feille, et vindrent en Bretagne.

3. Comment un tirant nommé Nézin par auctorité cuida tant faire à Saincte Noyale renoncé a la loy de Dieu at estre son épouse.

4. Le dit Nézin cruel et plesputé que la Ste vierge à luy ne s'etait accordé en lieu qu'on appelle le Bezen la fit decoller et autres de sa compagnie.

5. Du dit Bezen Sainte Noyale porta sa teste, vint à Noyal, l'ange de Dieu si la conduit avesque sa nourice.

6. Sainte Noyale et sa nourice se reposa à la fontaine et picqua son bordon d'ont sortit une fresne. Dessus sur une pierre faict sa prières la merche y est encore entiers.

7. Sainte Noyale en ce mesme lieu si trepassa et alla à Dieu, auquel lieu s'entens estait désert pour le temps.

The parish church, which has an early tower and spire, was mainly built in 1420, and was well restored in 1888, when the stained glass window was erected, which not only gives the subjects from the destroyed screen, but fills out the story from current tradition. This is the series.

1. S. Noalhuen distributes her patrimony among the poor in Britain, before crossing the sea.

2. The saint traverses the channel on a branch of a tree. (The ancient representation made her cross like S. Bega and S. Hia on a leaf.)

3. S. Noalhuen is solicited in marriage by the chieftain, Nezin, but refuses him, saying that she had dedicated her virginity to Christ.

4. S. Noalhuen and her nurse kneel in prayer on a rock, and pray to be granted the grace of perseverance.

5. The tyrant in a rage has Noalhuen decapitated. Local tradition has it that the saint occupied a desolate spot in the parish that now bears her name, but vexed by the pursuit of Nezin, she withdrew to Brignan, seven leagues distant, and to a place called Le Bezon in that parish. Nezin, hearing of her flight, pursued her, renewed his solicitations, was again repulsed, and decapitated her there.

6. S. Noalhuen rose up, took her head in her hands and returned to her old haunt, attended by her nurse.

7. Arrived there, she and her nurse knelt on a stone, still pointed out, as bearing the impress of her elbows and knees. She planted her staff, and it became a tree.

8. Whilst on her way back, she heard a girl address her mother rudely; this so shocked her that she resolved on departing to a more solitary spot.

9. She accordingly pursued her course, till she came to the edge of a vast forest, near a stream, and there she died.

10. Above her tomb a chapel was erected. Nizan or Nezin, full of wrath, resolved on its destruction, by damming up the stream. But the dyke burst, swept him away, and he was drowned.

It will be seen how that, by misplacing one picture, the story of her wanderings with her head in her hands may have originated. She fled from her pursuer, and the flight has been transferred to the period subsequent to her decapitation. To the present day a strong feeling exists at Noyal against a girl of that parish seeking a husband in Nezin, where the tyrant and murderer is said to have lived.

A cantique in Breton is sung at the Pardon at Noyal-Pontivy to a popular melody. It contains the legend run into verse.

The explanation of the story suggested is this. But it must be taken as a mere conjecture.

Noyal-Pontivy is a very large parish, in fact, before 1790 it was the largest in the diocese of Vannes, comprising, around Noyala, five *trefs*, or villages, each with its church. But at S. Géran (Geraint) was the *minihi*, or Sanctuary, whereby the tribe was recruited, and this indicates that the original centre of the district was not at Noyala but at S. Géran.

We know, from the Life of S. Leonore, that the British colonists who came over regarded themselves at first as still under the rule of their native princes in Britain. Now Geraint, prince of Domnonia, has left his traces here, at S. Géran, and at Le Palais in Belle Ile. This probably means that when the colonists from Domnonia settled on the Blavet

and about the Morbihan, they set apart a certain portion of the land as *dominium*, demesne for their native prince. Such a demesne, maybe, was Noyala-Pontivy, with its ecclesiastical centre and *minihi* at S. Géran. The whole of this district bears to this day traces of having been visited, and settled by the Domnonian royal family. At Guéméné is the *martyrium* of Selyf or Solomon, son of Geraint; Gildas, Geraint's grandson, is represented all along the Blavet and at Cleguerec. Cennydd, the son of Gildas, is also much to the fore there.

After the death of Geraint, and his son Selyf, who occupied the domain at Noyala? We do not know.

Now from the Acts of S. Cybi, son of Selyf, we know that an attempt was made to raise him to the throne, but it failed. Constantine, whom Gildas attacked with such malignant hate, established himself as King of Cornwall, and Cybi was obliged to fly.

If Newlyna were sister to Cybi, the same cause may have induced her to depart as well. It is significant that her foundation in Cornwall adjoins that presumedly of Cybi, at Cubert (later dedicated to S. Cuthbert), and that of his friend Elian, whom we may with some confidence equate with S. Allen. She could not go with Cybi to Ireland on a visit to S. Enda at Aran, and she resolved to take refuge on the royal *dominium* in Letavia. Possibly enough, she carried off with her two princes of the royal blood to save them from the fate that had befallen two of the same family whom Constantine had murdered.

Having reached the royal demesne, Noyala attempted to establish herself there. But a steward, Nizan, either acting in his own interest, or that of Constantine, murdered her and the two princes.

These latter are called in Breton the Dredenau, and their chapel is close to the river. According to the local legend, their bodies were thrown into a marsh, and found by a pig, which was mauling them, when they were recovered and given decent burial.[1]

Such is a suggested explanation of the story. Documentary evidence is wanting, as the Acts of S. Noyala, or Noualen, are lost. The Welsh have not preserved the Pedigree of the descendants of Selyf because they had no territorial or clan rights in Wales, and all Cornish records are lost.

Nicolas Roscarrock has a different version of the story. He says:—"S. Nuline or Newline (April 27) virgin martyr of Cornwall, was daughter of a King who in contempt of Christian religion martyred her with his own hands."

[1] See on the SS. Dredenau, vol. ii, pp. 357–8.

S. Newlyn is patroness of the parish of Newlyn East, and probably had at one time a chapel at Newlyn West, by Penzance, where, it may be, she took ship for Armorica.

In the diocese of Vannes she is patroness of two parishes. Her martyrdom caused the centre of the parish of Geraint to be transferred from S. Géran, which sank to be a mere *tref*, to where is now the parish church, where her body was preserved. And the erection of a castle at Pontivy, in the eleventh century, caused the population to gravitate about that, and to form there a town. It is now supposed that Pontivy takes its name from Ivy, a monk of Lindisfarne; but it is far more likely that it had there a chapel of S. Divy or David who was—if the suggestion put forward above be allowed—the first cousin of S. Noyala. She is also patroness of two parishes in the diocese of Rennes, and of one in that of S. Brieuc.

The Feast at Newlyn is on November 8. The Pardon of Noyala in Brittany is on July 6. In the Church of Noyal-Pontivy she is represented as a maiden holding her head in her hands. She appears in the Missal of Vannes of 1457, and the Breviary of Vannes of 1660, on July 6.

Nicolas Roscarrock, as we have seen, gives as her day April 27. He gives the following curious note: "In Newlin is a chapel of S. Nectan and yard belonging to it, and four stones on a mount or hill at the north-west corner where the crosses and reliques of S. Peran, S. Crantocke, S. Cuthbert and S. Newlan were wont to be placed in Rogation Week at which time they used to meete ther, and had a sermond made to the people, and the last was preached by the person Crand in Queen Marie's tyme, as I have been creditably informed by a priest who had been an eye witness. The one of these four stones ben taken from thence and turned into a cheese presse about the year 1580 by a gentlewoman named Mistress Burlace, was in the night tyme carryed back by one, willed so by after her death or by some thing assuming her personage, and remaineth on thike hill wher it ded."

S. NIDAN, Priest, Confessor

NIDAN, the son of Gwrfyw ab Pasgen ab Urien Rheged, was *Periglawr* or Confessor to the monastery of Penmon.[1] He was the founder of the church of Llanidan, in Anglesey.

[1] *Peniarth MS.* 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Cardiff MS.* 5 (as Idan); *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 416, 428; *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, p. 268; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 106, 127. For the dropping of the initial *n*, cf. Isan and Nissien.



S. NOYALA.
From Statue at Noyal-Pontivy.

The old church, one of the largest in the Island, which consisted of nave and side aisle and chancel, has long since been abandoned and allowed to fall into ruin, and a new church erected in a more convenient spot, near Bryn Siencyn. But two bays of the West end retain their roof, and are kept in repair, as well as the North and South porches. The latter has a stoup for holy water that remains perpetually replenished in a manner that is not easily explained. All the church and churchyard is dry, yet there must be a spring beneath the south porch from which the water rises through capillary attraction to the stoup. The latter may be emptied, but speedily fills again. The level of the water in it is not always the same, at times drops fall from it; and the entire porch is covered with an overgrowth of ivy and moss and weed. The churchyard around is still in use, and the roofed portion of the church serves as a mortuary chapel.

In the roofed part is preserved a curious stone reliquary, resembling a small stone coffin, with a coved lid of the same stone, which is placed on an oak buffet against one of the walls. It is of a fine grained sandstone, and measures 26 inches long, 14 inches broad, and about 18 inches high. The front is open, to enable the relics to be seen. It was discovered, containing some pieces of bone, about the year 1700, under the altar, some two feet down, where probably it had been concealed at the Reformation. It is probably of the fourteenth century, and is apparently unique in Britain, as is also the phenomenon of the ever-filling stoup.[1]

Nidan is known in Scotland, whither he is said to have gone with S. Kentigern, as one of the 665 monks who accompanied him from Llanelwy, and he made a foundation at Midmar. "The neighbouring parish to his in Anglesey is Llanfinen; and it is curious that not far from Midmar is Lumphanan, afterwards said to be dedicated to S. Vincent, but primarily to S. Finan, for the name is only a corrupted form of Llanfinan, while Midmar is not far from Glengarden, which is dedicated to S. Mungo (Kentigern), so that we have here a group of Celtic dedications in the heart of Aberdeenshire."[2] Nidan, it should be mentioned, was related to S. Kentigern, his father, Gwrfyw, being that saint's first cousin.

S. Nidan is entered in the Martyrology of Aberdeen on November 3,

[1] It is described and illustrated in *Arch. Camb.*, 1870, pp. 129–34; cf. *ibid.*, 1863, p. 260.

[2] Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish SS.*, 1872, p. 420; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, 1887, ii, p. 193. Llanidan and Llanffinan are not adjoining parishes, though not far apart. Owing to their propinquity some have supposed the former church to be dedicated to S. Aidan of Lindisfarne. But Aidan's festival falls on August 31. See further, iii, p. 19.

but on September 30 in the Welsh calendars in *Peniarth MSS.* 186, 187, and 219, the *Iolo MSS.*, *Additional MS.* 14, 882, and Prymers of 1618 and 1633.

The Saint is locally supposed to have lived at Cadair Idan in the parish. Hendre Idan is also in the parish. His holy well, Ffynnon Idan, is at Plâs Llanidan, about 200 yards from the old church. It is built over, and has steps to go down into it.

S. NINNOCHA, Virgin, Abbess.

THE authority for the Life of this saint is a *Vita* in the *Cartulary of Quimperlé*, edited by P. de Berthou, Paris, 1896, from the original MS. in the possession of Lord Beaumont, at Carlton Towers.

This Life was recomposed from an original written in rude style, "Vitam Sanctæ Ninnocæ in quodam libello rustico stilo digestam reperientes, maluimus potius incomposite materiei rectam simplicitatam in scribendo servare quam plus justo minus eam emendando seriem narrationis depravare."

This Life had already been printed in the *Acta SS. Boll.* Jun. i, pp. 407–11. It had, moreover, been used by the author of the *Chronicle of S. Brieuc*, and by Albert le Grand, and by Lobineau.[1]

The *Vita* is of little historical value, as it abounds in anachronisms, some of which, however, may be only apparent, and due to our ignorance of the history of the times.

Ninnoc was a daughter of Brychan of Brycheiniog, and akin to Gurthiern, known also as Gunthiern, and is possibly the same as Gwynllyw. If a daughter of Brychan she was his sister-in-law.[2]

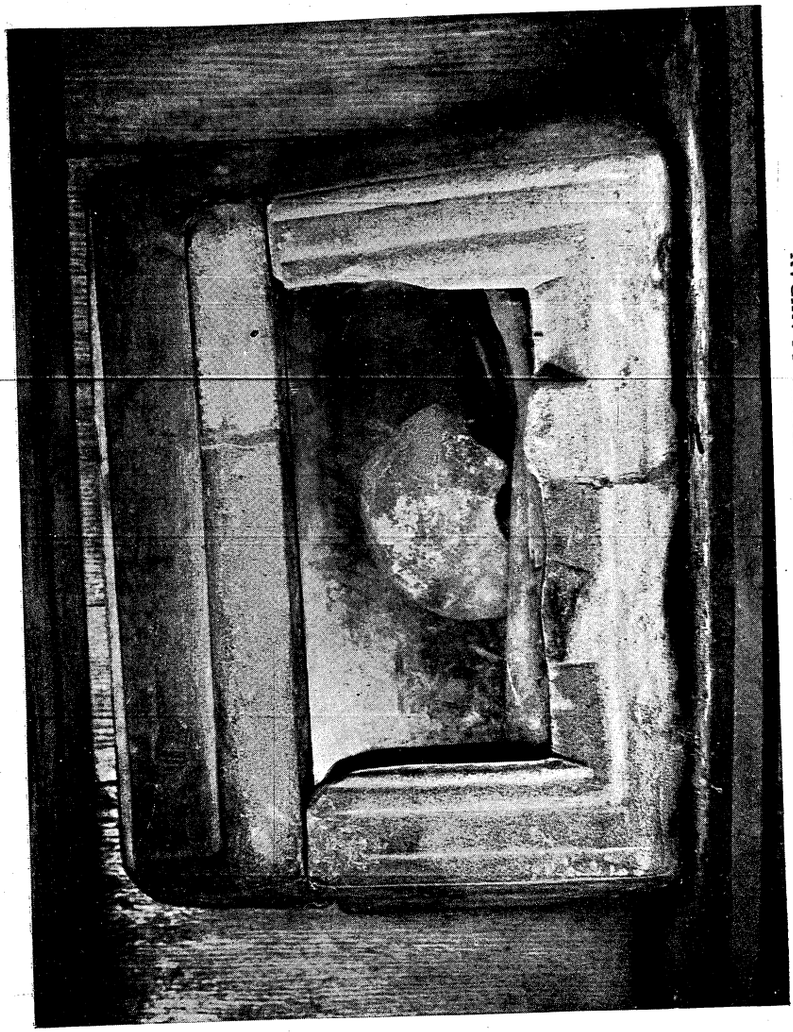
Brychan married a wife Meneduc, "ex genere Scotorum, filiam Constantini regis, ex stripe Juliani Cæsaris."

This is certainly an astounding statement. The writer lived so late that he means Scots by Scoti and not Irish; for the Scots had Kings of the name of Constantine, but never the Irish. As to the stock of Julian Cæsar, the writer would make Julian precede Constantine, if he does not intend, what is more probable, Julius Cæsar.

But may not this be an amplification by the redactor, and the Con-

[1] Le Grand, *Vies des Saints de Bretagne*, ed. 1901, pp. 270–3; Lobineau, *Vies des Saints de Bretagne*, ed. 1836, i, pp. 55–60.

[2] "Quidam vir nobilis fuit in Combronensia regione, Brochan nomine, ex genere Gurthierni, rex honorabilis valde in totam Britanniam."



RELIQUARY AT THE OLD CHURCH, LLANIDAN.
(Photo by Wm. Marriott Dodson.)

stantine, who was the father of Meneduc, may have been Constantine (Cystennin) Gorneu? S. Cybi's age can be fixed with some degree of nearness, as dying *c.* 554; he was grandson of Geraint, who was grandson of Cystennin Gorneu. Allowing thirty-three years for a generation, that would be about right for the period of Brychan and Ninnoc. That Brychan ever had a wife of the name of Meneduc we do not know.

According to the author of the *Vita*, Brychan had fourteen sons. This statement shows an acquaintance with the Welsh traditions, which indeed, by counting in his grandsons, give him considerably more. The sons of Brychan, our author goes on to relate, "dispersi sunt per regiones multas in exilium." Of course, he adds that this dispersion was due to their desire to preach the Gospel everywhere, and does not allude to a compulsory expulsion, due to the Brychan family, as Irish, being driven out of Brycheiniog.

Brychan and his wife were very angry at losing all their sons, and he vowed to give tithes if another child were granted him. But tithes did not come into consideration until later. Brychan, moreover, went into a mountain and built an altar there, and fasted forty days and as many nights during Lent, and then returned to his wife, and procreated Ninnoc.

When the child was born, one Columcille happened to be at the court of Brecknock and baptized the child. This is, of course, absurd. Columcille never did visit Wales, and he lived over a century later. What the redactor found in the original text was that an Irish Abbot (Scottorum abbas) of the name of Colum was there and baptized the babe, and he jumped to the conclusion that this was the renowned Columcille. There are some twenty saints of this name, beside Columcille, commemorated in the Irish Martyrologies. Ninnoc was held at the font by a kinsman of Brychan, named Gurgentelu Ilfin, and by his wife Gwennargant, and the child was given as a baptismal name that of Gwengustle.

The Welsh know of no Gwengustle as daughter of Brychan; but there was a daughter Gwen, of Talgarth, and a daughter Tudhistil, of whose name there are various corruptions, Tangwystl among others. But the relationship to Brychan must not be pressed too closely, as all that is meant by "children of Brychan" is that they were of his blood, and inherited tribal rights in Brycheiniog.

Gwengustle was fostered by Gurgentelu and his wife, till such time as she reached a marriageable age, when her father designed to dispose of her to a son of a King of the Scots.

Now, it fell out that at this time Germanus had arrived in Bry-

cheiniog, sent thither by S. Patrick. This has shocked the Bollandists and other critics who have assumed that Germanus of Auxerre is meant. But this was Germanus, the disciple, perhaps the nephew, of Patrick, who later became Bishop of Man.

Moved by his exhortations, Gwengustle resolved on leading a virginal life, and as she remained constant in her determination, Brychan consented to let her depart for Llydaw. She departed in seven vessels, taking with her her foster-parents and two bishops, Morhedrus and Gurgallonus, and two others unnamed, together with "Magna turba tam presbyterorum quam diaconorum, necnon et sanctimonialium virginum atque utriusque sexus hominum."

Now this migration to Brittany, and not to Cornwall, whither most of the Brychan family had gone, is significant. If we are right in our surmise, Germanus came from Western Brittany, and if he moved Gwengustle to migrate, it is not at all improbable that he recommended her to go to his native country. Moreover, Gunthiern, if the same as Gwynllyw, which is doubtful, was there already, perhaps; and he was her brother-in-law. Moreover, where she came ashore was in the district where Gunthiern had settled.

The boats arrived at Poull Ilfin in Broweroc. At this time Weroc was Count of the British in those parts, the present department of Morbihan (500–50). She at once sent a deputation to ask his permission to settle, and he granted them Ploemeur, near Lorient, where they formed a *plebs*, and Gwengustle a monastery for her women, and the men who were ecclesiastics, one also for themselves.

Three years later, Weroc was hunting in this district, when a stag he was chasing fled for refuge to the church, and sank there exhausted at the feet of the saint. When Weroc arrived, the Bishops—all four—and the clergy and nuns were singing lustily the Psalter, and in the midst lay the fatigued and frightened stag. Weroc spared the beast, and made a handsome donation to the saint.

Then follows an episode that is a fraudulent interpolation. The redactor makes Weroc summon a council under S. Turiaf, Archbishop of Dol, and in this council signs, seals and delivers a deed of donation of land to S. Ninnoc. There was no archbishopric of Dol till the ninth century, and S. Turiaf lived in the eighth century. Moreover, Weroc called Judual, Count of Rennes, to witness it, and Judual was not restored till after Weroc was dead, and this precious deed of donation was drawn up, says the redactor, in the year 458! Judual was not restored till 555.

The Life ends abruptly with this forged donation. There is no account of any further events in the life of the saint, and not a word about her death. This is pretty clear proof that the editor had an incomplete MS. *Vita* before him, which he manipulated in his own way. Where it abruptly concluded there he tacked on the spurious title-deed; but he did not venture to complete the story of her life.

The name by which she is generally known, Ninnoc or Ninnocha, is not a Christian name; it means Little Nun. The termination *oc* is in Irish applied to men, and *ait* or *at* to women. But her true name was Gwengustle.[1] She was probably called Ninnat, incorrectly changed when the name Latinized to Ninnoca. Apparently she is known at Scaër as S. Candida or S. Gwen, though there is no record of a grant of land being made to her there. In the parish of Tourch, near Scaër, is a chapel to S. Candida, in the hamlet of Locundu, formerly Locunguff. In 1619 the dedication is given to Sainte Vengu. Vengu is an intermediate form of Guenguff, white and gentle.[2] Gwengustle became Guengu, then Vengu, and this name was replaced by a later partial equivalent, Candida, after 1619. At Scaër is her fountain, a large brimming well that pours forth abundance of water, and which supplies the town by a conduit. It is built up on one side, and carved stones lie scattered about where an overplus supplies a tank in which the women do their household washing.

The Church of Scaër, a modern vulgar imitation Norman erection, contains a statue of the saint as an abbess holding a book in her left hand.

At Ploemeur, in the chapel of the Priory of S. Ninnoc, is a statue of her as an abbess, in long floating robes, and with a stag at her feet. She is invoked by mothers in maladies of children.

Albert le Grand gives as her day June 4, as also Lobineau. At Scaër the Patronal Feast is held on the first Sunday in August. The Pardon at Ploemeur is on the second Sunday in May.

It is remarkable that in Ireland S. Ninne, a virgin, receives a cult on June 3, the day before Ninnoc. Of her no record remains.

A Ninoch is invoked in the Dunkeld Litany among the virgins and widows.

[1] There is a virgin whose name ends in *oc* in the Irish Martyrologies, Sporoc or Sproc, daughter of Colum, venerated on June 30; and in the *Book of Leinster*, fol. 350*a*, "Coemgen mc̄ Comloga Coemoc soror."

[2] *Bulletin de la Soc. archeol. de Finistère*, T. xx, 1893—Article by the Vicomte de Villiers du Terrage on the Parish of Tourch. Hugh Thomas, the Breconshire herald, who gives some particulars respecting her in *Harleian MS.* 4,181, fol. 77*a*, from Albert le Grand, mentions her as Nenoc.

S. NISSIEN, see S. ISAN

S. NOE, Confessor

A SAINT of this name (also as Nwy) had a chapel formerly in the parish of Skenfrith, in Monmouthshire. It formed, with the small manor of Blackbrook, in which it was situated, part of the possessions of Dore Abbey, and was served by the monks of that Abbey. The chapel has long been a ruin, but the site can be traced a few hundred yards to the east of Blackbrook (house).[1]

The chapel and bridge of S. Noe occur on a seventeenth century map of Skenfrith parish; and there was also a well there under his invocation.

Noe or Noy as a man's name is not altogether rare. It is best known in the name of Noe ab Arthur, the eighth century King of Dyfed; and it also occurs as Nougoy, Nougui, Nogui, etc., in pedigrees and charters. These latter forms stand for what would now be written Nywy; and the *e* of Noe is, no doubt, a survival of the Old-Celtic long *e*, now *wy*.[2]

It may be mentioned that in the Skenfrith Noe or Noy there is just a possibility that we may have S. Tenoi's name, with the familiar *to-* or *ty-* dropped, as in Llansoy and Foy.

S. NOETHON, Confessor

NOETHON, Noethan, or Nwython, was a son of Gildas.[3] In the late documents printed in the *Iolo MSS.* he is said to have been a "saint," i.e. monk, of Llantwit, and also, apparently, of Llancarfan; and in one document therein he is the father of Cynddilig, Teilo Fyrwallt,

[1] Col. Bradney, *History of Monmouthshire*, 1907, i, pp. 63–4. Sir Richard Morgan, the Judge, in his will of 1546, left 5*s.* for the repair of S. Noe's Chapel. It is called Llannoyth in Speed's map, 1610.

[2] Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, i, pp. 246–7; ii, pp. 201–2.

[3] *Peniarth MS.* 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Cardiff MS.* 5 (1527); *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 268; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 416, 426, 428; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 102, 117, 137. The Welsh saintly pedigrees favour the form Noethon or Noethan. The name is the same as that borne by a Pictish King, who began to reign in 706, under the Gaelic form Nechtan, becoming Neithon or Nwython in Welsh, and is given as Naiton by Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, v, 21. Though Nectan and Noethan represent the same name, their pedigrees and festivals prevent our identifying the two saints noticed in this volume.

and Rhun. He is usually coupled with his brother, S. Gwynog. There were formerly chapels of Gwynog and Noethon near the church of Llangwm Dinmael, in Denbighshire, but they have long since been converted into a mill and a kiln respectively. This appears to have been his only dedication, at any rate in Wales.

The festival of SS. Gwynog and Noethon is given on October 22 in the Calendars in *Peniarth MSS.* 27, 186, 187, 219, *Jesus College MS.* 141, *Mostyn MS.* 88, *Llanstephan MS.* 117, *Additional MS.* 14, 882, and the Prymer of 1546; on the 23rd in those in the *Iolo MSS.*, and the Prymers of 1618 and 1633; and on the 24th in that in *Peniarth MS.* 172.

Noethon is identified by Bishop Forbes with Nethan, who was venerated at Cambusnethan. "This district was a Welsh or Cymric colony, the neighbouring parish of Cambuslang being dedicated to S. Cadoc."[1] Cadoc was certainly in this district, where he is said to have restored Caw to life, which may mean no more than that the old chief was baptized, when at an advanced age, and so entered on a regenerate life.

The day of S. Nethan in the Aberdeen Martyrology is given on October 26. Nicolas Roscarrock says, "Saint Naithan whom I finde in a British Calendar placed on the 23 of October." He also conjectures that the S. Neightan or Negton who received a certain amount of veneration in Cornwall was this Naithan, but it seems more probable that Neightan is only another form for Nectan of Hartland, a reputed son of Brychan.

Noethon does not appear to have gone to his father Gildas in Brittany; at least, he has left no trace of his presence there.

In the story of *Culhwch and Olwen* a Nwython is given as father of Run, Llwydeu, and Kyledyr Wyllt, and is said to have been killed by Gwyn ab Nudd, and to have had his heart taken out and forced to be eaten by his last named son.[2] His sons Run and Kyndelic are mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth as having been among the men of rank that were summoned by King Arthur to his coronation at Caerleon.[3]

A chieftain or warrior named Nwython (once with his son Neim) is mentioned in the *Books of Aneirin* and *Taliessin*.[4] It would not be possible to identify either of these with the son of Gildas.

[1] *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, 1872, p. 420.

[2] *Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, pp. 109, 134, 141.

[3] *Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 200.

[4] Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, pp. 86, 91, 103, 193.

S. NON, Widow

NON, sometimes styled Bendigaid, or the Blessed, was the daughter of Cynyr of Caer Gawch, in Menevia, by Anna, the daughter of Gwrthefyr Fendigaid.[1] Cynyr is said to have been *regulus* of a district which afterwards became called Pebydiog, or Dewisland. He was father also of SS. Gwen, Banhadlen, and Gwestlan or Guistlianus, bishop of Old Menevia.

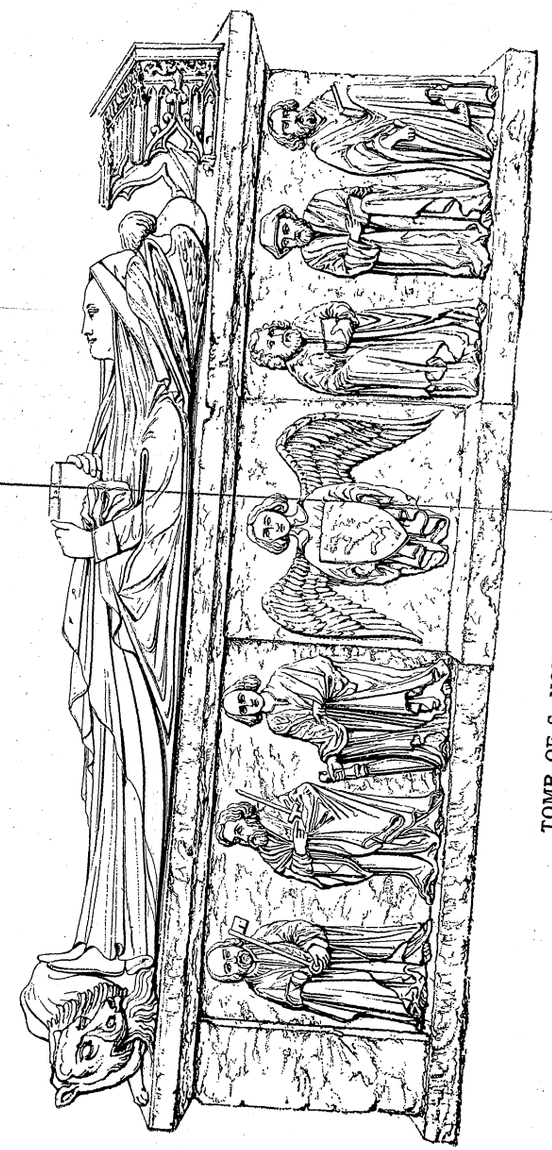
What is known of S. Non is to be found, almost entirely, in the Life of S. David by Rhygyfarch, and in the Lives based upon it. Her legend is said to have existed in 1281 in the service book of her church at Altarnon, but nothing is now known of it. There is a mystery written in Breton, *Buhez Santes Nonn*, which was for many years acted on her festival at Dirinon. A MS. of it, of about 1400, was found there and published at Paris in 1837 by the Abbé Sionnet. An account and abstract of it was published in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1857–8; and it was re-edited, with a French translation, by E. Ernault in the *Revue Celtique* for 1887.[2] It consists of three parts—the Life of S. Non; the miracles wrought at her tomb; and the life and death of S. David. It is taken from Rhygyfarch's Life, with some additions from Geoffrey of Monmouth.

The legend which relates the circumstances attending S. David's birth has been already told,[3] and need not be repeated here. It is quite possible that the story of her seduction by Sant is founded on a misapprehension. The mediæval biographer, finding that she was called Non, assumed that she was a *nun*, and he presents the outrage accordingly as being doubly odious. Rhygyfarch says that she was of

[1] *Peniarth MSS.* 12, 16, 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 415, 423, 428; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 265; *Iolo MSS., passim.* She is sometimes called Nun; in the Latin Lives of S. David, Nonna and Nonnita. The latter form occurs, as the Goidelic genitive of a man's name, on an inscribed stone in Tregoney churchwall, Cornwall, and in the name Eglwys Nynyd, Nonnita's or the Nuns' Church (or Convent), now a farm-house, about a mile from Margam Abbey. With the last-named may be compared Llanlleianau, in Llanbadrig, Anglesey. Nonna was a name borne by several women, notably, the mother of S. Gregory Nazianzen. Nonnitus was a man's name, and there was a sixth century Irish bishop, Ninnidh or Nennidius. Evidently the names Capel (Maes) Nonni, Maes Nonni, and Castell Nonni, in Llanllwni parish, do not involve a saint's name. According to Breton tradition Non's true name was Melaria, in which we detect the Welsh Meleri, which the *Cognatio* gives as the name of S. David's paternal grandmother.

[2] viii, pp. 230–301, 405–91.

[3] ii, pp. 288–92. There is a persistent tradition at Llannon, Cardiganshire, that S. David was born there. The church of Caermorfa, in which Gildas endeavoured to preach before the pregnant Non (ii, p. 290), is claimed to have been located there, on Morfa Esgob; and David, it is said, in after years, apportioned the Morfa among the poor fishermen of the place. Moreover, as a child, he used to walk to school every day to Hen Fynyw, a distance of about five miles.



TOMB OF S. NON, AT DIRINON, FINISTÈRE.

singular innocence of soul, and that she had no other children.[1] But Irish authorities represent her as mother as well of Magna, mother of S. Setna,[2] and of Mor, mother of S. Eltin.[3] It is accordingly quite probable that she was the wife of Sant, and that it was not till after her husband's death that she retired from the world.

Non's sister, S. Gwen (Wenn), was wife of Selyf, Duke of Cornwall, who lived at Gallewick, "between the Tamar and the Lynher."[4]

It was, apparently, due to this relationship, that Non was induced to settle in Cornwall. There her principal foundation was at Altarnon, an important parish, covering over 11,200 acres, with Church, Holy Well and Sanctuary. The Holy Well supplied a tank, into which persons who were insane were precipitated, with the idea that this would cure them. Drainage has drawn the water away, and all traces of the spring have disappeared, and the tank has been filled in. Another church bearing her name is Bradstone, in Devon, by the Tamar. Another is Pelynt, where is her Holy Well. Boyton Church is supposed to be dedicated to the Holy Name (*Nomen*), but more probably had an earlier dedication to Non. The Holy Name is a comparatively modern introduction into the Calendar. The festival was not brought in till between 1420 and 1500. In 1530 Pope Clement VII conceded to the Franciscan Order the use of an office for the Holy Name, but it was not till 1721 that Innocent XIII extended the observance to the whole Latin Church.

Boyton had a church long before the introduction of the Holy Name into England as a festival. It is marked in the Taxation of Nicolas IV (1288–91). The village Feast is in the second week in August, and the Day of the Holy Name is August 7 in the Salisbury and York Calendars.

The day, however, appointed for commemoration by the Franciscans was January 14.

At Grampound is a chapel of S. Non, also a Holy Well; and a Holy Well bearing her name at Portscatho in S. Gerrans.

William of Worcester, copying from the Calendar of S. Michael's Mount, says, "S. Nonnita, mother of S. David, lies in the church of Altarnon, where S. David was born." Dewi certainly was not born there, and her body reposes at Dirinon, near Brest, in Finistère, where is a chapel that contains her tomb, with a recumbent figure on it, and where also is her Holy Well. Her tomb is one of the most beautiful,

[1] *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 119.
[2] Colgan, *Acta SS. Hibern.*, *Vita 2da Sti Senani*, p. 540, *recte* 536; *De Sedonio Episcopo*, pp. 572–3.
[3] Shearman, *Loca Patriciana*, Tab. vi. *Ogygia*, p. 330.
[4] *Vita S. Kebii* in *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 183.

as well as remarkable, sepulchral monuments in Lower Brittany.[1] At Dirinon is shown the rock on which she was wont to kneel in prayer, till she had left therein the impress of her knees. In Brittany she appears to have been held in greater veneration than her son.

The dedications to S. Non in Wales are Llanerchaeron and Llannon (a chapel under Llansantffraid, replacing an earlier one in ruins), in Cardiganshire ; and Llannon, in Carmarthenshire. There were chapels, now extinct, called Llannon, under Llanbadarn y Garreg (Cregrina), in Radnorshire, and Ilston in Glamorganshire. There is also a ruined chapel of hers, a little to the south of S. David's, on the edge of the cliffs.[2] Near it is her Holy Well, of which Fenton wrote : " The fame this consecrated spring had obtained is incredible, and still is resorted to for many complaints. In my infancy, as was the general usage with respect to children at that time, I was often dipped in it, and offerings, however trifling, even of a farthing or a pin, were made after each ablution, and the bottom of the well shone with votive brass. The spring, like most others in this district, is of a most excellent quality, is reported to ebb and flow, and to be of wondrous efficacy in complaints of the eye." [3]

The Non dedications in Wales, as elsewhere, are generally in the immediate neighbourhood of David churches.

The following tercet occurs among the " Sayings of the Wise " [4] :—

> Hast thou heard the saying uttered by Non ?
> The mother of Dewi Sant was she—
> " There is no madness like contention "
> (Nid ynfyd ond ymryson).

Dafydd ab Gwilym, in the fourteenth century, and other mediæval Welsh bards, frequently allude to her personal beauty ; [5] and Lewis Glyn Cothi notes her posthumous miracles.[6]

[1] For a description and illustration see *Arch. Camb.*, 1857, pp. 249–50. In Brittany her name occurs in Lennon, a parish of Finistère, in Lannon (Bannalec), and in Crec'h Nonn (Bégard). Nonn is a stream-name in *Cart. de Redon* ; so also in Abernon, near S. David's.

[2] See ii, pp. 291–2, and *Arch. Camb.*, 1898, pp. 345–8.

[3] *Pembrokeshire*, ed. 1811, p. 112 ; ed. 1903, p. 63. Browne Willis, in his *Survey of S. David's*, 1717, p. 53, says, " Some old simple People go still to . . . offer Pins, Pebbles, etc., at this Well." One of the streets of S. David's is called Nun Street. There is a Ffynnon Non near Llannon Chapel, Cardiganshire.

[4] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 258.

[5] *Barddoniaeth*, ed. 1789, pp. 15, 17, 515. Sion Phylip (d. 1620), in a " Cywydd i ferch," says,

> " Dy lun irfryd len eurfron,
> Dy liw un wedd a delw Non."

[6] *Poetical Works*, 1837, p. 320.



S. NON'S CHAPEL, S. DAVID'S.
South-west angle.



S. NON'S CHAPEL, S. DAVID'S.
Remains of rude stone masonry.

In Brittany another Non is venerated, an Irish bishop, at Penmarc'h ; but she is patroness of Lagona-Laoulas in the diocese of Quimper.

In Wales S. Non was venerated on March 3, against which day her name is entered in a number of the early Welsh Calendars. Her festival used to be observed with great solemnity at S. David's.[1] The Feast at Altarnon is on June 25, as also at Pelynt. But according to William of Worcester her day was observed at Launceston on July 3. In the Tavistock Calendar, according to William of Worcester, there was an entry on June 15, " Sanctus Nin, Martyr." One suspects a threefold blunder, either of William, or of his editor Nasmith, Sanctus for Sancta, Martyr for Matrona, and Jun. xv for Jun. xxv.

S. NUDD

THE *Iolo MSS.* documents include two men of this name among the Welsh saints ; but they are the sole authority, and, as often, quite untrustworthy.

I. Nudd, son of Ceidio ab Athrwys, of the line of Coel, and brother of Gwenddoleu and Cof, who, with him, were " saints " of Llantwit.[2] Of Nudd we know nothing, but Gwenddoleu was a chieftain who fell at the battle of Arderydd, in 573.

II. Nudd Hael, son of Senyllt ab Cedig ab Dyfnwal Hên,[3] celebrated in the Triads as one of " the Three Bounteous Ones of the Isle of Britain." He was one of the Men of the North, with whom he invaded Arfon to avenge the death of Elidyr Mwynfawr.[4]

A stone discovered near Yarrow Kirk, in Selkirkshire, which certainly commemorates members of the families of persons (perhaps one person) called Nudus and Liberalis, and seems as old as the sixth century, has reasonably been supposed to be his family monument. [5]

" Nudd, a saint of Côr Illtyd, and a King," is credited with having founded the church of Llysfronydd, or Lisworney, subject to Llantwit, now usually given as dedicated to S. Tydfil. Several persons of the name, including a bishop, occur in the *Book of Llan Dâv*.

S. NUVIEN, Confessor

IN the *Book of Llan Dâv* mention is made of " villam Sancti Nuvien cum ecclesia," [6] and, further on, " Ecclesia Mamouric id est Lann

[1] Willis, *S. David's*, p. 36. [2] Pp. 106, 128. [3] Pp. 113, 138–9.
[4] *Laws of Hywel Dda*, ed. Aneurin Owen, fol., p. 50.
[5] Mr. Egerton Phillimore in *Bye-Gones*, 1889–90, p. 483 ; Sir J. Rhys, *Origin of the Englyn*, 1905, pp. 10–11. [6] Pp. 31, 43, 90.

Uvien." [1] We believe that we are perfectly justified in identifying Lann Uvien with the Ecclesia Sancti Nuvien. Lann Uvien has been queried to be Llangoven,[2] in Monmouthshire, but for no reason, we believe, than merely the similarity in name. We have no doubt whatever that it was the chapel at Crick, some nine miles to the south of Llangoven. Mamouric means Meurig's Place, the Meurig in question being, in all probability, the Morganwg King of the name, whose father, King Tewdrig, was buried at Mathern, in the immediate neighbourhood of Crick; and among the places mentioned in the boundary of Mathern are "Aper Pull Muric" and "Aper Pull Neuynn"; [3] but the latter need not necessarily be translated "the mouth of the Hunger Pill," as it has been.[4]

The remains of the old chapel of S. Nuvien, Nyveyn, or Nyfain, are still to be seen, converted into a barn, in the yard of the old manor-house of Crick, an old house which is to-day almost in its original state.[5] At the east end of the chapel are two square windows, with a good rose window between. It appears to have been at one time attached to Caerwent, for in an inspeximus of 1336, recording the grant of the advowson of Caerwent, we read, "cum Capellis de Lannayre, Dynan, et Sancti Nyveyn (*al.* Niveyn), eidem Ecclesie annexis." [6] In the *Valor* of 1535,[7] however, the church of Mathern is described as "The Parish Church of Matherne, Trikke and Rulston." Rulston is Runston, and Trikke must be a mispelling of Crick, which is situated just within the border of the old parish of Runston.

S. NWYTHON, see S. NOETHON

S. NYFAIN, Matron

THIS saint, whose name is spelt Nyuein and Nyuen in the two versions of the *Cognatio*, Drynwin in *Jesus College MS.* 20, and Nefyn in the later genealogies,[8] was a daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog, and the wife of Cynfarch Gul ab Meirchion, by whom she became the mother of

[1] P. 206. There are other instances of the disappearance of initial *n* due to Llan coming before the name.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 375. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 142–3. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 369.
[5] *Arch. Camb.*, 1909, pp. 113–4. [6] Willis, *Llandaff*, 1719, pp. 163–7.
[7] iv, p. 373.
[8] *Peniarth MS.* 74, p. 86; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 419, 428; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 120, 40.

Urien Rheged, Efrddyl (wife of Elidyr Gosgorddfawr), and Lleuddun Luyddog. Urien and Efrddyl were twins, according to a Triad, wherein they are called one of the "Tri Aur (Gwyn) Dorllwyth" of the Isle of Britain.[1]

The church of Nefyn, or Nevin, in Carnarvonshire, has been supposed, but wrongly we believe, to be dedicated to her. The Church was anciently called Llanfair yn Nefyn, with its festival on August 15,[2] and fairs were held, Old Style, on March 24 and August 14, the eves of two festivals of the B.V.M. No churches are known to us as having been dedicated to her, nor is her festival day entered in any of the Welsh Calendars.

She is not to be confounded with the Monmouthshire male saint, Nuvien, or Nyveyn.

S. NYNNIAW, Bishop, Confessor

THE authority for Nynniaw as a Welsh Saint is a solitary entry in the *Iolo MSS.*[3], where he is stated to have been a saint and bishop, and King of Gwent and Garthmathrin, whose church is in the North.

By Nynniaw, saint and bishop, who founded a church in the North, is clearly intended the great S. Ninian, who is incidentally mentioned, as Nynias, by Bede [4] as having been instrumental in converting the Southern Picts, between the Grampians and the Forth. He was a Brython of royal blood, born somewhere on the Solway Firth. The church he founded was Candida Casa, or Whithern, in Wigtonshire, which, on hearing of the death, about the year 400, of S. Martin of Tours, he dedicated to that saint, of whom he was a great admirer. Ninian is popularly known in Scotland as Ringan, and in Ireland as Monenn, with the endearing prefix. He is commemorated on September 16. There is nothing to show that he ever was in Wales.

S. ONBRIT

IN two bulls of Pope Honorius II to Bishop Urban of Llandaff is mentioned Merthir Onbrit as among the possessions of the Church of

[1] *Cardiff MS.* 6; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 392.
[2] Willis, *Bangor*, p. 275; *Cambrian Register*, iii (1818), p. 225.
[3] P. 136. [4] *Hist. Eccl.*, iii, 4.

Llandaff.[1] Nothing seems to be now known of Onbrit, but it is clear that a saint is intended, as Merthyr would only be used in that collocation. Petra Onnbrit is named in the boundary of the grant of Tull (Toll) Coit by Elfin, son of Guidgen, to Bishop Berthguin,[2] in the time of King Ithel ab Morgan. Twll Coed was also called Bella Aqua, i.e. Fairwater, Llandaff; and, no doubt, Merthir Onbrit was in the immediate neighbourhood.

S. OSWAEL

In a list of the sons of Cunedda Wledig that has unaccountably been incorporated into one *Achau'r Saint* document printed in the *Iolo MSS.*[3] is found his son Oswael, whom, it is to be presumed, we are to reckon among the Welsh saints; but there is no reason whatever to justify us in so doing. His name occurs earliest as Osmail, later Ismael (in the *Vita S. Carantoci*) and Oswael, but more regularly Ysfael.

There is no church found dedicated to him; but he has left his name to Mais Osmeliaun, in Anglesey, now probably represented by Llan*faes*. Later antiquaries have mixed him up with S. Oswald, and wrongly made Osweilion to be the district round Croes Oswallt, or Oswestry.[4]

Curiously enough, S. Oswald is patron of a church, Lantec in ancient Goelo, now in Côtes du Nord. He is represented in the church as a chubby boy crowned and sceptred. He has replaced some Celtic saint of a similar name, but hardly Oswael, son of Cunedda, as this latter belongs to an earlier age than the British saints of Armorica. Most probably he takes the place of Usyllt, the father of S. Teilo.

S. OUDOCEUS, Bishop, Confessor

The only authority for the Life of this saint is a *Vita* in the *Book of Llan Dâv* that was written or recomposed in or about 1150, but the Life was probably based on pre-existing material used as lections on

[1] *Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 32, 43.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 189. One of the laity signing the grant was named Aironbrit.
[3] P. 122. For early lists of Cunedda's sons see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, p. 183, and *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 100–1.
[4] See Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, i, p. 296.

the feast of the saint. It is printed in the *Liber Landavensis*, edited by W. J. Rees, Llandovery, 1840, pp. 123–32; more correctly in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, ed. Evans and Rhys, Oxford, 1893, pp. 130–9. An epitome, very meagre, in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*. Also in *Acta SS. Boll.*, 2 Julii, i, p. 320, from Capgrave.

Oudoceus[1] was the son of Budic, a refugee prince of Armorican Cornugallia, but born after his return to Brittany. The early history of Armorican Cornugallia is most obscure. We know that this portion of the Western peninsula had been colonized from Britain, at an early period. We hear of a king, Grallo, who ruled there about 470 to 505. Then there would appear to have ensued a fresh inroad of immigrants from Britain, under a chief called Jan or John Reith, which is translated as *Lex*.[2] It would seem that these new colonists set up their own prince and expelled the family of Grallo.

The Cartulary of Landevennec[3] gives the order differently. After Grallo it inserts Daniel Dremrud "Alammanis rex fuit." Then comes Budic with his brother Maxenri, then Jan Reith. "Huc rediens Marchel interfecit et paternum consulatum recuperavit." Then Daniel Unna, followed by Gradlon Flam and Concar Cheroenoc, and then Budic Mur. The Cartulary of Quimper[4] follows this with only a verbal addition to the effect. "Budic et Maxentii duo fratres; horum primus rediens ab Alamannia, interfecit Marcell et paternum consulatum recuperavit." In the Cartulary of Quimperlé is also a reproduction of the same list.[5]

Out of these contradictions it is not possible to arrive at any conclu-

[1] Oudoceus is Oudoce (with old *ē* = modern Welsh *wy*) with a Latin termination. In the Cartulary appended to the *Vita S. Cadoci*, § 61, he occurs under a later form, Eudoce Episcopus. The name appears in Welsh as Oudocui, later Euddogwy, as in Lann Oudocui, later becoming Llan Euddogwy, which is now cut down to Llan-dogo (on the Wye).

[2] "Quidam nobilis apud transmarinos (Britannos) exstitit, cui cognomen erat *Lex* vel *Regula*; vir quidam genere regius, terra, familiis, opibusque admodum opulentus. Qui quoniam juxta divinum præceptum leges utrique sexui convenienter aptabat, *Lex* vel *Regula* nominabatur. Is post desolationem Frixionum et Corsoldi ducis, nostram adiens desertam Cornugalliam (parata) classe mare cum maximo apparatu transmisit, regnum accepit, habitavit, excoluit. Post ejus decessum Daniel filius ejus regnum tenuit; cui successit filius Budic." *Vita S. Meloris, Analecta Boll.*, T. v, 1886, p. 166. In another Life: "Multi autem credentes, secularibus negociis abrenunciantes . . . et Deo adherentes . . . virtutum effulsere ovantes. De quorum collegio quondam, antiqua ut didicimus relatione, fuit vir Christianissimus Johannes nomine, nobilis, ortus Britannorum genere, quem Dominus de ultra marinis partibus ductu angelico in Cornubiam disposuit transmeare. . . . Et expletis annis vitæ suæ, regnavit filius ejus Daniel pro eo." Lect. of *Brev. Maclov.*, 1537, f. 277.

[3] Ed. De la Borderie, Rennes, 1888, p. 172.

[4] Printed in *Bulletin de la Commission diocésaine*, Quimper, 1901, p. 35.

[5] Ed. L. Maitre et Berthou, Paris, 1896, p. 51.

sion with an approach to confidence. We may perhaps accept M. de la Borderie's opinion as we lack sufficient evidence to form any other, but it is a conjecture, and nothing more. He supposes that Grallo left no direct heir, and that Jan Reith came over and seized on the principality and transmitted it to his son Budic. Budic left two sons, Meliau and Rivold. Meliau was murdered by his brother, who also dispatched his nephew Melor.

On the death of Rivold, ambassadors from Cornubia or Cornugallia went to South Wales, where was living Budic, of the house of Grallo, who had been driven from Cornubia by the invaders.

The Life of S. Oudoceus informs us that Budic was the son of a certain Cybrdan, who had been expelled from his principality of Cornugallia, and he "came with his fleet to the region of Demetia (Dyfed) in the time of Aircol Lawhir, who was King thereof."[1] Budic, who must have been young when he fled to Dyfed, married there Anauved, daughter of Ensic,[2] and sister of S. Teilo, and by her had two sons, Ismael and Tyfai, who both entered religion. Ismael became a disciple of S. David, and Tyfai, having been accidentally killed, is esteemed a martyr. Whilst Budic resided in Dyfed, deputies from Cornubia arrived to announce to him that the usurping king was dead and that the people were ready to welcome him.[3] Budic collected vessels and embarked, with his family of retainers and doubtless a number of Welsh adventurers who hoped to get something in the new land. Where Budic landed we do not know. The date of his arrival was about the year 545. Soon after Anauved became a mother again, of a son who was named Oudoceus.

Now some time previously, before Budic had heard of the change of aspect of affairs in Brittany, his brother-in-law, Teilo, had exacted from him a solemn promise, that, if he became again a father, he would give this child to the Church. As De la Borderie says, "L'évêque semble avoir voulu confisquer à son profit toute la lignée de sa sœur Anaumed."[4]

[1] Aircol Lawhir, according to the *Book of Llan Dâv*, was son of Tryfun, and was King of Dyfed. The early pedigrees (*circa* tenth century) in *Harleian MS.* 3,859 give him as a son of Triphun map Clotri, of the line of Constantius and Helen, and as father of Guortepir, who was the father of Cincar, etc. *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, p. 171.

[2] In the original, "Anauued, daughter of Ensic, whose mother was Guenhaf, daughter of Liuonui, from which Anaumed" (*sic*), etc. The correcter form of Ensic's name is Usyllt.

[3] "Missis legatis ad eum de nativa sua regione Cornugallia ut sine mora cum tota sua familia et auxilio Brittannorum ad recipiendum regnum Armoricæ gentis veniret, defuncto rege eorum illum volebant recipere natum de regali progenie." *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 130.

[4] *Hist. de Bretagne*, i, p. 435.

Possibly Budic might have found it convenient to forget his promise, but Teilo came to his territories, met him and insisted on his observance of the vow.

About a couple of years after Budic had gone to Cornubia the terrible Yellow Plague broke out in Wales, 547; and Teilo, who thought that the better part of valour was discretion, fled to Armorica, and remained there nearly eight years. Budic's hesitation about surrendering his son was overcome when his wife presented him with a fourth, Tewdrig. Then, knowing what was certain to ensue after his death, if he left two brothers to contend for the sovereignty, he readily enough allowed Telio to remove Oudoceus from the land, and thus secure him from being murdered, as had been Meliau by his brother Rivold.

Before proceeding to the further life of Oudoceus, it may be as well to relate what followed in Brittany.

Budic can hardly have lived beyond 570, and Tewdrig was born about 550. Budic was concerned about the future of his son, and he accordingly entered into an arrangement with Macliau, Bishop of Vannes, and Count of Broweroc, by which each engaged to defend and protect the other's children, in the event of one of them dying, and this alliance was sealed by an oath.

No sooner, however, was Budic dead, than Macliau entered Cornubia and expelled Tewdrig, who remained for long a wanderer. However, he did not lose courage, and in 577, having collected a body of followers, he swooped down on the Bishop, killed him and his son James, and recovered possession of Cornubia.[1]

Oudoceus was born about 545 or 546, when his father Budic returned to Cornugallia or Cornubia in Brittany, and in 556, when Teilo with his refugees from the Yellow Plague went back to Wales, Oudoceus accompanied him.

We do not know the date of the death of Teilo; accordingly not that of Oudoceus's succession to the abbacy and bishopric; but he can hardly have been under thirty-five when elected into the room of his uncle. That would be in 580.

He does not seem to have revisited Brittany. His brother Tewdrig was prince then in Cornubia, and Oudoceus may have thought it inadvisable to appear in his territories, lest Tewdrig, who was his junior by a few years, should misunderstand his purpose in returning, and have his throat cut. But doubtless he sent some of Teilo's disciples to the foundations made by that saint in Armorica, to see to their welfare and maintenance in good discipline. He had, moreover, plenty to

[1] Greg. Turon., *Hist. Franc.*, iv, c. 16.

occupy him in Wales. He was particularly interested in assuring his hold over Penally and Llandeilo Fawr. We are informed that he visited them and met with an unpleasant experience on his way back. He had gone there relic-hunting. Returning from a visit to S. David's with some relics, he went to Llandeilo Fawr, where he collected "relics of the disciples of S. Teilo his maternal uncle, and these he placed in a suitable coffer." [1] From Llandeilo Fawr he went on to Penallt in Cydweli, his "family bearing the relics reverently, the holy cross going before, and singing psalms." Then certain men rushed down on them from the rocks shouting, "Shall these clerics get away, laden with gold and silver, and, with so to speak, the treasure of Saints Dewi and Teilo? Let us catch them, and enrich ourselves with the great store of gold and silver metal." [2]

The legend as a matter of course makes the men become rigid and blind, till restored by the prayer of S. Oudoceus. What really took place was probably this. Oudoceus had nothing to do with S. David, and never went to his shrine at all, but he did desire to get hold of the body of his uncle that was preserved at Llandeilo Fawr; and, at the same time, he carried off all the gold and revenue he could collect in that place and Penallt. The men of Penallt, and probably those also of Llandeilo Fawr, did not relish this; the prosperity of their churches depended on the possession of relics of their founder; as little were they pleased to be despoiled of the treasure in metal, and to have to pay dues, and probably arrears, to the representatives of Teilo. A disturbance ensued, but a compromise was effected.

Another story told of S. Oudoceus is, that, when he was thirsty one day, passing some women who were washing butter, he asked for a draught of water. They answered, laughing, that they had no vessel from which he could drink. Then he took a pat of butter, moulded it into the shape of a bell, filled it at the spring, and drank out of it. And, lo! it was converted into a golden bell; and so it remained in the Church of Llandaff till it was melted up by the Commissioners of Henry VIII.

Einion, King of Glywysing (roughly, modern Glamorganshire), was hunting one day, and the stag took refuge under the cloak of S. Oudoceus. The saint seized the occasion to beg the prince to make him a

[1] "Quod sibi placuit de sacris reliquiis sumpsit . . . et secum attulit, et de loco suo proprio Lan Teliau maur sumpsit secum de reliquiis discipulorum Sancti Teliaui matruelis sui." *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 135.

[2] "Nunquid clerici isti onerati auro et argento et ut sic dicamus thesauro sanctorum Deui et Teliaui de manibus nostris evadant? Immo capientur, et ablatis illis omnibus rebus suis ditemur multo pondere metalli auri et argenti." *Ibid.*

grant of that bit of land, on the Wye, now represented by the parish of Llandogo, which the stag had encompassed in the day's hunt. The possessions of the abbey of Teilo beyond the Towy created friction. Cadwgan, the king, determined to drive Oudoceus out of them, and Oudoceus, unable to resist by force of arms, cursed his territory, and from that time forth the jurisdiction over Penally, Llandeilo Fawr, and Llanddowror seems to have ceased,[1] though the biographer pretends that Cadwgan was brought to his knees and obliged to make restitution.

In the time of Oudoceus began the ravages of the Saxons in Gwent. In 577 the fatal battle of Deorham had cut off the Britons of Wales from those in Devon and Cornwall, and it had left the Severn Valley and those of the Wye and Usk open to be entered and ravaged at any time. The Hwiccas had settled in the rich land of Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, and as they stretched their limbs, they laid hold of ever more and more soil and wrenched it from the Britons. They crossed the Wye, laid Ewyas waste, and devastated the valleys of the Dore and of the Worm.[2] A slice of what is now Herefordshire was lost to the British.

One day, when Oudoceus was wrapt in devotion, sobbing and crying, a monk ran to him with the announcement that some beams that had been cut for his buildings, and had been left where hewn, in the wood, were being carried off. Oudoceus jumped up, seized a hatchet, and ran off to the banks of the Wye to see after his beams, and found that the depredator was none other than Gildas the historian, who was just then spending some time in retreat on the Isle of Echni (the Flat Holm) in the Bristol Channel, and who wanted timber for his own buildings.

Oudoceus shouted to him, as he rowed away with the beams, to come back and restore or apologize, but Gildas turned a deaf ear to entreaty and objurgation, and Oudoceus in a rage brought down his axe on a mass of stone hard by with such force as to split it, and the split remained as witness to the same till the time when the biographer wrote.

Unhappily for him, the story is chronologically impossible. Gildas

[1] "Volens (rex) sanctum virum cum sua familia expellere de patria sua ultra Tyui, et sanctus Oudoceus reliquit patriam illius sub maledictione, et ab illo tempore remansit parrochia dividente Tyui duos episcopatus sicut dividebat duo regna." *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 133.

[2] "In tempore suo venerunt tribulationes et vastationes Saxonum in dextralem Britanniam, et maxime in confinium episcopatus sui, in tantum quod vi supervenientis gentis Saxonicæ parrochiam suam a Mochros supra ripam Guy ex illa parte usque ad rivulum Dor, ex ista parte et usque ad Gurmuy [the Worm], et ad ostium Taratyr [the stream by Dindor] in Guy flumine. Et factis his vastationibus ex utraque parte super parrochiam episcopatus." *Ibid.*, pp. 133–4.

died in 570, and Oudoceus was not bishop till 580. All we can conclude from the story is, that the remembrance of Gildas as a masterful and unscrupulous man lingered on. The story may be true so far that it belonged to an earlier period, and to Teilo, and later on attached itself to Oudoceus.

Meurig, the King of Morganwg, had committed murder. The case was gross, for he and Cynuetu, whom he slew, had come before Oudoceus and had sworn over relics to keep peace and friendship together. Very soon after, Meurig killed Cynuetu. Thereupon, Oudoceus called together the three abbots of most consequence in the district, Concen, Abbot of Llancarfan, Catgen, Abbot of Llantwit, and Sulgen, Abbot of Llandough, and hurled a curse upon the King and all his family, and cut off his land by interdict from Baptism and Communion, for the space of two years and more.[1]

The statement is open to grave objection. It is the earliest known incidence of an interdict on a land and its innocent people. No such a far-reaching interdict was known in the Western Church till the eleventh century at the earliest. Excommunications there were, and censures, but the monstrous iniquity of a general interdict was reserved for popes to commit. Almost, if not the first instance is that of Hadrian IV, in 1155, who put Rome under an interdict because a Cardinal had been mortally wounded in a popular tumult; but Louis VI had been threatened with one earlier in the same century, for laying his hands on Church property. Alexander III, in 1180, placed Scotland under an interdict. It is true that in the Life of S. Eligius, *d.c.* 659, written at the close of the seventh century, that saint is said to have interdicted the celebration of Divine Service in a certain church, because the priest thereof had refused obedience to his commands; but that was a different thing to an interdict on a whole people.

The Celtic abbots and bishops were free enough with their curses, but they never sank quite to such a depth as to involve the innocent with the guilty in excommunication.

Meurig was brought to penance and to pay for remission by making over four "villas" to the see of Llandaff.

Morgan, another King of Morganwg, had appeared at Llandaff, with his uncle Frioc, to take oath that they would live together in amity. Nevertheless, Morgan treacherously slew his uncle. Another synod was called, and he was put to penance, and obliged to release the monasteries of Llancarfan, Llantwit and Llandough from all royal services before he could obtain absolution.[2]

[1] *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 147. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 152–4.

Guidnerth of Gwent had basely murdered his brother. This was a practice so common, and recognized as a matter of course, that he was surprised to find that Oudoceus regarded it in a serious light. Oudoceus excommunicated him for three years, and afterwards bade him leave Britain, and remain for a year in exile in Armorica.[1]

The *Book of Llan Dâv* bears abundant testimony to the brutal savagery and the unbridled lust that prevailed in the sixth century. If Teilo and Oudoceus and his successors made the princes and other delinquents pay heavily for absolution, it was because through their pockets their consciences could be reached, and the truth impressed upon them that murder and adultery were sins against God as well as man. There can be very little doubt that Oudoceus was a strong man, and that his politic act in bringing the three great abbots of the three monasteries of Morganwg to act with him, paved the way to the supremacy of the abbey of Llandaff, and the formation of the episcopal diocese with episcopal rule over Morganwg. Oudoceus died on July 2, at Llandogo, which he had chosen as his retreat, near the close of his life.

The year in which he died is not known; if seventy years old, then the date was about 615.

Into the Life of Oudoceus was thrust a statement, absolutely destitute of foundation, that he had gone to Canterbury and had tendered his submission to S. Augustine, and had received consecration from his hands.[2] As Rees well says, "The legend, for it deserves no better name, is so contrary to authentic history, and inconsistent with the state of the Welsh Church for two centuries after the time of Oudoceus, that it does not require a serious refutation."[3]

Oudoceus managed to extend the patrimony of the Church of S. Teilo into Brecknock, and to extend it in Monmouthshire. The grants recorded in the *Book of Llan Dâv* as made to him must not be accepted without caution. In one it is said that he had lost Lann Cyngualan, in Gower, from the time of the Yellow Plague till that of Athrwys, son of Meurig.[4] Oudoceus did not come to Wales till the plague was over. But perhaps we may read this as a loss of this estate to the Church of Llandaff from 547, not to Oudoceus personally.

S. Oudoceus has found his way into many English Calendars. He is in that of the Sarum Missal, that of York, and that of Hereford. He is

[1] *Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 180–1.
[2] "Missus est sanctus Oudoceus cum clericis suis predictis Merchui et Elguoret et Gunnbiu, cum legatis trium abbatum et regis et principum ad Doroborensem civitatem ad beatum Archiepiscopum ubi sacratus est." *Ibid.*, p. 132.
[3] Rees, *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 274. [4] *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 144.

in the Oxford Calendar ; in that of Canterbury Cathedral, *circa* 1050 ; in the Exeter Calendar of the end of the twelfth century, *Harl. MS.* 863 ; in the S. Alban's Calendar of the twelfth century, *MS. Reg.* 2 A. x ; in that of Hyde, of the middle of the eleventh century ; in an Ely Calendar of the thirteenth century, *Harl. MS.* 547 ; in the Tewkesbury Abbey Calendar, *circa* 1250, *MS. Reg.* 8. C. vii ; in the Reading Abbey Calendar, 1220–46, *Cotton MS. Vesp.* E. v ; and many others. This liberal admission into the English Calendars is entirely due to the fable of his having submitted to be consecrated at Canterbury. The one Welsh Calendar in which he is inserted is that in *Allwydd Paradwys*, 1670.

The only church that regards S. Oudoceus as patron, beside the Cathedral Church of Llandaff, where he shares the honour with SS. Dyfrig and Teilo and SS. Peter and Paul, is Llaneuddogwy, now Llandogo, in Monmouthshire.[1] It is on the Wye, a little below Monmouth, and was the place granted to him by King Einion, after whom it was occasionally called Llaneinion.

He was succeeded as Bishop of Llandaff by Berthwyn.

The shrine of S. Oudoceus at Llandaff, as also those of SS. Dyfrig and Teilo, were stripped about the year 1540. The mitred head and an arm of each of the saints' statues, all of silver, got into the possession of one of the canons, but he had to surrender them (about 1557).[2]

S. OWAIN

THE various documents printed in the *Iolo MSS.* are alone responsible for saints of this name. They mention three.

(1) Owain, sometimes called Owain Finddu, or the Black-lipped, the son of Macsen Wledig (the Emperor Maximus) by Elen Luyddog, of Carnarvon.[3] He had as brothers, Ednyfed, Peblig, and Cystennin, and is said to have been the father of S. Madog. No churches are mentioned as being dedicated to him.

Triads of the Third (or latest) Series assert that, after the departure

[1] Willis, *Llandaff*, 1719, append., p. 9, wrongly gives it as dedicated to "S. Dochoe, Nov. 25." "Fontem Sancti Eudaci" is mentioned in a document *circa* 1190 as being in the parish of Dixton, by Monmouth, and falling into the Wye at Hadnock.

[2] *Arch. Camb.*, 1887, pp. 226, 229, 233 ; *Cardiff Records*, 1898, i, p. 376. Leland, *Collect.*, 1774, i, p. 104, says, "Cranium S. Odothei apud LLandaf."

[3] *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 113, 138. The pedigrees in *Jesus College MS.* 20 make him father of Nor, and son of Maximianus, i.e. Maximus.

of the Romans, he was elected by national convention to be supreme ruler of Britain. Under him, it is said, Britain was restored to a state of independence, and the annual tribute, which had been paid to the Romans since the days of Julius Cæsar, was discontinued.[1]

He is buried at Dinas Ffaraon, now known as Dinas Emrys, near Beddgelert, having been slain by a Goidelic giant named Eurnach or Urnach, on whom Owain at the same time inflicted a deadly wound.[2]

(2) Owain, son of Urien Rheged, who is said to have been the founder of the church and castle of Aberllychwr, or Loughor, in Glamorganshire ; but he was a distinguished warrior and hero of Romance rather than a saint.

According to the "Stanzas of the Warriors' Graves" he was buried at Llanmorfael, i.e. Loughor, a church said to have been originally founded by the mythical Brân Fendigaid.[3] He was the father of S. Kentigern.

(3) Owain, son of the tenth century Glamorgan King, Morgan Hên, who "built the church and castle at Ystrad Owen (in Glamorgan), where he and his wife were buried."[4] The church is regarded as being dedicated to a S. Owain ; and Browne Willis gives August 14 as the parish feast.[5]

Not one of the three has any title to be included among the Welsh Saints.

It may be well to mention that there is no relationship whatever between the Welsh name Owain or Owen and that of S. Ouen or Owen (from Audoenus), the seventh century bishop and patron of Rouen, who has several dedications in England, and is commemorated on August 24. No doubt Willis meant him, but made a mistake in the date.

S. PABAI, Confessor

THIS saint was a son of Brychan. In the two *Cognatio* versions his name is spelt Papay, and in *Jesus College MS.* 20, Papai, but in the later lists, Pabal, Pabiali, and Ffabiali. He, and his two brothers, Neffei and Pasgen, were sons of Brychan by his Spanish wife Proistri.

[1] *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 402–4.

[2] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 81 ; *Greal*, 1805, p. 18 ; Sir J. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, pp. 564–5.

[3] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 38. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 221.

[5] *Llandaff*, 1719, append., p. 1 ; *Paroch. Anglic.*, 1733, p. 178.

The three went to Spain, where they became "Saints and principals" (*penrheithiau*).[1]

S. PABO, King, Confessor

PABO was the son of Arthwys ab Mar ab Ceneu ab Coel, and one of the Men of the North.[2] He is usually called Pabo Post Prydain (Prydyn), i.e. Pabo the Pillar or Bulwark of Pictland, which implies that he was a great war "prop" to his countrymen in North Britain.[3] In the Old-Welsh genealogies in *Harleian MS.* 3,859 his pedigree is given in an incorrect form, Pappo Post Priten map Ceneu map Coyl hen.[4] He was brother to Eliffer Gosgorddfawr, Ceidio, and Cynfelyn, and father of Dunawd, Cerwydd, Sawyl Benisel (also Benuchel), and Arddun Benasgell.

"He was a King in the North, and was driven from his country by the Gwyddyl Ffichti (Pictish Goidels) and came to Wales, where he received lands (in Powys) from Cyngen Deyrnllwg, the son of Cadell Deyrnllwg, and his son Brochwel Ysgythrog."[5] Topographically, however, he is entirely associated with Gwynedd. He founded the Church of Llanbabo, subject to Llanddeusant, in Anglesey, and there is a Llanbabo near Llyn Padarn, in Carnarvonshire, and near Conway, in the parish of Llangystenin, are Pabo hamlet, Hill, and Station.

He has been supposed to be "the oldest of the saints of Anglesey,"[6] where he is traditionally called "King Pabo." He is buried there at

[1] *Peniarth MS.* 178 (sixteenth century), p. 21.; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 119, 140; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 419, 425, 428; Dwnn, *Heraldic Visitations of Wales*, ii, p, 14.

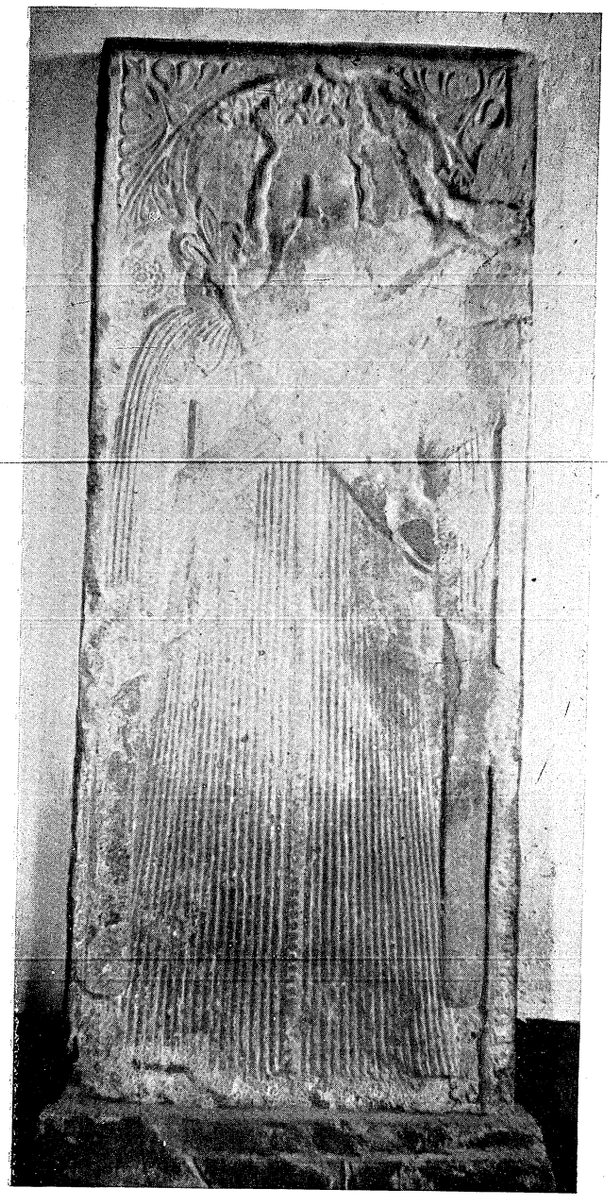
[2] *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd*; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 428; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 105. On p.125 of the last named work, Gwenasedd, mother of S. Asaph, is wrongly stated to have been his wife instead of his son Sawyl's. Pabo is a rare name; it occurs also in the pedigree of the mythical Beli Mawr as given in *Peniarth MS.* 131, p. 77. Sir J. Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, p. 298, derives, palæographically, the name Palomydes from Pabo. Pabu enters into several Breton place-names, such as Lan-babu, Trebabu, etc. It is a name given by the Bretons to S. Tudwal. The parishioners of Llanbabo were formerly generally called "Gwyr Pabo."

[3] The epithet "Post Prydein" is given also by Llywarch Hên to Urien Rheged (Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, p. 268; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 85), and by Llygad Gwr to Gruffydd ab Madog (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 238). For references to the similar epithet, "Post Cad Ynys Prydain," see ii, p. 383.

[4] *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, pp. 174, 179.

[5] *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 126–7. He is said to have been granted the site of Llanbabo by Cadwallon Lawhir.

[6] *Myv. Arch.*, p. 428.



S. PABO.
From slab at Llanbabo.
(Photo by Wm. Marriott Dodson.)

Llanbabo, where is a large sculptured slab, with his figure and the legend, in Lombardic capitals, " HIC IACET PABO POST PRVD . . ." [1] The church is an unpretending little structure, of the fourteenth century, situated on a lonely ridge. Lewis Morris wrote, " There is a tradition at Llanbabo that Pabo and a son and daughter of his were buried in that churchyard, over against certain faces cut in stones to be seen to this day in the south wall of that church, and against one of these faces Pabo's tombstone was by accident discovered in Charles II's time, as I was informed in 1730, or thereabouts." [2] It was found by the sexton, about six feet down, in digging a grave. The slab is now set upright against the south wall inside the church, by the font. The effigy is of about the middle of the fourteenth century, when the church was rebuilt. The head is crowned with a simple circlet and three fleurs-de-lis, and in the right hand is a sceptre. The sculptor who designedand executed it appears to have also sculptured S. Iestyn in Llaniestyn church, in the same island. Pabo himself lived during parts of the fifth and sixth centuries, for his son Dunawd, according to the *Annales Cambriæ*, died in 595.

A tradition states, in the following lines, that he and his queen were buried at Llanerchymedd, which is not far distant from Llanbabo—

Yn Llanerch'medd ym Mondo
Y claddwyd Brenin Pabo,
A'r frenhines deg ei gwedd,
Yn Llanerch'medd mae hono.[3]

Pabo's festival is November 9, which occurs in the calendars in the *Iolo MSS.*, the Welsh Prymers of 1618 and 1633, *Allwydd Paradwys* (1670), and in a number of Welsh almanacks of the eighteenth century.

S. PADARN, Abbot, Bishop, Confessor

THE main authority for the Life of S. Paternus or Padarn is a *Vita* in the *Cotton MS.* Vespasian A. xiv (early thirteenth century), published by Rees in the *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 188–97. This had

[1] *Arch. Camb.*, 1861, pp. 299–300 ; 1874, pp. 110–2 ; 1908, pp. 95–8 ; Westwood, *Lapidarium Walliæ*, 1876–9, p. 193 ; where there are illustrations of the slab.

[2] *Celtic Remains*, pp. 339–41 ; Angharad Llwyd, *Hist. of Anglesey*, 1833, p. 216. The effigy is also referred to in the *Morris Letters*, ed. J. H. Davies, 1907–9, i, p. 286 ; ii, pp. 91, 93, 101–2.

[3] The last part of the first line is sometimes given as " ym Môn, do," ; and for the last line is substituted, " Ym mynwent Eglwys Ceidio," a chapel subject to Llanerchymedd.

been seen by John of Tynemouth, who condensed it (*Cotton MS.* Tiberius E. i), and his version was printed in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ* (ed. 1901, ii, pp. 274–9), and republished by the Bollandists, *Acta SS.*, April 15, ii, pp. 379–82. Fragments more or less extended of this Life passed into the Breviaries of Tréguier, S. Malo, etc. There is also a Life in the Breviary of Léon, 1516, but it is late, and confounds Paternus of Vannes with his namesake of Avranches.

M. de la Borderie in his *Saint Paterne, sa legende et son histoire*, Vannes, 1892, made an attempt to analyse the Life, with partial success. Mgr. L. Duchesne's *Saint Paterne, evêque de Vannes*, in the *Revue Celtique*, 1893, is a further contribution.

The *Vita* was originally composed in Wales, and contains a good amount of genuine historical tradition; but this fell into the hands of an ecclesiastic of Vannes, who altered and adapted it for polemical purposes. In many an instance a knowledge of the localities where a saint passed his life is the best possible commentary on the documentary record. We trust by this means to clear up one of the main difficulties encountered by students of the Life of S. Padarn.

It will be well, first of all, to give a summary of his legend before proceeding to its critical examination.

Padarn was born in Armorica, and was the son of Petran and Guean, and was of noble race. Petran abandoned his wife and child that he might go to Britain to embrace the religious life. But from Britain he went on to Ireland, there to complete his monastic training. Padarn remained with his mother.

One day, she had laid in the window the cloth intended as a garment for her boy, when an eagle swooped down, carried it off, and lined his nest with it. At the end of a twelvemonth, the cloth was recovered uninjured, and was put to the use for which it was originally intended. Years passed, and then Padarn resolved on going in quest of his father. He departed to Britain with a large company of monks. The names of three other leaders of companies, who were his cousins, were Hetinlau, Catman, and Titechon. In the Breviary of S. Malo they are given as Tinlatu, Cathinam, and Techo. In the Legendarium of Tréguier they are Cuilan, Cathinan, and Techocho.

The companies reached Britain, and Padarn settled with his party in Mauritana, where he became the head of a monastery containing 847 monks. After having organized it, he departed for Ireland, where he found his father, but was quite unable to induce him to return to his wife and domestic duties.

In Ireland two Kings were at this time engaged in warfare—quite an ordinary condition of affairs—and Padarn succeeded in reconciling

them. That accomplished, Padarn returned to his monastery in Britain, which he found in a flourishing condition, and augmented by the arrival of a monk named Nimannauc, who had crossed over from Letavia on a floating rock.

Padarn now founded a number of churches in Ceretica, and confided them to his disciples Samson, Guinnius, Guipper and Nimannauc. The peace of his community was speedily disturbed by Maelgwn Gwynedd, who made war on Deheubarth, and arrived with a large army at the mouth of the Clarach. To find an excuse for pillaging the property of Padarn, Maelgwn left with him a number of hampers, which, he said, contained his treasure. On his return he demanded them back, when they were found to be filled with moss and gravel only. Padarn vowed that he had not meddled with the contents, and demanded of Maelgwn that he and his two stewards, who had placed the hampers in his custody, should undergo the ordeal of plunging their hands in boiling water. The stewards scalded their hands and arms, but those of Padarn were unhurt. Maelgwn was struck with blindness, and only recovered his sight at the intercession of the Saint. He then made a grant of land to Padarn between the rivers Retiaul (Rheidol) and Clarach.

Soon after, an angel bade S. David take with him Padarn and Teilo and go to Jerusalem. The three accordingly visited the holy city, where they were consecrated by the Archbishop; and Padarn received from him a present of a choral cope and a staff. On their return the three divided Britain into three dioceses between them.

The tunic was the occasion of a dispute with "a certain *tyrannus*, named Arthur," who demanded that it should be given to him. As this was refused he stormed and threatened, when the earth swallowed him up to the chin. Only on his making humble apology was he released from his unpleasant and humiliating situation.[1]

Caradog Freichfras, in those days, extended his kingdom beyond Britain into Letavia. Then the Armoricans came to him, beseeching him to induce Padarn to return to them. On his visiting Britain, Caradog accordingly went to Padarn, and requested him to accompany him to Letavia, and become there the religious instructor of the people.

Now Padarn had spent twenty-one years in Wales, and had ruled over three churches. The first had formerly been called the Plain of Heli, but after he had settled there it became the metropolis of Padarn; the second, further inland, was called Agam's Cross,[2] where he had

[1] The story was probably associated with the place-name Llys Arthur, in the parish of Llanbadarn.

[2] This has been identified with Llangorwen. Owen's *Pembrokeshire*. ii, p. 449.

overcome Maelgwn's stewards,[1] Graban and Terillan; and the third where was his place of solitary retreat. He had spent seven years in each. Caradog induced Padarn to accompany him, and this with the undertaking that, whilst he was absent, none should interfere with his foundations in Wales. Padarn then bade farewell to his monks, and accompanied Caradog into Letavia, "ubi multa a falsis fratribus pertulit."

Now at this time Samson exercised metropolitan authority over all the churches of Armorica, and received a tribute from them all. As he was going round his vast diocese, he came near to Guenet, where Padarn had built a monastery. Then one of Samson's monks maliciously advised him to order Padarn to come to him, in token of submission to his authority. This he did, and the message reached Padarn as he was dressing, and forthwith, half clothed, with one boot and stocking on, he ran to meet Samson. The metropolitan was so pleased with this token of obedience that he ordained "that although all the dioceses throughout Letavia should pay tribute to him, the diocese of S. Padarn should be free from this charge."

"And the city of Guenet is the episcopal seat of S. Padarn, in which is a church of S. Peter the Apostle." This Caradog appointed, retaining therein for himself only one hall. "After these things the Saints appointed seven dioceses throughout Letavia, and that they should assemble on a mountain, and confirm their union to remain for ever. In which synod Padarn suffered much from envious and false brethren, and he confirmed his union with the six principal Saints, he the seventh." However, fearing lest through their intolerance some occasion of quarrel should arise, he left Letavia, and went among the Franks where he died on the 17th of the Kalends of May (April 15).

"And the Armoricans celebrate those three solemnities, that is to say, the Kalends of November when he formed perpetual union with the principal Saints of Letavia, and the day of his decease, and the day on which he received episcopal ordination, namely, the 12th of the Kalends of July" (June 20).

After the death of Padarn Letavia was afflicted with famine, and considering that this was due to the loss of the relics of S. Padarn, driven out of the country "by false and injurious brethren," the people of Armorica sent into the land of the Franks, and brought back his body, and laid it in the city of Guenet.

The narrative concludes with an epilogue.

Whilst Padarn was at Jerusalem, in the presence of the Patriarch, the three southern kingdoms were placed under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the three Saints. S. Padarn obtained episcopal rule over the kingdom of Seisil; S. David over that of Rein, and S. Teilo over that of Morgant.

[1] In the MS. *pretores*, not *precones*, as printed.

Now, on a certain day, one of his servants, who had gone into the woods, fell among thieves and was murdered. On inquiry it turned out that the murderers were the servants of the governor, Eithir.[1] And as blood-fine, Eithir was compelled to grant land to Padarn from the ditch of Liuluuin between two rivers, the Retiaul (Rheidol) and the Peit (Paith), to the sea coast. And Padarn informed Eithir, son of Arthat, that he should be honourably buried in the cemetery of his church, where his solemnity would be celebrated ever afterwards by the religious community there.

Such is the Legend, which we shall now proceed to dissect.

There were three Saints of the name of Paternus, or Padarn.

(1) Paternus, first Bishop of Vannes, appointed to that See in a Council held at Vannes in 465, or within a year or two of that date. Of him nothing authentic is known beyond this solitary fact.

(2) Paternus, Bishop of Avranches, 552–65, whose Life was written by Venantius Fortunatus, and is published in Mabillon, *Acta SS. O. S. B.*, sæc. i, pp. 152–3, ed. 1668; better and fuller, sæc. ii, append., pp. 1,100–1,104; and in *Acta SS. Boll.*, April 16, ii, pp. 427–50. See also Surius, April 16, ii, p. 180. He was born at Poitiers, and brought up by his mother Julitta, a widow for nearly sixty years. He was sent to the monastery of Enesio or Ansion, now Saint Jouin; then embraced a solitary life, at Sesci, now Saint Pair, near Granville, about 510; was chosen Bishop of Avranches in or about 552; subscribed the decrees of the Council of Paris in 555 or 557; and died at Saint Pair about 565.

He was accordingly contemporary with the third Paternus, and in his youth was in somewhat similar circumstances. He was brought up by a widowed mother, Julitta, and the third Paternus by the grass-widow, Guean. This has led to a confounding of Guean with Julitta. In the Léon Breviary of 1516 the mother of Paternus of Vannes is given as Julitta, and the lections are taken textually from the Life of Paternus of Avranches by Fortunatus, only in place of Paternus (of Avranches) going to Neustria and becoming Bishop of Avranches, he is made to go to Vannes and become bishop there.

(3) Paternus, Bishop of Llanbadarn Fawr, was called Padarn in Wales, and the Welsh genealogies give as the name of his father

[1] The *satrapa*'s name is, no doubt, preserved in Lan Eithyr, on the Mynach, above Devil's Bridge. The Paith joins the Ystwyth at Rhyd y Felin, a little way from Aberystwyth.

Pedrwn,[1] which is the Petran of the *Vita*. Pedrwn was brother of Amwn Ddu and of Umbrafel and of Gwen Teirbron, mother of S. Cadfan.

The migration to Britain was not so voluntary and inspired by so austere a motive as is represented in the Legend. All the brothers had been constrained to fly, probably from the ambition of one of them, that may have been the father of Weroc, who established himself as Count of Vannes.

The grandfather of Padarn was Emyr Llydaw, and he was of Broweroc, which is the present department of Morbihan, and which obtained its name from Weroc who obtained the mastery over the whole of it. Amwn, Umbrafel, and Gwyndaf Hên, brothers of Pedrwn, took refuge in Morganwg, and married three sisters, daughters of Meurig ab Tewdrig, the King. But as Pedrwn had been married in Armorica, before the exodus, it is probable that he was older than the others.

When Padarn came to Wales he settled where is now Llanbadarn Fawr, on Cardigan Bay, by Aberystwyth, which the author of his Life calls Mauritana, "maritima ecclesia," and "ecclesia in maritima." The place had formerly been called Campus (in Welsh, Maes) Heli, from *heli*, "brine," which was translated "maritima," of which, in all probability, Mauritana is a corruption. The parish of Llanbadarn is a very extensive one still, but anciently it embraced an area of about 125,000 acres.[2]

Of the companions of Padarn, his cousins (*consobrini*), Titechon, Techocho, or Techo, can be identified as Tydecho, son of Amwn Ddu, who we must suppose had come over to Llydaw, to see how matters stood, and whether there was any chance of recovering the rights of the family in Broweroc. Catman or Cathinan is Cadfan, who is said to have crossed with Padarn and Tydecho. Hetinlau (for which we should possibly read Ketinlau), Tinlatu, or Cuilan is not so easily identified, but it is not improbable that Cynllo is meant.[3]

Others named by the Welsh authorities as having come over are Cynon, Trunio, Dochdwy, Mael, Sulien, Tanwg, Eithras, Sadwrn, Lleüddad, Tecwyn, Maelrys, and Henwyn. Trunio was first cousin of Padarn, son of Dyfwng. Sadwrn was son of Bicanys of Armorica, and nephew of Emyr Llydaw. Lleuddad was son of Alan ab Emyr Llydaw, and Maelrys son of Gwyddno ab Emyr, and accordingly both

[1] *Peniarth MSS.* 12, 16, 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 428, etc. In the *Iolo MSS.* Pedrwn is called, on p. 105, Pedredin, and on p. 133, Pedryn.

[2] Bevan, *S. David's*, S.P.C.K., 1888, p. 103

[3] Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, p. 454. But Cynllo could be "cousin" only in a remote degree. He has dedications in South Cardiganshire.

his cousins; so was also Henwyn, son of Gwyndaf. It would seem then that this was a second family migration, caused perhaps by Weroc, who would not parcel up the authority he exercised among these claimants to family rights and territories.

The reason assigned for the grant of land made by Maelgwn Gwynedd to Padarn is that he was defeated in a fraudulent attempt to obtain an excuse for pillaging Llanbadarn. But the trial by ordeal of boiling water is a mediæval importation into the story.

Maelgwn was struck by blindness. This unfortunate and much abused King is said also to have been blinded by S. Kentigern, for invasion of privilege, and to have been restored at the prayers of the Saint. He was also surrounded by thick darkness, so that he could not see, by S. Cadoc, and similarly relieved; then for a second offence again blinded, and again restored. He must have become quite accustomed to these alternating deprivations of sight and recovery.

The disciples of Padarn are said to have been his first cousin, Samson, Guinnius, Guipper, and Nimannauc. Guinnius may be the saint who has given his name to Llanwynio, in Carmarthenshire, or to Llanwnws, in Cardiganshire. That Samson was with Padarn is not stated in the Life of S. Samson, but it is very probable that he visited and stayed with his cousin for a while. Near the entrance to Llanbadarn Church is an ancient stone called Carreg Samson, and there is another with the same name on the mountain near Llanddewi Brefi.

The story of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the ordination by the Patriarch, and the division of South Wales into three dioceses made before him, was a deliberate fabrication of the Welsh ecclesiastics in the twelfth century, when they were struggling to maintain their independence, and that of their churches, from subjection to Canterbury. This can hardly have been invented before 1100. The story was adopted into the Lives of S. David and S. Teilo, with notable differences. The biographer of each of these latter Saints strove to accommodate the incident to the exaltation of the See of Menevia or of Llandaff respectively.

There is in the Legend of S. Padarn no indication of the See of Llanbadarn having been merged in that of Menevia, which took place after 720. It is therefore probable that there was extant some very early Life of the Saint, certainly of Welsh origin, which was embroidered on by a redactor in the twelfth century, and, as we shall see presently, further altered and disfigured by a second redactor in Vannes.

The diocese of Llanbadarn extended over portions of Cardiganshire, Brecknockshire, and Radnorshire, and the stories of the quarrels of Padarn with Maelgwn and with Arthur are introduced for the purpose

of explaining the tenure of lands in these parts by the church of Llanbadarn. Arthur is spoken of as a tyrant, and wholly without heroic qualities, showing that the Life was composed before Geoffrey of Monmouth had thrown a false glamour over this rather disreputable prince, who generally figures in the Legends of the Welsh Saints as an egregious bully, with nothing of the "White Arthur" about him.

The next episode in the Life is that of Caradog Freichfras extending his rule into Vannes, and installing Padarn as Bishop there. This is utterly unhistorical. Weroc was Count still, till about 550, possibly a year or two later, when he died at an advanced age, and was succeeded by his son Canao. Albert le Grand, in a vain attempt to accommodate history to fable, proposed to identify Weroc with Caradog. The Bishop of Vannes at this period was Modestus, who subscribed the decrees of the first Council of Orleans in 511, and he was succeeded by Macliau, son of Weroc, who forced himself into the vacant See shortly after 550, and was killed in 577.

The Church of Vannes, dissatisfied with its late origin, has fabled that it possessed three Bishops of the name of Paternus. Le Méné, in his *Histoire du diocese de Vannes*, well says, "En resumé, pour nous, Saint Paterne I est fabuleux," a supposed Paternus of the period of Conan Meriadoc. "Saint Paterne II (mais qui en réalité est bien Saint Paterne I, puisque l'autre n'a pas existé) est le premier evêque de Vannes," i.e., Paternus, appointed by the Council of Vannes, *circa* 465. "Saint Paterne III est étranger au diocèse," i.e. Padarn of Llanbadarn Fawr.

The confusion arose thus:—

Caradog Freichfras was lord of Celliwig, a principality in Cornwall between the Lynher and Tamar, of which the town of Callington and the Manor of Kelliland are the modern shrunken representatives, but which formerly probably extended over the Bodmin Moors. Caradog has given his name to Caradon, the dome-like height that dominates Callington. In this region are to be found the Petherwyns, North and South, dedicated to S. Paternus. The two parishes, together with their daughter churches of Trewen and Werrington, stretch over 18,400 acres. Caradog, as prince of Celliwig, very probably did invite Padarn there, and made over to him the district of Petherwyn. A Breton ecclesiastic of Vannes, reading the Legend of S. Padarn, at once supposed that the name contained, in its suffix, the name of his own Guened, and he was the more satisfied that it did in that his Church venerated a S. Paternus as its bishop. He had at hand no means of verifying dates, and so he concluded that the Paternus of Petherwyn was the Bishop of Vannes.

Very probably, in the Welsh Life, he read of Samson having visited Padarn. In fact, when Samson was on his way to Armorica, he landed at Padstow, where he encountered Winiau, who may be the Guinnius of the Life of S. Padarn, and who was the founder of Lewannick, in proximity to Petherwyn.

S. Samson then travelled along the old Roman road to Camelford, and thence turned south, along what is now the road to Launceston. That he visited his first cousin in Petherwyn, hard by, is more than probable. He could hardly pass him by. He went on thence to Southill. The incident of Padarn running to welcome his cousin, when he heard that he was approaching, half shod as he was,[1] existed in the original story. It is just one of those little touches of nature likely to be true, and very unlikely to form a part of the laboured inventions of professional hagiographers. But when this story came into the hands of the Vannes redactor, he saw his opportunity for making polemical use of it.

Not till 848 was it that Dol was erected into a metropolitan See, and that by Nominoe. The editor of the Life was so ignorant that he was unaware of this, and committed the gross anachronism of making Samson metropolitan of Brittany in the middle of the sixth century, just three centuries too early. Nominoe constituted seven dioceses, Dol, S. Malo, S. Brieuc, Tréguier, S. Pol de Léon, Vannes, and Quimper, and elevated Dol to be an archbishopric with jurisdiction over the other six. Some of these had not been bishoprics before, only abbeys.

Vannes and Quimper writhed under the new arrangement, and sought release, and subjection to the distant Tours, which had laid claim to metropolitan rights over all Brittany, a right not readily acknowledged by the British colonists.

To obtain an excuse for release a Quimper hagiographer fabricated a Life of S. Corentine, which, regardless of chronology, made that Saint seek consecration from S. Martin of Tours; and so the redactor of the Life of S. Padarn used his opportunity of adapting the story of the Saint who bore the same name as the first bishop of Vannes to make him shake himself free from the jurisdiction of Dol. The gathering of the seven Saints on a mountain is another introduction by the editor. Shortly after 550, a gathering of Saints took place on the Menez Bré to curse Conmore, Regent of Domnonia. All we really know about it is due to the Life of S. Huervé that was recomposed in the thirteenth century, and in it, it is represented as a "conventus præsulum et popu-

[1] Similarly, S. David ran, half shod, to save the life of S. Aidan, when informed that there was a project for murdering him. *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 236.

lorum, ut excommunicarent præfectum regis, Conomerum." [1] The redactor knew of this gathering, and, indeed, it was commemorated in the Calendars, and he employed it to suit his purpose. He says nothing about Conmore, but makes it a synod of the seven bishops, who met to confirm their unity and delimit their dioceses. Again he exposes his ignorance in making seven bishoprics in Brittany in the sixth century.

The biographer goes on to relate how that Paternus abandoned his See of Vannes, and departed to the country of the Franks, where he died. "Letaviam deserens, Francos adivit, ibique in Domino obdormivit." The reason of his inserting this was that he had heard of a Paternus of Avranches, who had died there, and he supposed that he must have been the same as his Paternus, whose body in his time reposed at Vannes. So he made the people of Vannes send into the land of the Franks and fetch it thence.

From Welsh sources we derive but little information about S. Padarn. If we may trust the *Iolo MSS.*,[2] he for awhile placed himself under instruction by S. Illtyd. After that he established a community of 120 members in Cardiganshire at Llanbadarn Fawr. The *Vita*, however, gives the number as 847. From the Latin hexameters of John,[3] son of Bishop Sulien of S. David's, and brother of Rhygyfarch, who wrote at the close of the eleventh century, we learn that he was traditionally believed to have remained at the head of Llanbadarn for twenty-one years, and this is confirmed by the Latin Life. In the Life of Elgar the Hermit it is stated that he was buried in Bardsey.[4]

We now come to the chronology of his Life. This is not easy to determine with any approach to exactitude.

It is not possible to determine precisely when took place the migration of the "Chorus ecclesiasticus monachorum" from Armorica, but it was early in the sixth century, probably within the first twenty years of that century.

S. Illtyd founded Llantwit about 476.

If we allow that the meeting between Samson and Padarn took place in Cornwall, that must have been between 525 and 545, if our scheme of chronology of Samson's Life be accepted. It is probable that the Cornish monastic foundation preceded that of Llanbadarn. Padarn was for twenty-one years at this latter centre. During this

[1] De la Borderie, *Saint Hervé*, Rennes, 1892, p. 269. [2] Pp. 105, 132.
[3] At the end of *C.C.C. Camb. MS.* 199, a MS. probably written at Llanbadarn. It contains an invocation to S. Paternus. The hexameters are printed in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., i, pp. 663–7. See also the *Collected Papers of Henry Bradshaw*, 1889, p. 465. [4] *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 3.

period he had skirmishes with Arthur, who fell, according to the *Annales Cambriæ*, in 537, and with Maelgwn, who died in 547.

We have no fixed datum for determining any event in the life of the Saint, and all that we can say relative to his death is that it took place about the middle of the sixth century.

Granting that Llanbadarn was a diocese, and not an archmonastery, with its subordinate settlements or churches, its extent as well as its duration are uncertain. It included, at any rate, the northern half of Cardiganshire, with Breconshire north of the Irfon (which latter seems to have formed the short-lived See of Llanafan, so called), and the western portion of Radnorshire, as defined by the presence of churches dedicated to S. Padarn.[1] Padarn seems to have been succeeded by Cynog, who died in 606 (*Annales Cambriæ*), after having become successor to S. David at S. David's. The last notice of it as a See is in the year 720, when it is recorded that many of the churches of Llandaff, Menevia, and Llanbadarn, meaning the three dioceses of South Wales, were ravaged by the Saxons.[2] Its suppression is said to have been effected in consequence of the murder of their bishop by the people of Llanbadarn.[3] It was merged, probably soon after 720, in the See of S. David's as Llanbadarn had previously absorbed that of Llanafan.

Some trace of the connexion of Llanbadarn Fawr with, and its subordination to, S. David's, lingers in the local tradition that the clergy of Llanbadarn came anciently at stated times with offerings to the clergy of S. David's, and that the canons and clerks of the latter church met them in procession at a place called Pont-halog, and conducted them along a road, now bearing the name of Meidr-y-Saint.[4]

The churches dedicated to S. Padarn in Wales are Llanbadarn Fawr,[5]

[1] It is worthy of note that there are two Afan churches in Breconshire, and one in Cardiganshire, situated in the neighbourhood of Padarn ones. There is a Ffynnon Ddewi also in Llanbadarn Fynydd.
[2] *Brut y Tywysogion* (Gwentian), p. 5, supplement to *Arch. Camb.* for 1864. The church of Llanbadarn has been pillaged, devastated, or burnt down many times—in 720, 987, 1037, 1106, and 1257. The Bishop of Llanbadarn is mentioned, *Iolo MSS.*, p. 147, as having been one of the seven Welsh bishops who "disputed" with S. Augustine. S. Cynydyn ab Bleiddud was a *periglawr* or confessor in Côr Padarn, *ibid.*, p. 125.
[3] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itin. Camb.*, ii, c. 4. His name is not known. It is a mistake to suppose that he was the Idnerth of the Llanddewi Brefi inscription; see Sir J. Rhys, *Origin of the Englyn*, *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. xxviii., pp. 43–6.
[4] Jones and Freeman, *Hist. of S. David's*, 1856, p. 47.
[5] The Radnor church of the name is sometimes given the appendage "ym Maelienydd" (*Peniarth MS.* 147). What is now Aberystwyth was anciently known as Llanbadarn Gaerog (the Fortified). A pool, called Pwll Padarn, can be seen at low ebb between the College rocks and the Castle. It was formerly much used as a bathing place (*Wales*, 1896, iii, p. 64).

Llanbadarn Trefeglwys (or Fach), under Cilcennin, and Llanbadarn Odwyn, under Llanddewi Brefi, in Cardiganshire; and Llanbadarn Fawr, Llanbadarn Fynydd, and Llanbadarn y Garreg, under Cregrina, in Radnorshire. There is a Ffynnon Badarn near Aberllwyfeni, in the parish of Talyllyn, Merionethshire; and a Sarn Badarn (his Causeway) in Llanerfyl, Montgomeryshire, as well as another, still to be seen, on the coast between Prestatyn and Gronant, in Flintshire.[1] At Llanberis, in Carnarvonshire, Padarn has his Nant, Llyn, and Dol. About two centuries ago the remains of a Capel Padarn were visible there at Llwyn Padarn in Dol Badarn, on the lake-side. But these may very well have derived their name from some other Padarn. One of the modern churches of Llanberis is dedicated to S. Padarn.

One of the "Sayings of the Wise" tercets runs[2]:—

> Hast thou heard the saying of Padarn,
> The correct, powerful preacher?
> "What a man does God will judge"
> (A wnelo dyn Duw a'i barn).

Padarn was "an excellent singer," and, in recognition of his talent, received when he was at Jerusalem a staff, or baton, and a silk choral cope.[3]

In the Triads, Dewi, Padarn, and Teilo are distinguished as the "Three Blessed Visitors of the Isle of Britain."[4]

The foundations of the Saint in Devon and Cornwall are North and South Petherwyn. Werrington was another, according to the bull of Celestine III to the Abbey of Tavistock, which speaks of Werrington (Wulrington) as a church of S. Paternus. On the reconstruction of the church it was rededicated to SS. Martin and Giles.

We need not concern ourselves with Breton churches of S. Paternus as they refer to Paternus, Bishop of Vannes, and not at all to this S. Padarn, who never was a Bishop or settler in Armorica.

An early thirteenth century Welsh Calendar, *Cotton MS.* Vesp. A. xiv, gives as his day April 15, the day on which he died. It also gives on September 23, "S^ti^ Paterni Ep. Ordinatio." A pre-Norman Calendar at Evesham (added to later), *Cotton MS.* Vitell. A. xviii, gives only September 23. The Gloucester Calendars of the thirteenth century (*Bodleian MS.* Rawlinson Litt. f. 1), and that in *Jesus Coll. Oxford MS.* cx., and one of the fifteenth century (*Additional MS.* 30,506) give April 15. So does *Allwydd Paradwys*, 1670. Whytford, in his *Addicyons* to the *Martiloge*, also gives April 15. He says, "The feest of saynt Paterne, y^t^ with saynt Dauid went vnto Ierusalē, where he receyued sodeynly y^e^ grace of tōgues to speke in euery lāguage, and was there made bysshop by y^e^ handes of y^e^ patriarke, and after came in to englond where he had the reuelacyon of aūgels, and reysed two persones to lyf, w^t^ many other grete myracles." He makes no mention of the fable of his having been Bishop of Vannes.

In Brittany the following give April 16—MS. Missal of Tréguier, of fifteenth century; Missal of Vannes, 1530, Breviary of Vannes, 1589, Proper of Vannes, 1660 and 1757, and subsequent Propria. Also the Breviary of Quimper, 1642, 1701, and 1835, and the Breviary of Léon, 1516 and 1736. The thirteenth century Breviary of S. Yves and Albert le Grand give the same day, as do also the Welsh Calendars in *Peniarth MS.* 191, the *Iolo MSS.*, *Additional MS.* 14,912, and the Prymer of 1633.

May 21, the Ordination of S. Paternus, is entered in the Vannes Missal, 1530, and in the Breviary of 1586; but in that of 1660 it is altered to "Translatio S^ti^ Paterni."

September 23 is given in the S. Malo Missal of 1609, and in the Breviary of 1537, and in that of Dol of 1519; but the 24th in the MS. Missal of S. Malo of the fifteenth century. June 20 and November 1, mentioned in the *Vita*, do not have him entered in any calendar.

November 12 occurs as a festival of S. Padarn in the Welsh Calendars in *Peniarth MSS.* 187, 219, the *Iolo MSS.*, and the Prymers of 1618 and 1633, but it is the festival of Paternus, Priest, Martyr, at Sens, *circa* 726.

[1] Ashton (Wm.), *Battle of Land and Sea*, 1909, p. 164.

[2] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 255; also in "Verses of the Hearing," *Myv. Arch.*, p. 128.

[3] "Paterno baculus et choralis cappa pretiosissimo serico contexta, eo quod illum egregium cantorem videbant." *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 106. His staff was called *Cirguen* (not *Cerirguen* as in the printed *Vita*), whatever may be its meaning. It is given as *Cyrguenn* in the Old-Welsh quatrain in the *C.C.C. Camb. MS.* already mentioned, printed in *Arch. Camb.*, 1874, p. 340. Is it possible that Llangorwen took its name from the staff? "Cwlwm yr hên Badarn" and "Caniad Gwyddor o waith Pencerdd Padarn" are the names of two old Welsh airs; Ceiriog, *Y Bardd a'r Cerddor*, pp. 47–8.

[4] *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 391, 402.

S. PADOG.

LLANBADOCK, the name of a church and parish a little to the south of the town of Usk, in Monmouthshire, postulates either a saint Padog, or (but much less likely) a brook of the name. Nothing is known of a S. Padog. The church, however, is usually said to be dedicated to S.

Madog ; [1] but the church-name itself undoubtedly points to P as the initial letter. Among the earlier spellings are, Lampadok, in the *Taxatio* of 1291 ; [2] Lanpadoc, 1306–7 ; [3] and Lampaddoc, in the fourteenth century appendix to the *Book of Llan Dâv.*[4]

S. PADRIG AB ALFRYD, Confessor

PADRIG, son of Alfryd ab Goronwy, of Gwaredog in Arfon, lived in the time of S. Elfod, bishop of Caergybi (Holyhead), and was a saint of S. Cybi's *Côr* there, and also of that of S. Beuno at Clynnog. In the late documents he is given for brothers, SS. Meigan, Cyffyllog, and Garmon.[5]

Padrig founded Llanbadrig on the northern coast of Anglesey, on the margin of the cliffs above the sea. The parish is a long, narrow strip of land stretching inland, for about six miles, to Pen Padrig, near Llanbabo. According to one account it was the Apostle of Ireland that founded the church before embarking for Ireland, having been detained some time in Anglesey through stress of weather. The parish wake was held on March 17.[6]

There is, however, another version of the story, which is to this effect, that the saint was wrecked on the Middle Mouse, or Ynys Badrig, a little isle about a mile off the coast, on his way to Wales, from visiting Iona. He succeeded in crossing to the mainland, and built the church on the cliff in memory of his escape. It contains a very early *Chi-Rho* cross. This could be no other than Padrig ab Alfryd, as Iona was not founded till 565. Ffynnon Badrig, the Saint's Holy Well, is reached

[1] Browne Willis, *Paroch. Anglic.*, 1733, p. 206, the *Llandaff Diocesan Calendar*, etc.

[2] P. 278. In the *Taxatio* of 1254 the church is called "Eccl. de Lanmadok."

[3] G. T. Clark, *Cartæ*, iv, p. 36.

[4] P. 321. In the *Valor* of 1535, iv, pp. 365, 369, it is Lanbadoke, and Llan Baddocke.

[5] *Peniarth MSS.* 16 and 45 ; *Hafod MS.* 16 ; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 428 ; *Cardiff MS.* 25 (p. 116) ; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 267 ; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 104, 143–4, 153. *Peniarth MS.* 12 (fourteenth century) gives his father's name by mistake as Morudd. Padrig is a somewhat late Welsh form ; if early it would have been Pedrig. Albryt, Alvryt, and Alfryd occur as the Welsh form for the English name Alfred in the *Bruts* and elsewhere. Gwaredog is mentioned in the Welsh Life of S. Beuno. Padrig ab Alfryd is continually confounded with the Apostle of Ireland; even in one Welsh version of "S. Patrick's Purgatory" (e.g. that in *Hafod MS.* 23, p. 262) Padrig ab Alfryd is substituted. There is a Hell's Mouth on the coast of Llanbadrig, which may well have suggested it.

[6] Willis, *Bangor*, p. 280 ; Angharad Llwyd, *Hist. of Anglesey*, p. 217.

by a goat-path that descends the cliff ; and the Saint's Foot-prints (Ol Traed Sant Padrig), when coming up the rock past it, are said to be still visible. On the south side of the altar in the church is a niche, and this shows that in the fifteenth century, when it was sculptured, the saint had been identified with the Apostle, for the bracket that sustained his statue is ornamented with writhing serpents. The niche is now occupied by a Pastor Bonus.

Several place-names here perpetuate the remembrance of Padrig, as Dinas Badrig (his Fortress), Pen Padrig (his Headland), Porth Badrig (his Port), Rhos Badrig (his Moor), and the island already mentioned. Ffynnon Badrig is now neglected, the bare spring alone remaining. It was formerly much resorted to, and celebrated for its cures, especially in the case of children.

There is a strange story in the Icelandic *Landnáma Bóc* of a certain Örlygr Hrappsson, who "had been fostered under Patrick the Bishop and the Saint in the Sudereys. He desired to go to Iceland, and he begged Patrick the Bishop to go with him. The Bishop gave him timber for building a church, which he was to take with him ; also a plenarium, an iron bell, and a gold penny ; also consecrated earth to be laid under the main posts of the church, and to consider this as consecration, and he should dedicate it to S. Columcille." [1]

Örlygr first reached a bay which he named after his foster-father, Patrechsfjord, and finally settled near the mouth of the Faxa river. As this took place between 860 and 870, it is very obvious that the Patrick referred to was not the Apostle of Ireland ; and as Padrig ab Alfryd belonged to the latter half of the sixth century, the foster-father of Örlygr cannot have been he. The Catalogue of the early bishops of Sodor and Man is very incomplete ; it contains no Patrick among them in the ninth century ; but it does not follow that there may not have been one then, unknown to fame.

S. PASGEN, Bishop, Confessor

PASGEN was, according to the Vespasian version of the *Cognatio de Brychan*, a son of Brychan, but according to the Domitian version and the Brychan list in *Jesus College MS.* 20, a son of Dingad, of Llandovery, who was son of Brychan. The late Brychan lists make him

[1] *Landnáma Bóc* in *Islendinga Sögur*, Copenhagen, 1829, pp. 12–13 ; ed. 1843, pp. 42–3. The word *helga*, saint, as prefixed to Patrick, is a later addition.

son of that great father of saints.[1] He, Neffei, and Pabiali, are said to have been his sons by Proistri, his Spanish wife. The three went to Spain, where they entered religion, and Pasgen there became a bishop.[2]

There existed formerly a stone, inscribed with simply the name "Pascent," in the churchyard of Towyn, Merionethshire, which has been supposed to be his monument, inasmuch as he had sisters (or aunts), Cerdych, and Gwenddydd or Gwawrddydd, connected with the place.[3] Pasgen, however, is a fairly common name in early Welsh history. It is the Welsh form of the Latin Pascentius.

S. PATERNUS, see S. PADARN

S. PATRICK, Apostle of the Irish

Of S. Patrick we do not propose to give a Life. To do this would be a most difficult undertaking, owing to the confusion that reigns in the several versions of his history. Alclyde, Wales, Brittany, even Glastonbury lay claims severally to him as a native. What we propose to do is to show that five Patricks have been fused into one.

1. Palladius, sent by Pope Celestine.
2. Patrick, whom we will call Magonius or Mawon, born in Wales.
3. Patrick MacCalpurn, the author of the *Confession*.
4. Patrick, nephew of the former, son of Sannan, the Deacon.
5. Patrick ab Alfryd, of Anglesey.

Palladius *may* have been with Germanus of Auxerre. So also *may* have been Patrick Magonius.

Patrick MacSannan was with Germanus, Bishop of Man.

Previous writers have accepted the *Confession* as the basis of all that is authentic relative to the great Apostle of the Irish. Dr. Todd treats in his masterly work of Patrick MacCalpurn, and asserts and proves that into the legendary Lives has been grafted much from a lost *Vita* of Palladius.[4] Dr. Todd supposed that the place of his birth, Bannaventa, was Dumbarton; Professor Bury that it was some place "in

[1] *Myv. Arch.*, p. 419; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 140.
[2] *Peniarth MS.* 178; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 428; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 119.
[3] Hugh Thomas, the Breconshire herald, *Harleian MS.* 4,181, f. 27*b*, says, "It seemes he was buried by one of his Aunts in Towin Churchyard in Merionithshire by a Tombstone there Jnscribed thus PASCƎNT to this Stᵗ." For the stone see Camden's *Britannia*, ed. 1789, ii, 541.
[4] Todd, *S. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, Dublin, 1864.

South-western Britain, perhaps in the regions of the lower Severn."[1] Most probably it was Daventry. The place is thrice indicated in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus as Bannaventa (with variations). Daventry is on an old Roman road, near the point where cross the roads which, coming from north and east, run towards London. The determinative Berniæ is found only in the *Confession*.

Dr. Lanigan,[2] anxious to save his being sent on the Mission by Pope Celestine, makes but one Patrick, and puts his death at 465, the date, as we shall see in the sequel, of the death of Sen Patrick, or Patrick Magonius. Mr. Newell[3] admits the interpolation of the lost Acts of Palladius into the Life of Patrick, and puts his decease as occurring in 492 or 493. Dr. Stokes[4] gives 445 as the date of the founding of Armagh, but does not enter into the question of the date of his death; he would, however, seem to accept the earlier date. Mr. Shearman[5] allows that there were three Patricks, i.e. Palladius, who died in 432; Sen Patrick, who died in 461; and Patrick MacCalpurn, whom he sets down as dying in 493.

Professor Bury places the birth of Patrick MacCalpurn as occurring about the year 389, and his death in 461.

Dr. Zimmer has attempted to reduce all Patricks to one, i.e. to Palladius, and to show that the Patrick of legend was nonexistent.[6] He has, however, been completely refuted by Professor Hugh Williams.[7]

We will take the mission by Celestine first of all. This need not be a matter of party feeling. It is one of fact, and that is all. If the evidence be satisfactory, no Protestant need object to it.

That Palladius, who was also called Patrick, was consecrated and sent to Ireland "to the Scots believing in Christ" admits of no doubt. It is possible that he may have been a deacon of Germanus, but of this there is no certainty. Prosper of Aquitaine, in his Chronicle, says—"Agricola, a Pelagian, son of Severianus, a Pelagian bishop, corrupted the churches of Britannia by insinuation of his doctrine; but, by the instrumentality of the deacon Palladius (*ad actionem Palladii diaconi*), Pope Celestine sends Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, in his stead (*vice sua*) to displace the heretics and direct the Britons to the Catholic Faith." This implies neither that Palladius was deacon of Germanus

[1] Bury (J. B.), *Life of S. Patrick*, London, 1905.
[2] Lanigan, *Eccl. History of Ireland*, Dublin, 1829.
[3] Newell (E. J.), *S. Patrick*, S.P.C.K., 1890.
[4] Stokes (G. T.), *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, London, 1892.
[5] Shearman (J. F.), *Loca Patriciana*, Dublin, 1882.
[6] Zimmer, *The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland*, trans. Meyer, London, 1902.
[7] In *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, iv, 1903.

nor of Celestine. And, in 431, he says, "Palladius was consecrated by Pope Celestinus, and sent *ad Scotos in Christum credentes*," as their first bishop. That he was the only one so commissioned by Celestine is shown by Prosper under date 437, where, in praising Celestine, he says, "*Et ordinato Scottis episcopo dum Romanam insulam studet servare Catholicam fecit etiam barbaram Christianam.*"

Dr. Todd says, "We infer that the whole story of Patrick's connexion with S. Germain and Mission from Celestine should be regarded as a fragment of the lost history of Palladius, transferred to the second and more celebrated Patrick, by those who undertook to interpolate the authentic records of his Life. The object of these interpolaters was evidently to exalt their hero. They could not rest satisfied with the simple and humble position in which his own writings, his Confession and his Letter to Coroticus had placed him. They could not concede to Palladius the honour of a direct mission from Rome, without claiming for Patrick a similar honour; they could not be content that their own Patrick should be represented as one unlearned, a rude and uneducated man, even though he had so described himself. The biography of Palladius 'alio nomine Patricius,' supplied them with the means of effecting their object, and gave to the interpolated story the appearance of antient support." [1]

Tirechan, in his Notes or Collections illustrative of the Life of Patrick, says, "*Palladius episcopus primo mittitur, qui Patricius alio nomine appellabatur . . . deinde Patricius secundus ab anguelo Dei, Victor nomine, et a Celestino papa mittitur cui tota Hibernia credidit, qui eam pene totam baptizavit.*" [2]

That Patrick MacCalpurn was ever with S. Germanus of Auxerre, though accepted by Professor Bury, rests on no good ground. Patrick is not mentioned as a disciple of Germanus in the Life of that Saint by Constantius. Nor does Patrick in his *Confession*, which is a defence of himself and of his mission against detractors, make any reference to Germanus, or to a mission from Celestine. He bases his defence on other grounds. It is to us inconceivable that when Patrick found that his right to act as an apostle to the Irish was disputed, he should not at once have appealed to the fact of his commission from the occupant of the Chair of S. Peter, had such a fact occurred.

There can be no reason to doubt that Patrick, son of Calpurnius, born at Bannaventa, son of a deacon and decurion, grandson of Potitus the priest, is the great Saint whom all Ireland honours. When aged sixteen, he was carried away by Irish pirates, and sold into captivity in

[1] Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. 320–1.
[2] *Tripartite Life*, ed. W. Stokes, ii, p. 332.

Ireland to Milchu in Dalaradia. After six years of slavery he escaped, and crossed the sea, whither to is not stated in his *Confession*. But he went to his family in "the Britains," and whilst with them the inner voice came to him summoning him to go back to Ireland and carry the Gospel to the warm-hearted, generous people he had got to know there. Following the call he went—whither he does not tell us, possibly to Lerins, but he does not say so, and our authority for this is late and untrustworthy—but he was certainly in Gaul, and Lerins was hardly in that, it was in the Provincia. At any rate, he knew and expresses affection for the Saints of Gaul. He was consecrated at the age of forty-five, and then at once proceeded on his mission. God abundantly blessed his work, and as the old Irish saying has it, "Not to Palladius, but to Patrick, God granted the conversion of Ireland."

The date of his death next demands consideration. Professor Bury, to save the commission from Celestine, wholly unproved, places Patrick's decease in 461. The best authorities give 493. Tighernach gives the date of the death of Patrick MacCalpurn—

> From Christ's Nativity, by a joyful step,
> Four hundred upon dear ninety,
> Three noble years after that,
> To the death of Patrick the Chief Apostle.[1]

Accordingly 493.

The Chronological Tract in the *Lebar Brecc* says—"Patrick completed his victorious course . . . in the twenty-seventh year (of the solar cycle), the Calends of January (falling) on a Friday, and the first year after the Bissextile; the sixteenth, moreover, of the Calends of April, of that year was on a Wednesday, and the thirteenth (of a lunar month) was thereon. When came to pass the obit of Patrick, son of Alpurn, namely, in the tenth year of the reign of Lugaid, son of Laoghaire."

This is so precise that there is no escaping from the conclusion that it was a recorded date before the Tract was drawn up. According to Sir W. R. Hamilton, all these astronomical definitions agree with the year 493, except 27 for the solar cycle, which to agree with the Calends of January on Friday, should be 26.[2]

Again, Lugaidh Mac Laoghaire came to the throne of all Ireland in 483, according to the best authorities; ten years after that gives 493.

Again, in the same treatise it is said that S. Brigid's death took place thirty-three years after the death of Patrick, and as she is set down in the *Annals of Tighernach* to have died in 523, this would give 490. But Brigid's death date is not determined for a year or two; anyhow, it

[1] Tirechan's Collections in the *Tripartite Life*, ii, p. 573. [2] *Ibid.*, ii, p. 333.

could not be made to fit at all with Bury's date of 461. The *Annals of the Four Masters* give 493 as the year of Patrick's decease. The very early *Annals* in the *Book of Leinster* give Patrick's death as occurring after the succession of Lugaidh to the throne, but how many years after is not stated.

We may therefore conclude that there existed a strong conviction among the Irish Annalists that Patrick son of Calpurnius, author of the *Confession*, died in 493.

The *Annals of Innisfallen*, however, give the date 465. It has been supposed that the date of Patrick's death has been thrust forward to 493 so as to make him equal the years of Moses, i.e. 120. If he did die in 493 he could not well have been commissioned by Celestine, who died in 432.

We will now look at what can be gathered relative to the Second Patrick, whom the Annalists call Sen Patrick, but whom we will call Patrick Magonius.

That there were more Patricks than one in Ireland may be suspected from the words of Tirechan, who quotes Ultan, who died in 656. Tirechan says: "*Inveni quatuor nomina in libro (ad)scripta Patricio apud Ultanum episcopum Conchuburnensium, Sanctus Magonius, qui est clarus; Succetus, qui est (deus belli vel fortis belli); Patricius (qui est pater civium); Cothirthiacus, quia servivit quatuor domibus Magorum.*" [1] So also the scholiast on the Hymn of Secundinus. "Now he had four names—Sucat, that was given to him by his parents; Cothraigh, his name from Miliuc; Magonius, from S. Germanus; Patricius, from Pope Celestine." [2]

The same is repeated by other writers.[3]

It did not occur to Tirechan and the others that possibly enough these, or three of these, names were given to differentiate one Patrick from another, or that Cothraigh was identical with Patricius, being the Irish form assumed by the Latin name, the Irish changing P in C.

Oengus in his *Félire* says that this earlier Patrick was the tutor of the "Old Patrick of Glastonbury of the Gaels in Saxonland," but also "Old Patrick of Rosdala in Magh-locha." This is Ruisdela or Rosdalla in West Meath. He was commemorated on August 24, whereas the later Patrick's day was March 17.

Fiacc in his Hymn clearly intimates that there was a Patrick before

[1] Tirechan's Collections in the *Tripartite Life*, ii, p. 302.
[2] *Liber Hymnorum*, ii, p. 7; see also p. 3. It is generally agreed that the name Sucat is to be equated with the Welsh *hygad*, ready for battle, warlike.
[3] *Tripartite Life*, ii, pp. 303, 385, 391, 441, 510; also i, p. 17.

the great Apostle, and he probably is not in this case referring to Palladius.

> "Patrick's soul from his body after labours was severed.
> God's angels on the first night (after his death) for him kept wake,
> When Patrick departed, he visited the other Patrick:
> Together they ascended to Jesus, Mary's Son." [1]

The scholiast shows that Sen Patrick is meant, for he says: "This is what Patrick MacCalpurn promised to Sen Patrick, that they should go together to heaven. And this (authors) declare, that Patrick abode from the 16th of March to the end of the first month of Autumn (Aug. 24th) . . . and angels with him, awaiting Sen Patrick. Some say that in Rossdela, in the region of Magh-locha Old Patrick's remains used to be; but it is more correct to say (that they were) in Glastonbury of the Gael, a town in the south of England." [2]

The *Book of Leinster* sets Sen Patrick as the next to succeed to the See of Armagh after Benignus, disciple of S. Patrick, but this is impossible.

In a piece of old Irish verse, quoted by Archbishop Ussher, Sen Patrick is spoken of as head of the ancient Wise Men of Ireland.[3]

It may fairly be admitted that there existed a tradition in Ireland that there was working there at Rossdela a Patrick, who intervened in time between the departure of Palladius and the coming of Patrick MacCalpurn. And the annalists bear this out. The *Annals of the Four Masters* insert at the date 457 the death of Sen Patrick, but place the death of the Great Patrick at 493; and the entries of a Patrick in or about this earlier date in the other *Annals* may apply to this Sen Patrick, unless we suppose, with Whitley Stokes and Bury, that the date of the true Patrick was deliberately altered to 493, so as to give him the years of Moses. The *Annals of Ulster* give 457; those of Innisfallen 465; those of Boyle 464. According to Nennius he died in 460. The *Annals* of the *Book of Leinster* give his death before that of Lacghaire in 460.

Now, if there were two Patricks, how is it that the biographers are silent relative to the previous work of him of Rossdela? How is it that no Life of him remains?

The explanation would seem to be that the biographers incorporated his Acts, as they did also those of Palladius in the amplified Life of the great Patrick.

[1] *Liber Hymnorum*, ii, p. 35.
[2] Quoted by Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, ii, p. 427.
[3] *Antiq. Eccl. Brit.*, 1639, ii, p. 895.

Now, the Welsh tradition is that a Patrick was born in Gower, in Glamorganshire, the son of Mawon, Mawan, or Maewon (once given Maenwyn as epithet)—all forms derived from the Latinized Magonius—and that he was the Apostle of the Irish.[1] *An* apostle he may have been, and he may well have been the Sen Patrick of the *Annals*. We have, unhappily, but late and bad authority for this Patrick—the *Iolo MSS.*

Padrig, "Principal of Caerworgorn," "supreme teacher of the nation of the Welsh," before the destruction of Caerworgorn (afterwards Llantwit Major), is said to have been carried away to Ireland thence, and not to have returned to Wales.[2] "Padrig Maenwyn, of Gowerland, who converted the Irish to the Faith in Christ. His church is that of Aberllychwr" (Loughor).[3] Aberllychwr is doubtless the Leucarum of the Romans. The present church is dedicated to S. Michael.

Humphrey Lhuyd, however, in his *Commentarioli Britannicæ Descriptionis Fragmentum*, Cologne, 1572, fol. 63*b*, says, "*Hic vero in Rosea valle natus fuit magnus ille Patritius qui Iverniam Christiana fidei imbuit;*" and George Owen, in his *Description of Penbrokshire*,[4] tells us that he "founded a monastery at St. Dauides out of the wch was afterwardes founded the Cathedrall Churche there." He further mentions as being in ruins in his time a Capel Padrig, a place of pilgrimage in the parish of Nevern, Pembrokeshire.[5] There is clearly confusion here between the Patricks.

It is, of course, possible that at the destruction of Caerworgorn, its superior, Patrick, may have been carried into captivity, but this statement looks suspiciously like a transference to Patrick Magonius of the captivity of Patrick MacCalpurn, though the latter was only sixteen years old when made a captive. That any one of the Patricks was born in Menevia cannot be admitted. There is no evidence to support the assertion of Humphrey Lhuyd. But that the great S. Patrick had a hand in the foundation of the monastery there is borne out by what we know from other sources. Patrick did, we judge, establish a school there under Maucan or Ninio for the training of missioners for the Irish Church.

There is a site now, close to Ty Gwyn, where are to be traced the foundations of a chapel of S. Patrick; and Porth Padrig, the Gate of S. David's, leading to Ty Gwyn and Porth Mawr, bears the name of the

[1] *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 104, 131, 134, 153. Nennius (ed. San Marte, p. 63) gives his cognomen as Maun (in Modern Welsh, Mawn); but the Magonius of the Irish writers is a Latinization of an earlier form still, before the intervocalic *g* was lost.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 69, 131, 134.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 104. There is a sandbank near Llanelly called Cefn Padrig.

[4] Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, i, p. 220. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 509.

apostle of the Irish. There is besides a rock called Carn Badrig on the moor hard by. Eisteddfa Badrig, his Seat, is mentioned in the Lives of S. David as the spot from whence he beheld in a vision the whole island of which he was to be the apostle.

But we must again distinguish between Padrig Mawon of Gower and Padrig ab Alfryd of Arfon and Anglesey, with whom he has been confounded. This latter lived in the time of S. Elfod, bishop of Caergybi (Holyhead), and was a saint of S. Cybi's Côr, and also of S. Beuno's at Clynnog.

We must eliminate another Patrick, of whom we know only on late authority, the son of S. Gwyndeg, son of Seithenin, King of Gwyddno's Plain. He was brother of Cynyr of Caergawch, and consequently great-uncle of S. David.[1] If he ever had existence, he belongs to an age earlier than that of Padrig ab Alfryd.

Having thus cleared the ground, and put aside Patrick MacCalpurn, the true Apostle of the Irish, also Patrick, son of Alfryd, and Patrick, son of Gwyndeg, we return to the consideration of Patrick Mawon.

An *Iolo MSS.* document says, "The foundation of the Emperor Theodosius and Cystennin Llydaw was Bangor Illtyd, which was regulated by Belerus, a man from Rome; and Padrig, the son of Maewon, was principal of it, before he was carried away captive by the Irish."[2] As we have already seen, there is a confusion here between Patrick Mawon and Patrick MacCalpurn. Moreover, Caerworgorn is meant, which was a college before Illtyd was born to the religious life. Illtyd founded his monastery near the ruins of Caerworgorn, which had been devastated and left without inhabitant.

Theodosius the Younger was Emperor of the East from 408 to 450. But in 423, on the death of Honorius, West and East were united under his sceptre, till 425, when Valentinian became Emperor of the West. Theodosius may have been interested in Britain, where his great-grandfather, Theodosius, had served so brilliantly against the Picts and Scots; and if he did found Caerworgorn it was between 423 and 425.

The *Iolo MSS.*, speaking generally, are an untrustworthy authority, as we cannot tell always whence many of these documents and notices came from originally, or their real date, but they give testimony, at all events, to a rooted tradition in South Wales that a Patrick was there, a native, and a teacher, and it is possible enough that this Padrig ab Mawon was the Patrick Magonius of Ireland, to be identified, we think, with Sen Patrick, who died in 457 or 460.

We come now to the most difficult problem of all. Whether either

[1] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 141. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 134.

of the Patricks was with Germanus of Auxerre, and ordained by Celestine. Palladius was sent to Ireland by Celestine in 431, and Celestine died in 432. It is incredible that Palladius can have begun his work in Ireland, failed, crossed to Alba and been killed, and that the news should have reached Celestine before his death.

As Mr. Newell observes: "The date 432 was chosen for Patrick's arrival (in Ireland) because in that year Celestine died, and it was therefore the latest year in which he could have given a commission to Patrick. An earlier date would not have suited, because the mission of Palladius took place in 431. The confusion between Patrick and his unsuccessful namesake, which helped the story, accounts for the circumstance that no other pope was selected than Celestine. But, to enable Patrick to reach Ireland the very next year to Palladius, it was necessary to crowd within the narrow compass of one year, or a little more, the landing of Palladius in Ireland, his preaching and rejection by the people, possibly his departure to the country of the Picts in Northern Britain, his death, and the return of some of his disciples with the news to the Continent. It is not probable that in those days of slow transit all these events could have occurred in so small a space of time, especially if, as some legends assert, Palladius stayed in Ireland long enough to found three churches." [1] It may seem incredible that there should have been several similarly named, working in Ireland; but the name *Patricius* was a title equivalent to "gentleman," and was very extensively adopted. Gibbon says that at this very period, "the meanest subjects of the Roman empire assumed the illustrious name of Patricius." [2]

In considering the difficult question of discipleship to Germanus, we shall have, in the first place, to give the conflicting accounts of the biographers relating to that association.

A. In the *Confession* nothing is said of this discipleship.

B. Nor in the Hymn of Secundinus; but that is laudatory and not biographical.

C. The Hymn of Fiacc is of a different character, but it is not earlier than the eighth century.[3] As, however, its claims are to be the earliest record, apart from the *Confession*, we will take it first.

It is silent as to the Roman mission, but asserts that Patrick was educated by Germanus.

[1] Newell, *op. cit.*, pp. 51–2.

[2] *Decline and Fall* (ed. Milman and Smith), London, 1838–9, viii, p. 300.

[3] It mentions the desertion of Tara that took place in 560. It refers to written accounts, and begins, "Patrick was born in Nemthur, as is related in stories."

"[The angel] sent him across to Britain . . .
So that he left him with Germanus in the South, in the Southern part of Letha.
In the Isles of the Tyrrhene Sea, he fasted in them, as one estimates.
He read the Canon with Germanus, this is what writings narrate."

And it says that he was sixty years in Ireland.

There is a vagueness in this, and an appeal to records, which could not have been the case had the Hymn been composed by Fiacc.

D. Tirechan made a collection of Notes on the Life of the Saint, from the dictation, or copied from a book (*ex ore vel libro*), of his tutor, Bishop Ultan of Ardbraccan, who died in 657. As he mentions the recent plague of 664–8, it must have been composed after that. He had before him a lost work, entitled *Commemoratio Laborum*, ascribed to Patrick himself. He gives two versions of the Chronology of Patrick's Life. In the first he says that after his escape from captivity Patrick wandered during seven years, then spent thirty years in one of the islands called Aralensis, and that he died in 436. The Isle Aralensis must be Lerins in the archdiocese of Arles; or, Aralensis may be a corruption of Lerinsis.

In the second account he says that Patrick, after his escape, studied for thirty years, and taught for seventy-two, and died at the age of a hundred and twenty. He says nothing about study under Germanus, nor of a mission from Celestine till at the end of his account after he has mentioned his death, and to that is tacked on a passage apparently by another hand, in which the mission of Palladius, "also called Patrick," is mentioned, and then is added, "Then is the second Patrick sent by the angel of God, named Victor; and he is sent by Celestine, the pope."

E. Muirchu Maccu Machtheni wrote Memoirs of S. Patrick in obedience to the command of Bishop Aed of Sletty, who died in 698 or 700. They are contained in the *Book of Armagh*, but the first leaf is wanting. Greith spitefully suggested that the leaf had been purposely abstracted by Protestants, because it contained a record of the Roman Mission.[1] However, a Brussels transcript has been discovered, and has been printed by the Jesuit Hogan in the *Analecta Bollandiana*; [2] and it contains no mention of the mission from Rome; but it does assert that Patrick studied with Germanus at Auxerre. "*Transnavigato igitur mari dextro Britannico, accepto itinere per Gallicas Alpes ad extremum, ut corde proposuerat, transcensurus, quendam sanctissimum episcopum Alsiodori civitate principem Germanum summum donum invenit. Aput*

[1] Greith, *Geschichte der altirische Kirche und ihre Verbindung mit Rome*, Freiburg, 1867.

[2] *Analecta Boll.*, i, pp. 549 *et seq.*

quem non parvo tempore demoratus." Germanus sends Patrick with Segetius to Rome, and on their way they hear in Ebmoria of the death of Palladius from Augustine and Benedict, who had been his companions; and then "*declinaverunt iter ad quendam mirabilem hominum, summum Episcopum, Amatorege nomine in propinquo loco habitantem, ibique Sanctus Patricius . . . episcopalem gradum ab Amatorege sancto Episcopo accepit. Etiam Auxilius Iserninusque et cœteri inferioris gradus eodem die quo Sanctus Patricius ordinati sunt.*" Thence without going to Rome, Patrick starts for Britain. Amatorege, it may be remarked, is from the Irish Amatorig. Ainmire, as Amator would be rendered in Irish, becomes in Dative and Accusative *Ainmirig*.

F. To Tirechan's Collection is a sort of Appendix, partly in Latin and partly in Irish, containing notes on the missionary labours of disciples of Patrick. Who wrote these, and when they were written, we do not know. One of these is to this effect: "Patrick and Iserninus, that is Bishop Fith, were with Germanus in the city of Olsiodra (Auxerre). But Germanus said to Iserninus that he should go into Ireland to preach. And he was ready to obey to whatever part he should be sent, except to Ireland. Germanus said to Patrick, 'And thou, wilt thou be obedient?' Patrick said, 'Be it so if thou wishest.' Germanus said: 'This shall be between you, and Iserninus will not be able to avoid going into Ireland.'"

G. The scholiast on Fiacc's Hymn, who wrote in the eleventh century, says: "When S. Patrick had received the angelic vision calling him to go to Ireland, he applied to Germanus for advice. S. Germanus said to him, 'Go to the successor of S. Peter, namely, Celestine, that he may ordain thee, for this office belongs to him.' Patrick therefore went to him, but Celestine gave him no honour, because he had already sent Palladius to Ireland." After this repulse, Patrick went to the islands of the Tyrrhene Sea, that is to say, to Lerins. Then, after a hiatus in the MS., occur the words "Mount Arnon." Patrick thereupon returned to Germanus, who sent him a second time to the Pope, accompanied by Segetius, a priest. Celestine by this time was made aware of the failure and death of Palladius, and no longer raised difficulties. "Then was Patrick ordained in the presence of Celestine and Theodosius the Younger, King of the World. Amatorix, Bishop of Auxerre, was he who conferred orders on him (i.e. Patrick); and Celestine was, they say, only one week alive after ordaining Patrick." [1]

Here is a jumble of strange anachronisms. Only a year is allowed to elapse between the first visit to Celestine and the second, yet in the meantime Patrick had been to Mount Arnon.

[1] Scholiast in Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, ii, p. 421.

Celestine died in July, 432. Amator, Bishop of Auxerre, in 418, and was succeeded by Germanus. Celestine had not ascended the papal chair before 422. Theodosius never was in Rome, as far as we know, and he certainly was not there in 432. He was only Emperor of the West as well as the East, as we have seen, between 423 and 425.

Next, the scholiast informs us that Patrick received the sanction of Sixtus, and departed with the relics of SS. Peter and Paul. This last paragraph is taken from the story of Palladius.

H. Another version of the story is given in the *Vita Tertia* [1] printed by Colgan.

In this we are told that Patrick, after passing four years with S. Martin at Tours, spent nine more in an island called Tamarensis, to which Martin had sent him. Then Patrick went to Rome, being advised thereto by Germanus, who sent with him Segetius as witness to his good character. On his way to Rome Patrick turned aside, *declinavit iter*, to a certain Bishop Amator, who consecrated him bishop. He was well received by Celestine. Leaving Rome he went to Mount Arnon, a rock in the Tyrrhene Sea, in the city Capua. Whilst there, the news of the death of Palladius arrived, and Patrick received his commission from Celestine.

I. The tale in Colgan's *Vita Quarta* is this, which closely resembles his *Vita Secunda*: Patrick was with Germanus, who sent him to Rome with Segetius, but did not obtain consecration because Palladius had been already commissioned. Patrick crossed the Tyrrhene Sea and was well received by Celestine, who sent him to Ireland *before* he had heard of the result of the mission of Palladius. On his way back to Auxerre, Patrick met Augustine and Benedict, in the city Euboria, who informed him of the failure of the mission. Then Patrick went to Bishop Amatorex, and from him received consecration.

K. The amplified Nennius of 858 [2] contains insertions from an Irish source. Among these is this: "*Audita morte Palladii episcopi, alius legatus Patricius . . . a Celestino papa Romano . . . monente et suadente Sancto Germano episcopo, ad Scottos in fidem Christi convertendos mittitur. Misit Germanus seniorem cum illo ad quemdam hominem mirabilem, summum episcopum Amatheum regem in propinquo habitantem. Ibi sanctus . . . episcopalem gradum Amatheo rege Episcopus sanctus accepit. Et nomen quod est Patricius sumpsit, quia prius* MAUN *vocabatur.*"

L. The Fifth Life given by Colgan is that by Probus, lecturer in the

[1] Colgan, *Trias Thaumaturga*, Louvain, 1647.

[2] Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus*, Berlin, 1893; Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, i, p. cxvii.

school of Slane, who was, says Colgan, burned in the tower of that place by the Danes in 950. It is addressed to Paulinus, Bishop and Abbot of Indedhnen, near Slane, who died in 920.

According to Probus, after spending four years with S. Martin, Patrick goes to hermits in the desert, and is with them eight years. Then he goes to an island where he remains nine years. After that he visits Senior, a Bishop dwelling on Mount Hermon, on the south side of the Ocean, in a city fortified with seven walls. By him he is ordained priest, and is sent to Rome. On his way thither he visits Germanus, who despatches the priest, Segetius, with him to the pope. But meeting with Augustine and Benedict at Euboria, and hearing of the death of Palladius, he goes out of his way to a bishop, Amator, and by him is consecrated Bishop. Then at once Patrick proceeds to Ireland.

This narrative is followed by two conflicting stories. One is that he did not go to Rome at all; the other is, that he did go, and returned with the Apostolic benediction.

M. Joscelyn, Monk of Furness, wrote a Life of S. Patrick about the year 1185. He was an indefatigable collector of material, which he pieced together as best he might. This is *Vita Sexta* in Colgan. He represents Patrick as placing himself under the tuition of S. Germanus, and after that of S. Martin. But Martin was ordered by an angel to go to the island of Tamarensis, whereupon Patrick returned to Germanus, who sent him to Rome with Segetius. On his way he stopped in an island of the Tyrrhenian Sea. Then he proceeded to Rome, where he was consecrated by Celestine himself, and despatched to Ireland. But, before leaving, he resided for awhile on Mount Morion, near the Tyrrhene Sea, by the city of Capua.

N. The *Tripartite Life* was written the end of the tenth or early in the eleventh century, after 936 or 945, as it mentions Joseph, Archbishop of Armagh, who died on one or other of these dates; it is uncertain which. It is, accordingly, earlier than the Compilation of Joscelyn, but is printed by Colgan as *Vita Septima.* This has been edited by Dr. Whitley Stokes for the Rolls Series.

According to the *Tripartite Life,* Patrick resolves on going to Rome; he crosses the Iccian Sea (the English Channel), and traverses France (*venerit in Franciam*); crosses the Alps into Italy, where he meets Germanus, and studies with him in Italy. Then he goes to Tours to S. Martin. Then ensues a curious disjointed paragraph: "Auxerre was the name of a city of which Germanus was the illustrious bishop. Aralanensis was the island called, in which S. Patrick studied with him. He was thirty years old when he came to Germanus, and he remained with him thirty years more." After that, he went to Ireland. "At a

certain time when Patrick was in the Tyrrhene Sea, he came to a place where there were three other Patricks."

When aged sixty, Germanus sent Patrick to Rome, with Segetius as his companion. He was well received, and Celestine, having heard of the death of Palladius, consecrated him bishop with his own hands in the presence of Germanus and Amatus, King of the Romans.

One naturally asks why Germanus sent Segetius with Patrick, if he himself was to be in Rome. The blundering compiler, to escape the conclusion that Patrick was ordained by Bishop Amator or Amatorex, converts the latter into *Amator Rex Romanorum.*

O. In the *Betha Patraic,* in the *Book of Lismore,* an Irish homily on the Life of the Saint, the order is much that of the *Tripartite Life,* but Patrick has a priest Egidius sent with him, and he is consecrated by Celestine in the presence of Matha, King of the Romans.[1] The homily in the *Lebar Brecc* is mainly a summary from the *Tripartite Life.*

"On comparing these narratives," says Dr. Todd, "no unprejudiced mind can doubt that the writers of these collections allowed themselves the utmost licence in dealing with their authorities." But they had authorities, and the difficulty that was theirs, and which they solved variously, was how to weave into one narratives belonging to three different personages. They were all actuated by one predominant purpose. By hook or by crook Patrick must be made to receive his commission from Rome, and as Palladius, also called Patricius, had done that, the reception of a commission from Celestine was duplicated and made to refer also to Patrick MacCalpurn.

What were the materials that had to be dove-tailed together?

α. They possessed a lost Life of Palladius, and they made some use of that.

β. They had the *Confession* of Patrick MacCalpurn.

γ. Also a text relative to a Patrick who had been with S. Martin of Tours. Now Martin's death is variously set down as occurring in 397, 402, 403, or 412. The date cannot be accurately determined, but 397 is that which finds most favour. If any Patrick was with Martin, it must have been Patrick Magonius.

δ. Also a record of a Patrick who was for a while in Lerins.

ε. As well a statement that a Patrick was with Germanus; and Nennius says that the Patrick who was with Germanus was Maun, i.e. Magonius.

ζ. Also that Patrick was ordained bishop by Amator, who preceded Germanus in the See of Auxerre, and died in 418.

[1] Stokes, *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore,* Oxford, 1890.

η. There was as well some record or legend of Patrick having been in Capua. But what the Mount Arnon there was it is idle to inquire.

One source of error may at once be pointed out. Letha, Letavia, Llydaw was Armorica. The scholiast on the Hymn of Fiacc misunderstood this and converted Letha into Latium. Now, as we have shown in the article on Germanus, Bishop of Man, that Saint, kinsman of Patrick MacCalpurn, and uncle of Patrick MacSannan, was of Letha; and the compilers may have confused one Germanus with the other, and Patrick MacSannan, pupil of the Armorican Germanus, with Patrick MacCalpurn, and also with Patrick Magonius.

We judge that the compilers had four documents at least, which they laid under contribution to piece into one. *A*. A lost Life or Notice of Palladius. *B*. A lost Life of Patrick Magonius. *C*. The Writings, notably the *Confession* of Patrick MacCalpurn. *D*. Possibly a Life of Patrick MacSannan, disciple of Germanus, Bishop of Man; the Life of this latter is, in part, preserved in Nennius' *History of the Britons*. He was confounded with Germanus of Auxerre.

The conclusions we are inclined to draw may be thus summed up:

1. That Palladius alone was commissioned by Celestine in 431, and that he failed, and died in 432.
2. That there was a Patrick working in Ireland at some time between 432 and the arrival of Patrick MacCalpurn, probably in 455.
3. That this is the Sen Patrick of the Irish, and that he was also the Padrig ab Mawon of the Welsh, born in Gower.
4. That this Patrick Magonius may have been with S. Martin of Tours before the death of the latter, variously given as 397 or as late as 412.
5. That, quitting Martin, he went to Lerins.
6. That he was consecrated by Amator, predecessor of Germanus in the See of Auxerre, before 418.
7. That he became first head of the College of Caerworgorn, in or about 425.
8. On the destruction of Caerworgorn, he went to Gaul, and visited Auxerre to take counsel with Germanus, whom as a priest he had known, but who was now bishop.
9. That Germanus advised him to go to Ireland, news having arrived of the failure of Palladius, and that he sent him to Rome with Segetius as witness to his orthodoxy and character.
10. That Patrick Magonius went to Rome, where he received commission from Sextus III, who had just mounted the throne of S. Peter, July, 432. (See the Scholiast on the Hymn of Fiacc.)
11. That he went thence direct to Ireland, in the same year, and laboured there.
12. That Patrick MacCalpurn, having arrived in Ireland, about the year 455, he gave advice to this Patrick. This latter is represented as the *daltha* or pupil of Sen Patrick.
13. That Patrick Magonius died in 460, or thereabouts.
14. That Patrick MacCalpurn laboured till 493, when he also died.
15. That in attempting to fuse these Lives together, the Compilers were met with the difficulty of the length of time between the supposed commission by Celestine and the death in 493, and solved it by making Patrick attain to the years of Moses, 120 years.

How much of the story of Patrick MacSannan may have coloured and confused the narrative, it is impossible to say.

It will be advisable to conclude this notice with a few words relative to this Patrick MacSannan.

Our authorities are of no good quality, but they serve to show that a tradition existed relative to such a person.

He is reported to have been a son of the deacon Sannan, a reputed brother of Patrick MacCalpurn. Joscelyn, in speaking of S. Lomman, says: "*Sanctus Patricius filiolus ejus, qui post decessum patrui sui Britanniam remeans in fata decessit; et in Glasconensi ecclesiâ sepultus est honorifice.*"[1] The term *filiolus ejus* may mean no more than that the younger Patrick was pupil, and spiritual child of Lomman. And *Glasconensi ecclesiâ* is a mistake for Glastonbury. Oengus says that it was by some held that Sen Patrick was buried at Glastonbury.

There was a Padenabera, by Glastonbury, named in *Domesday*, now Pamboro', *insula vinifera*, and always included in the home possessions of the Church of Glastonbury. No tradition attaches Padarn to that celebrated monastery, but one did hold that a Patrick was there, and the bones of this Patrick were among its most treasured relics.[2] This may, however, have been a later Patrick still. An interpolator of Malmesbury's *Chronicle* relates that he discharged episcopal duties about the year 850; and Higden of Chester says that the Abbot Patrick flourished at Glastonbury in the middle of the ninth century. This, more probably, is the Patrick whom the monks of Glastonbury fraudulently attempted to pass off as the Apostle of Ireland.

Patrick MacSannan was probably born in Armorica, whither the

[1] Colgan, *Trias Thaumat.*, p. 166.
[2] Ussher, *Antiq. Eccl. Brit.*, 1639, ii, pp. 893–6.

family of Calpurnius had fled, if any reliance can be placed in the preface to the Hymn of Secundinus (B). But this, according to Dr. Whitley Stokes, is not earlier than the eleventh or twelfth century. "Thus it happened, namely, that the seven sons of Sechtmaide, King of the Britons, were in exile, and they ravaged Armorica. A party of Britons of Ailcluaide chanced to meet them in Armorica. Calpurn, son of Fotaid (Potitus), Patrick's father, was killed there, and then Patrick was captured, and his two sisters there." [1] This was Patrick MacCalpurn, but we cannot admit that he was captured in Letavia. Patrick Junior became the disciple of Germanus the Armorican, his uncle, son of Restitutus of the Hy Baird, and went with him to Paris. When S. Patrick MacCalpurn went to Britain to collect missionaries Germanus probably left Paris, taking with him the younger Patrick, and transferred him to Patrick MacCalpurn, who delivered him to Lomman to be trained.[2]

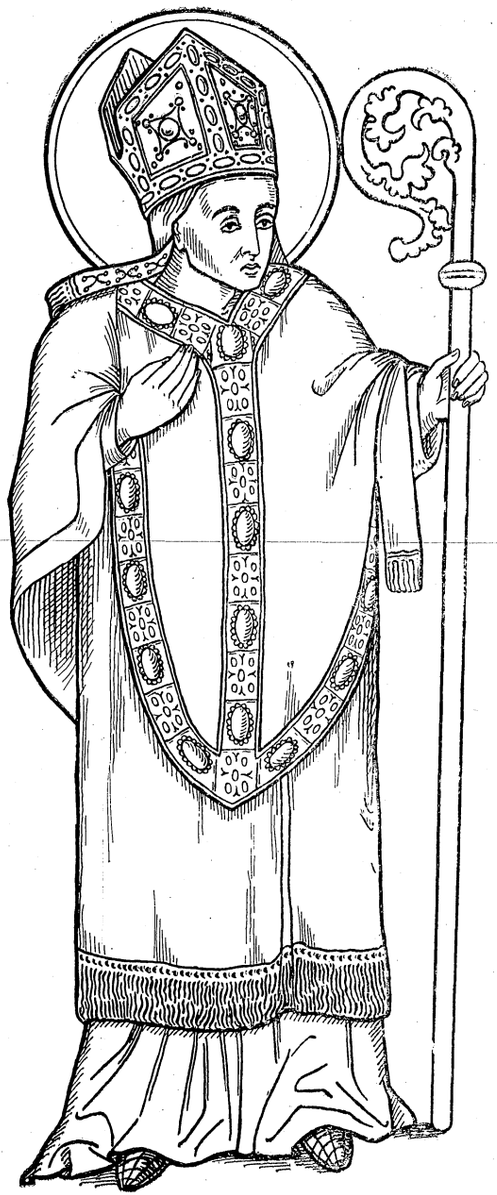
In the *Vita Tertia*, in Joscelyn, and in the copy of the *Tripartite Life* used by Ussher,[3] it is said that Patrick spent some years in the *insula Tamarensis*. This has been conjectured to be the Island of S. Nicolas off the mouth of the Tamar; and it is noteworthy that S. German's is on a creek of the same river, near by. The Third Life was derived from a Cornish or British text, probably preserved at Glastonbury. If a Patrick was in this isle of the Tamar it must have been Patrick MacSannan, as there is reason to suppose that the Cornish church of S. German's was founded not by Germanus of Auxerre, but by Germanus the Armorican. Moreover, there is foisted into the Life of S. Patrick, the strange story of his being in Mount Arnon in Capua, in the South of Italy. Capræ is probably meant, and the Armorican Germanus was, according to his legend, some time in the South of Italy.

These curious notices of the Isle of Tamara, and of Capræ (Capua) cannot be mere invention. They were found somewhere, in a Life of a Patrick, though not in that of Patrick Magonius, or of Patrick MacCalpurn, and we may suspect that they were grafted into the text of the compilations from a Life, now lost, of Patrick MacSannan.

If our suggestion be not accepted, and the earlier date be given to Patrick MacCalpurn, then his chronology, to which we cannot consent, is as follows, according to Professor Bury:—

He was born in the year 389, and was taken captive in 405. He escaped from captivity in 411–2, and went to Lerins in 412. In Lerins he remained two or three years only, to 414 or 415. Then he proceeded

[1] *Liber Hymnorum*, ii, p. 3.
[2] See under S. Brioc and S. Germanus B. of Man.
[3] Ussher, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 835.



S. PATRICK.
From Stained Glass at S. Neot, Cornwall.

to Auxerre in 415 or 416, and was ordained Deacon by Bishop Amator between 416 and 418. Professor Bury thinks that his ordination to deacon's orders has been mistaken by his biographers for his consecration to be Bishop many years later. Germanus succeeded Amator in 418, and Patrick remained at Auxerre till 432, when Germanus consecrated him Bishop. This is against all evidence.

Germanus at once sent him to Ireland. He left Ireland and visited Rome in 441–3, when Leo the Great was Pope. Of this no hint is given by any of his biographers. He returned to Ireland and founded Armagh in 444. He wrote his *Letter* to Coroticus and his *Confession* in advanced age, and died in 461.

S. Patrick is found in almost all Western Martyrologies and Calendars on March 17. Sen Patrick, whom we identify with Patrick Magonius, occurs, as already stated, in Irish Martyrologies on August 24, so also is a Patrick *ostiarius*, who had been abbot of Armagh, and who was laid there "in a stone grave."

The dedications to S. Patrick in Wales have been very few, and confined to Pembrokeshire. They were of chapels, which are now extinct. Capel Padrig at S. David's, already mentioned; Capel Padrig, in Nevern; and Paterchurch, or Patrickchurch, in Monkton. Pencarreg, in Carmarthenshire, is doubtful, whether to him or to S. Padarn. Sarn Badrig (Patrick's Causeway), off the Merionethshire coast, stretches into the sea for over 20 miles, about nine of which are dry at low tide. It is a natural formation. No legend has been preserved to account for the name. There is a Ffynnon Badrig, as well as a Bron Badrig, in Llanbedr, below Harlech; and another Ffynnon Badrig in a field by Govilon Station, near Abergavenny. It is enclosed, and supplies most of the villagers with water.

The references to him in mediæval Welsh literature are not as numerous as might be expected. One sixteenth century poet, Hywel Eurdrem, wrote an *awdl* to him (e.g., in *Additional MS.* 14, 971), and another alludes to the Staff of Jesus (*Bachall Ísu*),[1] fabled to have been given him by our Lord, or by a certain solitary on an island in the Tyrrhene Sea. Gwas Padrig (Anglicized Cospatrick), his tonsured servant, or devotee, occasionally occurs as a personal name. Ieuan Gwas Padrig was the original patron of Cerrig y Drudion.

[1] "Ffon a ddanfones Iesu
I Badrig, da fenthyg fu."

S. PAULINUS, or PEULIN, Bishop, Confessor

It is much to be regretted that no Life of this famous teacher of Saints has come down to us. As it is, there are but few particulars about him on record.

From the Life of S. David we learn that David, after he had received his earlier education at Yr Henllwyn, or the Old Bush, went on to the "Scribe Paulinus, a disciple of S. Germanus, a bishop, and in a certain island led a life agreeable to God, who taught him in three parts of reading, until he was a scribe." David remained with his instructor for a lengthened period, and a pretty story is told of him during those youthful years. His master became blind, and his eyes gave him great pain. He called his disciples to him one by one to look at them and bless them, but he derived no benefit. At last he called to David to come and look at them, but David replied, "Father, don't bid me to look at your eyes, for during the ten years that I have been under your instruction, I have not so much as once looked into your face." Paulinus was greatly moved by his modesty, and bade him stretch forth his hand, for then, said he, "I shall be quite well." No sooner had David touched his eyes than his sight was restored, and Paulinus blessed him "with all the blessings that are written in the Old and New Testament." [1] It is most probable that Paulinus had succeeded Maucan as head of Ty Gwyn.

In the Life of S. Teilo [2] Paulinus is introduced as a great religious teacher, and he had Teilo and David as contemporary disciples, but it is not stated where.

He was alive at the time of the Synod of Brefi, held probably in 545, and he was the aged bishop who advised the assembly to send for his old pupil David.[3]

Paulinus is the patron of Llangors, in Breconshire. In the *Taxatio* of 1291 the Church is given under the translated name Ecclesia de Mara, and in the Cartulary of Brecon Priory as the Church of S. Paulinus de Lancors and of S. Peulinus de Mara.[4] In the parish-list in *Peniarth MS.* 147 (*c.* 1566) it is Llangors Peylyn Sant.[5] There was in the modern parish of Ystradffin (S. Barnabas), formerly a chapelry in Llanfair-ar-y-bryn, Carmarthenshire, a chapel at Rhandirmwyn dedicated to him,

[1] *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 122–3. In the Welsh Life, *ibid.*, p. 104, Paulinus is said to have been "disciple to a holy bishop in Rome." In Giraldus's *Vita*, *Opera*, iii, p. 384, he is "Germani discipulus."

[2] *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 99, where he is called Poulinus.

[3] *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 110, 137.

[4] *Arch. Camb.*, 1883, pp. 44–5, 144–54.

[5] J. G. Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 918.

known as Capel Peulin,[1] and the present chapel-of-ease there is re-dedicated to him. A tablet in the porch states that the chapel was originally founded in 1117, and rebuilt in 1821. It is situated not very far from Llanddewi Brefi.

A stone found long ago in a field called Pant-y-polion, near Maes Llanwrthwl, in the parish of Caio (a little further south again from the scene of the Synod), and now removed for preservation to Dolau Cothi, bears a remarkable epitaph, cut in debased Latin capitals, and couched in two rugged hexameters :—

SERVATVR FIDÆI
PATRIEQ*ue* SEMPER
AMATOR HIC PAVLIN
VS IACIT CVLTOR PIENTI
SIMVS ÆQVI [2]

"Guard of the Faith, and Lover of his Land,
Liegeman of Justice, here Paulinus lies." [3]

The stone being found not far distant from both Llanddewi Brefi and Capel Peulin, leaves very little doubt that it was intended to commemorate S. Paulinus, and records his traditional virtues. His festival occurs in the Demetian Calendar (S) only, where, in the copy in *Cwrtmawr MS.* 44, of the sixteenth century, it is entered on November 22, as "Gwyl Polin, Escob."

The sixteenth and seventeenth century Glamorgan antiquaries of the *Iolo MSS.*, who next to Geoffrey of Monmouth, have done more than any one to pollute the "well undefiled" of Welsh history, have led modern Welsh writers entirely astray as to Paulinus, whom they call Pawl.

They say, "Pawl, saint and bishop, of Côr Illtyd, was the son of Meurig ab Tewdrig. He founded a *Côr* where Ty Gwyn ar Dâf is,

[1] It is mentioned as Capella S. Paulini in an agreement of 1339 (*Harleian MS.* 1249) between Bishop Gower of S. David's and the Abbot of Strata Florida, to which abbey the chapel was then attached.

[2] For the inscription, with observations thereon, see Sir J. Rhys, *Origin of the Englyn*, 1905, pp. 2–5 ; also Westwood, *Lapidarium Walliæ*, p. 79. The name Paulinus occurs in two other early inscriptions, one at Port Talbot (*Arch. Camb.*, 1899, pp. 145–6), and the other at Llandyssilio, Pemb. (*ibid.*, 1860, p. 54), but there is nothing to lead one to suppose that either refers to this saint. There is a Demetian commote or district called Pelunyawc, no doubt for Peuliniog, "the Land of Paulinus," probably the person commemorated in the Llandyssilio inscription. The district was situated in Cantref Gwarthaf, through which runs the boundary line between the counties of Pembroke and Carmarthen. With the name cf. Rhufon-iog, Anhun-iog, etc.

[3] The late Archbishop Benson.

in Dyfed," [1] that is, the village of Whitland, in Carmarthenshire, but popularly called locally Hendy Gwyn. Again, " Fflewin and Gredifael, sons of Ithel Hael of Llydaw, were saints of Côr y Ty Gwyn ar Dâf in Dyfed, where they were with Pawl, a saint of Côr Illtyd, superintending a Bangor," which, it is said further on, was founded by the same trio.[2]

They fell into error through the fact that the Carmarthenshire Ty Gwyn and Whitland were matched by the Ty Gwyn and (through the mistake of copyists of a couple of centuries earlier) the Whitland that were associated with Paulinus.

Rhygyfarch merely says that the place where David went to Paulinus was " in insula quadam." Giraldus calls it " Vecta Insula," [3] the Isle of Wight ! The Welsh Life mentions no place. That it was Whitland is based on fourteenth and fifteenth century MSS. of the Life of S. David, which describe Paulinus as residing " in insula Withlandi." [4] These, however, do not state that it was *on the Tâf*. As a matter of fact there is no proof whatever that there was a monastery of any sort at Whitland prior to the Cistercian abbey founded in the twelfth century. Ecclesiastically, Whitland is to-day the English *alias* of Eglwys Fair Glyn Tâf.

The first mention that we have of Y Ty Gwyn ar Dâf is in the Laws of Hywel Dda ; but the preambles to the Codes are conclusive evidence that there was no religious foundation of the name there in the first half of the tenth century. In the preamble to the Demetian Code it is said that Hywel " ordered that house (' Y Ty Gwynn ar Taf yn Dyuet ') to be constructed of white rods, as a lodge for him in hunting, when he came to Dyfed ; and on that account it was called Y Ty Gwyn." [5] So the name, as well as the monastic foundation there, are later than Paulinus and David by some centuries.

The statement that this Pawl-Paulinus was the son of Meurig ab Tewdrig, King of Glamorgan, is impossible, as that King was contemporary with S. Oudoceus, by whom he was excommunicated.

Later writers still have identified Paulinus with Pawl Hên of Manaw —no doubt the Manaw on the Firth of Forth—who was father of the Anglesey saints, Peulan, Gwyngeneu, and Gwenfaen, but he is nowhere entered as a saint in the saintly genealogies. The equation of Pawl Hên with Paulinus is, it need hardly be said to-day, a philological impossibility. Paulinus could only yield now Peulin, and the Pevl Hên of the

[1] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 139. With Pawl or Paul for Paulinus, cf. Sadwrn of Llansadwrn (Anglesey) and the Saturninus of the inscribed stone there.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 112, 114. [3] *Opera*, iii, p. 384.
[4] ii, pp. 293–4. See Mr. Phillimore's note in Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, pp. 425–6. [5] Ed. Aneurin Owen, folio, p. 164.

sixteenth century *Peniarth MS.* 75 (for Pawl Hên) would appear in present-day Welsh as Paul Hên, that is, Paul the Aged.

In the *Achau'r Saint* in *Cardiff MS.* 5 (1527), p. 120, is entered a mysterious " Pawl vab pawlpolinvs." [1]

S. PAULUS AURELIANUS, Bishop, Confessor

THE Life of S. Paul of Léon by Wormonoc was written in 884. The author was a disciple of Wrdestan, abbot of Landevenec, and he dedicated his work to Hinworet, Bishop of Léon. This Life exists in a MS. of the twelfth century in the Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris (*MS. Lat.* 16942) ; also in a MS. of the same century in the same collection (17004) ; and there are copies of it of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These have been collated and published by Dom Plaine in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1882, i, pp. 208–58.

M. Charles Cuissard has contributed different readings from a Fleury Codex : *Revue Celtique*, 1883, v, pp. 417–58.

These publications are a great boon, as the Life printed in the *Acta SS. Boll.*, March, ii, pp. 111–20, was unsatisfactory. A Life in Du Bosc, *Bibl. Floriac.*, was a summary from the Life by Wormonoc made by a monk of Fleury in the twelfth century. *Bibl. Floriac.*, Lugdun., 1605, pp. 418–28.

Wormonoc informs us that he based his work upon an earlier Life,[2] and what he adds is oratorical flourish, with which we could well dispense.

Further information relative to S. Paul is obtainable from the Lives of S. Tanguy and S. Joevin. But these are late. For S. Tanguy we have only Albert le Grand, and for S. Joevin, the Breviary Lessons for his feast, in the Church of Léon, *Acta SS. Boll.*, March, i, p. 138, and a Life by Albert le Grand.

We have likewise the Life of S. Goulven, written in the thirteenth century, but based on earlier material. It has been published by De la Borderie, Rennes, 1892.

Paul is also mentioned in the Life of Gildas by the Monk of Rhuis.

Paulus Aurelianus was born in Penohen (Penychen, a cantref of South-

[1] In *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 270, it is printed " Pawl vab Pawlpolins," and correctly as in the MS. from which the copy is taken.
[2] " Cujus gesta, quamvis nostro lucidius quam ut ante primitus veteri constructione depicta sunt, aucta videantur floruisse labore, hæc tamen quicumque veterum chartis rescribere velit, prohibere non videbor ; " c. 2.

east Glamorgan) about the year 480. He was the son of a Romanized Briton of high dignity.[1] He had eight brothers, of whom two only are named, Notolius and Potolius, and three sisters who are numbered among the Saints.[2] The name of one sister only is given by Wormonoc. It is Sitovolia, in whom we may be justified in recognizing Sativola, well known in the ancient diocese of Exeter. From the Legend of another sister, Jutwara, we ascertain that the third of the holy sisters was Wulvella. Eadwara is also mentioned, but this name is a reduplication of Jutwara (Aod Wyr, Acd the Virgin). These names have been Anglicized and Latinized almost past recognition in their original form.

The name of the father was Porpius (or Perpius) Aurelianus. He was a count, and, as we learn from the Life of S. Jutwara, was twice married, the second time to a woman who hated her step-daughters, and worked them much evil.

Wormonoc tells us that the family lived in a district called Brehant in the British tongue, in Latin "Guttur receptaculum pugnæ." This is the Welsh *Breuant*, "the Windpipe;" and it is the eighth wonder of Britain mentioned by Nennius—"a cave in the region of Gwent, having wind constantly blowing out of it."[3] Clement of Alexandria had already said something about this cave. "The compilers of narratives say that in the island of Britain there is a cave situated under a mountain, and a chasm on its summit; and that, accordingly, when the wind falls into the cave and rushes into the bosom of the cleft, a sound is heard like cymbals clashing musically. And after, when the wind is in the woods, when the leaves are moved by a sudden gust of wind, a sound is emitted like the song of birds."[4]

Giraldus describes a remarkable cave in Barry Island, but in it the clash of the waves rolling in sounds like smiths at work in the bowels of the earth.[5]

Against his father's wishes, at a very early age, Paul went to S. Illtyd, and was placed by him at Ynys Pyr or Caldey Isle.[6] Such vocations whilst still young were not uncommon. Gregory of Tours tells the story of a boy of twelve who desired to become a recluse, after having been placed in the service of a merchant. He persisted in his resolve, in spite of his master's opposition, and he was at length granted a cell in a vaulted crypt, in which he lived for eight years and then went mad, and broke down the wall that enclosed him. He never recovered his senses.[1]

[1] "Paulus, cognomento Aurelianus, cujusdam Comitis, nomine Perphii, viri secundum seculi dignitatem excellentissimi filius;" c. 4.

[2] "Tresque sorores sanctæ formam Trinitatis, tria sapientiæ sive divinæ sive humanæ genera regentis assimilantes, legimus habuisse;" c. 4.

[3] "In regione quæ vocatur Gwent est ibi fovea, a qua ventus inflat per omne tempus sine intermissione, et quando non flat ventus in tempore aestatis, de illa fovea incessanter flat, ut nemo possit sustinere neque ante foveæ profunditatem; et vocatur nomen ejus Vith Guint Brittanico sermone, Latine vero Flatio Venti;" *ed.* Mommsen, p. 215.

[4] Clem. Alex. *Stromata*, vi, 3.

[5] *Itin. Camb.*, i, c. 6.

[6] "Erat quædam insula Pyrus nomine, Demetiarum patriæ in finibus sita, in qua et Iltutus;" c. 6.

In Ynys Pyr Paul made the acquaintance of Saints David, Samson, and Gildas. He and they were afterwards removed to Llantwit, where they were employed by Illtyd in banking out the Severn, so as to reclaim tracts of rich alluvial soil. They were also set to scare away the birds, when the corn was in the ground. The boys amused themselves with netting the wild fowl and turning them into the barn, and then they conducted the abbot into it, to show him the place full of their captures. This is worked up in the story into a miracle, and is attributed alike to Samson, Paul, and Gildas. It was a boyish prank in which all shared.

At the age of sixteen Paul was weary of being set to scare the wild birds, and of toiling at dyke-making, and he with twelve other rebels ran away, and set up wattled cells, and built an oratory on the confines of his father's land.

They were clearly playing at being saints; but play became serious, at least with Paul, who stuck to his solitude, and remained there a good many years, and in course of time was ordained priest, by whom we are not informed, but it was probably by Dubricius. He lived in great sanctity, drinking only water, eating nothing but fish and vegetables, and clothing himself in skins.

He at last wearied of his life in Gwent, and went off with a number of companions to a certain King, Mark Conomanus, who ruled at Caer Banhed over "peoples speaking four tongues."[2] Caer Banhed does not occur among the cities of the Britons, given by Nennius. In the Life of S. Cadoc is a Bannauc, and there Cadoc established a monastery, about 528–9. This was after that Paul had been there, and Cadoc may have desired to follow up Paul's work.

The King desired to have Paul as bishop in his land, but to this the Saint would not consent.

[1] Greg. Turon. *Hist. Franc.*, viii, c. 34.

[2] The "peoples speaking four tongues" is borrowed from Bede, who, writing of Oswald, King of Northumbria, who reigned from 634 to 642, says, "denique omnes nationes et provincias Britanniæ, quæ in quatuor linguas, id est, Brittonum, Pictorum, Scottorum et Anglorum divisæ sunt, in ditione accepit," *Hist. Eccl.*, iii, 6. Much stress cannot be laid on the words used by Wormonoc, but they seem to indicate that the place Caer Banhed was in the north of Britain.

Mark had seven bells, which were rung to summon his nobles to dinner. Paul coveted one of them and asked for it. The King refused, and the Saint in a huff departed from his realm. It was quite in the way of a hot-tempered Celtic ecclesiastic to take umbrage at a trifle, and to throw up his work, if he were not accorded at once what he demanded. The bards had a right to demand what they desired, and might not be refused. The Saints considered that they had stepped into all the prerogatives of the bards. After having quitted the King, Paul went to visit his sister "in illius patriæ extremis finibus, id est, in littore maris Britanici degebat." The description applies to Cornwall, and especially to the Land's End district. Paul's purpose was to leave Britain and cross over into Armorica. For this purpose he would naturally go to Cornwall. On Penzance Bay his sister Wulvella had a settlement at Gulval, and hard by he planted himself where is now the parish of Paul. To the scanty information given us by Wormonoc, we may add something that may be gathered from foundations presumedly made by him on his way. His sister, Sativola, was in Exeter, outside the walls of the British city, adjoining which grew up in later times the Saxon city of Exanceastre.[1] Within the British city was his church, S. Paul's.

Near Asburton is the parish of Staverton, with the church dedicated to S. Paul, and although the patron is now held to be Paul the Apostle, it is conceivable that the latter has supplanted Paulus Aurelianus, for on the confines of the parish is the Holy Well of Gulval, or Wulvella. Paul's sisters Sativola and Wulvella had a foundation at Laneast, near Launceston, and close by, if we mistake not, Jutwara was settled at Lanteglos, by Camelford.

On reaching his sister's settlement, she complained to him of the encroachments of the sea, and he bade her accompany him to the beach, and mark out the tide-line with a row of pebbles. She did so, he prayed, and the pebbles grew into rocks that broke the force of the waves, and thenceforth the tides ceased to eat into the land. Wormonoc informs us that the way Paul took along the strand was in his day called "Paul's Walk." Divested of its miraculous garnishment, we can see what actually took place. There had, undoubtedly, been encroachments of the sea in Mount's Bay. The buried forest in the marsh above the Marazion railway station testifies to the subsidence of the land. What Paul effected for his sister Wulvella was to bank out the tide, as taught him by S. Illtyd.

The Cressar Reef and the Long Rock were traditionally supposed

[1] Kerslake, in *Journal Brit. Archæol. Assoc.*, x, p. 256.

to have grown out of the line of pebbles laid by Wulvella. And he formed a foundation on the same bay, now the parish of Paul.

After a while, he crossed into Brittany, and landed on the isle of Ouessant. There he constructed a monastery, consisting of a chapel, and thirteen little huts of turf and stone. The site was chosen because he found there a spring of wholesome water, with fertile soil about it. The port where he disembarked still bears his name, Porz-Pol, and his monastic foundation is where now stands the village of Lampol, in a glen opening on to the harbour, and facing south-west. The warm Gulf Stream flowing into the bay keeps the temperature there always mild, but the site is much exposed to the furious gales from the Atlantic.

The disciples who had come to Brittany with him were Conoc, also called Toconoc, who was placed as master over the rest, under Paul himself; Decan, a deacon; Jahoef, better known as Joevin, a nephew of Paul; Towedoc, Gwelloc, Bretwyn, Tigernomagle, Toseoc, Sithredus (i.e. Citharedus, a harper), Boi, Wyrman (Winniavus, *MS. Floriac.*), Lowenan, Toech, Chiel and Ercan. None of these had made foundations in Wales or in Cornwall, but most of them have left their impress in Brittany.[1]

Paul did not, however, remain long in the isle of Ouessant. He again took ship, and, passing the Varrec ar Mar'ch du (Rock of the Black Horse) off the Ile Molène, he entered the port on the mainland that has since borne his name, Lampaul Plouarzel. Thence he directed his steps to the land of Ach, that lies between the rivers Elorn and Aberbenoit, and here he resolved on establishing a monastery, in a *plou* of the name of Telmedou, now Ploudalmezou. The high tableland was then as now windswept and treeless, but in every dip and dimple there was rich vegetation and a tangle of forest.

The exact spot selected by him was where in a drop of the land, a good spring of water gushed forth. Settlers from Britain were already scattered over the district, and the *pagus* of Ach had been divided into a hundred *trefs*,[2] but there was no chieftain over the colonists, and they doubtless welcomed Paul, and were ready that he should organize them ecclesiastically.

A cousin now left him to establish himself at a little distance in solitude. His name was Peter, and he planted a cell now called Kerber (Caer-peder),[3] but this was done with the consent of Paul. Another

[1] Plaine, *Vita S. Pauli*, p. 28, note.

[2] "In ea plebe reperit quendam fundum, qui modo, deo donante, perpetua est oblatio eidem sancto, ita ut una ex tribibus ejus, quas centum numero . . . habet, dicatur;" c. 37.

[3] "In ipso fundo quemdam locum cujusdam fontis lucidissimi larga effusione

of the company, desiring to live a solitary life—his name was Vivehinus, or Vivian—wandered forth, and finding a copious spring in a sheltered spot, constructed for himself a hut of branches. But a buffalo was wont daily to seek this spring to drink of it, and resenting the intrusion, broke down the hut with its horns, and trampled on the fragments. Vivian re-erected his habitation, but next day the beast returned, and again destroyed it. When this had gone on for some days Vivian appealed to S. Paul for assistance. Paul visited the spot, took a liking to it, and agreed to take it over as his own.[1] So soon as a number of the monks had occupied the place, the buffalo abandoned it, and they were left in peace.

This is the place that now bears the name of Lampaul Ploudalmezou. It lies in a dip. The highland about was strewn with the megalithic monuments, dolmens and menhirs of the primeval inhabitants. The monks left the former unmolested, as covering the dead of the pagan aborigines, but such of the menhirs as received a religious cult, they sanctified by cutting them into crosses, and several such remain about Lampaul.

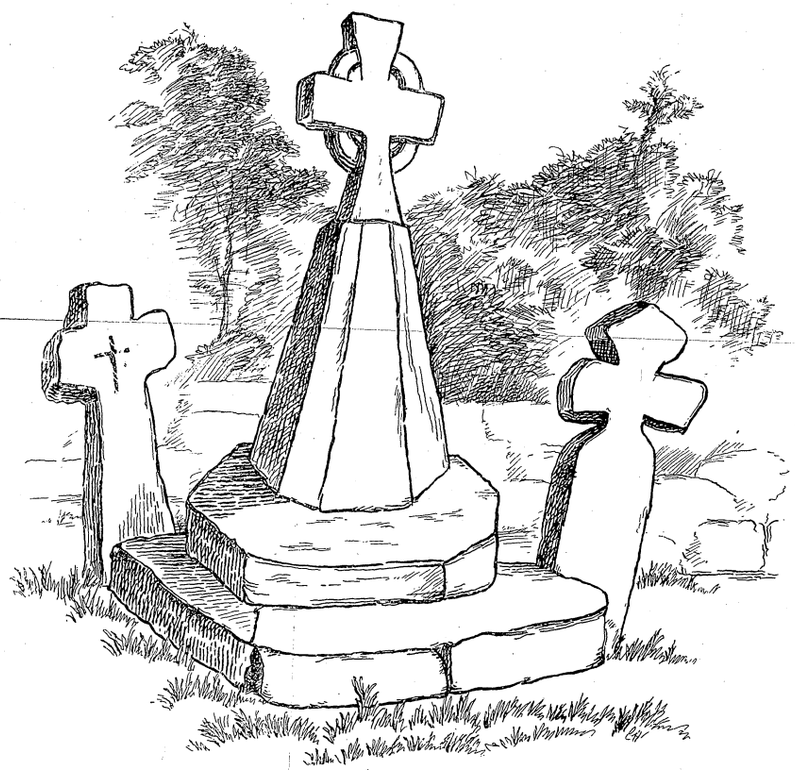
The spring still flows. It is in the churchyard, which is full of stately trees. The land gently falls to the shore and broad sands. The coast is girdled with countless reefs and rocky crags and with islets of granite, that break the fury of the waves from the North.

Paul did not remain long in this part of the land. He was uneasy lest his occupation should lack sanction, and he resolved on visiting the chieftain who exercised a nominal rule over the country of Léon.

He accordingly went east, travelling across the tableland, descending into the valley cleft by the streams that found their way to the ocean, then mounting again. At last he reached a *plebs* occupying a stony district, where was a Caer Wiorman, now Plouguerneau. To reach this, he crossed the Aber Vrach at the old ford used by the Romans, above where the tide reaches and swells the basin of the river. Immediately after crossing, his companions complained of thirst. Paul marked out where he bade them dig. They did so, and found what they required. Three springs gushed forth, and these are still shown at Prat Paul beyond the ford. When he had elicited these springs, he

clarissimum atque suavissimum. Ipse vero locus dicitur modo villa Petri;" c. 37. Plaine following Courson makes the place Lamber in Ploumoguer. But see Canon Abgrall's note in the new edition of Albert le Grand, p. 110.

[1] "Utque ejusdem loci amoenitatem valde sibi placentem aspexit. Frater, inquit (Paulus) carissime Vivehinus, iste locus si tibi placet, meus erit, eo meus sit tuus. Et ille, Magister, ait, benignissime, omnia quæ mea sunt vel esse possunt, tua sunt et mea," c. 38.



S. PAUL OF LÉON.
Group of Crosses at Ploudalmezou.

begged that one of them should thenceforth be reserved for the use of himself and his disciples.[1]

Whilst Paul was in Plouguerneau, a swineherd approached, and the Saint inquired of him who it was that claimed jurisdiction over the district.

"His name is Withur," replied the fellow, "and I am one of his swineherds. He is a good and God-fearing man, and he has been confirmed in rule by King Childebert. If you wish to visit him, I will put you in the way of doing so."

An old Roman road[2] led due east, and along this Paul and his comrades, guided by the pig-driver, travelled for two days, till they reached the western gate of a ruined Roman town, probably Ocismor. They found the ancient city surrounded by an earthen embankment.[3] Within were no other inhabitants than swine, a bear and a buffalo, and in a hollow tree a swarm of bees. The bear was driven by the monks into a pitfall where it was despatched. They took the honey from the bees, and were much refreshed by it.

After having well rested among the ruins, the swineherd conducted Paul to where is now the fishing village of Roscoff. The Count Withur, he informed him, had retired to the isle of Batz, that lay off the coast. Paul crossed to the island, where he found the old chief engaged in completing a copy of the Four Gospels which he had transcribed with his own hand.

Withur was delighted to see him, not only as united by a common love of God, but also because they were cousins, and came both of them from Gwent.[4]

It can hardly be matter of doubt that Paul knew all along that his kinsman was settled in this portion of Armorica, and that this was his main inducement in coming to settle in Léon.

Paul now told Withur his story, and when he had come to his quarrel with King Mark over the bell, a man arrived with a large salmon just caught; and on opening the fish, lo! the bell was found inside it. Such is the legend. It is one of the common myths that have attached themselves to various personages. In some the thing found in the fish is a ring, in others a key. As the bell, still extant, weighs eight pounds

[1] "Sanctus vir oraturus unum suis fontem tribuere precatur;" c. 42.

[2] "Sanctus itaque Paulus cum suis eodem pastore prævio iter arripiens, per viam publicam suæ a loco ecclesiæ plebis prædictæ ad solis occasum ducitur abiens;" c. 43.

[3] "Oppidum autem tunc temporis per circuitum erat muris terreis tempore prisco mira proceritate constructis circumceptum;" c. 44.

[4] "Quos duplicata tenebat propinquitas, nam carnalis nexu originis consobrini, spiritualis autem quod est in Christo, fratres erant;" c. 48.

and a half, and is seven and a half inches high, the salmon must have been of extraordinary size to have contained it.

The real fact was, we can hardly doubt, that when Paul lamented his lack of a bell, Withur said that he possessed one and would present it to him. Wormonoc tells us that the Count gave as gifts to his cousin, the site of the old Roman Castle, the island of Batz, the book of the Gospels he had transcribed and the bell, which acquired the name of *Hirglas*.

A story is introduced by the biographer at this point concerning the deliverance of the inhabitants of Batz from a monstrous serpent or dragon, by Paul, who bound his stole round the beast, led it to the edge of the sea, and precipitated it into the waters. We shall return to this later.

Paul now established his monastic centre in the ruined town of Ocismor, but he had also a house in Batz, and Withur abandoned the island to reside in one of his other mansions.

According to Wormonoc, Withur urged Paul to be ordained bishop, but he would not listen to the proposal, and the Count had recourse to a stratagem to obtain his consecration. He complained that owing to the difficulties of the way, his age, and the duties of his station, he could not visit Paris and discuss certain matters of importance with Childebert, and he asked Paul as a favour to convey sealed letters from him, by his own hand to the Frank King. Paul assented and went to Paris attended by twelve monks and a certain number of serfs. Withur, in the letter, had asked Childebert, so soon as he had read the epistle, to have Paul consecrated bishop. And this the King did.

Wormonoc read the story through later day eyes. What really occurred was almost certainly other. Withur, no more than Paul, had any idea of the episcopal office as exercising jurisdiction. In Celtic monasteries a bishop was retained as a necessary functionary for the conferring of orders, but the jurisdiction was in the hands of the abbot or abbess. The reason why Withur urged Paul to go to Paris was to obtain confirmation from the Frank King of his tenure of the ten *trefs* in the land of Ach, and of those bits of territory Withur had himself ceded to him.

But Childebert had Gallo-Roman ideas as to the office of a bishop. He was quite willing to ratify the grants and allow Paul authority over the *pagus* of Ach, but he must be qualified to exercise this jurisdiction by being consecrated bishop. Paul resisted as strenuously and as long as he could, but Childebert was peremptory, and Paul returned to Léon a bishop.

He now undertook with great energy a mission work throughout his diocese, and was warmly assisted by Withur. He destroyed the "temples," whatever they were, and if the people were not to be won by persuasion he had recourse to compulsion of a somewhat severe character;[1] for he found that the bulk of the population was wholly pagan.[2] This applies doubtless to the indigenous inhabitants and not to the British colonists. He built chapels, and established monastic cells throughout the district accorded to him.

At length, on the plea that he was worn out with age, he resigned the charge of his monastery and See to his nephew Johoevius or Joevin, and retired to the island of Batz. It was there that he was visited by S. Brendan about the year 526, but this was long before his resignation (see under S. BRENDAN). Although, according to Wormonoc, he surrendered his direction of the monastery and See because of his age, it is possible that an entirely different motive actuated him. In or about 550 Samson of Dol began to agitate for the elevation of Judual to the throne of Domnonia, and to effect a revolution against Conmore, then regent of Domnonia and Léon, and vice-gerent for Childebert. Paul was placed in a delicate situation. He was the principal ecclesiastical head in the district where Conmore had the centre of his power. If the revolution failed, and he had acted energetically against the regent, he would inevitably suffer severely. He deemed it advisable to place his nephew and disciple Joevin in his place, a man of frail and failing health, who ruled for one year only, and then died. On his death, Paul set up another man of straw, Tigernomagle, also not likely to live long, and he died just over a year from his appointment. This was in 555, precisely when Judual had succeeded in defeating and slaying Conmore. Now that all danger was over, Paul resumed the episcopal oversight of his diocese, and came forward to meet Judual returning from victory where is now Lampaul Guimiliau. He was able to satisfy Judual that he had worked for him, and was rewarded by the grant of land in that part.[3]

We come now to the consideration of the story of S. Paul and the great serpent or dragon. That in Wormonoc's Life is the same as that of S. Meven and the dragon. In Wormonoc's Life, Paul precipitates the monster into the sea at Batz; in that of S. Meven, this latter throws him into the Loyre. But there are two versions of this dragon myth in

[1] "Quosdam quidem volentes clementer ac benigne persuadens, quosdam autem nolentes districte feriendo corripiens, omnes tandem convertit ad fidei veræ unitatem;" c. 62.

[2] "Eadem ad quam venerat patria totius pene Christianæ religionis expers erat;" c. 57.

[3] "Judualus . . . illud territorium quod modo dicimus Pauli . . . in perpetua oblatione . . . tradidit sancto;" c. 63.

the life of S. Paul. According to the Life of S. Joevin, Paul went to Le Faou, where the dragon devastated the land, and led it up towards Léon, when a message reached him that the dragon had left its child behind at Le Faou and he sent it back thither to fetch its offspring, and then he conducted both to Batz, where he flung them into the sea.

There are three ways in which we can interpret these myths.

(1) That they sprung out of an attempt to explain the fact that the Saint was represented in art as trampling on the Old Serpent, the Devil. But this does not apply in the case of S. Paul, as Wormonoc wrote before artistic representations existed.

(2) That they symbolized the Saint's destruction of those wickerwork images in which human sacrifices were offered. The Druids, according to Cæsar, enclosed their victims in wickerwork figures, and built fires about them. It is possible that these basket figures may have been given the shapes of dragons, and that the story of the saints destroying such monsters may mean no more than that they put an end to these human sacrifices. The bonfires at Midsummer and at the "Pardons" in Brittany may be traces of these old rites.

(3) That they represent some great enemy of the Church, some persecutor against whom they waged a determined warfare, and whom they overcame.

Now Conmore, Regent of Domnonia, who annexed Léon, had begun his career as a favourer of the Saints, but he changed his conduct towards them, and they assumed a determined and inveterate hostility towards him. Seven of them met on the Menez Hom and solemnly cursed him. Gildas and Samson and Meven left no stone unturned to effect his destruction; and it is quite possible that in the dragon, mastered and destroyed by Paul, Conmore may be signified. Paul, by resigning his bishopric and abbacy, retired into a private situation, and was the more able, and at liberty, to use all his personal influence against the usurper. Whether he were one of the seven on the mountain, who cursed and excommunicated Conmore, we do not know, but it is quite possible that he was one. His plea of feebleness and old age certainly could not apply if he were able to go as far as Le Faou to agitate against the usurper.

It is certainly remarkable that Wormonoc does not mention Conmore in his Life of S. Paul, and yet Conmore was the most potent figure in the political history of Domnonia and Léon at the time. We strongly suspect that Conmore is meant in the two versions of the tale of Paul and the dragon; but if so, then the conflict with and subjugation of the monster is out of its proper historical position in the Life by Wormonoc, but correctly placed in the Life of S. Joevin. Paul

now founded a monastery at Gerber on the site of the great battle in which Judual finally defeated Conmore, and placed over it as head Tanguy, a convert who had murdered his sister, in a fit of unreasoning anger.

Gerber afterwards came to be called Le Relecq. The name Relecq, Relegou, Abbatia de reliquiis, was given to it because of the vast accumulation of bones on the spot, after the battle. It was founded about the year 560.

After retaining the episcopal charge for a few years, worn out with age and desirous of rest, Paul resigned once more, and was succeeded by Cetomerin. Then he retired to the isle of Batz, where he had built a church. Several of his monks kept him company. So frail and thin was the old man as to be all but transparent.[1]

On Batz S. Paul died at an advanced age. Authorities differ as to whether he were a hundred, a hundred and two, or a hundred and four years old.

In determining the dates of the Life of S. Paul we have little that is reliable to go upon, and we can only hope to give them approximately—

Born in Penychen	*c.* 479
Goes to S. Illtyd at Ynys Pyr	*c.* 490
Deserts S. Illtyd, and founds a cell along with other boys.	*c.* 496
Ordained priest	*c.* 504
Goes to Caerbanhed	*c.* 506
Leaves and goes into the South-west of Britain	*c.* 508
Crosses into Armorica	*c.* 510
Consecrated Bishop	*c.* 516
Visited by S. Brendan	*c.* 526
Resigns his See and succeeded by Joevin	553
Death of Joevin and succession of Tigernomagle	554
Death of Tigernomagle, Paul resumes his office.	
Defeat and death of Conmore and elevation of Judual	555
Foundation of Gerber	*c.* 560
Death of S. Paul at the age of 100	*c.* 579.

The date of the second resignation, and the elevation of Cetomerin, is quite uncertain, and the date of Paul's death is as uncertain. It is generally taken to have occurred between 570 and 579, but the Dominical letter A can only stand for 573 or 579, and the latter is the preferable date.

S. Paul of Léon seems to have had no day of commemoration in England. He was confounded with Paulinus of York, whose day is

[1] "Cutis solummodo atque ossa igne divini amoris arefacta remanisse videbantur, et quasi per lucidissimum vitrum ita per palmæ ejus interiora solis radios splendescere videres;" c. 64.

October 10, and this is also the day of the Translation of S. Paul of Léon. But Paulus Aurelianus died on March 12, being a Sunday.

March 12 is observed as his feast in the diocese of Léon, but some Brittany Breviaries give March 13.

S. Paul is patron of the City of Caer Paul, or S. Pol-de-Léon, founded by him among the ruins of Ocismor; also of the isle of Batz, and of the churches already mentioned as of his founding.

In Wales he receives no recognition, and his establishment in Gwent, wherever it was, no longer bears his name.

In Devon, however, is the church of S. Paul in Exeter.

Possibly he may have been the original patron of Staverton.

In Cornwall he is patron of Paul by Penzance. There the feast is observed on October 10, the day of his Translation, as also that of Paulinus of York. In 1259 Bishop Bronescombe calls the church that of S. Paulinus.

The bell given to S. Paul by Withur is preserved in the Cathedral of S. Pol-de-Léon, and his reputed stole, a piece of Oriental woven work, representing huntsmen on horseback, with falcons on their wrists, and dogs at their feet, is kept at Batz.

In art S. Paul is represented as a bishop trampling on a dragon. He is invoked in the tenth century Celtic Litany published by Mabillon and Warren.[1]

S. PAWL HÊN, see S. PAULINUS

S. PEBLIG, Priest, Confessor

PEBLIG was the son of Maxen Wledig, or Maximus, and Elen Luyddog,[2] and brother of Owain, who, after the death of Maximus, was acknowledged as King of all Britain, and who refused to pay the tribute demanded of Britain by the Romans. Cystennin, Ednyfed and Gwythyr (Victor) were also sons of Maxen. Peblig is esteemed the founder of Llanbeblig near Carnarvon, and indeed its parish church.

[1] *Revue Celtique*, 1888, pp. 21, *seq.*; 1890, p. 137.

[2] *Peniarth MSS.* 12 and 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 269; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 416, 429; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 102, 113, 138. His genealogy is also given in the Welsh Life of S. Ursula in *Peniarth MS.* 182 (*circa* 1514). He is referred to in a poem in *Gweithiau Iolo Goch*, ed. Ashton, p. 496; and is one of the saints whose protection is invoked for Henry VII (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 314). Peblig, as a name, is rare. There is an obscure reference to a Peblig in the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene, ii, p. 139).



S. PAUL OF LÉON.
From Statue at Lampaul-Guimiliau.

The River Seiont makes a great loop; after running south-west it turns abruptly north to discharge its waters into the Menai Straits. In this finger of land between the river and the Straits lay the ancient town of Segontium. The neighbourhood teems with memories of Elen, the wife of Maximus, and mother of Peblig. Here, among the crumbling remains of the town, he founded his church. The Irish had taken advantage of the departure of Maximus with the flower of the British youth in 387, to fall upon the coast of Wales, and to occupy it. But probably the Roman walls of Segontium held them at bay, and though they spread over the country and held Môn in force, they did not venture to break into the fortified town. So only can we account for the foundation of Peblig in Segontium.

Carnarvon is of much later date; the castle erected there by Edward I has drawn the town about it and left desolate the site of the old city of Segontium, and the church of S. Peblig is left in the fields, with only a hospital and a workhouse as neighbours. Within the town of Carnarvon was formerly a chapel to S. Helen, but it has disappeared.

Speed, on his plan of the town of Carnarvon, 1610, gives "Lone Peblike" as the name of the road leading out of the town towards Llanbeblig. The name Peblig is derived from the Latin Publicius, through the form Puplicius.

The Welsh Calendars give the festival of Peblig on July 3, which occurs in those in *Peniarth MSS.* 27, 186, and 219, *Jesus College MS.* 141, *Mostyn MS.* 88, the *Iolo MSS.*, *Llanstephan MS.* 117, *Additional MS.* 14, 882, and the Prymers of 1546, 1618, and 1633. It is, however, on the 2nd of July in *Peniarth MS.* 187, in error, as is also the 4th, which Browne Willis gives.[1]

Nicolas Roscarrock enters him as "S. Piblick, priest, confessor."

Robert Myddelton, in a complimentary Ode to Bishop Richard Davies of S. David's (*Peniarth MS.* 98), written in 1574, alludes to the Bishop as a Peblig for speech—

"Peblig urddedig iraidd ddwediad."

In *Llanstephan MS.* 167 (of end of seventeenth century) is a poem, entitled "Owdl i Beblyg Sant," by the fifteenth century priest-bard Syr Gruffydd (Fain) ab Llywelyn, but the heading is misleading, as it treats entirely of our Lord's Passion and Crucifixion.[2]

[1] *Bangor*, p. 272.

[2] In *Cardiff MS.* 7 (late sixteenth century) it is "Owdwl yr Iesv o Gaernarfon."

S. PEDROG, see S. PETROC

S. PEDRWN, Confessor

PEDRWN was the son of Emyr Llydaw, and the father of S. Padarn.[1] He was a saint of Côr Illtyd, according to the *Iolo MSS.*,[2] and the brother of Amwn Ddu, Umbrafel, Gwyndaf Hên, Gwen Teirbron, and others. He is mentioned as Petranus in the Life of S. Padarn.

That Life tells us[3] that Padarn was born in Armorica of noble parents, being the son of Petran by his wife Guean. Soon after the birth of the child, Petran left its mother and it that he might go to Ireland to embrace the religious life. Years afterwards, on being told whither and wherefore his father had gone, Padarn was inspired to follow the same life, and resolved on going in quest of his father. He departed to Britain with a large company and settled in Mauritana, afterwards Llanbadarn Fawr, in Cardiganshire, where he founded a monastery. Having organized it, he departed for Ireland, where he found his father. He stayed a while with him, and then returned to Llanbadarn, leaving his father in Ireland; and this is the last we hear of him. His name occurs in no Irish Calendar.

S. PEDYR, Confessor

ACCORDING to the saintly genealogies, Pedyr, or Pedr, was a son of Corun ab Ceredig ab Cunedda Wledig, and brother to SS. Carannog and Tyssul.[4] In the *Progenies Keredic* (in *Cotton MS. Vesp.* A. xiv), however, Ceredig's son Corun is made to be the father of SS. Keneu and Tyduic, whilst his son Corin is father of Pedyr Lanwaur. But clearly the same son is meant by Corun and Corin. It is not known where the church was of which this Pedr was evidently the saint. The *waur* of the name might stand for either *Wawr* or *Fawr*. There was a

[1] *Peniarth MSS.* 12, 16, 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 428, etc. In the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 105, he is called Pedredin, and on p. 133 Pedryn. By the Padran ab Peitwn (or Hedd) ab Emyr Llydaw of *Myv. Arch.*, p. 429, is meant S. Padarn. Petrun, Petrwn, or Pedrwn is probably the Latin name Petronius.

[2] P. 132. His title to be regarded a Welsh saint rests on this passage.

[3] *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 189–91.

[4] *Peniarth MS.* 16; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 265; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 429. Pedyr, later Pedr, is the usual Welsh form of the name Peter. In the *Book of Llan Dâv* we have Llan Petyr, etc. Peder, son of Glywys, and another, a son of Kyngar, occur in *Jesus College MS.* 20. In Cornish the name was Pedyr or Peder.

Gwawr daughter of Ceredig and mother of Gwynllyw, and another the daughter of Brychan. There are two Llanfawr Churches,[1] but their dedications are S. Deiniol and the Holy Cross, respectively. Mr. Phillimore[2] thinks that Lanwaur is likely to mean Lampeter, the local Welsh S. Peter being superseded there by the Apostle.

It has been supposed[3] that some of the many Llanbedr or S. Peter Churches are dedicated to this Welsh S. Peter; but very improbably we think. The pre-Norman dedications to S. Peter in Deheubarth appear to be only Llanybyddair, Lampeter, and Lampeter Velfrey, so that the possible dedications to the Welsh saint are very few. In the case of the first-named it is quite evident that the Apostle's name has been read into it. In the fourteenth century Hengwrt Charters published by Sir Thomas Phillipps it occurs as *Lannebetheyr* and *Llanybeddeir*;[4] and Lewis Glyn Cothi, in the fifteenth century, makes it rhyme with *Mair*.[5]

S. PEIRIO, Abbot, Confessor

PEIRIO was a son of Caw.[6] He is also represented as son of Gildas, and therefore grandson of Caw, and to have founded Llanfair y Mynydd,[7] now called S. Mary's Hill, near Bridgend, in Glamorganshire.

He entered the congregation of S. Illtyd, and, according to the *Iolo MSS.*, succeeded him as principal of Llantwit, where he lies buried.[8] These notices, it should be mentioned, are late.

Philologically, it would not be possible to equate Peirio with the Piro or Pirus who occurs in the Life of S. Samson as head of Ynys Pyr or Caldey Isle. The island monastery would seem to have been originally Llan Illtut, and Llantwit accordingly was Llantwit Major. But the earlier name fell into oblivion and was replaced by that of Ynys Pyr (or Byr). The term *Insula* is variously applied to an actual island and to

[1] For these churches, see iii, pp. 498–9.

[2] Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, p. 469.

[3] E.g., *Myv. Arch.*, p. 429.

[4] *Cart. S. Johannis Bapt. de Caermarthen*, 1865, pp. 22–5, 53.

[5] *Gwaith*, 1837, pp. 227, 231. "Prysg Byddair," *ibid.*, p. 225, is a place-name. *Byddair* occurs in place-names elsewhere; e.g. Crug y Byddair, a township of Bugeildy parish, and Rhydybyther, in Eglwysilan (*Cardiff Records*, v, p. 409).

[6] *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 101, 109, 116, 136, 142; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 429.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 220.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 103. Piro is given as Illtyd's successor in a list of the Abbots of Llantwit found in a deed at Llandaff (Appendix to Williams's *Monmouthshire*, 1796, p. 50).

a monastic settlement on the mainland; so that when, as in the *Vita Gildæ* we read: "Quæ insula usque in hodiernum diem Lanna Hilduti vocitatur," it is uncertain whether Caldey or Llantwit is meant.

The *Vita Samsonis* says, however: "Erat non longe ab hoc monasterio (i.e. Hilduti) insula quædam nuper fundata a quodam egregio viro ac sancto presbytero, nomine Piro."

Whether Piro, or Pirus as he is called in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, be the same as Peirio, brother or son of Gildas, is uncertain; probably not.[1]

Piro, as head of Llan Illtut in Caldey, was not quite the right man for such a position. He got so drunk one night that, in returning to his cell, he tumbled into the well, and was pulled out dead. After this catastrophe S. Samson was elected head to replace him, but the rule under Piro had been so lax, that Samson found it impossible to bring the young monks into discipline, and threw up the abbacy in disgust.[2]

Rhosbeirio, subject to Bodewryd, Anglesey, is dedicated to the memory of Peirio. Leland calls it "Bettws Rosbeirio."[3] In the *Record of Caernarvon* land at "Rospyriaw" is mentioned as being held "de Sco Birryow."[4]

S. PEITHIAN, Virgin

PEITHIAN or Peithien was a daughter of Caw and sister of Gildas.[5] She, like her sisters Cywyllog and Gwenabwy, settled in Anglesey, where they had oratories or churches bearing their names.

She is mentioned in the Life of Gildas by the monk of Rhuis, where she is called Peteova.[6] "Egreas (Eugrad), with his brother Alleccus (Gallgo) and their sister Peteova, a virgin consecrated to God, having also themselves similarly (with their brother Maelog) given up their patrimony and renounced worldly pomp, retired to the remotest part of that country (namely, Anglesey), and at no long distance from each other, built, each one for himself, an oratory, placing their sister in the

[1] The Pyr or Pir of Ynys Byr and Manor-bier is Latinized Porius in a sixth century inscription on a stone near Trawsfynydd; and also in the name Vortiporius (Guorthepir) of Gildas.

[2] See further and more fully in the Life of S. Samson.

[3] *Collect.*, 1774, p. 88. [4] 1838, pp. 59, 61.

[5] *Peniarth MS.* 75 (Peithien); *Iolo MSS.*, p. 143; on p. 117 it is spelt Peillan, and on p. 137, Peithini.

[6] *Gildas*, ed. Hugh Williams, p. 326. To yield Peithian we should have expected her name to appear as Pettiona or Pectiona. The *v* or *u* is, of course, a misreading for *n*.

middle one. Both of them alternately, each on his own day, used to celebrate with her the Daily Hours and the Mass; and taking food with her after the Vespers, and returning thanks to God, they returned before sunset, each to his own oratory; for each of them used to celebrate the vigils separately in his own oratory. They were buried in the oratories which they had built, and are preserved there, famous and illustrious for their constant miracles, and destined to rise again in glory."

The neighbouring churches of Llaneugrad and Llanallgo preserve the names of the two brothers, but there is no Llanbeithian lying between them, or anywhere else in the neighbourhood, to testify to her presence there. The two churches are situated in the ancient commote of Twrcelyn, with which Caw was associated.

Ynys Peithan is mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dâv*[1] as part of a grant made by Rhiwallon, the son of Rhun, to Bishop Joseph of Llandaff, who died in 1043. It bordered on the River Taff, in Glamorganshire.

S. PEREDUR

THE *Iolo MSS.* documents include Peredur, the son of Elifer Gosgorddfawr, as well as his brother Gwrgi, among the Welsh Saints. They were saints, or monks, of Llantwit, and Peredur was at one time its principal or abbot.[2]

But there is not the slightest ground for regarding either Peredur or Gwrgi as a Welsh saint. They belonged to North Britain, and met their death there as men of war, in 580. Probably enough Peredur never set foot in Wales. See what has been said under S. GWRGI.[3]

Peredur as a character is partly historical and partly mythical. He seems to have been the original of the Perceval of Romance.

S. PERIS, "Cardinal"

THIS saint is merely entered in the older *Bonedds* as "S. Peris, Cardinal of Rome,"[4] with nothing to indicate that he was a Welsh saint,

[1] Pp. 257–8. Peithan is, apparently, a diminutive of Peith (later Paith), found also in Peith-wyr, the Welsh for the Picts (*Book of Taliessin*). A Peithan who had a son named Wit, is mentioned in the *Gododin*.

[2] Pp. 105, 128. Zimmer derives the name from the Latin Peritorius.

[3] iii, p. 207.

[4] *Peniarth MSS.* 12, 16; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Cardiff MS.* 5 (1527), p. 119. Peris is sometimes said to have lived in the thirteenth century, but his insertion in

beyond his inclusion among those that are usually so regarded. There is, however, a Peris mentioned—but his existence is very doubtful, and certainly his identification with the "Cardinal"—as one of the dozen sons of Helig ab Glanog of Tyno Helig, whose lands the sea overwhelmed, of whom it is said that they thereupon became saints of Bangor on Dee, and that afterwards some of them went to Bardsey.[1]

To Peris is dedicated Llanberis, and Llangian, under Llanbedrog, both in Carnarvonshire, but the latter in conjunction with Cian, his servant, of whose pedigree we also know nothing.

The festival of Peris occurs on December 11 in the calendars in *Peniarth MSS.* 186, 187, 219, the *Grammar* of John Edwards of Chirkland, 1481, *Additional MS.* 14,882, the Prymers of 1618 and 1633, and *Allwydd Paradwys*, 1670. Browne Willis also gives him the same day under Llanberis and Llangian.[2] Rees, however, says July 26.[3]

Ffynnon Beris, his Holy Well at Llanberis, is a little distance from the church, in front of a cottage under a rock called Tynyffynnon, in which formerly its "priestess" lived. The waters of the well were supposed to cure rickety children and scrofulous and rheumatic persons, who were to bathe in it.[4] Two "sacred fish" have always been kept in the well, and they were believed to be the successors of a long series of others which have inhabited it in an unbroken line from the days of S. Peris. Two new trout were put in in 1896. These fish, like the eel of some other Holy Wells in Wales, are the Welsh counterpart to the Irish Salmon of Knowledge.

Invalids in large numbers came during the eighteenth and the first

Peniarth MS. 16, of the early thirteenth century, is presumptive proof that he lived earlier. The only Peris of earlier date that we have come across is that mentioned under the year 1070 in *Brut y Saeson*, as one of the three Papal Legates present at Winchester at the deposition of Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury: "a legate from Rome (i.e. Bishop Hermenfride) and two priests of Cardinals, Ieuan and Peris" (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 665*a*). But in the document recording the Council the priest-cardinals are referred to as "presbyteros Johannem et Petrum cardinales" (Wilkins, *Concilia*, i, p. 322). Peris occurs several times for Peter also in the *Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, ed. Aldis Wright, 1887, see index to ii, p. 1,002. The name is derived from the same origin as that of the Parisii, whose territory corresponded with the modern diocese of Paris; and that of the Parisi of Early Britain. Henricus Peris occurs among a number of Welsh names in a Penrice document of 1323 (Clark, *Cartæ*, iv, p. 109).

[1] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 124; cf. *Myv. Arch.*, p. 429. See iii, p. 261.

[2] *Bangor*, 1721, pp. 272, 275.

[3] *Welsh Saints*, p. 302.

[4] Carlisle, *Topog. Dict. of Wales*, 1811, *s.v.* Llanberis; Cathrall, *N. Wales*, 1828, ii, p. 140; J. Evans, *Letters written during a Tour through N. Wales* in 1798, ed. 1804, pp. 180–1. In Cathrall it is added, "A poor woman, who lives in a cottage near the spring, has a few pence given to her by strangers for showing one or two large trout which she feeds in the well."

half of the nineteenth century to bathe in the well and drink of its waters; and the oak box (Cyff Peris), into which the visitors dropped their offerings, is still in its place in the church. The tradition is that if one of the fish came out of its hiding place when an invalid took some of the water for drinking or for bathing purposes cure was certain; but if the fish remained in their den the water would do those who took it no good. Persons often enticed them out by throwing in something for them to eat. Two fish only are to be put in the well at a time, and they generally live in it for about half a century. If one dies before the other, it would be of no use to put in a new fish, for the old one would not associate with it, and would die. The experiment has been tried. The last of the two fish put in the well about fifty years previously died in August, 1896. It had been blind for some time. It measured 17 inches, and was buried in the garden adjoining the well.[1]

The offerings put by the devotees into Cyff Peris were, wholly or in part, handed over to the Parish Clerk in consideration of his services. The particulars which the Llanberis Terriers give under this item are of such interest that we transcribe them in full. The one dated 1776—the earliest extant it would appear—states, "The Clerk's Wages is 6*s.* 4*d.*, and is Paid by the Churchwardens yearly upon Easter Monday with the money that are taken out yearly from a box made in a Timber in the Body of the Church, which are put in by Strangers that now and then come to a virtuous well that is in this Parish, and when the Box is too short the wages is made up by an addition from the Parish; and the Clerk gets beside, one shilling every Marriage, and Burial Offerings." The details are fuller in the Terrier of 1814, in the handwriting of the Rev. P. B. Williams, then Rector of the parish—"The Clerk's Wages are 6*s.* 4*d.*, and paid by the Wardens. There is an Alms Box in the Church, the key of which is kept by the Wardens, and into which 6*d.* and 4*d.* pieces were formerly put very frequently by persons who either bathed their children, or came themselves for that purpose, in St. Peris's Well, within a quarter of a mile of the Church, and celebrated in former days for the Cure of Wens, Warts, Rickets, Rheumatisms, etc. These small offerings to the Saint amounted at the end of the year to a considerable sum, but at present they are very trifling."

Peris's name is perpetuated at Llanberis in the names Llyn Peris, Nant Peris, Llwyn Peris, and Gorphwysfa Beris (his Resting-place). Edward Lhuyd, in a letter written in 1693, says, "I have seen a fellow march nine times about Gorphwysfa Peris a Carnedh under Snowdon hill; repeating y^e^ L^ds^ Prayer, and casting in a stone at every turn: whence I am apt to imagine y^t^ St. Peris or some one else lies buried

[1] *Arch. Camb.*, 1899, p. 334.

there; tho' their tradition be onely that he was used constantly to rest there after he came up y^e^ steep hill below it." [1] Nant Peris was formerly known as Nant y Mynach yn Eryri. Peris and Padarn are locally believed, through their occurrence in the topography, to have retired to this secluded spot for religious contemplation.

Cair Peris, or Caer Beris, of the Nennian Catalogue, Geoffrey's Welsh *Brut*, and the Triads, is Porchester. A stream, Nant Peris, runs into the sea at Llansantffraid, in Mid-Cardiganshire, where there is also a Hafod Peris. In the parish of Llanganten, near Builth, is "a mound, partly natural and partly artificial, on which it is said stood a castle, called Castell Cae Beris;"[2] or rather, Caer Beris. These instances show the distribution of the name, as such.

Peris is one of the many Welsh Saints to whose guardianship Henry VII was committed in a poem.[3]

S. PERWAS, Confessor

LELAND [4] gives under Llanrhuddlad, in Anglesey, a chapel called Bettws Perwas, and renders the name Perwas as "a swete servant." In a MS. of 1590–2 [5] it is given as Llan Berwas; but the chapel is long since extinct. Of Perwas nothing is known.

S. PETEOVA, see S. PEITHIAN

S. PETROC, Abbot, Confessor

THE authority for the Life of this man, who has left a deeper impress on the West of England than any other Saint, is a Life by John of Tynemouth, printed by Capgrave in the *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, and reprinted in the *Acta SS. Boll.*, Jun. i, pp. 400–2. The original of this

[1] *Arch. Camb*, 1848, pp. 245–6. It is the "Sedes Peris" of Llywelyn's charter to the Abbey of Aberconwy, 1198 (Dugdale, *Monast.*, v, p. 673). It is at Pen-y-pass.
[2] Theo. Jones, *Breconshire*, ed. 1898, p. 293.
[3] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 314.
[4] *Collect.*, 1774, iv, p. 87.
[5] Dr. J. G. Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 912.

epitome is now lost. There is a brief Life in Lambeth Library, MS. 99, fo. 190*a*, of the 14th century. To this may be added mention in the *Vita S. Cadoci*.[1]

According to this last he was the son of Glywys, King of Glywysing. His eldest brother was Gwynllyw the Warrior. He left South Wales, "rejecting the vanities and transient allurements of the world; despising worldly for heavenly things, he began to adhere firmly to God, and gave up his country, his kindred, and at last all the things of this world. Leaving home, he reached Cornwall, in the district called Botmenei (Bodmin), where, throughout his life, he served God most devoutly, and erected a very large monastery in His honour."

On the other hand, the Welsh Pedigrees say that he (as Pedrog) was a son of Clement, a Cornish *regulus*.[2] It is possible to reconcile these statements if we suppose Clement to have been brother or cousin of Gwynllyw, and to have headed the South-east Wales invasion of North-east Cornwall. Petroc had probably no choice but to adopt the ecclesiastical profession.

John of Tynemouth says he was "Natione Cumber," and he was followed by William of Worcester, who says, "Sanctus Petrocus, rex patriæ Cumbrorum, id est partis borialis regni Angliæ reliquit regnum fratris suo junioris, jacet in pulchro scrinio apud Bodmun ecclesiam coram capella Beatæ Mariæ." [3]

That Petroc came from Cumbria is most improbable; no other instance of a saint from this part occurs in Cornwall, whereas a great host of the family from South Wales did settle there. The mistake is only an apparent one, for the distinction between Cumbria and Cambria had not then been established. Both forms are in point of origin the same.[4] Petroc was, in fact, a native of Glywysing, in South Wales.

Taking with him sixty companions, he entered a monastery at an early age, and received the religious habit.

After some years Petroc went to Ireland, where he studied for twenty years, reading profane and sacred literature. Where he was, we are not informed, but he was probably with Eoghain or Eugenius of Kilnamanach, for we are told that Coemgen, when a child of seven, was committed to him to be reared for the monastic life, and we know that

[1] *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 22–3.
[2] *Peniarth MS.* 16; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Jesus College MS.* 20; *Cardiff MSS.* 5 (p. 120) and 25 (p. 117); *Llanstephan MS.* 28 (as Pedrogl); *Myv. Arch.*, p. 429. In late writers he is sometimes confounded with Pedrogl Paladrddellt (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 411). Petroc or Pedrog is really Peterkin, i.e. Peter with the diminutive *oc*.
[3] *Lambeth MS.* 99, "Petrocus spreto regimine in Cambria regnandi."
[4] Sir J. Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 1904, p. 144.

Coemgen was a disciple of S. Eoghain, who was his uncle.[1] Eoghain had been himself trained by S. Mancen, or Ninio the Old, at Ty Gwyn.

Leland gives but a meagre outline of the Legend :—

"Ex Vita Petroci.

Petrocus gener Camber.

Petrocus 20 annos studuit in Hibernia.

Petrocus reversus est ad suum monasterium in Cornubia.

Petrocus obiit prid. non. Julii." [2]

Leland, it will be seen, makes Petroc a Cambrian and not a Cumbrian, and he allows us to understand that the monastery in which he had studied as a boy was in Cornwall.

Coemgen died in 617 according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*. He is said to have lived to the age of 120 years, which is absurd. He may have lived to near a hundred. Eoghain, the presumed master of Petroc, died in 570. Coemgen cannot have been a pupil of Petroc but a junior fellow disciple.

The twenty years of his schooling in Ireland elapsed, Petroc returned to Cornwall, and he went back in the same boat in which he had crossed the sea to Ireland. He had disciples with him. The wind was favourable, and he entered the Hayle or Camelmouth at Padstow, then called Laffenac. He arrived at an unpropitious moment, when harvesters were busily engaged in carrying their corn. And when the ship-load of monks asked for water, they replied rudely that they had none to give them, they must look out for water for themselves.

Alford,[3] citing Capgrave, says that these harvesters were Saxons; but Capgrave, or rather John of Tynemouth, does not say so. The men were in haste to carry their corn, fearing rain, and did not care to be delayed by a party of travellers just arrived. There were plenty of springs accessible. Let these men go and find water for themselves. The story is introduced merely as an excuse for giving Petroc an occasion to elicit a spring miraculously, which he did at once with his staff.

On landing at Padstow, Petroc inquired whether there were any servants of God there, and was informed that one, Samson, lodged near. There can be no manner of doubt that this was the great S. Samson. His chapel stood above the harbour, where is now Place House.

[1] Ussher, after quoting John of Tynemouth, adds, "Quo tempore S. Coemgenum sive Keyvinum, Glindelacensem postea Abbatem, a septimo usque ad duodecimum ætatis annum, in literis ac sanctis moribus ab eo fuisse institutum, vitæ Coemgeni scriptor memorat." *De Britann. Eccl. Primord.*, ii, p. 1,058 (ed. 1639). This is not mentioned in the Life of S. Coemgen in the *Cod. Salaman.*

[2] *Itin.*, iii, p. 52.

[3] *Annales Eccl.*, ii, 10.

When Samson heard of the arrival of the party from Ireland, he was not overpleased, and prepared to depart. Petroc visited him, and Samson received him with chilling reserve and stiffness.[1] However, when Petroc kissed him and conversed with him, he relaxed. It was, however, obvious that there was not room for both in the same place. Samson had already received a rebuff from some monks residing near by, and he departed to establish a monastic settlement elsewhere, at Southill.

Here we have some means of arriving at an approximate date. Samson was in Cornwall from about 527 to 546; but the date of his arrival in Cornwall cannot be fixed with certainty, as will be seen when we come to deal with him.

Coemgen had been with Petroc, if we may trust the Life quoted by Ussher, for five years; that would be till Petroc left. If Coemgen were born in 520, he was sent to the monastic school as a mere child.

Petroc arrived in Padstow harbour about the year 543; but an earlier date would suit better the chronology of the Life of Samson. At Padstow, Petroc remained for thirty years, to about 573.

He was wont daily to stand from cock-crow to dawn in the water chanting psalms. He ate nothing but bread, except on Sundays, when he had a good bowl of porridge.

At the end of thirty years an untoward affair happened, which induced him to depart on pilgrimage to Rome. There had been an unusually rainy season. His disciples and the people of the country round resorted to him to complain, and he promised them that on the morrow the weather would change. But next day it poured as before, and his credit as a prophet and miracle-worker was so damaged that he deemed it advisable to disappear for a while.[2] He accordingly resolved on departure on the plea that he desired to visit the holy places.

The story of his travels is purely mythical. He sought Rome first, and then Jerusalem. From Jerusalem he started for India, and reached the ocean. There he fell asleep on the shore. On awaking, he saw a large silver bowl [3] swimming towards him on the waves. It was large

[1] "Sampson ita membris diriguit, ut instumentum, quo terram evertere solebat, manu movere non posset, . . . et accedente Petroco, in ejus salutatione Sampson saxeo illo rigore solvitur."

[2] "Concitato ventorum turbine facta est pluvia magna valde. Et cum ob hoc conquesti essent discipuli sui, compescuit murmur eorum vir Dei, pollicitans in crastinum æris serenitatem . . . Et cum in crastino non cessasset pluvia, vir Dei cepit moestus fieri; seque ipsum presumptionis arguere, quod aliter esset pollicitus quam Deus providerat." The biographer is too discreet to say that it was due to discredit, through failure of prophecies, that Petroc went away. He intimates that Petroc had planned to go, before this unfortunate affair.

[3] *Lambeth MS.* 99, "in quodam vase vitreo . . . defertur."

enough to contain him ; so casting down his sheepskin and planting his staff in the sands, he boldly entered the silver vessel. It was at once wafted over the blue sea without sail or oar, till he reached a certain island, on which he landed. There he spent seven years, living all the while on a single fish which he caught daily, and which, however often it was eaten, always returned sound to be eaten again.[1]

At the end of the seven years the shining bowl again appeared. He took his place in it, and was carried back to the spot where he had left his sheepskin and staff ; and lo ! a wolf had kept guard over them all the time he had been away. Then he returned to Cornwall, and the wolf, perfectly docile, accompanied him.

It is abundantly clear that into the legend has been introduced a pagan myth of a divinity sailing in the silver bowl of the moon over the heavenly ocean.

When Petroc returned to Cornwall, he found that his misadventure in prophecy had been forgotten.

Whilst Petroc was at Padstow, Tewdrig ruled in Cornwall, the notorious tyrant who figures in the legends of S. Fingar and S. Kea. Tewdrig had a tank into which he cast all the vipers that were found and brought to him ; and into this tank he threw thieves and such criminals as were sentenced to death. On the decease of Tewdrig, his son put an end to this method of execution ; however, one serpent had grown to such a size on human flesh, that no one dared to approach and destroy it ; and it does not seem to have occurred to any one to leave it severely alone in the tank to die of starvation. So S. Petroc was sent for and he promptly went to the monster, and banished it beyond the seas. This is perhaps an allegorical way of saying that Petroc extirpated the lingering paganism in Cornwall, at which Tewdrig had connived. Tewdrig does not seem to have been quite so bad as he has been represented, for Leland informs us that he made grants of land to Petroc, as did also Constantine, who was either his contemporary, or his successor. " Regnabant eo in Cornubiâ sæculo, duo reguli, fama celebres, Theodorus et Constantinus ; quorum cum libertate tum pietate adjutus, locum condendo aptissimum monasterio accepit ; cui nomen patriâ linguâ Bosmanach a monachis inditum." [2]

The spot chosen was Bodmin, where a hermit Guron had a cell by a holy well. This cell Guron surrendered.[3]

[1] The classic reader will remember Helios in his golden bowl sailing to the Isle of Aeæa. Here we have, not the sun in the gold bowl, but the moon-god in the silver bowl.

[2] Leland, *De Script. Britan.*, 1709, p. 61.

[3] Leland, *Collect.*, 1774, i, p. 75.

Bodmin became Petroc's most famous foundation. But he must have travelled much and consecrated many sites in Devon, and it is possible that Buckfast was a Petrocian foundation.

Whilst Petroc was at Bodmin his interview took place with Constantine, which led to the conversion of that prince. Constantine was hunting a fawn, and it fled for refuge, and hid under the mantle of Petroc, who kept the hounds at bay till the King came up. This led to conferences, and to Constantine's conversion from a disorderly life.

It is related in the Legend that Petroc remained long in prayer, and that even when rain fell heavily, whilst so engaged, he disregarded it and did not seem to be incommoded by it.

One day when he and a certain unnamed holy bishop were in converse, a richly coloured mantle (*palla*) floated down from heaven, and fell between them. At once ensued a holy contention betwixt them, each asserting that the cloak was sent to the other. As neither would yield, a waft of wind carried up the mantle again, and, shortly after, down came two in its place, and thus each was gratified. This story has probably been transferred bodily from the Legend of S. Patrick.[1]

A poor dragon got a splinter in its eye, and hastened to Petroc, who cured it. A woman had drunk water in which was newt-spawn, and a salamander was hatched in her stomach, and greatly tormented her. Petroc extracted the beast when it had grown to the length of three feet.

Petroc died at an advanced age on June 4.

In the Life of S. Petroc it is not said that the Constantine who was converted by him was the King of the country but " Constantinus, a certain rich man." But according to Leland it was Constantine the King who made grants to him, and the church of S. Constantine is near Padstow, and he was commemorated in the Bodmin Calendar.

Now, it was against this prince that Gildas wrote with such rancour in 540 or 544, so that he was a contemporary of Petroc at Padstow. If we take seven years as the duration of Petroc's pilgrimage, then he returned to Cornwall in 576. The conversion of Constantine took place according to the *Annales Cambriæ*, in 589 ; according to those of Ulster in 588 ; those of Tighernach give 586 ; but these Annals are sometimes out by four years.[2]

It is accordingly quite probable that Constantine the King did owe his conversion in his old age to Petroc.

[1] *Tripartite Life*, i, p. 109.

[2] The *Vita S. Constantini* makes him die " Circa annos Domini quingentos septuaginta sex," i.e., ten years earlier than the date in the Annals given for his conversion.

We may roughly assume that the death of Petroc took place about 590 or 595.

Petroc had as his pupil Dagan, who died in 640.

That Petroc was visited whilst he was at Padstow by his cousin Cadoc is probable enough, for S. Cadoc's chapel and well are near Padstow, and Cadoc died in 577.

Consequently, we have sufficient data for being able to fix the period of S. Petroc, and to conjecture the date of his death within a few years.

The body of S. Petroc was preserved at Bodmin, and remained there till 1177, in which year, "immediately after the Epiphany of our Lord, a certain canon of the Abbey of Bodmin, named Martin, secretly carried off the body of S. Petroc. Flying with it, he passed beyond the seas, and conveyed the body to the Abbey of S. Meven in Lesser Britain.

"When this transaction became known to Roger, Prior of Bodmin, and to the Canons who served God in the same place, the aforesaid prior, with the advice of his brethren, went to Henry, King of England, son of the Empress Matilda, that by his powerful aid they might recover the body of S. Petroc, of which they had been fraudulently deprived. The King granted his aid to their entreaty, and by his letters commanded Roland de Dinan, Justiciary of Brittany, without delay, to cause the body to be restored. When, accordingly, Roland received the King's command, he went with a powerful armed band to the Abbey of S. Meven, and ordered that the body should be surrendered. When the abbot and his monks were unwilling to comply, he added threats that he would use force to obtain it, unless it were voluntarily surrendered. When they heard this, they feared to incur the displeasure of the King of England, and therefore restored that blessed body to the aforenamed Roger, prior of Bodmin, on the Lord's Day (Clausi Pentecostes), being the feast of S. Gervasius and S. Protasius, martyrs, the 13th before the Calends of July (June 19), and the sacred body was restored in all its integrity, without the least diminution; the abbot and monks of S. Meven having sworn on the relics belonging to their church that they had not retained any portion of the body, but had restored it wholly unaltered.

"When this was done, the aforesaid prior of Bodmin, returning with joy to England, brought the body of the blessed Petroc, closed in an ivory case, to the city of Winchester. And when it was brought into the King's presence, the King, after having seen and venerated it, permitted the prior to return in peace with his Saint to the Abbey of Bodmin." [1]

[1] *De Vita et Gestis Henrici II et Ricardi I*, ed. Hearne, Oxon, 1735, i, pp. 228–9, also Roger Hoveden *s.a.* 1177.

Either the monks and abbot of S. Méen perjured themselves, or else they fraudulently pretended afterwards to have kept some of the relics. They either retained a portion of the skull, or substituted some other skull for it, which they offered to the veneration of the credulous and which remained to the Revolution in the Abbey church of S. Méen.

The ivory reliquary is still extant at Bodmin in the charge of the mayor.

The day on which S. Petroc was commemorated was that of his death, June 4. On this day Whytford in his *Martiloge* says, "The deposicyon of Saynt Patryke a confessore," which is a blunder for Petroc. So also the York Missal, the Exeter Calendar, the eleventh century Hyde or Newminster Calendar, the Wells Ordinale, the Reading Calendar 1220–40, the Evesham Calendar, etc.

In the Bodmin Antiphonary as well, his Exaltation on September 14, and his Translation on October 8.

At S. Méen he is venerated on June 4, and September 4. There he is called Saint Perreux. September 4 is probably the day when the stolen body was brought to S. Méen.

June 4 occurs in the MS. Missal of S. Malo of the fifteenth century, the MS. Calendar of S. Méen of the fifteenth century, Breviary of S. Malo, 1537, and the Welsh Calendars in *Peniarth MS.* 187, the *Iolo MSS.*, the Prymers of 1618 and 1633, and *Allwydd Paradwys*.

September 4 in the MS. Calendar of S. Méen, of the fifteenth century.

There are three churches of S. Petroc in Wales, Llanbedrog, in Carnarvonshire, Verwick,[1] in Cardiganshire, and S. Petrox, in Pembrokeshire. In Devon and Cornwall are—the Church and Priory of Bodmin, the parish churches of Padstow, and S. Petroc Minor, or Little Petherick, Trevalga, Harford in Devon, Clannaborough in Devon, Egloskerry (conjointly with S. Curig), Tormohun,[2] South Brent, Newton S. Petrock. He had also a chapel and Holy Well at Petton in Bampton,[3] and a church at the entrance to Dartmouth harbour, the chapel to the castle.

[1] Verwick is in one charter called "Ecclesia S. Petroci de Berwyke" (Mrs. Pritchard, *Cardigan Priory*, London, 1904, p. 147); in others, "Ecclesia S. Petri de Berwicke" (*ibid.*, pp. 144, 151). The three Welsh dedications are near the coast. It is very probable that he founded these churches on his way back from Ireland.

[2] Will of one Bartlett, 1517, C.C.C. The late Mr. Mallock of Cockington informed us that he possessed a series of wills of persons who resided in Cockington between 1540 and 1600, and in the first of these he found mention of "the Churchyard of Saynt Patrox of Torremoont."

[3] Oliver, *Monasticon*, p. 445.

The parish church of Lydford, that of Hollacombe, one in Exeter, a chapel in the Cathedral at Exeter,[1] and a chapel at Barnstaple.[2]

Both Hollacombe and South Brent belonged to the Abbey of Buckfast, which was of extremely early and unknown foundation, before the Conquest. This leads to the supposition that the original abbey was a foundation of S. Petroc, the daughter churches bearing his name.

At Dunkeswell there is a Holy Well called S. Patrick's, probably S. Petroc's. Polwheel says that the earlier dedication of Kenton was to S. Petroc; now it is to All Saints. He is represented on the pulpit.

Judging by the Revel, Lew Trenchard had S. Petroc as its patron, later S. Peter.

In Brittany he is patron of Saint Perreux, in Morbihan, and of Trégon, in Côtes-du-Nord.

The chapel of S. Perreux, a *tref* in S. Vincent sur Oust, in Morbihan, is mentioned in the Cartulary of Redon, in or about 862, so that this cannot be due to the theft of the relics in 1177. There was also a priory of S. Petreux at Plerguer, near Dol.

At Padstow, in the parish church, is a statue of the saint as an abbot standing on a dragon.

In art he should be so represented, or with a silver bowl in his hand, and a wolf at his side.

There is also a sculptured figure of him on the South side of the altar in the parish church of Padstow. He is represented with a cowl over his head; he is bearded, his right hand rests on a crutched staff. In his left is a book, and at his feet is his wolf.

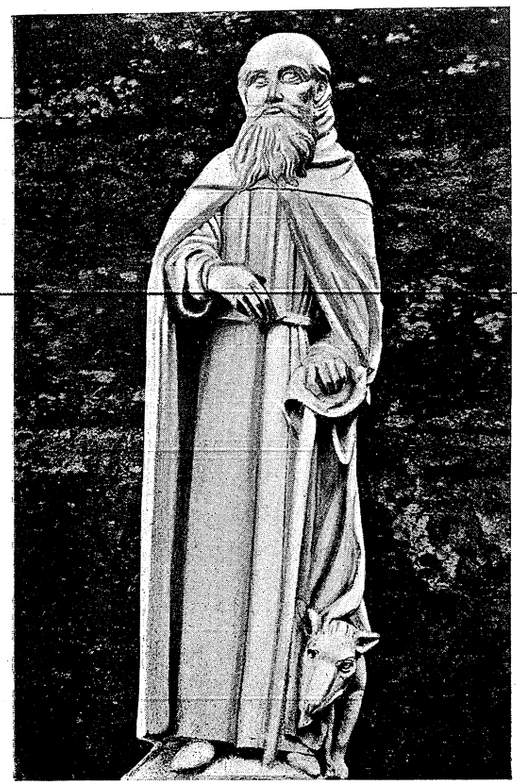
In Wales he is more especially associated by tradition with Llanbedrog. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was there considered to be "beneficial to offer to Pedrog for gangrenes."[3] His Holy Well, Ffynnon Bedrog, is on Bryn Du, in the parish. It enjoyed a great reputation formerly, and many traditions linger of the miraculous cures effected by its waters in every conceivable ailment. Some years ago a round vessel of dark stone was found at its bottom full of pins. Thieves could be discovered by it. A bit of bread thrown on its surface by the injured person sank at the mention of the thief's name among a number of suspected persons.

Sir Lewis Newburgh, the rector of the parish, in 1535 deposed, "It'

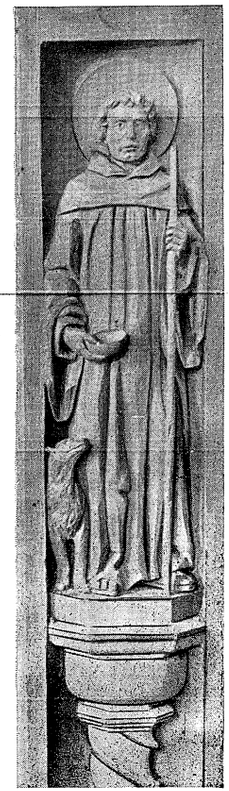
[1] Athelstan gave some relics of S. Petroc to the Cathedral at Exeter.

[2] Dr. Oliver gives a chapel at Westleigh, licensed June 17, 1310. It is one of his blunders. Westleigh is a Rectory, and on the above date the Church was dedicated to S. Peter, and not to S. Petroc.

[3] Dr. J. G. Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 913. The MSS. read *Kangren* and *Cancrau*.



S. PETROC.
From statue at S. Petroc Minor, Cornwall.



S. PETROC.
From rood screen, at Lew Trenchard, Devon.

I y^e sayd Lewis had a Relyk callyd Gwawe pedrok & the feryn therof was iiij^li & nowe I had nothyng but y^t it standyth yn Schurch by the comandement of the Ordenar." [1]

Pedrog is named among the many Welsh and other saints to whose guardianship Henry VII is committed in a Welsh poem.[2]

We append for convenience an approximate chronology of the Life of S. Petroc.

S. Petroc born	*circa* 504
Goes to Ireland for schooling in the monastic life	*c.* 523
S. Coemgen goes to him as fellow-pupil	*c.* 538
S. Petroc returns to Cornwall and lands at Padstow	*c.* 543
He departs on pilgrimage to Rome and Jerusalem	*c.* 573
Returns to Cornwall and founds Bodmin Monastery	*c.* 580
The conversion of Constantine	*c.* 589
Dies about the age of ninety	*c.* 594.

The dates are approximate only, let it be well understood.

S. PEULAN, Confessor

PEULAN was, according to the sixteenth century *Peniarth MS.* 75, the son of "Pevl Hen o Vanaw," who would appear to-day as "Paul Hên o Fanaw," and not "Pawl Hên o Fanaw," as his name occurs in the late pedigrees.[3] Paul had a daughter, Gwenfaen, who is the patroness of Rhoscolyn, and a son, Gwyngeneu, patron of the extinct Capel Gwyngeneu, both near Holyhead. He is sometimes said to have hailed "from the North," which is equivalent to saying that he was from Manaw, a district lying on the Firth of Forth. He is said to have married Angad Coleion,[4] which looks like a corruption of "(Bot)angharat yngolemawn"—apparently Bod Angharad, a township in the commote of Coleigion or Coleion, near Ruthin.[5] He has been wrongly identified with S. Paulinus.

Peulan is the patron of Llanbeulan, in Anglesey. He was a disciple of S. Cybi, and followed his master to Anglesey. Among the ten disciples that saint had with him in Cornwall are mentioned Maelog, Llibio,

[1] *Valor* of 1535, vi, p. xxxiii. "Gwawe pedrok," no doubt, stands for "Gwaew Pedrog," his spear, whatever may be the legend.

[2] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 314.

[3] *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 426, 429. Peulan means "Little Paul." See what has been said under S. BEULAN, i, p. 208.

[4] *Myv. Arch.*, p. 426.

[5] *Hafod MS.* 16, under Kowy = Cwyfan.

and Peulan,[1] and there are churches dedicated to the three in Anglesey, all close to each other, as also to those of Gwenfaen and Gwyngeneu. He was one of the dozen "seamen" who formed Cybi's *teulu* or "family."[2]

The festival of Peulan is given as November 1 in the Welsh Prymer of 1633 and by Browne Willis,[3] but as November 2 in the Welsh Prymer of 1618. Angharad Llwyd, however, says the Wakes at Llanbeulan were on March 17.[4]

S. PEULIN, see S. PAULINUS

S. PIALA, Virgin, Martyr

PIALA was the sister of S. Fingar. Although she is regarded as a martyr, it is not stated in the Acts of S. Fingar that she was killed. It is more probable that she was not, as her church, S. Phillack, occupies a site near, and the parish embraces the old *caer* or palace of Tewdrig at Connerton. It is possible that after the butchery of her brother and some of his attendants, the King deemed it advisable as blood-fine to give her land on which to settle. The Irish occupied the whole of Penwith and the Lizard district, and he may have found it more advisable to come to terms with them than to fight them.

S. Piala has had to make way for Felicitas as having a place in the Roman Martyrology. In the *Taxatio* of 1291 the church is "Ecclesia Sanctæ Felicitatis;" and so in all the Episcopal Registers. In the Bodmin Antiphonary March 7 is given as the day of S. Felicitas, but this is the feast of the Carthaginian Martyr of that name.

Garaby in his *Vies des Saints de Bretagne*, S. Brieuc, 1839, gives Ste. Piale, Vierge et Martyre, on February 23, but for this there seems to be no authority, and no churches or chapels bear her name in Brittany, not even in the parish of Pluvinger, her brother's most important settlement.

At S. Phillack the Feast is on November 20.

S. PINNOCK, Bishop, Confessor

S. PINNOCK in Cornwall is Cynog. The name remains unaltered in the adjoining parish of Boconnoc. See S. CYNOG.[5]

[1] *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 183. [2] *Mostyn MS.* 110, p. 189.
[3] *Bangor*, 1721, p. 279. [4] *Hist. Anglesey*, p. 220. [5] ii, p. 269.

There is no Feast at either S. Pinnock or Boconnoc.

In the tenth century Litany published by D'Arbois de Jubainville is an invocation of S. Pinnuh.[1]

S. PIRAN, Abbot, Bishop, Confessor.

S. PIRAN of Perranzabuloe is to be identified with S. Ciaran of Saighir. To this identification Mr. Plummer objects, and suggests that Piran is to be equated with Ciaran of Clonmacnois.[2] But not only is S. Piran's day in Cornwall the same as that of S. Ciaran of Saighir in Ireland, but also John of Tynemouth identifies them—"Beatus autem Piranus qui a quibusdam Keranus vocatur in Cornubia ubi quiescit Piranus appellatur."[3] He is giving an epitome of the Life of the Saint of Saighir. It is quite true that in the Irish Lives there is no record of Ciaran having been in Cornwall, but they state that he spent thirty years out of his native land, and these local Lives are very vague as to what the saints did when out of Ireland. There are no grounds for supposing that Ciaran of Clonmacnois was in Cornwall. Moreover, S. Kewe in Cornwall is a foundation of, or is dedicated to, Ciwa or Cuach, the nurse of the Saighir Saint, and S. Buryan is a foundation of his disciple S. Bruinach. The North and West of Cornwall teem with churches dedicated to Irish Saints from the South of the island.

John of Tynemouth derived his Life doubtless from that used at Perranzabuloe. We know that he travelled about England collecting material for his Lives of the Saints. At all events, he testifies that the tradition was that Piran of Cornwall was the same as Ciaran of Saighir. But, indeed, the commemoration in Cornwall of Piran on the same day as Ciaran of Saighir in Ireland proves as much. Whytford merely says on March 5, "In Cornwell ye feest of Saynt Pyrane called also Saynt Keran borne of the nobles of yrelonde in the tyme of Saynt Patryke." And though he does not say he was of Saighir, still the locating him in the days of S. Patrick shows which Ciaran was meant.

To the authorities for the Life of S. Ciaran given under that head, add that in Plummer, *Vitae SS. Hiberniae*, I, pp. 217–33. This is from the MS. in Bishop Marsh's Library, Dublin, and is that published by Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.*, i, pp. 458 *et seq.*

[1] *Revue Celtique*, xi, p. 148.
[2] *Vitae SS. Hiberniae*, Oxford, 1910, i, pp. li, note 3, lii, note 1.
[3] Capgrave, *Nova Legenda, Vita S. Pirani.*

As bearing upon our identification[1] of the name Ciaran with the Welsh Caraun, now Caron, we may here add that one of the Ciarans is actually called Caraun in one MS. of the *Annales Cambriæ*, namely MS. *B*, of the late thirteenth century, in the *Breviate Domesday*, at the Record Office. For the "Dormitatio Ciarani" of MS. *A* it reads "Dormitio Karauni."

S. PIRO or PIRUS, see S. PEIRIO

S. POMPÆA, Widow

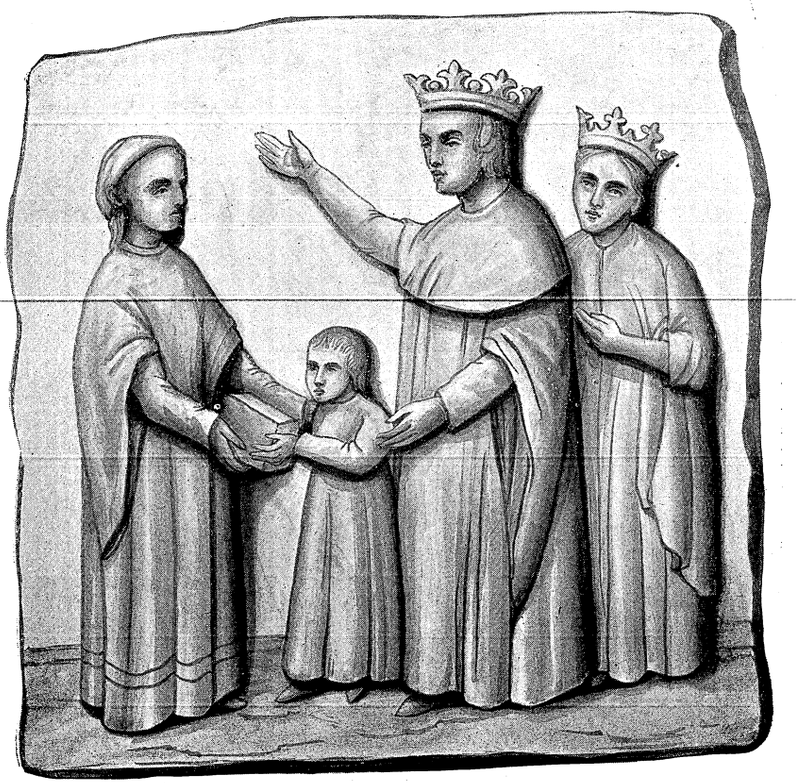
ALMA POMPÆA is represented in the Life of S. Leonore as his mother. Pompæa is named in that of S. Tudwal as his mother, and there can be little doubt that one and the same person is meant.

Pompæa was sister of Rhiwal, who crossed over from Britain with a large following and settled in Domnonia. Neither the Life of S. Tudwal nor that of S. Leonore mentions the name of her husband, but tradition has it that he was Hoel the Great. The title "Great" has been attached to his name through the romance of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Had he been a man of importance the biographers would not have failed to say so. The author of the Second Life of S. Tudwal makes him a native of Scothia, but this Life is of little value. The author of the First Life says, "Mater ejus Pompaia erat nomine, soror Riguali comitis, qui primus venit de Brittonibus citra mare, et Tutgualus venit post eum." The author of the Third Life says, "Sanctus igitur Tutgualus regiæ stirpis parentibus majoris Britanniæ accolis oriundus extitit."

We know nothing of his mother but what we are told by tradition. This says that she crossed over with her son, being then a widow, and brought as well with her, her daughter Scæva, and both embraced a religious and mortified life.

Pompæa lived at no great distance from her son's great monastery at Tréguier, but there are no traces of her near his earlier settlement at Lanpabu. She died at Langoat near La Roche Derien, and is there buried. Her tomb was formerly in the midst of the choir, but the church was rebuilt in 1782, and now looks much like a railway station, and

[1] ii. pp. 135–6.



S. POMPÆA, DELIVERED TO BE EDUCATED.
From her Shrine at Langoat.

then the tomb was removed to the north side of the nave. This tomb is of the end of the fourteenth century or beginning of the fifteenth, and is interesting. The saint is represented resting on it, and round the sides are compartments with bas-reliefs representing various scenes in her life: (1) her birth; (2) her being delivered by her father and mother to be educated by the clergy; (3) her marriage to Hoel; (4) her voyage to Armorica; (5) her almsgiving; (6) homage paid to her by the nobles and princes of Brittany; (7) she is visited by S. Tudwal and S. Gonery; (8) her death, assisted by S. Tudwal and S. Scæva. Above the tomb is a wooden painted reliquary containing some of her bones. In the church is a statue of S. Tudwal represented as a pope, and in stained glass of S. Scæva as a nun.

Pompæa is commonly called Copaia, an interesting token that there was here an Irish colony, unable to pronounce the Brythonic name and so changing it to the Goidelic form. She is patroness of Botzelan as well as of Langoat.

She is invoked for the cure of sick children.

The Pardon is on the last Sunday of July. Her day is given by Garaby as July 26; but her name does not occur in any ancient Breviaries and Calendars.

S. PROBUS, Confessor

NOTHING is known of this Saint, who, with S. Grace, is the patron of the stately church that bears his name in Cornwall. Two skulls found in a recess in the wall, and believed to be those of SS. Probus and Grace, have been enclosed in a case, and laid beneath the altar. On the screen, dated 1691, is an inscription, "Jesus hear us, Thy people, and send us Grace and Good for ever."

The church was made collegiate by Athelstan in 926.

Sherborne Abbey, as shown by the first Saxon endowment of Cenwalch, was Lamprobi, or the Church of Probus. In a Terrier of Sherborne Abbey, 1145, the name of the place is given as Propeschirche, yet no entry is made in the Sherborne Calendar of a commemoration of the patron.

The parish feast at Probus is on the first Sunday after July 5. There are fairs also on April 5 and 23.

S. RHAIN, King, Confessor

RHAIN, generally called Rhain Dremrudd,[1] or the Red-eyed, was the son of Brychan Brycheiniog, and his name occurs as that of his second son in the two *Cognatio* lists. According to the pedigrees in *Jesus College MS.* 20, he had a son named Rigeneu.

All that is known of him for certain is that he succeeded his father as King of Brycheiniog. In the Domitian version of the *Cognatio* he is entered as "Rein Vrem Rud qui post patrem suum regnavit." The later Kings of Brycheiniog traced their descent from Brychan through him. There is no list of these kings; but one of them, in the seventh century, was Augustus (Awst),[2] who was followed somewhat later by Teudur (Tewdwr) ab Rhain and Elgistil (Elwystl) ab Awst, who divided the sovereignty between them.[3] In the time of King Alfred, Elise ab Tewdwr was King.

In the Life of S. Cadoc [4] we have an account of Rhain's deliverance, through the interposition of his nephew, from the hands of the men of Gwynllywg, when he had made a foraging expedition into their territory. They defeated him at four different places, one of which afterwards became known as Pwll Rhain, and ultimately they besieged him, but S. Cadoc got him free, and made him enter into an agreement with him.

No churches are known to be dedicated to Rhain nor is his festival entered in any calendar. It is very probable that Cair Rein (Caer Rhain), the old name of Acornbury Camp, a little to the south of Hereford, was named after him.[5]

Rhain's name is a good illustration of how the children of Brychan have been multiplied in the later lists, through the misreading of copyists. By Rhain is intended the sons who are therein called Rhaint, Rhawin and Rhun.

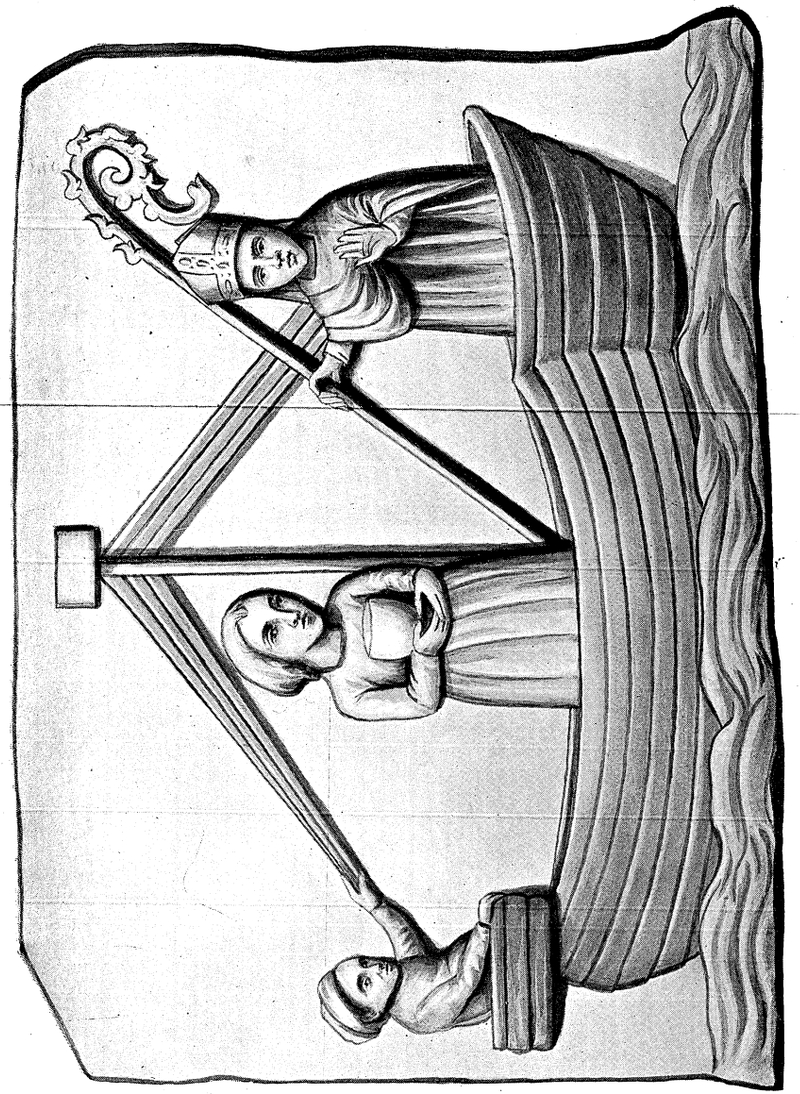
Of him as Rhain it is stated that he "is a saint in Lincolnshire and has a temple in Manaw." [6] The latter part of this statement is evidently derived from the Domitian *Cognatio* entry, "Run ipse sanctus

[1] Rein, or Rhain, occurs in the early pedigrees in *Harleian MS.* 3,859, and elsewhere, under the earlier form Regin, i.e., the Latin Reginus, a name occasionally found among the Romans. The name seems to occur on an early inscribed stone at Conwyl Caio. It would be historically impossible to derive Rheinwg, "the Land of Rhain," an early name of Dyfed, from the son of Brychan. The epithet *Dremrudd* is borne by a few others; e.g., Kenelaph Dremrud in *Jesus College MS.* 20, and Daniel Dremrudd in *Cart. de Landevennec*, p. 54

[2] *Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 146, 154. [3] *Ibid*, pp. 167–8.

[4] *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 55, 96. [5] Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, p. 279.

[6] *Peniarth MS.* 178 (pt. ii); *Llanstephan MS.* 187; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 419, 429; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 111.



S. POMPÆA, LEAVING BRITAIN WITH S. TUDWAL.
From her Shrine at Langoat.

ycallet (*sic*) in Manan" ; but this clearly stands for the entry in *Jesus College MS.* 20, " Runan yssyd yny [lle] a elwir Manaw," which in its turn represents the Vespasian *Cognatio* (the oldest Brychan document), " Kynon qui sanctus est in occidentali parte predicte Mannie." [1]

As Rhaint he is said to have been " killed in England by the pagan Saxons ; " [2] and as Rhawin " killed on Pont Run in Merthyr Tydfil." [3]

As Rhun he was father of Nefydd and Andras and " was killed by the pagan Saxons at Pont Run, where he defended the bridge against them." [4] Pontyrhun, it should be mentioned, is on the Taff at Troedyrhiw, below Merthyr Tydfil. The entry is amplified under the notice of S. Tudfyl, wherein it is said that " she was killed by the pagan Saxons while she was there (at Merthyr Tydfil) holding intercourse with her father—who was an aged man, and she had her brothers there with her visiting their father—when the unbelieving Saxons and Gwyddyl Ffichti pagans rushed upon the place where they were. Rhun Dremrudd, son of Brychan, was there slain ; and Nefydd, son of Rhun, who was a beardless lad, being roused by seeing his father slain, collected men to him and routed his enemies." [5]

The *Iolo MSS.* in two entries mention a Rhun as son of Gildas, who was a saint at Ystumllwynarth (Oystermouth), but in one other entry he is made to be son of Nwython ab Gildas.[6]

S. RHEDYW, see S. GREDFYW

S. RHEITHIAN, Confessor

NOTHING whatever is known of this saint beyond the fact that he is the patron of Llanrheithan or Llanrheithon, subject to Llanrhian, in the Deanery of Dewisland, Pembrokeshire. In *Egerton MS.* 2,586, fo. 405*a*, George Owen (1552–1613), the historian of Pembrokeshire, has written this note—" g. caron llanrithon 5 m(ar)tij,"

[1] It is curious to note that the parish church of Marown, in the Isle of Man, dedicated to a S. Maronog or Marooneg, is called the church of S. Runi (in the genitive) in a manorial roll of 1511 (Moore, *Manx Names*, 1903, p. 137).

[2] *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 119, 140.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 111, 119, 140 ; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 419, 423, 429.

[4] The same references.

[5] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 121.

[6] *Ibid*, pp. 137, 139 ; cf. *Mabinogion*, p. 109.

i.e., " the festival of Caron of Llanrheithan is on the 5th of March." [1] From this note it would appear that the church was regarded as being dedicated to S. Ciaran or Caron.

A S. Terethianus occurs in the Cartulary of Quimperlé, whom M. J. Loth [2] thinks is probably the same as the Torithgen and Torithien of the Cartulary of Redon, and the Torithian of the Bodmin Gospel. The name occurs also in Old Cornish as Terithian. Its first syllable is the well-known honorific prefix *to*, in Welsh *ty*; and the second part of the name is exactly identical with the Welsh name, the sex of which is, moreover, determined by Terethianus.

S. RHIALLU

THE *Iolo MSS.* in one entry [3] give as a Welsh saint, " Rhiallu ab Tudwalch Carnau, prince of Cornwall, by Dyanwedd, daughter of Amlawdd Wledig, his mother." The entry bristles with misreadings. He was a warrior, being one of " the Men of the North," and cannot be regarded as a Welsh saint. His true pedigree is given thus in the thirteenth century *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd* (*Peniarth MS.* 45)—" Huallu, son of Tudfwlch Gorneu, prince of Cornwall, and Dywana, daughter of Amlawdd Wledig, was his mother."

His mother's sister, Tywanwedd, was the wife of Hawystl Gloff.

S. RHIAN, Abbot, Confessor

NOTHING is known of this saint's pedigree. He is patron of Llanrhian, in the Deanery of Dewisland, Pembrokeshire. He is called by William of Worcester,[4] who gives his day, " S. Ranus abbas," and by Leland,[5] " S. Reanus Abbas." There was a S. Ranus or Rayn commemorated in a chapel near the town of Crewkerne in Somerset, according to William of Worcester [6]; and the name survives in " S. Rayn Hill," on the Chard road, about three miles west of Crewkerne. But this is almost certainly S. Regina or Reine.

[1] Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, i, p. 289. [2] *Revue Celtique*, 1909, xxx, p. 300.
[3] P. 106. [4] *Itin.*, p. 164; Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, i, pp. 289–90.
[5] *Itin.*, v, 29. [6] *Itin.*, p. 163; Nightingale, *Somerset*, p. 527.

March 8 is given as the festival of S. Rianus, Ep., in the Haroldstone calendar in *Additional MS.* 22,720, and also by George Owen in a note in *Egerton MS.* 2,586, fo. 405*a*. Browne Willis [1] and Challoner likewise give him the same day.

S. RHIDIAN, Confessor

WE are not given this saint's pedigree, but he is said to have been a member of Côr Cenydd, at Llangenydd, in Gower.[2] He is presumed to be the patron of Llanrhidian Church and Llanrhidian Chapel (in the same parish), in the Deanery of West Gower, Glamorganshire. Llanrhidian, however, is generally regarded as being dedicated to S. Illtyd, a dedication supported by the presence there of a holy well of that saint.[3] Possibly Rhidian stands for Tridian, which see.

A late document printed in the *Iolo MSS.* [4] says, " Brynach Wyddel was King of Gwynedd, comprising the Isle of Man, Anglesey, and Arfon; and he was the first king of those countries who received the Christian Faith and Baptism, through the instrumentality of S. Rhidian of Gower and Rheged. He first founded churches in Gwynedd; and he lived in the time of the Emperor Macsen Wledig."

Brynach was the Eurnach or Urnach Gawr, father or grandfather of Serigi Wyddel, who was killed at Dinas Ffaraon, near Beddgelert.

S. RHIELL

AMONG the several chapels " olim peregrinationis causa erectæ " in the parish of Nevern, Pembrokeshire, was " Capell Reall." Since George Owen's day its name and all have entirely disappeared.

No saint of the name of Rhiell is known to us. It is a rare female name, one of the name being a daughter of Llywarch Hên. Rhiellwg was the name of one of the ancient divisions of South Wales, being

[1] *Paroch. Anglic.*, 1733, p. 176 (as Rheanus). [2] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 108.
[3] Luard, *Annales Monastici*, i, p. 18 (*s.a.* 1185), where it is called Landridian. In the *Valor* of 1535 (iv, p. 388) the name is spelt Llanredeon. A Lan Ritian occurs in the Cartulary of Landevennec, p. 16.
[4] Pp. 84–5.

the same as Seissyllwg. It is just possible that the chapel was called after the Rhiell of this district name.[1]

S. RHIENGAR, see S. CEINGAIR

S. RHUDDLAD

THE usual *Achau'r Saint* have nothing to say of Rhuddlad or Rhyddlad. The saint has been supposed to be a daughter of a king of Leinster,[2] but on what authority it does not appear. The saint is the patron of Llanrhyddlad, at the foot of Moel Rhyddlad, one of the highest mountains in Anglesey.

September 4 is given as the festival of S. Rhuddlad in the calendars in *Peniarth MS.* 172, *Additional MS.* 14,882, the *Iolo MSS.*, *Allwydd Paradwys*, and the Prymers of 1618 and 1633.

S. RHUN, see S. RHAIN

S. RHWYDRYS, Confessor

RHWYDRYS or Rhwydrus was the son of Rhwydrim (Rhwydrhieni, or Rhodrem), King of Connaught, in Ireland.[3] By Rhwydrim may possibly be meant Raghallach mac Uadhach, King of Connaught, 622–49.

Rhwydrys is the patron of Llanrhwydrys, subject to Llanfairyn-

[1] Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, i, p. 309; ii, p. 222.
[2] Rowlands, *Mona Antiqua*, ed. 1766, p. 157.
[3] *Myv. Arch.*, p. 429. Sir J. Rhys (*Celtic Folklore*, ii, p. 531) would derive the name from an early form Rēdo-rostus. The folk-etymologist attributes the foundation of Llanrhwydrys Church to an old fisherman of the place named *Rhys*, who possessed a specially constructed net (*rhwyd*), of his own work, which greatly excelled his fellow-fishermen's in the hauls it brought him! (Hugh Owen, *Yr Henafiaethydd*, Amlwch, 1890, pp. 69–70). In the *Valor* of 1535 (iv, p. 429) the church is called Llan Rodris.

ghornwy, in Anglesey, where his festival was observed on All Saints' Day,[1] or the first Sunday in November.[2]

Rowlands, in his *Mona Antiqua*,[3] supposes that he came from Ireland to Anglesey at the same time as S. Rhuddlad.

S. RHYCHWYN, Confessor

THE documents differ as to the parentage of this saint. Some pedigrees [4] make him one of the sons of Helig ab Glanog, "whose territory the sea over-ran;" and the *Iolo MSS.* [5] add, "and afterwards some of them went to Côr Cadfan in Bardsey. They lived in the time of Rhun ab Maelgwn." Other sons of Helig, in the older pedigrees, were Boda, Gwynin, and Brothen. In other pedigrees [6] he is entered as son of Ithel Hael of Llydaw.

Rhychwyn is the patron of Llanrhychwyn, subject to Trefriw, in Carnarvonshire. The church is situated on a rocky eminence on a hill-side, and out of the original parish which it served there have been carved the parishes of Trefriw and Bettws-y-Coed. It is locally called "Llywelyn's Old Church," Prince Llywelyn ab Iorwerth having, owing to the difficulty of access, built the church at Trefriw, where he had a residence.

Gwallter Mechain (d. 1849) says,[7] "On a window in Llan Rhychwyn Church in Carnarvoñ in stained glass the pictures of S^{t}. David and S^{t}. Rhychwyn, each holding a pastoral Crook in their hands. 'Sancte Davyt. Sancte Rhychwyn. Orate pro benefactoribus istius fenestræ que vitriata fuit M.D. XXXIII.' Imperfect, the glass being broke in some places." The glass is now still more imperfect.[8]

Rhychwyn's festival is given on the 12th of June in the calendars

[1] Willis, *Bangor*, 1721, p. 280.
[2] N. Owen, *Hist. of Anglesey*, 1775, p. 58. [3] Ed. 1766, p. 157.
[4] *Cardiff MSS.* 5 (p. 118), 25 (p. 118); *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 418, 429. The name is not common. There was a Rhychwyn Farfog of Bodrychwyn in Rhos, between Bettws-yn-Rhos and Llannefydd, where is also a Mynydd Bodrychwyn, to which may be added a Moel Rhychwyn between Llanelian and Llansantffraid. This Rhychwyn was an ancestor of S. Egryn, and also of Braint Hir, founder of one of the Fifteen Tribes of North Wales.
[5] P. 124. [6] *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 427, 429–30.
[7] *Miscellanies*, i, p. 222, in the National Library of Wales.
[8] For a good description of this quaint old church (the window included) see North, *The Old Churches of Arllechwedd*, Bangor, 1906, pp. 102–11; cf. Cathrall, *Hist. of N. Wales*, 1828, ii, p. 115.

in *Peniarth MSS.* 187 and 219, in the Welsh MS. notes to the calendar in a copy of the *Preces Privatæ* of 1573 in the S. Beuno's (Jesuit) College Library, and in some Welsh Almanacks of the eighteenth century. Occasionally[1] it is given as the 10th of June, and this is the generally accepted date.

In the Llanrhychwyn Terrier of 1811 it is stated, "There is paid yearly to the said Rector [of Trefriw] by the Churchwardens of Llanrhychwyn the sum̃ of thirteen shillings and sixpence as due by ancient custom for reading Evening Service and a sermon in the said Church of Llanrhychwyn on the first Sunday after the twenty-first of June, it being the Saint's Day, Founder of the said Church."

S. RHYDDERCH HAEL, King, Confessor

RHYDDERCH HAEL, or the Munificent, has his pedigree traced back to Macsen Wledig, or Maximus the Usurper, and his wife Elen, daughter of Eudaf. Their son Ednyfed was father of Dyfnwal Hên (Dumngual), who was father of Cedig (Clinoch), father of Tuathal Tuath Claidh (Tutagual Tutclut), who married Ethni Wyddeles, an Irish woman, and by her became the father of Rhydderch Hên or Hael, who was born and brought up in Ireland, where also he had been baptized.[2]

It is unnecessary here to repeat what has already been said relative to the Kingdom of Cumbria or Strathclyde, as this has been spoken of under S. CYNDEYRN. Enough that Rhydderch and Urien headed the Christian party among the Northern Cymry, composed of those who retained something of the traditions of culture from the Roman occupation, and boasted some of the Roman blood in their veins, and Gwenddoleu and Morcant (or Morken), who placed themselves at the head of the reactionary and pagan party.

In the great battle of Arderydd (573) the latter were completely defeated. Thereupon Rhydderch, having established himself at Dumbarton, recalled S. Kentigern from Wales, whither he had fled from the persecution of Morcant. Kentigern returned at the head

[1] Willis, *Bangor*, 1721, p. 274; *Cambrian Register*, 1818, iii, p. 223.

[2] *Harleian MS.* 3,859 and *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd* in *Peniarth MS.* 45. Tudglud means "Clydesland." The *Iolo MSS.*, on pp. 106 and 136, include him among the Welsh Saints. "Dominus . . . suscitavit super regnum Cambrinum in regem Rederch nomine; qui a discipulis sancti Patricii in Hiberniam baptizatus fuerat fide christianissimum." *Vita Kentigerni* in Pinkerton, II, pp. 62–3.



S. RHYCHWYN.

From 16th century Glass in Llanrhychwyn Church.

(Photo by Wm. Marriott Dodson.)

of six hundred and sixty-five monks and clerics, none too many for the work before them of rechristianizing all Cumbria. Rhydderch and his people, Joscelyn tells us, went to meet Kentigern and his party when they heard that they were nearing the borders of Cumbria.

Then an assembly was convened, and Kentigern announced the truth to all who were gathered together. Rhydderch made a somewhat abject submission of himself to the bishop. Casting off his royal garments, on bended knees, and with joined hands, he did homage to him, and delivered over to him lordship and principality over all his kingdom, he himself to take a second place after Kentigern.[1]

Rhydderch's queen was named Langweth or Languoreth, who carried on an intrigue with a young and handsome soldier, and in a fit of amorous imprudence, she one day presented him with a gold ring from her finger, that had been given to her by her husband.

Some time after this, Rhydderch was out hunting, and the young man who attended him and he distanced the escort, and becoming tired and hot, lay down for a nap beside the river Clyde.

The young man was soon asleep, with his arm stretched out, and then the king observed his wife's ring on the finger. His first impulse was to kill the man, but he controlled himself, and lightly drew off the ring and threw it into the Clyde.

When the youth awoke he did not notice his loss. On his return to the palace Rhydderch vented his wrath on the queen, charged her with being an adulteress, and threatened, unless the ring were produced, that he would openly proclaim her and thrust her from her place at his side.

Langweth, in great alarm, sent to S. Kentigern, and informed him of the circumstances.

Then the saint bade the messenger of the queen take a hook and fish in the Clyde, and bring him his first capture. Presently the man had a bite, and drew out a salmon, which, when cut open, had the lost ring in its stomach.

This was at once taken to Langweth, who rushed into the presence of Rhydderch with it, and showed it to him in the presence of his whole court.

The king then fell to abject apologies, went down on his knees to her, entreated her pardon, and bade her impose upon him any penance

[1] "Vestitus . . . regiis se exuens, genibus flexis, et manibus junctis, cum consensu et consilio magnatum suorum, hominium suum sancto Kentigerno obtulit; eique dominium et principatum super universum regnum suum tradidit, illumque regem se patriæ rectorem sub ipso nominari voluit. . . . Unde mos inolevit ut per multorum aunorum curricula, quam diu regnum Cambrinum in suo statu perduravit, semper princeps episcopo subditus fuerat." *Vita Kentigerni*, p.69.

up to death, she might devise as a punishment for having falsely accused her. She graciously forgave him, " and so the king and the queen and the betrayer were all recalled to favour and mutual love."

A scandalous story, but happily not true. It is but an adaptation of an Aryan folk tale, of mythological origin, that occurs in Herodotus, in the Provençal romance of *Magelone*, and elsewhere.

One day a harper from Ireland appeared at the court of King Rhydderch, and played before the king on " tympanum and harp " on the feast days of Christmas. And at the Epiphany the king ordered that the man should be rewarded. The bard scornfully rejected the presents ; gold and silver, fine raiment and horses, he said that he had in plenty at home ; what he demanded was a bowl of ripe blackberries. Rhydderch had recourse to S. Kentigern, who reminded the king that one day, when out hunting, he had thrown away his cloak over a growth of brambles, and that possibly enough, this might have protected the fruit from the frost, as the king had not thought of recovering his mantle. Search was made, and under it were found sufficient blackberries to fill a bowl, which was accordingly given to the bard. This latter had threatened, unless they were produced, to lampoon the king and make him ridiculous as far as his word went.

Queen Langweth had been barren, but by the prayers of the holy bishop she conceived and bare a son, whom Kentigern baptized, and to whom he gave the name of Constantine.

Rhydderch was also in close communication and friendship with S. Columba, from whom he received the assurance that he would not meet death at the hands of his enemies but would die peacefully on his own pillow,[1] which took place in 601 or 612, and he was succeeded by his son Constantine.

He is distinguished in the Triads as one of the Three Munificent Ones of the Isle of Britain, the other two being Nudd Hael and Mordaf Hael.

The following occurs among the " Sayings of the Wise " ; [2]

> Hast thou heard the saying of Rhydderch,
> The third munificent one, the enthroned of love ?
> " Frequent is seen extreme hatred after extreme love "
> (Gnawd rhygas gwedi rhyserch).

The " Stanzas of the Graves " in the *Black Book of Carmarthen* [3] state that he was buried at Abererch, in Carnarvonshire, but it is

[1] Adamnan, *Life of S. Columba*, i, c. 15, where he is called Roderc filius Tothail.
[2] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 255. It occurs in much the same words among the " Stanzas of the Hearing " in *Myv. Arch.*, p. 128. [3] Evans's ed., 1906, p. 64.

more probable that he lies within his own kingdom. The *Hoianau* in the same book style him " the champion of the Faith." [1]

S. RHYSTYD, Confessor

Rhystyd or Rhystud was the son of Hywel Fychan ab Hywel Faig (called also Hywel Farchog) ab Emyr Llydaw,[2] and the brother of S. Cristiolus. His name represents the Latin Restitutus, the name borne by the earliest known bishop of London, who was present at the Council of Arles in 314.

Rhystyd is the patron of Llanrhystyd in Cardiganshire. His Festival occurs in one calendar only, the South Wales calendar denominated S, in which it is said to be on " Dyw Iau y Cadgoriau cyn Dyw Nadolig," i.e., Thursday in the Ember Week before Christmas. A fair was held, Old Style and also New Style, at Llanrhystyd on the Thursday before Christmas.[3]

The *Iolo MSS.*[4] give another saint of the name, who is distinguished by being called Rhystyd Hên, the Aged or Senior. He was bishop of Caerleon-on-Usk, and of the race of Brân ab Llyr Llediaith ; but he was descended from too mythical a stock to be considered genuine.

S. RIOC, Bishop, Confessor

Rioc, or Riocatus, was a British Bishop who visited Lerins and made acquaintance with S. Faustus, afterwards Bishop of Riez, and

[1] Evans's ed., 1906, p. 52.
[2] *Cardiff MS.* 5 (1527), p. 117 ; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 269 ; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 133 ; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 420, 429. See iii, p. 289. Restitutus was a not uncommon name among ecclesiastics. It occurs in inscriptions as Restutus, whence Rhystud.
[3] Another fair was held there on " Dydd Iau Cablyd," i.e., Maundy Thursday, Dafydd ab Gwilym in one of his poems obscurely associates Rhystyd with S. Dwynwen :—

> " Rhystud Sant, rhyw ystod serch,
> A'i elinedd ar lanerch,
> A'i ben ar Ddwynwen enyd,
> Huno bu'n hwya'n y byd " ;

for which see ii, p. 389. [4] Pp. 116, 136.

the latter gave Rioc two of his books to take back with him to Britain, about the year 450, but possibly later. It was not till 462 that Faustus was elevated to the See of Riez.[1]

A Rioc, a British Bishop, laboured along with S. Patrick in Ireland. Whether the same, or another of the name, we have no means of ascertaining. But it is not improbable that they were identical, for they belonged to the same epoch, and communication with the South of Gaul and with Rome was not infrequent. According to some of the early authorities, Patrick himself had been at Lerins.

Rioc, who assisted Patrick, is said to have been son of one Conis.[2] The Litany of Œngus invokes him under the name of Mo Rioc as one of the foreign saints buried in Ireland, who travelled beyond the sea, along with twelve companions. He is there styled Hy Loegha, or Hy Laingh, but that is because he became Abbot of Inis Bofinne, which was situated in the territories of a clan of that name.

Some authorities have even made him a nephew of S. Patrick by his sister Darerca, but no confidence can be placed in the lists of the children of the supposed sisters of Patrick; and Rioc is mentioned as the brother of S. Mel.[3]

Very little is recorded of Rioc, and what is related is fabulous. It is said that Patrick found some difficulty in converting Eoghain, brother of Laoghaire the High King. Eoghain was a very ugly man, and he begged that if he were baptised he might become better looking.

"What shape do you choose," asked the Apostle.

"I should desire the appearance of the youth who is carrying thy box," replied Eoghain. Then Patrick put both Eoghain, and the youth, who was none other than Rioc, into one bed, and threw his cloak over them.

When they awoke, lo! Eoghain had become exactly like Rioc, the tonsure alone excepted.

"But still I am unduly short in stature," said the prince.

"What height do you desire to be?" asked Patrick.

"That of the staff thou holdest in thy hand," said Eoghain. And straightway he shot up to the desired height.[4]

Rioc was placed by S. Patrick in Inis Bofinne in Lough Ree. He would seem also to have been at Kilkenny, where the three churches

[1] See under S. FAUSTUS, iii, pp. 1–3.

[2] *Tripartite Life*, ed. Stokes, i, p. 83, "When Patrick went across the sea to journey to Ireland, Bishop Muinis came after him and after his brothers, viz., Bishops Mel of Ardachad, and Rioc of Inis Bofinne; and they are the sons of Conis and Darerca, Patrick's sister."

[3] List of Relations of the Saints, in the *Book of Leinster*, quoted in *Ibid.*, ii, p. 549.

[4] *Ibid.*, i, p. 152.

were founded by S. Patrick, S. Mel and S. Rioc. The site of S. Rioc's church is on the western side of Kilkenny and is now called S. Rock's. "A cemetery, walled in about fifty years ago, exists here; there are no traces of any building within its ambit; a large pool of water, called Walkin's Lough, existing here from time immemorial, has been drained within the last thirty years, and S. Rock's Well was traditionally believed to have been concealed beneath its waters."[1] The well was accidentally discovered in 1812.[2]

Doubts have been expressed as to whether the Rioc of Inis Bofinne be the same as Rioc the labourer with S. Patrick, by Ussher and others, as the former was a contemporary of S. Aedh of Slieve-Laing, who died in 588. It this were so, as there is reason to suppose, then they were distinct personages, but have been confounded by the Martyrologists. The story in the Life of S. Aedh is as follows. Rioc went to visit this saint during Lent in his island, and Rioc had no other food to set before him but meat. Aedh blessed what was given him and ate without scruple.[3]

We may accordingly place the centre of the sphere of the work of Rioc, Patrick's British assistant, at Kilkenny and not in Lough Ree. That Rioc should have gone to Armorica, and there sought disciples and fellow workers in the mission field, is more than probable. But there were two of the name in Armorica as there were two in Ireland. The second Rioc was a disciple of S. Winwaloe. Lanriec by Concarneau has the second as patron, but the former is perhaps the patron of Saint Rieu in the diocese of S. Brieuc. It has, however, cast him aside and has substituted for him S. Regulus, Bishop of Senlis. The Martyrology of Sarum has on February 6 the commemoration of SS. Rioc, Mel, Muinis and Melchu.

But the Irish Martyrologists give S. Rioc on August 1, either as Rioc or with the endearing prefix *mo*. He also occurs on this day in the Drummond Calendar. His "patron" day at Kilkenny was on August 1, or the First Sunday in August, and was such a scene of revelry and dissipation that it was at length put down. East of Kilkenny is the church of S. Maelog, one of Rioc's companions, called "Malach Brit," as being a Briton by birth.

On February 6 Whytford has—"In Yrelond ye feest of Saynt Mele, Saynt Melke and Saynt Munyse bysshops and of Saynt Ryoke an abbot, all four breder and neuewes unto Saynt Patryke by his syster

[1] Shearman, *Loca Patriciana*, 1882, p. 280.

[2] O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, viii, p. 8.

[3] *Acta SS. Hib.* in *Cod. Sal.*, p. 356.

Saynt Darerke, all men of synguler sanctite and grete myracles." Nicolas Roscarrock also gives him on the same day.

At Tréfiagat, in Cornouaille, S. Rigat or Riocatus is regarded as patron, and his feast is observed on June 21, but in the church he is not represented as a Bishop.

S. RUAN or RONAN, Abbot, Confessor

LELAND, quoting the Life of S. Breaca he found in the library of the monastery of S. Michael's Mount, says that along with her came "Sinninus abbas . . . Maruanus Monachus, etc." [1]

Maruanus is a misprint of Hearne for M. ruanus, or a mistake by Leland.

Moruan is Ruan, with the common prefix *mo*; and Ruan is a contraction for Ruadhan, "the Red." He was known as Moronoc in Ireland, and was a disciple of S. Senan of Iniscathy, who is the Sinninus of the text. Moronoc is the equivalent to Moruan, the suffix *oc* being given indiscriminately with that of *an*, as Aedan is also known as Mo-aed-oc or Maedoc.

He had a cell at Inis Luaidhe or Inislua, under Iniscathy, and is so named in the Martyrologies of Tallaght and O'Gorman on July 22. Apparently, he came to Cornwall along with Senan and a large party, of which one band, seven in number, with three women as well, went on, after a brief stay, and arriving in the estuary of the Rance, after founding churches, went on to Rheims, where they were received by S. Remigius, about 509.[2]

We may accordingly place the date of their arrival in Cornwall at the close of the fifth century.

Ruadhan must have remained some time in Cornwall, for there are three churches there, founded by him, as well as the chapel of Polruan opposite Fowey.

Probably he accompanied his master Senan into Brittany, for the parish of Plouzané (Plebs Senani), which regards the latter as its patron, is in the neighbourhood of S. Rénan, of which Ruan was the founder.

No Life of Ruadhan or Moronoc of Irish origin now exists, and what we know of him is from a Life in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris,

[1] *Itin.*, iii, p. 15. [2] i pp. 105–6.

MS. lat. 5,275, of the thirteenth century, but which was apparently composed in the eleventh century. It is given in the *Catalogus Codicum hagiograph. Bibliothecæ Nat. Paris*, by De Smedt, Brussels, 1889, T. i, pp. 438–58. Dom Plaine published a French Translation in the *Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Finistère*, T. xvi (1889), p. 263 *et seq.* Albert le Grand, in his work on the Lives of the Saints of Brittany (1636), drew his material for the Life of S. Rénan from the Breviaries of Quimper and Léon, in which the Life was given in nine lections; but this is very incomplete.

According to the *Vita* Rénan was an Irishman, and his parents had been converted by S. Patrick. He left his native land at an early age, and went to Britain to be there trained for the religious life, and he was there ordained priest. The Welsh have no mention of him in their ecclesiastical records; he must therefore, if he was in Wales, have been *in statu pupillari*, and have made there no foundations. Moreover it is improbable that he would have been allowed, as an Irishman, to settle there.

It is therefore probable that he returned to Ireland, and placed himself under the direction of S. Senan of Iniscathy. As already suggested, he accompanied Senan to Cornwall, and there remained for some time. After awhile he crossed with Senan to Léon, landing in the estuary of the Aber Ildut. As Lanildut stands at the mouth of the river, it is conceivable that Ronan may have come along with Illtyd as well as Senan, and that all three established their *lans* in the district about the same time. But this is mere conjecture.

For some reason unknown, Ronan left his first foundation, and migrated south, and took up his abode on the northern slope of the prolongation of the Montagnes Noires, overlooking the Bay of Douarnenez. Here the country was enveloped in the vast forest of Nemet or Nevez, except the open moor that now forms the crown of the mountain. It may be only a coincidence, but it deserves notice, that S. Illtyd receives a cult and has a chapel in the adjoining parish of Plogonnec, on the south slope of the mountain. It is remarkable that both in Léon and in Cornouaille, Ronan is in close proximity to Illtyd.

Here Ronan established a cell. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood were pagans, the early non-Aryan population, speaking an agglutinative tongue, that had strewn the country with their megalithic monuments, and who had been untouched by Gallo-Roman civilization, and had been unconverted to Christianity. Ronan set diligently to work to preach the Gospel to them.

A peasant listened with attention to his instructions, and visited him so often, that his wife, Keban, thought that he was neglecting

his domestic duties, and feared lest he should be drawn to desert her and embrace the monastic life.

She concealed her little girl in a chest, and went to Quimper, where she complained to King Grallo, that Ronan was a were-wolf, that he changed his form nightly, and ravaged the sheep-folds round the forest, and had even carried off and devoured her child. King Grallo had Ronan arrested, and after a few days exposed to his hunting dogs, which, he said, would tear him to shreds, if they snuffed anything of the wolf about him.

But the hounds fawned on the hermit; whereupon popular opinion veered about, and proclaimed Ronan a saint. On a search being instituted in the woman's house, the child was found concealed where she had placed it. She does not seem to have been punished for bringing the false charge; she certainly was in evidence, with sentiments unchanged, later on.

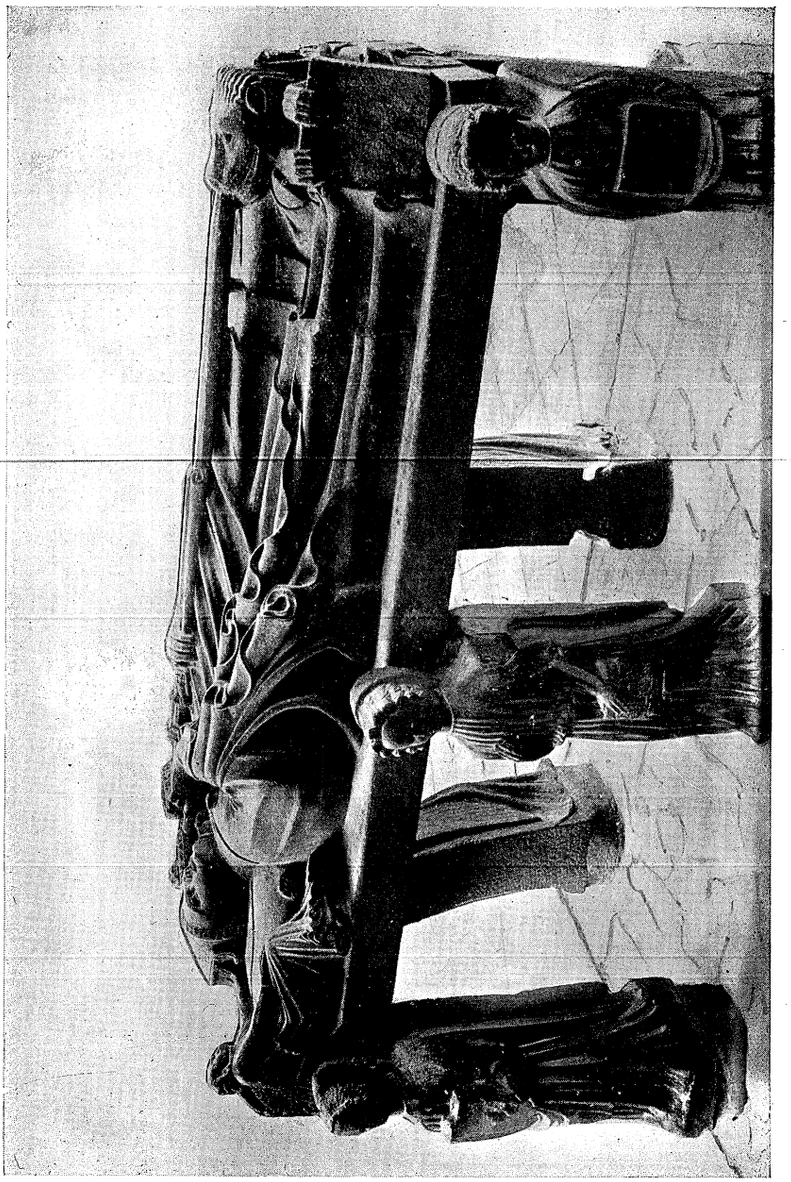
If we translate this story out of legendary language into that of plain sense, it resolves itself into this. Grallo was a Christian; but as the bulk of the natives over whom he ruled was pagan, he was unable to treat the accusation as frivolous. What he did was to keep Ronan by him for a few days, and familiarize the hounds with him, allowing the Irish hermit to feed them. Consequently, when, on a set day, he was exposed to them, they treated him as a friend.

The revelation of Keban's malice did not make her less virulent. After awhile she spread a grave accusation against Ronan of another sort, and his position became so intolerable, that he resolved on leaving that part of the country.

He accordingly departed for Domnonia, and settled near Hillion, on the Anse d'Iffignac. There he was found one morning dead in his cell, in the attitude of prayer.

The body was taken back to Locronan in the Forest of Nevez, in a wagon drawn by a couple of oxen. When Keban saw it coming she was in the act of washing clothes, and she rushed at the oxen, belaboured them with her washing-bat, and broke one of their horns, all the while screaming out that Ronan was no Saint, and that it was an absurdity making such a to-do about his body. At the present day, a cross stands on the spot where tradition says that Keban beat the oxen. No peasant raises his hat as he passes "Keban's Cross."

The body was laid at Locronan, and a glorious church with an adjoining chapel of the *Peniti* is attached to it, and the latter contains the tomb of the saint. On it Ronan is represented as a bishop, and it is supposed that he was a bishop when he arrived in Brittany. The tomb is of the sixteenth century.



TOMB OF S. RONAN AT LOCRONAN.

At Locronan the feast of the saint is observed on the Second Sunday in July, and every sixth year with especial dignity.

A procession leaves the church in the afternoon, and makes the circuit of the *Minihi*, or sanctuary of the saint, singing a Breton *Guerz* or ballad of S. Ronan, which is given in the new edition of Albert le Grand, *Vies des Saints*, 1901, p. 211.

The scene is wonderfully striking. The women are in white with headdresses of mediæval cut; their gowns rich with embroidery and spangles. The procession winds about the mountain with fluttering banners, and crosses gleaming in the sun; and the summer air, as it fans over the heather, comes laden with the scent of frankincense and snatches of song. The adjoining parishes arrive for High Mass in the morning, headed by drummers, and at the Sanctus, elevation and Communion, a roll of drums supplements the tinkle of the bell. The pure, sweet faces of the women, the intense devotion of men and women alike, and the beauty and poetry of the whole *Tromenie*, makes of this commemoration a very scene of Christianity in its most idyllic form.

The story of the relics of S. Ronan is unknown. Probably they were carried away at the time of the ravages of the Northmen, but there is no record as to whither they were taken.

All we know is that in 960, Ordgar, Earl of Devon, translated those of S. Rumon, who is identical with Ronan or Ruan, to the Abbey of Tavistock that he had founded. In 913 and 914 the coast of Cornouaille was devastated by Rollo, the Northman, and the Abbey of Landevennec was destroyed. The monks and clergy fled the country, carrying with them the bodies of their founders and of other saints, and at the same time many of these were conveyed to Britain. Whether that of Ronan was then taken over we are not told. But in 1219 relics of S. Ronan were at Quimper in the Cathedral. Perhaps some of the bones of the saint were brought back, when the Breton exiles returned to their native land. But is the Rumon of Tavistock the same as the Ronan of Brittany and the Ruan of Cornwall? It would appear so. Leland saw the Life of S. Rumon in the Abbey Library of Tavistock, and made from it some all too scanty extracts. He says:—

"Rumonus genere fuit Scottus Hibernensis. Nemea sylva in Cornubia plenissima olim ferarum, S. Rumonus faciebat sibi oratorium in sylva Nemæa." And then follows the entry:—"Falemouth. Ordulphus, dux Cornubiæ, transtulit ossa Rumoni Tavistochium."[1]

This shows that the monks of Tavistock identified their Rumon

[1] *Itin.*, iv, pp. 152–3.

with Ronan or Ruan. The Nemea sylva is the Nevet in Armorican Cornouaille.

On the other hand, William of Malmesbury, in his *Gesta Pontificum*, says of Tavistock Abbey:—"Rumonus ibi sanctus prædicatur et jacet episcopus, pulchritudine decoratus scrinii, ubi nulla scriptorum fides assistit opinioni. Quod non solum ibi sed et in multis locis Angliæ invenies, violentia credo hostilitatis abolitam omnem gestorum notitiam, nuda tantum nomina, et si quæ modo prætendunt miracula tantum sciri." [1]

Whether William of Malmesbury had been at Tavistock, and had there learned that no Life of the Saint existed in his day (*circ.* 1120), we cannot say; but in Leland's time Rumon had been identified with Ronan.

In Devonshire Romansleigh has him as patron. This parish belonged to Tavistock Abbey. In the charter whereby it was granted to the Abbey it is entitled Leigh, so that it acquired its patron later.

At Meavy is a Ronan's cross. An inscribed stone at Mitchel bears on it RUANI IC JACET.

The churches bearing his name are:—

The Parish Church of Ruan Major; the Parish Church of Ruan Minor, with his Holy Well; the Parish Church of Ruan Lanihorne (Lan-ruan); a chapel at Polruan opposite Fowey, now called Lanlaron, a corruption of Lan-ruan.

There was formerly a chapel dedicated to him at Redruth.

The Exeter Calendar of the twelfth century, and the Exeter *Legendarium* of Bishop Grandisson (1366) give as S. Rumon's day, August 30. William of Worcester, on the information of Thomas Peperell, notary of Tavistock, says that his death took place on August 28, and that the feast of his Translation was observed on January 5. But he extracted from the Calendar at Tavistock August 30 as S. Rumon's Day. This also is his day in the Sarum Calendar.

In Brittany his day is June 1—Brev. Léon, 1516; Miss. Léon, 1526; Brev. Corisop., 1642, 1701, 1835; also the Cartulary of Quimper, 1272, gives his feast as occurring in June, but does not specify the day.

Ronan in Brittany is generally represented as a bishop. As such his figure lies on his tomb at Locronan; but he has no special symbol. His story is reproduced in a series of panels on the pulpit at Locronan.

It is a curious fact that Audierne in Finistère was dedicated to S. Rumon, but has changed its patron to S. Raymond Nonnatus. It is possible that some Bretons returning from Britain may have brought

[1] Rolls Series, p. 202.

there from Tavistock a parcel of the relics of S. Rumon, and that they were unconscious that Rumon of Tavistock was identical with their own Ronan.

In reckoning the dates of S. Ronan's life we have not much to go by. He arrived in Cornwall at the very end of the fifth century, and crossed to Brittany about 500.

He left Léon, and migrated to Locronan, about 510, where he was brought into relation with King Grallo, to whom, however, M. de la Borderie gives a rule in Cornouaille from 475 to 505, but who probably was some ten years later.

The date of the death of Ronan can be only matter of conjecture, as occurring approximately about 540.

The relics of Ronan were carried away from Brittany in 880, and were brought back, in part, to Quimper about 950.

S. RYDOCH, Confessor

THIS was one of the sons of Brychan. In the Vespasian *Cognatio* he is entered thus—"Rydoch (i. Iudoc) in francia; inde dicitur ton Ridoch (i. eurus) Windouith." [1] "De vent" is written above the last word. In the Domitian *Cognatio* the entry runs—"Ridoc Gwindouut in Francia inde dicitur Collis Ridoc Gwindouut." In *Jesus College MS.* 20 it is—"Reidoc in France, at the place called Twmbreidoc after his name." *Llanstephan MS.* 187 (*circa* 1634) states that Rhidorch and Rhodawrch (clearly one and the same person), the sons of Brychan, "assumed the religious habit at the place called Tomriwch in France." Practically the same notice occurs in *Peniarth MS.* 178 (sixteenth century), where they are called Ridaorch and Rodoch, with the addition that they are esteemed as "honoured saints" in France. *Peniarth MS.* 75 (sixteenth century) mentions him simply as Rydderch, "in France."

In the later Brychan lists he is called Cadog, and it is added that "he was made bishop by his brother Dyfrig," and that "he went to France, where he lies buried." [2]

[1] Cf. "Est aliud mirabile in regione quae uocatur Guent . . . Vith Guint Brittanico sermone, Latine autem flatio uenti." *De Mirabilibus Britanniae, Hist. Brit.*, c. lxx, ed. Mommsen, p. 215. *Vith Guint* stands for modern *Chwyth Gwynt*, wherever that and the Hill of Rydoch may be.

[2] *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 119, 140; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 419.

S. SADWRN FARCHOG, Confessor

SADWRN FARCHOG, or the Knight, was the son of Bicanus Farchog of Llydaw, and a brother of Illtyd and nephew of Emyr Llydaw.[1] His mother, according to another account, appears to have been Rieingulid, daughter of Amlawdd Wledig, King of Britain,[2] and not a sister of Emyr Llydaw. He married his kinswoman Canna, daughter of Tewdwr ab Emyr Llydaw, by whom he became the father of S. Crallo. On his death Canna married Alltu Redegog, and had by him S. Elian Geimiad. Sadwrn, in his old age, came over to Wales with S. Cadfan.

To Sadwrn are dedicated the churches of Llansadwrn, in Carmarthenshire, and Llansadwrn, in Anglesey. He was buried at the latter place, where was found about 1742, whilst digging a grave, his tombstone, now bearing the following fragmentary inscription :—

HIC BEAT
SATVRNINVS SE
ACIT. ET SVA SA
CONIVX. PA[3]

The stone is a small block, broken, and is now let into the chancel wall. His name, however, has been wrongly cut, as Saturninus can only represent in Welsh Sadyrnin, whilst Sadwrn stands for Saturnus.[4] "An uncouth head projecting from the wall of the church, on the inside, is said to be intended for the head of S. Sadwrn"[5]—now, however, shown on the outside.

The festival of S. Sadwrn is given as November 29 in the Calendars in *Peniarth MSS.* 172, 186 and 187, *Llanstephan MS.* 117, the *Iolo MSS.*, the Welsh Prymers of 1618 and 1633, and *Allwydd Paradwys* (1670).[6] It is not improbable that he has been confounded with

[1] *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 132, 134. Lewis Glyn Cothi (fifteenth century) says of the subject of one of his elegies, who was very aged at the time of his death :—

"Oediawg o farchawg, da ei foes, ydoedd,
Mal Sadwrn neu Idloes." *Poetical Works*, 1837, p. 332.

[2] *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 158. See iii, pp. 304–5.

[3] Sir J. Rhys, *Origin of the Welsh Englyn*, 1905, p. 31, suggests the original to have been :—

"Hic beatus vir Saturninus sepsemet iacit.
Et sua sancta coniux. Paterna cui sit terra levis."

He is disposed to regard the epitaph as belonging to the earlier half of the sixth century.

[4] But cf. Paul and Paulinus used for the same saint, *supra*, p. 74.

[5] Angharad Llwyd, *Hist. of Anglesey*, 1833, p. 297.

[6] Willis, *Bangor*, 1721, p. 282, gives November 30.

the martyr bishop, Saturninus, of Toulouse, whose day is also November 29; in fact, he is entered as Sadwrn Ferthyr against the day in the sixteenth century Demetian Calendar (S).

On a tomb now in Beaumaris church, removed at the Dissolution from Penmon, are niches containing figures of saints, several, as far as can be judged, local saints. One of these may represent Sadwrn. It is the statuette of a knight in armour, with a sword girded at his side, but holding a pilgrim's staff in his left hand, and raising the right in benediction, with a small shield slung from that arm. He is bearded, but the face is much mutilated. A companion figure is probably intended for S. Canna. She is represented veiled, but with a crown above the veil, holding in her left hand a book, and in the right a staff which is flowering.

There is a Ffynnon Sadwrn, in a neglected condition, in the parish of Llandudno, situated near the Little Orme's Head. A lane there takes its name from it.

One entry in the *Iolo MSS.*[1] gives as a saint Sadwrn Hên ab Cynyr of Caer Gawch, the father of S. Sadyrnin, and brother of S. Non and others, but nothing further is known of him.

The *Book of Llan Dâv* gives a Saturn as abbot of Llandocheu or Llandough, and also of Llantwit, and Tref Saturn is mentioned in the boundary of Merthyr Mawr, Glamorganshire.[2]

S. SADWRN OF HENLLAN, Priest, Confessor

SADWRN of Henllan, in the County of Denbigh, is known to us only through the Legend of S. Winefred by Robert, Prior of Shrewsbury. Winefred, on quitting Holywell, went to a hermit Deifer, of Bodfari, who sent her on to the venerable Saturnus or Sadwrn, who would inform her what to do. On arriving at Henllan, she and the saintly eremite spent the night together in prayer, and he gave her much good advice. He also informed her that he had been instructed from heaven to pass her on to S. Elerius at Gwytherin. It is curious to observe how reluctant both he and Deifer were to be encumbered with her, and how they sought to pass her on from one to another.

[1] P. 141.

[2] See index, p. 418, and p. 214; cf. *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 93. Coed and Castell Sadwrn occur in the parish of Llanbedr y Cennin, Carnarvonshire.

Sadwrn accompanied Winefred part of her way, gave her his blessing, and sent her forward under the guidance of his deacon.[1]

Henllan must have been an important foundation. Until the middle of last century it served an area of sixteen miles by about seven in its greatest length and breadth. It adjoined Bodfari where was the cell of Deifer. The church has a detached tower, built on a spur of rock in a corner of the churchyard, whence the bells can be heard further than from the lower level of the church.

The Welsh genealogies give no information relative to this Sadwrn, who cannot possibly be identified with Sadwrn Farchog, as he lived considerably later. But he is most probably the Sadwrn who is said to have been a saint and *periglawr* or confessor of Bangor Asaf,[2] at S. Asaph, which may account for the former connection of Henllan with that Cathedral Church. Lhuyd mentions Ffynnon Sadwrn as being in Foxhall ground. The spot now forming the cross roads near Henllan Church is called Bwlch Sadwrn, his Pass.

The Welsh MS. additions to the calendar in a copy of the *Preces Privatæ* of 1573, in the S. Beuno's (Jesuit) College Library, give "Gw. Henllan," i.e. the Festival of Henllan, against November 29. Browne Willis[3] gives the parish the same festival day.

S. SADYRNIN, Confessor

SADYRNIN was the son of S. Sadwrn Hên ab Cynyr of Caer Gawch.[4] He is the patron of Llansadyrnin, or Llansadwrnen, subject to Laugharne, in Carmarthenshire, which has been supposed[5] to be dedicated to Sadyrnin, Bishop of S. David's, who died in 831,[6] or to Saturninus, the third century bishop and martyr of Toulouse.

Sadyrnin is the Welsh form of Saturninus. *Allwydd Paradwys*, 1670, gives the festival of "S. Sadwrnyn" on November 29, con-

[1] See the *Buchedd Gwen Vrewy* in the Appendix to this vol.; also Bishop Fleetwood, *Life of S. Wenefrede*, 1713, pp. 73–5. He is not mentioned in the earlier Life of S. Winefred.

[2] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 107. [3] *Bangor*, 1721, p. 364.

[4] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 141. Sadyrnin, a hero, and Sadyrnin, father of Morgan Fawr, are mentioned in Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii, pp. 176, 219.

[5] Bevan, *S. David's*, S.P.C.K., p. 54.

[6] *Annales Cambriæ*, p. 13; but the name would more correctly appear to-day as Sadyrnfyw (Hael).

founding this saint, probably, with his namesake of Toulouse. The same day is given him in a Welsh almanack of 1692, and subsequently.[1]

S. SAERAN, Bishop, Confessor

THIS saint was the son of Geraint Saer, or the Wright, of Ireland.[2] To him the church of Llanynys, in the Vale of Clwyd, is dedicated. A statement by Rice Rees, made on insufficient evidence, has been the means of perpetuating an error respecting the true dedication of this church, which is, that it was originally founded by Mor (Mar) ab Ceneu, and that it had been ascribed to Saeran merely from the circumstance of his having been buried there.[3] He founds his statement on a poem attributed to Llywarch Hên, printed in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*,[4] wherein Llanynys would appear to be mentioned under the name Llanfor. But he has entirely ignored the variant readings; moreover, this latter portion of the poem does not form part of the *Red Book* text.[5]

There can be no doubt whatever that the church is dedicated to S. Saeran alone,[6] and not to SS. Mor and Saeran, as has been the fashion since Rees's day.

Saeran's festival, which occurs on January 13, carries us one brief step forward in his identification. This day, in the Martyrologies of Tallaght and Donegal, is the festival of S. Sarán, Bishop; but nothing further seems to be known of him.[7]

A Saranus was one of the Irish ecclesiastics, "doctors and abbots," to whom Pope John IV sent a letter, in 640, about the observance of Easter and the Pelagian heresy.[8] This was Sarán Ua Critain, who died in 661 or 2; but it is very doubtful whether he was the same person.[9]

[1] Willis, *Paroch. Anglic.*, 1733, p. 188, Nov. 19, by mistake.

[2] *Peniarth MSS.* 74, 75, and 182 (sixteenth century); *Cardiff MS.* 25 (p. 39); *Myv. Arch.*, p. 429.

[3] *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, 1836, pp. 117–9, 271, 334.

[4] P. 96. [5] Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, p. 266.

[6] J. G. Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 914; *Peniarth MS.* 121, p. 113; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 270; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 429; Willis, *Bangor*, p. 278. Sometimes the Church is called Llan Saeran, as in *Llanstephan MS.* 199, fo. 71 *b*. See also ii[1], p. 498.

[7] O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, i, p. 192. [8] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, c. 19.

[9] Possibly the Irish name occurs in the place-name Trimsaran, midway between Kidwelly and Llanelly.

Edward Lhuyd in his notice of Llanynys (1699) says, "Their wakes next Sunday after St. Hilary; but their Saint is call'd Sairen whose Tomb they shew w^th^ an Jnscription of ab^t^ 3 or 4 hundred years standing. Ffynnon Saeren is in Dre Vechan" (township). His tomb has now disappeared. There is a well called Ffynnon Sarah in the parish of Derwen, not far from Llanynys, which may possibly be a Saeran Well. It is a large square bath of rude masonry, with steps to go down it.

The festival of S. Saeran, on January 13, is given in the calendars in *Jesus College MS. 22*, *Peniarth MSS.* 187 and 192, *Mostyn MS.* 88, *Llanstephan MS.* 181, the Welsh Prymers of 1546 and 1618, the MS. additions to the calendar of a copy of the *Preces Privatæ* of 1573 in the S. Beuno's (Jesuit) College Library (also on the 14th) and by Nicolas Roscarrock, and Browne Willis.[1]

"Nawdd Saeran" (his protection) is invoked in the, hagiologically, well-known Ode to King Henry VII.[2]

S. SAMLED, Confessor

NOTHING is known of this saint. In the *Iolo MSS.*[3] he is stated to have his church at Cilfai, in the cantref of Gorfynydd, in Glamorganshire, which is known as Llansamlet. His name is also spelt Saimled and Siamled.[4] The parish is given as Llansambled in the *Valor* of 1535.[5]

"Fons S'ti Yltuti" is mentioned in the fourteenth century as being in Llansamlet.[6]

S. SAMSON, Bishop, Confessor

THE authorities for the Life of S. Samson have been subjected to critical examination by the Abbé Duchesne[7] and by M. de la Borderie,[8] but we do not think that the last word has been said upon them.

[1] *Bangor*, pp. 278, 326. [2] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 314.
[3] Pp. 109, 146. [4] J. G. Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 919. [5] iv, p. 385.
[6] W. Ll. Morgan, *Antiquarian Survey of Gower*, London, 1899, p. 266.
[7] *Catalogues episc. de la prov. de Tours*, Paris, 1890, p. 95; and *Fastes episc. de l'ancienne Gaule*, Paris, 1899, T. II, pp. 381–2.
[8] *Hist de Bretagne*, Rennes, 1896, T. I, pp. 560–64.

There must have existed a Life, which we will call A, that has been lost. Whether it were by the author of *Vita* 1*ma*, and was a first edition, we are unable to say, but it is probable that it was so, and this was afterwards recast by him into the shape in which we now have it.

1. This *Vita* 1*ma* was published by Mabillon in his *Acta SS. o. S.B.*, sæc. 1, Venice, 1733, pp. 165–86. Collated with other copies of the same, it has been reprinted in the *Acta SS. Boll.*, Jul., T. VI, pp. 573–91.

This was composed by a monk of Pental, and was dedicated by him to Tighernomagl, Bishop of Dol, of whom this further is known, that he was the educator of S. Turiaf.[1] The author informs us as to his sources. He says: "What I relate I obtained from a venerable old man, who spent almost eighty years in a house founded by Samson beyond the sea, living there a monastic life very orthodox, and he related to me, with great readiness, many of the admirable acts of the saint, assuring me that all this had been told by the mother of the saint to a very holy deacon, the uncle of this venerable old man, and himself cousin of Saint Samson. Not only so, but this deacon, named Enoch, had brought across the sea many and dainty words (i.e. a written account), in polished style, of his (Samson's) more wondrous works performed on this side of the sea, in Britannia (Armorica) and Romania (Gaul). And the aforesaid venerable old man had them read before me with pious care, without ceasing, in the monastery that he inhabited."[2]

Consequently, for the first part of Samson's Life, that passed in Britain, the authority was the relation made by the Saint's mother to Enoch, a kinsman of Samson, and this relation was made to Enoch near the time when her son was alive; that thus, there

[1] *Acta SS. Boll.*, Jul., T. III, pp. 614–25; also Abbé Duine, *Saints de Domnonée*, Rennes, 1912.

[2] "Primo autem omnium, credi a vobis me volo, quo[d] non juxta adinventionis meæ temeritatem nec juxta inordinata et incomposita audita, hæc verba collecta sunt, sed juxta hoc quod a quodam religioso ac venerabili sene [audivi], in cujus domo, quam ultra mare ipse solus Samson fundaverat, ille per octogenarios fere annos Catholicam vitam ducens propissimisque [or piissimisque] temporibus ejusdem supradicti St. Samsonis, matrem [*in the text* mater] ejus tradidisse avunculo suo sanctissimo diacono, qui et ipse diaconus consobrinus esset Sancto Samsoni, mihi veraciter affirmabat, multaque de ejus admirabilibus gestis misericorditer referens. Et non solum hoc: sed etiam quamplura ac delicata, de ejus prodigiosioribus actibus quæ citra mare in Britannia ac Romana mirabiliose fecit, verba supradictus diaconus, Henocus nomine, congruis stilis polita ultra mare adportavit, et ille, de quo nuper prefati sumus, venerabilis senex semper ante me, in isto monasterio commanens, pie legere ac diligenter faciebat." ***Vita* 1*ma*, *Prol.***, in *Acta SS. Boll.*, Jul., VI, p. 573.

intervened between his hero and his biographer but a single generation, that of the old monk who was over eighty. This is a guarantee for the historic value of the main facts, but allowance must be made for the exaggerations of an affectionate and admiring mother; then for further embellishment by the deacon Enoch; next for additional colours laid on by the imagination of an old monk of something like ninety years; and finally for the last touches given by the biographer. The result has been, as we shall see, that the early life of Samson has been distorted in a strange manner, and that circumstances, in themselves not extraordinary, have been shown to us through a cloud of miraculous marvel.

The record must have been committed to writing some forty or fifty years after the death of Samson.

For the second portion of Samson's Life, that passed in Armorica, the *Vita* 1*ma* reproduces the written narrative possessed by the old monk Henocus.

"All this," says M. de la Borderie, "is deduced with certainty from the formal testimony of the author, in his prologue; and it is difficult to imagine a safer source for an historical narrative, for it emanates from two persons of the family of Samson, who had the best means of knowing, the one, his mother, in Britain; the other, Enoch, on the Continent." This is so far true as to the substance of the story. The embroidery must be ruthlessly cut away, worked over the threads by the affection and family pride, and the prevailing love of the marvellous, and the Celtic proneness to exaggeration in the narrators.

The writer, who had received his information from the old monk, desired to complete and check the story, by visiting the localities mentioned in the record, and collecting such reminiscences of his hero as still lingered about them. He accordingly visited the monastery of Llanilltyd, where Samson had passed his youth, that of Ynys Pyr, of which he had been for a while head; he sought out the desert by the Severn, and venerated the oratory to which the saint had retired after leaving Ynys Pyr. He saw and read the letter which the Synod had despatched to Samson, inviting his attendance; he also touched the cross cut by the saint on a menhir in Cornwall.

Of the marvels related, it is not necessary to say much. Some are obvious exaggerations, as when a viper is magnified into a monster; some are the commonplaces of hagiological romance; the dove that appears thrice, when Samson is ordained deacon, priest, and bishop; and the dragon he finds in a cave and precipitates into the sea, repeated thrice.

Unless a biography were padded out with marvels, it had no chance of becoming popular; and a writer had to consult the prevailing taste of his day.

One of the marvels recorded, that of the snapping of the poisoned vessel, the biographer borrowed from the Life of S. Martin. The story of the sterility of Samson's mother Anna, he appropriated from Scripture. But all reserves made, the Life of S. Samson is one of the most valuable documents we possess relative to the early history of the Church in Britain and in Armorica.

The *Vita* 1*ma* consists of two distinct parts, both by the same hand, but differing in character. The first is a biography of Samson from the cradle to the grave. The second is a sermon preached at Dollon the Feast of the Saint. It contains a number of incidents from the Life of Samson not included in the first part.

It is, however, probable that the original biography A contained these in their proper chronological sequence. We may be sure that the author, knowing these incidents, would have included them in his narrative in their proper place. But when he was called upon to preach a sermon on the glories of S. Samson, he made a cento of the miracles from his biography; and as he was well pleased with this production, he published a second edition of his Life, without those anecdotes, and issued his sermon as a second part to the *Vita Samsonis*.

This seems to be the most probable explanation, as it accounts for the sequence in the *Vita* 2*da* which was apparently based, not on the *Vita* 1*ma*, as we now have it, but on that Life in its original form.

The sermon, being an independent composition, might well have contained some of the stories given in the *Vita*. But it does not. The author has taken care not to repeat himself.

Of this *Vita* 1*ma*, some of the MSS. extant are without the prologue, and without the Second Part or Sermon, but no copy of the supposed first edition exists.[1]

2. The *Vita* 2*da* was published by Dom Plaine, O.S.B., in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, T. VI (1887), pp. 79–150. Dom Plaine was nothing of a critic, and he attempted vainly to show that this Life was the most ancient of all, and that it was the composition of a contemporary. It is actually based on the *Vita* 1*ma*, which it follows textually in places, but, as we suppose, not the *Vita* 1*ma* as we have it, but the text A, the first edition before it was altered and cut about and the Sermon added to it.

[1] "Je crois sans peine que la *Vita Samsonis* fut composée une cinquantaine d'anneés au plus apres la mort du saint, et quelle entrelace dans son tissu les souvenirs d'un contemporain de Samson." Abbé Duine, *Saints de Domnonée*, Rennes, 1912.

It is divided into two Books, but unlike the *Vita* 1*ma*, as we have it, the two form one complete whole. The First Book is devoted to the Life of Samson in Britain, the Second to his Life on the Continent. Each book is preceded by a prologue in verse, and is followed by a metrical epilogue. The prologue and epilogue of the Second Book inform us that the Life was composed by order of Louenan, Bishop of Dol.[1]

Now, happily, we know when Louenan occupied the chair of S. Samson. A letter has been preserved written by Rohbod, Provost of the Chapter of Dol, to Athelstan, in which he says that during a period of tranquillity in Armorica, Edward the Elder, father of Athelstan, had written to Louenan, Archbishop of Dol, desiring to be admitted into the fellowship of prayer and good works of the Church of S. Samson. When Rohbod wrote, he and the monks had abandoned Dol, flying before the Northmen.[2] The time of tranquillity to which he refers came to a rude termination in 907. Edward the Elder reigned from 901 to 924. Consequently, the Life dedicated to Louenan must have been written at the very end of the ninth century or in the tenth before 907.

Either the author had before him an earlier text of the *Vita* 1*ma* than any we possess, or else he showed considerable ingenuity in picking out the anecdotes found in the homily and adjusting them into what he supposed was their proper place in the narrative. One shifting of an incident was performed either by him or by the first biographer in his revision for a second edition.

In the *Vita* 1*ma*, after the author has told us of how Illtyd foretold the future greatness of the infant Samson, he goes on to give an instance of Illtyd's prophetic vision, when he was on his deathbed. Illtyd died 527–37.

Now, one of two alternatives must be adopted. Either the first biographer had given this account of Illtyd's death in his first edition, at the point in Samson's career when Illtyd's death occurred, but in his second edition removed it to his account of Samson's birth to enforce

[1] "Quæ prius in prosa resonant ex tempore prisco
Me resonare jubet Louenan episcopus, amplas
Samsonis per metrum virtutes venerandi
Decantare jubet."
"Louenan, lætus, largitor, longanimisque
Princeps pacificus patriæ, defensor egentum,
Samsonis sedis venerandæ pastor haberis."

From the words of the prologue it is clear that a prose text of the Life of Samson did exist before the writer undertook his task.

[2] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Angliæ*, Rolls ed., I, p. 221, note.

the value of the prophecy of Illtyd made when the child Samson was presented to him; or else the compiler of *Vita* 2*da* removed the anecdote from this place and grafted it into his story at the place to which chronologically it belongs. It seems to us more probable that in A the death of Illtyd was given in its proper historical place, that the writer of *Vita* 2*da* found it there and copied it into his narrative, and that the author of *Vita* 1*ma* changed the position of the anecdote for the purpose above suggested.

The second Biographer softens down characteristic incidents such as might shock the finer susceptibilities of a later age. Thus, the author of the First Life frankly admits that Samson lost his temper in the presence of Childebert, and broke out into violent language. The second Biographer merely says that Samson persisted till he had carried his point with the Frank king.

The earlier writer says that when Samson arrived at Docho, he sent to the monastery there to ask permission to remain awhile in it; but that the monks refused to receive him, and bade him go on his way. The composer of the Second Life did not relish this snub administered to his hero, so he altered the incident, and made the monks entreat Samson to remain with them, but that he refused to do so. Nevertheless, as we shall see in the sequel, this later writer has preserved in his account of this transaction something from A which the author of *Vita* 1*ma* exscinded from his second edition.

The compiler was either very ignorant, or, what is more probable, was very unscrupulous. He pretends that Childebert invested Samson with the archiepiscopal office, and granted him jurisdiction over all Brittany;[1] whereas Dol was not raised to be an archiepiscopal see till after the victories over Charles the Bald by Nominoe in 850. This was so near to the time of the author that we cannot acquit him of dishonesty. He must have known that Dol was made metropolitan quite recently.

The *Vita* 2*da* is valuable, for it contains matters relative to the early history of Brittany not to be found in the First Life.

A curious discrepancy is found between the two Lives relative to an attempt made to poison Samson by two of his cousins.

According to *Vita* 1*ma* this attempt was made after that Samson had been ordained priest, and it is implied that he was celebrant on the ensuing Sunday, when, as he administered the sacred elements (*bucella*) to one of these cousins, the man was seized with a fit. But the author

[1] "Tunc S. Samson de manu Hilberti imperatoris et verbo et commendatione archiepiscopatum totius Britanniæ recipiens . . . prospero itinere . . . ad Dolum pervenit."

of *Vita 2da* says that this took place when Samson was a deacon, and it was when Samson, acting as deacon, administered the chalice, that the man was struck. "Cum Sanctus Samson calicem de altare elevasset, sicut mos diacono est, ille accepit de manu Sancti Samsonis, et de illo communicavit." No object was to be gained in altering the particulars, and we suspect that it stood thus in A, from which the author of the *Vita 2da* worked, and that the author of *Vita 1ma* made the change in his second edition, having found that he had been in error in his first.

All that portion of the Life of S. Samson which relates to his doings on the Continent is much fuller in *Vita 2da* than in *Vita 1ma*; it gives us historical particulars lacking in the first. In both Lives the narrative of the marvels wrought at the Court of Childebert is extravagant, but, as we shall show, are borrowed from other Lives. *Vita 1ma* sticks closer to the original text A, but *Vita 2da* retains the historical sequence of events disturbed in *Vita 1ma*. The author of *Vita 1ma* was but a poor Latinist. The author of the Second Life was to some extent scholarly. He belonged not to the British generation of settlers at Dol, as he shows by his absurd etymologies of Dol and Rotinon.

3. The Third Life is that in the *Liber Landavensis*, ed. Rees, Llandovery, 1840, pp. 8–25; the *Book of Llan Dâv*, ed. Evans and Rhys, Oxford, 1893, pp. 6–24. This book was written about the year 1150, and the Life was compiled about the same time, *Vita 1ma* serving as basis. This was condensed. The reluctance of Samson to go to his sick father, and the insistence of Pirus that he should obey the summons is omitted, as is also the account of the drunkenness of Pirus; but the fact of Samson having lost his temper and breaking out into abusive language is retained. The interview with Winiau and the refusal of the monks of Docho to entertain him is cut out. So also is the anecdote of Illtyd's prevision on his deathbed of the lot of two brethren. Samson is priest when the attempt is made on his life by his cousins. On the other hand, a few local traditions are inserted, as that Illtyd and Dubricius were asked by Amwn and Anna to pray that they might be given a son. The name of Samson is imposed on the child by Illtyd when he baptizes him. The story of the birdscaring from the corn, and the driving of the fowl into a barn, is imported into the Life from that of S. Illtyd, but abridged. In the *Vita 2da* the story is told of Samson late on in his life and as occurring in Neustria.[1]

The lateness of the composition is shown by Dubricius being styled Archbishop, a title given to him by Geoffrey of Monmouth;

[1] *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 170.

and by making the bishop's throne of Dol metropolitan over all Brittany.[1]

4. John of Tynemouth further condensed this Life, and his condensation is in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*. This is of no value. It adds nothing to what we already possess.

In the Salisbury Breviary of 1483 three lections are provided for S. Samson's Day, giving an account of his birth, his ordination as deacon, and his consecration as bishop.

The Exeter Breviary, drawn up by Bishop Grandisson in 1366, also gives three lections; the first concerns his birth, the second relates a miracle in the harvest field, and the third sums up the rest of his life.[2]

5. A Life was composed by Balderic, Abbot of Bourgueil and Archbishop of Dol (1107–30). He took as his basis the *Vita 2da*. This is an elaborate literary work. "Prologue soigné, transition limée entre la première et la secunde partie de l'ouvrage, antithèses, allitérations, cadence de la phrase, rien ne manque de ce qui charmait tous les lettrés au commencement du xiie siècle."[3] It adds nothing. Balderic omits the drunkenness of Pirus. He transforms the *theomacha* into a phantom that vanishes, so as to avoid the fact of Samson having killed the unfortunate woman. When the Breviary of Dol was drawn up in 1519, the lections were taken from the text of Balderic, with, however, an addition, relative to the fable of Samson having been Archbishop of York, which is inserted in the second lesson.

The text of Balderic has not been printed in its entirety. It exists as MS. in the Bibl. Nat., Paris, *MS. lat.* 5,350.

For a bibliography of S. Samson, see F. Duine, *Notes sur les Saints Bretons*, Rennes, Simon, 1902, pp. 9–25; and the *Dictionary of National Biography*, under the head of Samson.

For the MS. copies of the Lives enumerated, see J. Loth, Appendice à *L'Emigration Bretonne en Armorique*, Paris, Picard, 1883.

In the *Iolo MSS.* are several references to S. Samson, but these are too late and uncertain to be of much value.

"S. Samson of Bangor Illtyd, the son of Amwn Ddu, King of Graweg in Armorica. He was Bishop of that Bangor and after that of York, and subsequently in Armorica. He lies buried in Illtyd's church."[4]

[1] "Unde principatus totius Britanniæ apud Dolum juste constare videtur usque hodie." *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 24.

[2] Nicolas Roscarrock in his MS. Lives of the English Saints gives a summary of the Life of S. Samson, but it is taken from Capgrave.

[3] Abbé Duine, *Notes sur les Saints Bretons*, p. 19.

[4] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 105. A list of the abbots of Llantwit mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dâv* is given in Birch, *Margam Abbey*, pp. 4–5.

Graweg stands for Broweroc. Samson never was at York. His namesake and not he was buried at Llantwit. The later Samson said to have been Abbot there is supposed to have lived in the early ninth century. It is questionable, however, whether there was more than one Samson Abbot of Llantwit, namely he of Dol.

" S. Anna, the daughter of Uthyr Bendragon, and mother of Cynyr of Caer Gawch. Afterwards she became the wife of Amwn Ddu, of Bangor Illtyd, King of Graweg in Armorica. A son of hers by that Amwn was S. Samson of Illtyd's choir." [1]

Here we have two Annas confounded. Anna, mother of Samson, was daughter of Meurig, and Anna wife, not mother, of Cynyr, was the daughter of Gwrthefyr (Vortimer).

" Samson, son of Amwn Ddu, King of Graweg, ab Emyr Llydaw, and Anna, daughter of Meurig ab Tewdrig, King of Glamorgan, was his mother. He was a saint and bishop of Illtyd's choir, where he lies buried." [2]

" S. Anna, daughter of Uthyr Bendragon, and mother of S. David; and before that (*sic*) she was wife of Amwn Ddu, son of Emyr Llydaw. She had a son of that Amwn, by name Samson, a saint of Illtyd's choir." [3]

Among the founders of churches in Glamorgan, Samson, Bishop and Saint of Illtyd's choir, is named as founder of Marcross, near Llantwit.[4] In Norman times the dedication was changed to that of the Holy Trinity.

In dealing with the Life of S. Samson, two fictions have to be disposed of, neither of which receives any countenance from the Lives above mentioned. These fictions are :—

(1) That Samson was Archbishop of Menevia.

(2) That Samson was at one time Archbishop of York.

The second is the earliest. This Samson's fictitious existence we owe to Geoffrey of Monmouth. But there was a Samson, son of Caw, who is stated to have had a church dedicated to him at York. That this Samson, if he ever lived, was at York is doubtful in the extreme. Then the Church of Dol, desirous of maintaining its archiepiscopal position, supposed at first, and next confidently asserted, that Samson had been Archbishop of York, and had received the pall, before he migrated to Armorica.

A Samson was, indeed, Bishop of S. David's, but at a far later period. Certainly Samson ab Caw never was a bishop there. Giraldus Cambrensis,[5] who gives the succession of the " Archbishops " of Menevia,

[1] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 107. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 132. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 141.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 221. [5] *Itin. Camb.* II, c. 1.

names them in this order. David, Cenauc, Eliud, Ceneu, Morwal, Haerunen, Elwaed, Gurnuen, and so on to the twenty-fifth, who was Samson. Now, as David died in or about 589, and he was the contemporary of Samson of Dol, it is obvious that the twenty-fourth bishop after him cannot have been Samson ab Amwn Ddu. But Giraldus, blind to this, goes on, " In the time of Sampson, the pall was translated from Menevia in the following manner. A disorder called the Yellow Plague, and by the physicians the Icteric passion, of which the people died in great numbers, raged throughout Wales, at the time when Sampson held the archiepiscopal see. Though a holy man, and fearless of death, he was prevailed upon, by the earnest entreaties of his people, to go on board a vessel, which was wafted, by a south wind, to Britannia Armorica, where he and his attendants were safely landed. The See of Dol being at that time vacant, he was immediately elected bishop. Hence it came to pass, that on account of the pall which Sampson had brought thither with him, the succeeding bishops, even to our times, always retained it."

This is a marvellous jumble of impossibilities. There were two outbreaks of the Yellow Plague, one in 547, lasting to 550,[1] the other in 664.[2] A third great mortality of a different nature took place in 682–3.[3] S. Samson was contemporary with the first, but not by a word in his Life is it intimated that he fled because of it. On the contrary, we know from the Life of S. Teilo, that Samson was already at Dol, when Teilo fled from Wales on account of the pestilence.

The immediate predecessor of Samson, Bishop of Menevia, was Arthwael, who succeeded Asser. This Asser, there is reason to suppose, was the bishop whom King Alfred summoned from Wales to his court. He styles him " Asser, my bishop," and he conferred on him the Bishopric of Sherborne. Asser merely says of himself that he went to Alfred (in 884) " out of the furthest coasts of Western Britain."

We cannot positively affirm that Asser, the Bishop of Alfred, was the Asser, twenty-third Bishop of Menevia, but at all events they were contemporaries if not identical persons.

The legend of Samson, first Archbishop of York, then of Menevia, and lastly of Dol, was fabricated and set afloat for a polemical purpose, to support the claims of S. David's, and of Dol, to be metropolitan sees.

Having disposed of these fictions, we may now address ourselves to the Life itself.

[1] *Annales Cambriæ*, ed. Phillimore, in *Y Cymmrodor*, IX, p. 155. With this agree the Irish Annals. Those of the Four Masters, after giving a list of deaths, say under 548, " all died of the plague Crom Chonaille. This was the first Buile Chonaille." [2] *Anglo-Saxon Chron., sub anno*; Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, III, c. 27.
[3] *Annales Camb., sub. anno.*

According to the *Vita* 1*ma* Amon or Amwn, the father of Samson, was of Demetia, and his mother of Deventia. "Pater ejusdem Sancti Samsonis Demetiano ex genere, Ammon nomine, et ejus mater Dementia (*al.* Deventia) provincia proxima ejusdem Demetiæ, Anna nomine." [1]

The *Vita* 2*da* says, "Pater . . . Demetiano ex genere Amon nomine, exortus est. At mater ejus, Anna nomine, de Venætia provincia, quæ proxima est eidem Demetiæ, exorta est." [2]

The Life in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, "Fuit vir Amon regali prosapia de regione Methiana (*for* Demetiana), et uxor ejus, Anna." [3]

Demetia is Pembroke and part of Carmarthen, Deventia, Dementia (i.e. de Ventia), Venetia is Gwent, which at that time included Morganwg.

The apparent conflict between the statements in the Lives and in the genealogies relative to the origin of Amwn may be reconciled. He was a refugee in Demetia from Llydaw, to which his family in an earlier generation had emigrated from Demetia.

The Welsh genealogies that make the grandfather of Emyr Llydaw brother of Cystennin, the grandfather of Arthur, cannot be trusted implicitly, yet in the Life of S. Illtyd, that Saint is spoken of as a kinsman of Arthur.[4] S. Tudwal's mother was the sister of Rhiwal who made himself master of Domnonia in Brittany, having crossed over from Britain, and she was wife of Hywel according to Breton tradition. Hywel Farchog was the brother of Amwn, and founder of the church of Llanhowell, near S. David's, in Demetia.

Anna, the mother of Samson, was daughter of Meurig ab Tewdrig, a King of Morganwg. The brother of Amwn, Umbrafel, married another daughter of Meurig, and by her had three children, before that Amwn and Anna had any.

The story of the birth of Samson has been already told.[5] It is suspicious, as it looks as though it is an importation from the Biblical accounts of the births of Samson and of Samuel. It does not agree happily with what the biographer himself tells us, that Samson had five brothers and a sister. If Samson were the child of the old age of Anna, she must have become a prolific mother late in life. Moreover, Anna lived on till late in the life of her famous son, so that she can hardly have been well-stricken in years when Samson was born.

When Samson was given to Amwn and his wife, he was baptized by

[1] *Vita* 1*ma*, ed. *Acta SS. Boll.*, Jul., vi, p. 574.
[2] *Vita* 2*da*, ed. Plaine (separate issue), Paris, 1887, p. 6.
[3] *Book of Llan Dâv*, ed. Evans and Rhys, p. 6.
[4] "Consobrinus." *Vita S. Iltuti* in *Camb.-Brit. Saints*, p. 159.
[5] i, pp. 161–2.

S. Illtyd (*Vita* 3*ia*), who called him by the name of the great judge of Israel. At the age of five, the child was committed to Illtyd to be educated (*Vita* 3*ia*). The Life by John of Tynemouth says that he was not surrendered to Illtyd till aged seven.

Under his master Samson studied hard, for Illtyd was the most learned of all the Britons in the Scriptures, in Philosophy, to wit, Geometry, Grammar, and Arithmetic, and he was "genere magnificus sagacissimus et futurorum præscius" (*Vita* 1*ma*). The reading "genere Magicus" is incorrect.

He was taught letters by means of little tablets or dies, on each of which a letter was inscribed, and he showed great quickness of apprehension.[1]

On one occasion he had a discussion with Illtyd on some question, probably the interpretation of a passage of Scripture. Together they searched the sacred volume, but could arrive at no solution. On the third night Samson hit on an explanation, which he supposed was inspired by an angel, and this he communicated to his master, who accepted it.[2]

At the age of fifteen Samson began to practise fasting, but was reprimanded by S. Illtyd, who said, "My little son, it is not proper that you should injure the health of your small body in its early bloom by excessive abstinence."

Illtyd employed his pupils in repairing the old dykes that had been erected by the Roman legionaries to keep out the tides of the Severn.[3]

On a Sunday, when Dubricius "papa" visited the monastery for the purpose of conferring orders, three were submitted to him, two to be ordained priests, Samson to be received into the diaconate. Then it was, as the three genuflected, that a dove flew in at the window, and when the bishop raised his hand to lay it on the candidate for the diaconate, the bird perched on Samson's shoulder. There may be truth in the story. If Samson fed the pigeons of the monastery one of them may well have entered and singled out the youth by whom it was accustomed to be fed.[4] Gregory of Tours tells the story of a pigeon flutter-

[1] "Sub uno eodemque die vicenas eleas tesserasque agnovit totas." *Vita* 1*ma*, p. 576.
[2] The author of *Vita* 1*ma* says that he knew what was the subject of dispute, but omitted it for the sake of brevity.
[3] A stone was found in 1878 near Goldcliff, bearing a Roman inscription, showing that the legionaries stationed at Caerleon were employed on the dykes. *Hist. Traditions relating to Gwent*, by W. N. Jones, Newport, Mon., 1897, Pt. I, p. 117.
[4] "Veniente Dubricio papa ad ejusdem domum die Dominica . . . ab eodem papa diaconus ordinatus est. Tres fratres ibidem ordinati sunt, duo in presbyterii, ille tertius in diaconatus officio; sed cum ad veniam flectendam juxta morem fratres compellerentur, vidit sanctus papa una cum magistro Eltuto

ing in a church whilst the cantors were singing, then coming down and perching on the hand of a youth. When he sought to drive it away it returned and settled on his head. Gregory does not pretend that the bird was supernatural.[1]

The favour shown to Samson by his master roused the jealousy of two of the brethren, nephews of Illtyd, one of whom was a priest, the other was not in Orders (*sine gradu*). That which they dreaded was lest on the death of the abbot, Samson should aspire to the succession. Samson was first cousin once removed, to Illtyd. These brothers as nephews stood nearer, and one or other of them might reasonably expect to succeed. As Samson might prove a rival, they resolved on getting rid of him.[2]

It was customary, no doubt, in spring, that all the inmates of the monastery should be given a cooling beverage to purify their blood.[3] The layman, Samson's cousin, who was butler, put some poisonous herbs into the infusion prepared for Samson. The Saint had his suspicions and refused to drink. He gave the mixture to a cat (*pelax*), which died after lapping it. That a cat should drink herb tea is improbable. The biographer pretends that Samson did drain the cup and was none the worse for the draught. We cannot reject the story altogether, for this same lay brother became later one of Samson's most attached disciples, and the story of the attempt must have been well known through him to many. The priest, we are informed, was attacked with a fit next Sunday when receiving the communion from the hand of Samson.

Probably the truth was that the lay brother's heart failed him and he did not poison the draught, as his brother the priest had advised.

Samson was ordained priest, and again the dove appeared. The biographer, however, candidly admits that nobody saw it except Dubricius, Illtyd, and Samson himself.

The prejudice felt against Samson was possibly not confined to his cousins, and he began to feel uncomfortable in the Llantwit monastery, but he hesitated to ask his master to let him go, till Illtyd himself recommended that he should leave.

columbam per fenestram sursum apertam . . . stare. Et non solum hoc, sed etiam episcopo manum ad confirmandum eum diaconum super eum levante, columba in scapulam dexteram ejus descendit." *Vita 1ma*, p. 577.

[1] *Hist. Franc.*, X, 29.

[2] "Presbyter . . . metuens ipse ne propter S. Samsonem a suo hereditario privaretur ac destitueretur monasterio, quod post suum avunculum sperabat possidere," etc. *Vita 1ma*, p. 577.

[3] "Consuetudo enim erat in hujus monasterii lege herbas hortivas per poculum ad sanitatem convenienter fricare, ac singulis fratribus in suis vasculis . . . ad sanitatem particulatim dividere." *Ibid.*

Then Samson departed for a monastery in Ynys Pyr, or Caldey Isle,[1] presided over by "an illustrious and holy priest" named Pirus.

The abbot received Samson as an angel of God, and in his new quarters the Saint became more strict than before in his mode of life. No one saw him idle; he was continually occupied in reading, writing, or in prayer, when not engaged on the manual tasks imposed on him. To enable him to pursue his studies at night, he borrowed a lantern and took it to his cell.[2] He never lay on a bed, but slept on the ground, leaning his back against the wall.

Ynys Pyr is a fertile island, rising with bold cliffs out of the sea. The mediaeval priory that rose on the site of the monastery of Pirus still stands almost intact. Near it is a copious spring. On the mainland opposite is Manorbier.[3]

Whilst Samson was at Ynys Pyr his father fell ill, and it was feared that he might die. The old man sent to require his son to visit him, and stoutly protested that whether he lived or died he would not receive the Holy Communion save in the presence of Samson.

The messengers took a boat, arrived at Ynys Pyr, and were received for the night into the hospitium outside the monastery precincts. Next morning, when the brethren issued forth to their work in the fields, they found the messengers hammering at the gates clamouring for Samson. Samson was among those who were going out, but the men did not recognize him.

The Saint, "spiritually joking," and "with a cheerful countenance," asked what they wanted. They replied that they had been sent for the son of Amwn. Samson volunteered to convey their message to him, but they replied that the communication they were sent to make was for his ear alone.

"Verily," said Samson, "unless you tell me your errand you shall not see him."

Pirus, who was present, failed to catch the humour of this "spiritual joke," and informed the messengers that the monk who stood before them was none other than the man they sought. Thereupon the messengers gave the particulars. Amwn was seriously ill, and desired his son's presence. Anna joined in urging him to come. The old man believed that he could not die happily unless he saw his son once more, and he stubbornly refused to be communicated, unless Samson went to him.

[1] Dugdale, *Monast.* IV, p. 130, "Insula Pyr quo alio nomine Caldea nuncupatur." Leland, *Itin.*, V, p. 24, "and agaynst this towne, or betwixt y^t. and Tenby, lyeth Inispir, i.e. Insula Pirrhi, alias Calday."

[2] "Lucernam suæ mansioni portans." *Vita 1ma*, p. 579.

[3] For the name, see *supra*, pp. 89–90.

Samson replied coldly, "I have left Egypt, why should I return thither?"

Pirus now intervened and bade him go, not out of filial obedience, but on the chance of capturing his parents for the monastic profession.[1]

Accordingly Samson selected a young deacon as his companion, and set out, taking with him a couple of horses.[2] They passed through a dense wood. Till of late years the whole seaboard by Tenby was bare; but further inland all was forest. The strange sounds, the hooting of owls, and cries of hawks filled the deacon with terror.

Presently they heard a human voice hallooing on their "right hand." This was more than the deacon could bear; he let go the bridle of the sumpter horse that he was leading, threw away his cloak, and took to his heels.

Next moment a woman issued from the shades of the trees, grey-headed, with wildly-flowing hair, and carrying a boar-spear in her hand.[3] Seeing the young man running she threw her spear after him but without injuring him;[4] however, out of sheer fright, he fell sprawling, and fainted.

Samson called after him, "Do not be afraid!" but in vain. Then he stooped, picked up the fallen cloak, threw it over the back of the horse, caught it by the rein, and went forward in the direction of the deacon.

On reaching the young man, he tried to rouse him, but found him in a dead faint. Then Samson called to the old woman, who was retiring, and bade her draw near. She, not caring to lose her spear, hesitatingly approached.

[1] "Quare sic dicis, electe Dei? non enim negligenter facere debes opus Dei . . . curam enim te opportet habere de animarum profectu: nam merces tua grandis erit cum Deo, dum ubi carnalia creverunt, spiritualia per te seminentur." *Vita 1ma*, p. 579.

[2] It seems probable that this same deacon was Enoch, who afterwards communicated the story. In this episode many little details are given: the spiritual waggery of Samson, the voice heard "on the right hand," the throwing away of the cloak, its being picked up by Samson, the leap of the woman "to the left," the presence of the deacon in the room when Amwn makes his confession, the investigation into the matter by Dubricius. All proclaim the presence of the narrator.

[3] "Vidit theomacham hirsutam, canutamque, anum decrepitam, suis vestimentis bribitam, trisulcatamque venalem in manu tenentem." *Vita 1ma*, p. 580. *Vita 2da* renders this, "Vidit theomacham hirsutam, canutamque, anum jam decrepitam; suis vestimentis bribitam, trisulcatamque venalem in manu tenentem," p. 20. The Life in the *Book of Llan Dâv* has, "Theomacha ursuta et cornuta cum lancea trisulcata," p. 13.

[4] "Triscula lancea maleficæ mulieris corpus ejus non fuit perfossum." *Vita 1ma*, p. 580.

"You hideous creature (*mala forma*)! Who and what are you?" rudely inquired the saint.

The poor woman (*anum jam decrepitam*),[1] thus addressed, told a pitiful tale. She belonged to the original inhabitants of the land, that had been greatly reduced in numbers, and, in fact, she and her mother and eight sisters were all that remained. Her husband was dead.[2]

Samson commanded her to revive the unconscious deacon. This, she replied, was beyond her powers. Her spear had not touched him; he was simply paralysed with fright. Thereupon Samson cursed her to die on the spot. Then she sprang aside "to the left hand," fell, and expired.[3]

The story, with its minute details, must not be relegated to the domain of fiction. It bears every character of an actual occurrence described by an eye-witness.

On reaching his father's house, Amwn ordered every one out of the room except his wife, his son, and the deacon, and before them made confession of the irregularities of his past life. Then, strongly urged thereto by Anna, he vowed to dedicate himself to God, and insisted on having his head clipped immediately. Anna was not content with this. "Surely it is not sufficient that you and I should serve God," said she; "let us devote all our offspring to the service of God, and surrender all our possessions."

"Very well," said Amwn. "It shall be as you say."

There were present five brothers of Samson and one young sister. All these the parents, indisposed to do things by halves, offered to God and to Samson. The latter hesitated a moment, and then accepted the oblation made of his brothers, but declined to take his sister, as he foresaw that she would be addicted to the pomps and vanities of the world. It did not occur to the parents or to Samson to consult the wishes and interests of the five young men, in the matter. But the transaction wore another complexion. Amwn had no tribal rights in Demetia. Samson, his most notable son, failed altogether to obtain a permanent foothold there, and Amwn saw that the sole

[1] Yet her mother was alive, so that she cannot have been so very old.

[2] "Theomacha sum, et gentes meæ huc usque prævaricatrices vobis extiterunt." *Ibid.* Clearly she belonged to the Silurian indigenes.

[3] "Malefica illa mulier saltum præcipitem in latere sinistro dans ad terram corruit et mortua est." Samson had said, "Deum omnipotentem imploro, ne amplius aliis injuriam facias, sed dum irremediabilis es, hac hora moriaris." *Ibid.* In *Vita 2da*, "Et illa statim rugiens, ac in latere sinistro cadens, statim mortua est."

chance for his sons was to embrace the ecclesiastical profession. Of the five brothers we know the names of two only. Tydecho crossed into Armorica to see if he could recover something among the wreckage of the family rights, but failed, and returned. Tathan,[1] possibly, managed to plant a church, S. Athan's, near Llantwit Major. Whether the other three remained with Samson is doubtful. If they had done so their names would probably have been preserved. As far as we can judge, the five brothers accepted the dedication to God, but declined that to Samson made by their father.

At the same time Umbrafel and his wife Afrella, the uncle and aunt of Samson, professed their readiness to enter the religious life. Samson disposed suitably of his mother and aunt, and required his father and uncle to accompany him to Ynys Pyr. It is not said that his brothers agreed to attend him.

Amwn and Umbrafel divided all that they possessed into three portions; one they gave to the poor, one to the Church, and the third they reserved for themselves. Their sons and daughter got nothing.

On the return journey an incident occurred that has been grossly exaggerated.

As they were walking along, Amwn leading the way, followed by Umbrafel, they came on a patch of ground that had been recently burnt, and before them, in the path, lay a large snake. Amwn drew back and pointed it out to his brother, who thereupon also halted. Samson, from the rear, inquired what was the matter, and was told. He bade the company not be alarmed, and went forward. Amwn complacently sat down beside the road, and the rest did the same, awaiting the result. The only one who made a faint attempt to assist Samson was Umbrafel, who said, "It is not advisable that you should proceed alone against the creature; allow me to accompany you." "There is really no need," answered Samson; "sit down with the rest."

When the snake saw Samson advancing towards it, it reared itself on its tail, hissing; but Samson, without much difficulty, succeeded in killing it. That this really was a poisonous serpent, and not a grass-snake, appears from its rising on its tail, and attempting to strike at its assailant. As the story travelled down, passed from one to another, till it reached the biographer, the viper grew till it became a "serpens flamineo capite pervasta deserta serpitans," and the creature not relishing the smell (nidorem) of Samson, eats itself,

[1] Not to be confounded with Tathan, the master of Cadoc at Caerwent. But the documents point to an unknown female S. Tathana as the saint.

beginning with its tail.[1] As the season was the beginning of Lent, the serpent must have been hardly awake from its winter sleep.

When Samson arrived at Ynys Pyr he found there Dubricius. The bishop was accustomed to retire to this island for the forty days of the great fast.

Apparently the story of the death of the woman in the forest had got about, and was commented on unfavourably, for Dubricius felt himself constrained to investigate it. He accordingly summoned to him the deacon, and endeavoured to extort the truth from him. That Samson had killed the poor creature could not be denied. The question was, whether he had knocked her on the head, or had merely killed her with his curse. She had belonged to one of the aboriginal natives, and this people was credited with being given over to necromancy. In the *Silva Gadelica* (ed. O'Grady, 1892) occur many instances of Irish heroes who gloried in killing women that did not belong to the fair-haired Milesian stock, and who were suspected of uttering incantations. The woman, on her own confession, was a witch, at least so the deacon said, and it was a command of Moses, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." There is no reason to suppose that Samson would have felt any scruple at killing her, but to slay a human being, with any other weapon than the tongue, was irregular and reprehensible.

The deacon was discreet. He had the wit to tell the story in such a manner as to aggravate the offence of the woman, and not to compromise Samson; and as there was no other witness of the affair, Dubricius was fain to accept the tale in the plausible form in which it was served up to him.[2]

Dubricius now appointed Samson to be steward of the monastery. This incensed the man who had held the office previously, and he complained to the bishop that Samson was wasteful, and that the vessels of honey—we should understand mead—were nearly empty.

Dubricius looked into the matter and ascertained that the charge was unfounded. This is told as miraculous. Samson, by an exhibition of supernatural power, replenished the exhausted supply. There are points about the tale that deserve to be noted. It was certainly

[1] "Samson, *quasi anguillam pusillam* vidisset, ad eum cucurrit; serpens vero videns eum, glebam morsu et arenam capiens . . . et in spiram se velociter colligens, caudam propriis dentibus rodens, emisit." *Vita 2da*, p. 23.

[2] "Diaconum illum, qui cum sancto Samsone viam fecerat, sanctus Dubricius papa seorsum vocans, diligenter percunctatus est ab eo cunctos eorum eventus in itinere. Sanctus ergo diaconus omnia per ordinem replicans, ac de sua ignavia . . . interroganti se episcopo nihil omnino celavit, sed cuncta ei humiliter dixit." *Vita 1ma*, p. 581.

an extraordinary act of interference on the part of Dubricius, a visitor, to change the cellarers. But when we hear that the abbot was a drunkard, we can understand this. Dubricius was determined to interpose some one who was trustworthy between Pirus and the liquor.[1]

Notwithstanding the precautions taken by the bishop, this "eminent man and holy priest,"[2] the Abbot Pirus, got drunk one night in Lent, returning to the monastic enclosure. Finding the Abbey cellar closed to him, he had probably gone to the guest house outside for his drink. On his way he tumbled into the well, uttering a hideous howl. The monks ran to the spot, and pulled him out, but he died the same night.

The well is still to be seen. It emits a copious stream, so copious as to turn a small mill. It is a remarkable spring, that must receive its supply from higher ground on the mainland. Dubricius was still in the monastery. He summoned the monks to a conclave, and insisted on their electing Samson as their abbot.

Samson at once proceeded to reform the monastery, and bring the brethren into better order than had been observed under the easy rule of Pirus.

This they did not relish; they chafed at the restraints imposed on them, and became sullen first, and then insubordinate.

Samson had been abbot for a year and six months, when the island was visited by some Irish monks on their way home from Rome. He seized the opportunity to escape from a situation becoming daily more intolerable, and, alleging a desire to visit Ireland, he quitted Ynys Pyr, but left his father and uncle behind in it. He seems to have settled for awhile at Ballygriffin, in the county of Dublin. Here are the ruins of a church of S. Samson, once parochial, but now absorbed into that of S. Doulough. "At the left-hand side, entering the avenue of Ballygriffin Park, some traces of S. Samson's church may still be seen. It consisted of nave and chancel; together taken about eighteen yards in length. The churchyard is under meadow; still a shadowy outline of its precincts is faintly discernible."[3]

In South Wexford is a Bally Samson, with a ruined church, now regarded as dedicated to S. Catherine, but the name of the townland retains a memory of the original founder.

[1] "Episcopus latenter ad cellas erumpere cupiens, ea hora antequam veniret puerum ad sanctum Samsonem ut eum in cellam venire imperaret, misit. Sanctus vero Samson causam agnovit atque in cellam continuo introiens, lanternis signum crucis imposuit: et dum episcopus venit, plena omnia et perfecta reperta sunt." *Vita 1ma*, p. 582.

[2] "Insula nuper fundata a quodam egregio viro, ac sancto presbytero, Piro nomine." *Ibid.*, p. 578.

[3] O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, VII, p. 430.

It is probably about this latter place that a story is recorded. Samson did not care to remain in Ireland; so many resorted to him that he had no peace; so he went to the coast to cross over again into Wales. The vessel was ready to sail, but at that moment arrived a monk with a distressing tale and entreaty that Samson would assist his brethren out of a difficulty. At the monastery to which he belonged the abbot had gone raving mad, and the brothers had been obliged to chain him. Samson accompanied the man to his monastery and found the abbot there howling, furious, and bound hand and foot. He cast the evil spirit out of him, and undertook to carry him off with him out of the country, and so rid the brethren of a very undesirable head to their establishment. In return for this favour, they made over the monastery to Samson.[1]

He now entered the ship, taking with him an Irish chariot, that might serve him in his future excursions, and he arrived at Ynys Pyr after a prosperous voyage. The monks invited him to resume rule over them, but to this he would not consent. He found that his uncle had made more progress in religion than his father, and he despatched him to the monastery in Ireland that had been recently committed to him; but he deemed it advisable to keep his somewhat restive and unbroken old father under his own eye. Samson now sought out a desert region near the Severn Sea (juxta Habrinum flumen).[2] He took with him four companions, one of whom was the cousin who had attempted his life, another was the deposed abbot from Ireland, his father, and another unnamed, possibly the deacon.

He departed by boat, and, if we be not mistaken, coasted till he reached the creek that runs inland to Stackpole Elidor. To this there is a narrow entrance guarded by the Stack Rock. Within it branches into many creeks between steep hills. The entrance is now blocked, and these sheets of water are haunted by a vast number of swans. At the entrance on the East is the Warren strewn with prehistoric

[1] "Commendans se et totum monasterium suum [Samsoni] in decumbitione usque in perpetuum. De quo monasterio multa bona facta audivimus et nunc usque in sancti Samsonis honore colitur." *Vita 2da*, p. 26.

[2] It may be objected that the site of S. Samson's settlement as proposed is hardly on the Severn. It is actually at the mouth of the Bristol Channel. But the Rev. W. Done Bushell, the present owner of Caldey, writes: "Droysen, in his *Historische Landatlas*, in his maps of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings makes the whole of the Bristol Channel to be 'Saefern' or 'Severne.' And only forty years ago I heard a Bristol Channel pilot swear in the Court at Cardiff that the mouth of the Severn was reckoned as extending as far as to Lundy. The old geographical tradition seems to have lingered on." We may well suppose that the Severn was in Samson's time and later supposed to reach to where S. Gowan's Head, Lundy Isle, and Hartland Head formed a natural limit, beyond which began the ocean.

relics, kitchen middens, and hut circles, once a scene of busy life, and perhaps in former times an island.

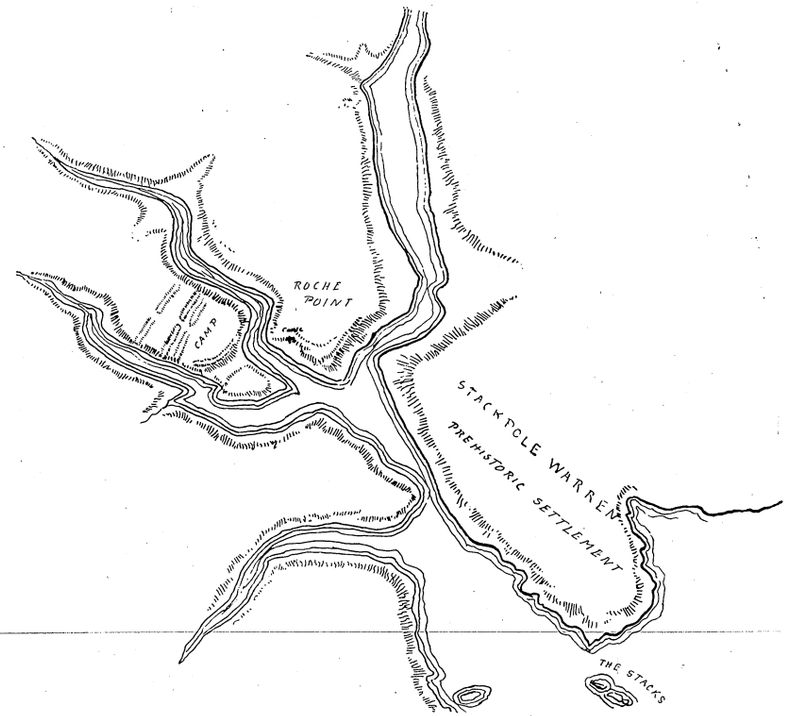
Boating up this estuary, Samson found a headland on which was an ancient camp (castellum admodum delicatum reperit), and in it a clear spring.

On quitting Ynys Pyr for the mainland, Samson had two lines of country open to him, one towards the North, the other towards the West. To the North was Narberth, the residence of the prince of that region, and a country well peopled. But Samson was in quest of a desert. To the westward was the peninsula now forming the Hundred of Castle Martin. It was bounded on the North by Milford Haven and the tidal Pembroke River, and this must have been one of the wildest portions of Demetia. It was deeply cut into by the Stackpool fiord. It was a district admirably suited to meet the requirements of Samson. It was sheltered from the storms, well wooded, and cut off from mankind. One difficulty in the identification presents itself. In the camp at present is no spring of water. The old fortress consists of an elevated finger of land between two channels of water, with three lines of embankments drawn across the peninsula, and with traces of walling round the portion so cut off.

Samson settled his disciples in the camp, constructed a rude chapel of timber, and then looked about for a still more solitary spot for himself. One day, prowling through the wood, he lit on a cave facing the east, "planissima et secretissima." What *planissima* may mean we do not know; it may signify no more than that it was unpretending, or else that it had a level floor. All these conditions are satisfied by a small cave near Bosherston, in a rock that divides the fiord into two branches, and is called Rock Point. It is separated from the camp by Bosherston Mere. The country in the immediate neighbourhood is exceptionally well watered, and whilst the cave and the camp are at no great distance apart as the crow flies, it requires a very considerable *détour* to get from one to the other. Tradition has it that a king was buried in this grot on a golden bed. Some years ago it was explored by Mr. Edward Laws, of Tenby, and it yielded a part of the bronze handle of a sword, and some unburnt bones of a human foot. A mile to the North we have Samson's Farm, Samson's Cross, and Samson's Bridge. Whence they get their names is unknown. No tradition of the presence there of our saint now remains.

It was probably to this cave that Samson retreated, and he visited the camp and his companions only on Sundays, when he celebrated the Holy Eucharist.

One day when Samson was praying in the cave, and had bowed



S. SAMSON.
Camp and Cave at Stackpole.



CAVE OF S. SAMSON, STACKPOLE.

his face to the earth, he felt the soil damp, and driving in his staff, a limpid spring began to flow. There is no spring now in the cave, nor is it likely that there ever was, as it is in the limestone. It is, however, possible that the moisture from the ground above may have dripped from the roof, and been collected by Samson in a basin formed in the floor.

No very long time elapsed before it was ascertained whither Samson had retreated, and Dubricius, in concert with a synod, sent a letter to him requiring his presence. He was unable to refuse.

When Samson arrived, Dubricius, by common consent, appointed him to be Abbot of the monastery, founded by S. Germanus.

The custom of the Celtic Church was that there should be always three bishops consecrated together. On this occasion there were but two candidates. To complete the number Dubricius summoned Samson to take his place beside the other two. Again the inevitable dove appeared.

How it was that Samson was put at the head of Llantwit during the lifetime of its abbot we find from the Life of S. Illtyd. That saint had been forced to abandon his monastery by the vexations caused by the stewards of the king of that part of Morganwg, and he had retired to the banks of the Ogmore.

Dubricius saw that it was necessary for the well-being of the monastery that it should not be left without a head, and, without prejudice to the rights of S. Illtyd, he appointed Samson, as not only suited by character, but also by ties of blood, to be temporarily Abbot of Llantwit.[1]

On a certain Easter night, as Samson was watching in the Church, word came to him from heaven that he was to quit Britain, and go to the land which had been so extensively colonised from that island. Such messages from heaven generally arrived when a saint had already made up his mind to take the step. In this instance Illtyd was returning to resume the abbacy, and Samson was required to make room for him. If we may trust the pedigree of the family, he had already two cousins in Armorican Domnonia, who had suffered great provocation from Conmore, the regent and viceroy of Childebert. These were S. Tudwal and S. Leonore. Paul of Léon came from the neighbourhood of Llantwit, and undoubtedly the political condition of Letavia was pretty well known there.

The rightful sovereign, Judual, had fled for his life to the French

[1] "Abbatem eum in monasterio quod, ut aiunt, a sancto Germano fuerat constructum constituerunt." Llantwit had taken the place of Caerworgorn that had been destroyed by pirates.

court, and had been assisted in his escape by Leonore; in revenge for having done this Conmore had maltreated the saint. Leonore had been educated at Llantwit. Tudwal also had been insulted and driven from his monastery. Samson thought he saw his opportunity. If the saints in Brittany would combine to stir up the people, and to overthrow the tyrant, the grateful Judual would be certain largely to reward them for their services.

Accordingly Samson resolved on passing over into Armorica.[1] Before doing this, however, he skirted the margin of the Severn Sea ("citra Habrinum mare," *Vitæ* 1 and 3; "circa Habrinum mare," *Vita* 2), and visited his mother and aunt, consecrated their churches, and made inquiry into the conduct of his brothers. Learning that his sister had misconducted herself, he excommunicated her, and "detested her accordingly."

He did not, however, leave Llantwit without establishing one foundation which might commemorate his stay there, and this was Marcross.

We may suppose him travelling eastward through Gwent, perhaps to Oxenhall, where was his mother, on a little confluent of the Severn. That some of his kinsmen were in that portion of Gwent which lies between the Usk and the Wye is tolerably certain. Machu or Malo, a nephew, was at S. Maughans. He was son of his aunt Dervel. Meugan and Henwyn (Hywyn) were his cousins. Meugan had been for awhile pupil at Llantwit, but had removed to Caerleon, where his father was abbot. Another relative was Mewan, son of Gerascen, Prince of Erging, and his sister, that very sister, probably, whom Samson had excommunicated and "detested." Her crime consisted in marrying rather than embracing the monastic profession. Probably she made her peace with Samson by surrendering her son to him, and Mewan became a notable founder in Brittany. We may suspect that Samson visited Erging and Gwent Iscoed before starting, and that his object was to collect disciples, preferably kinsmen, to accompany him to Letavia.

So soon as Samson was ready he took ship, and after a prosperous voyage arrived at the monastery of Docho (or Dochovi).[2] When the brethren in this place heard of his arrival, and desired that some wise brother (*aliquis sapiens*) should be commissioned to meet him,

[1] In the Life of S. Illtyd the story is differently told. In it messengers come from Letavia to invite Samson to become Bishop of Dol, and then it is that Dubricius consecrates him. This version is untrustworthy. Dol was not founded until Samson went to Brittany. Messengers, however, may have arrived narrating the political condition of affairs, and have suggested to Samson to cross into it.

[2] "Prospero navigio ad monasterium, quod Docto vocatur . . . perrexit itinere." *Vita* 1*ma*, p. 584.

they sent to him Winiavus (*al.* Juniavus), "a name which in the British tongue signifies Light."[1] He was a man divinely inspired and endowed with prophetic powers.

On appearing before Samson, he inquired of him his purpose in coming there, and asked whither he was going. Samson answered evasively, "Brother, I wonder at your folly in asking the purpose of my journey and whither I would go, when it is written in the Gospel, 'Every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for My name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life.'" Then he asked Winiau if he might be permitted to remain there for awhile. Winiau flatly refused, but softened the refusal by a compliment. The monks of that establishment had become relaxed in discipline, and the result of so admirable a disciplinarian as Samson coming among them would lead to friction. On the whole, said Winiau, it would be advisable that Samson should go further. However, he recommended him first of all to make a display of his virtue in the province, before he shipped to the Continent.[2] Apparently, he wanted him to perform a miracle to prove his holiness.

The author of *Vita 2da* was scandalized at this churlish refusal to receive Samson, and he did not scruple to alter the whole account. He makes Winiau entreat Samson to remain there, and gives as a motive that the country people round were given over to the worship of devils, and that he would certainly win souls if he remained.

The whole passage is most perplexing.

The monastery of Docho is, on the face of it, Llandough, known anciently as the Llan or Abbatia of Dochou, Docunni or Docguinni.[3] But this identification does not fit the narrative happily. This represents Samson skirting the Severn, visiting his mother and aunt, and then taking boat, and after a prosperous voyage he arrives at Llandough. It would hardly seem worth noting as a prosperous voyage if he had merely boated down the Severn such a trifling distance as to the mouth of the Taff by Cardiff. Moreover, to reach it "Auferreum mare transfretavit." There was no crossing the Severn Sea to get to Llandough.

[1] Regarded as a derivative of *gwyn*, white.

[2] "Quod exigis, ut apud nos quiescere deberes, conveniens non est, ne qui valde melior nobis, utpote inferioribus, condemneris, et nos de te . . . et nostris meritis exigentibus condemnemur. Hoc enim scire te volumus, quod jam in nostris prioribus institutis relaxamur." *Vita* 1*ma*, p. 584.

[3] *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 395 (index). See also Birch, *Hist. of Margam Abbey*, *s.v.* Docwini; Clark, *Cartæ*, i (Dowlais, 1885), No. 199; and this work, ii, pp. 249, 252.

Moreover, Winiau could not at that time describe Morganwg "in hac patria diabolico cultu, diabolo instigante, multi homines illuduntur." Llandaff was three miles off, Llancarfan eight miles distant, and five from that was Llantwit. The country was covered with churches. Meurig, Samson's grandfather, had been a liberal benefactor to the Church.

Again, Winiau greets Samson as a total stranger; but the latter had been for some time abbot, near by at Llantwit, where he had been educated.

The name of Guiniau is indeed found attached to a church in Demetia, "eccluis Guiniau (Gunniau), ubi natus est Sanctus Teliaus."[1] He does not appear as a signatory in any of the Charters of Llandaff or Llancarfan, whereas the Abbot of Llandough signs repeatedly, and he, the wisest and most learned of the country round, has left absolutely no trace of himself in the neighbourhood of Llandough.

We venture to suggest a solution of the difficulty.

The same saint who gave his name to Llandough by Cardiff had also a church near Padstow, known in *Domesday* as Lannowe. It is now known as S. Kewe, after an Irish Saint Cigwa or Ciwa, who formerly had a chapel in the parish, and then one attached to the church of S. Docwin. Locally Docwin is called S. Dawe.

As a foundation of S. Docwin or Dochau, its original name would be the same as that of the monastery near Cardiff, Llandochau or Llandough. But we have no earlier notice of the place than that in the *Domesday Book*, which gives Lannowe.

The text of the Life of S. Samson shows us that by a prosperous voyage the saint arrived at or near to a monastery of Docwin. "Prospero navigio ad monasterium quod Docto vocatur, sequentibus se supradictis tribus, et multis aliis felici perrexit itinere" (*Vita* 1*ma*); and the *Book of Llan Dâv* has it, "Auferreum mare transfretavit," he crossed over from some port in Gwent, and arrived in Padstow Harbour, near the monastery of Docho, Dochovi, or Dochor, which was Lannowe.

If we accept this much becomes plain.

Samson was bound for Armorica. He would naturally cross over first of all to Cornwall, then traverse that, and take boat again at some point on the south coast.

Our reasons for suggesting this explanation are these.

1. The fact of a church of Docwin being near it.
2. The fact that a chapel bearing the name of Samson stood above

[1] *Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 124, 255. For the church see iii, p. 235.

the present town of Padstow in the grounds of Place House. The site is now marked by an ancient cross. That this was no insignificant chapel is shown by there having been an early cemetery attached. And it must have either preceded or succeeded that of S. Petrock below the rock. One can hardly imagine two cemeteries existing simultaneous within a stone's throw of one another.

3. The fact that when S. Petrock arrived in Padstow Harbour from Ireland, he met there "Sanctum quemdam Samsonem," who received him as frigidly as he himself had been received by Winiau.

4. The fact that Winiau is known in that part of Cornwall. He had been a disciple of Padarn.[1] Padarn settled at Petherwin. Winiau has left his name at Lewannick, and further south at S. Winnow, on the Fal, close to a settlement of S. Samson, whom he seems to have followed.

5. That this was on the direct route from South Wales to Brittany.

We will now proceed with the narrative.

After the meeting with Winiau, and the refusal of the monks of Docho to receive him, Samson probably halted for a while at Padstow, and made the little foundation where is now the site of his chapel and cemetery. He dismissed his boat, and prepared for a land journey.[2]

He laded the wagon he had brought with him from Ireland with sacred vessels and books, harnessed horses to it, and started on his way to the Austean Sea, or, as the *Vita 2da* has it, "Mare Austrum." This cannot have been the Aust Channel, as supposed by the editors of the *Book of Llan Dâv*,[3] nor can it have been the Bristol Channel, which was already passed. The "Austean Sea which leads to Europe" can hardly be other than the English Channel. Ptolemy calls the extreme point of Cornwall the Antevestæum Promontory, and it is possible that the Channel south of that may have been called the Antevestæan Sea, which the author of the Life of Samson renders Austeum.

From this point on, almost every stage of Samson's journey is marked by some indelible reminiscence of the Saint.

Opposite Padstow, covered with blown sand, but occasionally ex-

[1] *Vita S. Paterni*, *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, p. 191. *Supra*, p. 45.

[2] "Longævus viator mare quod Austejum vocant quicquid ad Europam ducit desiderabiliter petiit." The order of his proceedings is clear enough:—

1. He skirted the Severn, visiting his mother and other relations.
2. He took boat and crossed the Severn Sea to Cornwall.
3. He dismissed the boat, and with a wagon traversed the land to the sea at the south which leads to the Continent.

[3] P. 387.

posed after a gale, are the remains of a Romano-British town. From it runs an ancient road over the highlands by Camelford to Stratton and so on to Bideford. At Camelford, however, struck off the main artery of traffic, by Launceston, Okehampton to Exeter, which was in communication with the rest of Britain by the Hard Way, the Fosse Way and Ackling Street. By the side of this road, a few years ago, under a rock, was discovered the horde of a beggar who had sat by the wayside begging in the days of Constantius I. Along this road Egbert advanced in 823 and met and defeated the West Welsh in the decisive battle of Gavulford (Galford), in the present parish of Bridestowe.

The road from Padstow Harbour led up a long ascent, leaving S. Docwin's monastery on the left, in a snug well-wooded glen, among rich pastures. Samson sat in his wagon, high piled with his goods, some of his monks preceding, and others following. We trust that he found room for his father beside him, but the biographer says that he sat "solus." They came out on windswept downs, strewn with barrows that covered the dead of the ancient inhabitants of the bronze age. Then they reached the source of the Camel and the spot where in after ages it would be said had occurred the fatal battle of Camelot, in which fell Arthur and his nephew Modred. Now they bent to the East, following the great highway. The rugged heights of Roughton and Brown Willy and the stretch of the Cornish moors were on their right. If the season were spring, they would be ablaze with golden gorse. Far away, blue against the sky, stood up the range of Dartmoor like a long wave about to roll over and submerge the intervening country wrapped in oak woods. Over what is now called Laneast Down, travelled Samson and his monks, the wagon jolting along the paved road that had not been repaired since the withdrawal of the conquerors of the world. Choughs and lapwings screamed about them, and ravens croaked from the twisted thorns.

A Winwaloe settlement lay near. Winwaloe was Samson's first cousin, but we cannot be sure that this colony had been founded at the time, however, under the shelter of the down on his right was a church of Sidwell and Wulvella, sisters of Paul of Léon, and all had come from that part of Gwent Samson knew so well. They had probably moved away, and Samson did not visit them.

As Samson and his party were about to descend from Laneast Down, they observed a bald hill on the left (*in parte sinistra*), now Tregeare, called by the biographer Tricurium.[1] The hill-top was thronged

[1] "Quadam die cum per quemdam pagus quem Tricurium vocant deambulavit." *Vita 1ma*, p. 584. The *pagus* is the deanery of Trig Major.

with people engaged in an idolatrous revel. Samson recalled what Winiau had said to him, that the natives were still immersed in devil worship, and he at once descended from his wagon, and taking with him two of his monks, and bidding the rest remain where they were till his return, made for Tregeare, and, in his zeal, ran up the hill (*velociter ad eos cucurrit*). He found the people dancing around an upright stone, and the chieftain (*comes*) of the district was looking on with approval. Samson remonstrated. The people good-humouredly explained that no harm was meant; they were merry-making as was their immemorial custom; but some advised Samson to mind his own business. Certain of the company were angry at his interference.[1]

Samson persisted in his denunciation of the ceremony. It would seem to have been much like the Maypole dance which persisted in Britain, and at Padstow to our own times, pagan in origin, but it had already lost all its heathen signification when Samson interfered with the ceremony. At this moment, a boy of noble birth, who was mounted on an unbroken colt, and was careering about the hill, was thrown, fell on his head, and lay stunned on the sod. This drew off the attention of the revellers. Samson went to the lad, made those who crowded round stand back, and prayed for the child's recovery. Happily, the boy opened his eyes and stood up. The people, supposing that the Saint had raised him to life, became more willing to listen to him. Instead of destroying the *menhir*, Samson cut a cross upon it.[2] The revellers gave up their dancing for that year, to resume it on the next anniversary.

The stone is no longer on Tregeare height, but a very rude granite cross stands by the wayside from Laneast Down to Tregeare.

Samson was now not far from the settlement of his first cousin Padarn, and we may perhaps introduce here the picturesque incident of his going to him, and being met by Padarn half shod, which has already been given under S. PADARN.[3] This is not recorded in the Life of S. Samson. It may have stood in it and have been exscinded, as the Church of Vannes had laid hold of the incident to base thereon a claim of exemption from dues to the Metropolitan See of Dol.

Gwithian, we are told, now induced Samson to confirm those who

[1] "Adstante inter eos eorum comite Guediana, atque excusantibus illis malum non esse mathematicum earum partum in ludo servare, aliis furentibus, aliis deridentibus, non nullis autem quibus mens erat sanior, ut abiret hortantibus," etc. *Vita 1ma*, p. 584.

[2] "In quo monte et ego fui, signumque crucis, quod Sanctus Samson sua manu cum quodam ferro in lapide stante sculpsit, adoravi et mea manu palpavi." *Ibid.* If this be the cross above mentioned, it has been shaped out of the *menhir* at a later time. It still retains a clumsily chiselled cross.

[3] *Supra*, p. 47.

had been engaged in the Mayday revel. They had already been baptized.[1]

To enhance the merits of S. Samson, the compiler of the Life in the Llandaff book turns Count and people of Tricurium into pagans, and makes the Saint convert and baptize them all. "Baptizati sunt, in Jesum filium Dei credentes." The Count Gwithian then informed Samson that there was in the same province a serpent that devastated two *pagos* and suffered no human beings to occupy them. Accordingly, Samson undertook to destroy it, and next day was led to the spot by the boy who had tumbled off his horse and was recovered, and whom Samson resolved on taking with him and promoting to be a cleric.

It is not easy to make out what these serpents were that occur so frequently in the legends of the Saints. In some cases they were, as we have already suggested, the wicker-work figures in which human sacrifices were offered. In others they are symbols of some tyrant, or else of paganism in general. Maelgwn is spoken of by Gildas as "insularis draco," and in the Life of S. Meven, Conmore is almost certainly to be recognized under the disguise of such a monster.

Led by the boy, Samson went to the spot, crossing a river on the way, the Inney. In so doing he passed Lewannick, the church of that same Winiau who had been the disciple of Padarn, and who had met him at Padstow.

Arrived on the spot, the boy, who had hitherto preceded him, dropped behind, much as had Umbrafel on the way to Ynys Pyr when Samson killed the serpent in Demetia. Samson, however, went boldly forward to the cave in which was the dragon, fastened his linen girdle about it, dragged it forth, and flung it into the nearest river, which would be the Lynher. Then he elicited a spring where was the cave, and founded a monastery on the spot.

The monastery was where now stands the Church of Southill, three miles from Callington, the centre of the old principality of Gelliwig. The church still has him for its patron, and his miraculous spring still flows, and pours forth an abundant stream.

That Samson was brought face to face with some local tyrant, that he rendered him docile, and perhaps baptized him, *may* be the meaning of this fable. That something of the kind did occur we may suspect from the fact of his obtaining an extensive grant with the spiritual oversight over Callington. Southill is one of the wealthiest parishes

[1] "Tunc comes prudens omnes ad confirmanda eorum baptismata a Sancto Samsone venire fecit." *Vita 1ma*, p. 584. "Confirmato itaque comite et aliis hominibus confirmatis baptismate sancti Samsonis." *Vita 2da*, p. 33.

in Cornwall, and covers 6,086 acres, including the town of Callington. The glebe comprises 252 acres, and the tithe-rent charge is £750. Under it are five chapelries. The important royal manor of Kelliland is the shrunken residue of ancient Gelliwig.

It is a significant fact, to be taken into consideration, that whereas in Demetia and Morganwg Samson obtained no grants, and made no foundations, except that of Marcross, in Cornwall he was recognized as spiritual head of a principality, or of a large portion of it, and that he made there at least three foundations. This points to his having exercised there a commanding influence, and to his stay in Cornwall not having been for a brief period. Near the Holy Well at Southill was found, a few years ago, an inscribed stone, to the memory of Cumreonus, son of Mancus, surmounted by a ℣.

Lawhitton (Lan-Gwithian) is six miles off, and was perhaps a foundation of the Count Gwithian, who, with his whole tribe, had accepted Samson as their patron "volentes enim apostolico excipere obsequio," but the Saint would accept of the "Count" no more land than sufficed for the maintenance of his monastery. That Gwithian abandoned the world and attached himself to Samson, and followed him to Armorica, is probable, as we have shown in our notice of S. Gwythian.

Was S. David in Cornwall at the time that Samson was there? Of this we can have no assurance. David's aunt S. Wenn was the wife of Solomon or Selyf, who had his court precisely in Gelliwig; their son Cybi was not, however, born till after Samson had left. There is a Landew in the parish of Lezant (Lan-Sant) only divided by the Tamar from Bradstone, dedicated to S. Non; so that it would appear that David and his family had settlements close to that of Samson. But not by a word in the Lives of Samson are we informed whether he there met David.

According to the *Vita 2da* it was at this period of Samson's life that he heard of the death of S. Illtyd. Whether this episode is rightly placed has been doubted. In our opinion it is so, and so stood in the first edition of the *Vita 1ma*, but as the author saw that it did not in that place much concern his hero, and that the story which exhibits the prevision of Illtyd would be more to the point if told at the beginning, where Illtyd foretells the future greatness of Samson as an infant, he transferred it to the early history in his second edition.

Then the author goes on to relate how that Samson learned of the sickness of S. Dubricius and visited him. This also is supposed to be a displacement; it occurs in *Vita 1ma* in the Second Part or Sermon. Dubricius received Samson joyfully, and commended to him a young deacon, Morinus. Samson did not like the looks of the

man nor relish the charge, but could not decline the trust, and he took back Morinus with him. Soon after, the deacon went off his head and died. The brethren, who supposed that his derangement of intellect was due to possession by an evil spirit, buried him outside the cemetery. Samson was uneasy. The welfare of Morinus concerned him closely, and he prayed for him. A consolatory dream satisfied his conscience. He had the unfortunate deacon dug up and transferred to consecrated ground.[1]

One winter night a thief got into the church, and stole thence a cross adorned with gold and jewels, and all the money he could lay his hands upon. He folded the plunder in a cloth, threw it over his shoulder, and ran away for the moors. There he incautiously ventured on a bog, trusting that the frozen surface would sustain him. But his weight broke through the crust of ice, and he floundered in. He had the presence of mind to throw away what he had stolen, and to extend his arms. In the morning ensued a hue and cry. The man was tracked and found in the morass dead with cold, though he had not sunk below the armpits. The spoil was recovered.

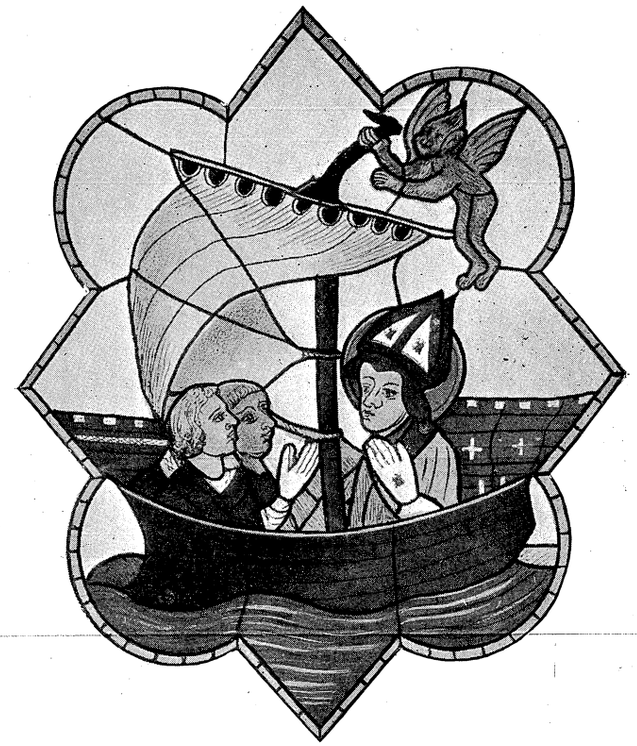
But Samson was not satisfied without extending his foundations. Descending to the south coast he planted a church on the Fowey river at Golant, and about it dispersed his disciples to make other settlements, as S. Mewan and S. Austell. S. Winow, the Winiau who had met him at Padstow, planted himself on the Fowey opposite, and hard by Gwythian has left his name at Lawhitton.

As one of the Scilly Isles is called S. Samson's, we may conjecture that whilst in Cornwall, the saint followed the favourite practice of Celtic monks and retreated to the islet for Lent, and when the pressure of business disturbed him. But of this the Lives say nothing.

How long Samson remained in Cornwall we are not informed. When he considered that the time was ripe for crossing into Armorica, he placed his father over his monastery at Southill and its dependencies at Golant and Padstow, and collecting his disciples from their several churches shipped over and took land in the mouth of the Guioult, and was there received by a British settler. The port of the Guioult is called Winnian or Winniau, and it is possible may have had this name given to it from the saint who had met Samson at Padstow, and settled near him at S. Winnow.

From this point the *Vita 2da* is our best guide ; it is fuller and more minute in detail than the *Vita 1ma*.

[1] The story bears a certain suspicious resemblance to that of S. Gregory the Great and the monk Justus. *Dialog.*, IV, 55. *Opera S. Gregorii*, Benedictine ed., Paris, 1705, T. II, colls. 464–8.



S. SAMSON, SAILING TOWARDS ARMORICA.
From the Cathedral at Dol: 13th century window.



S. SAMSON, PRESIDING AT THE COUNCIL OF PRELATES.
From the Cathedral at Dol: 13th century window.

The district about the Guioult was low and marshy. Samson and his monks rambled through it seeking a suitable spot on which to settle. There can be little doubt that his eyes rested covetously on the Mont Dol, that rises above the marshes as a conspicuous object. But this was too valuable as a fortress not to have been already seized upon. He was accordingly forced to look out for a less desirable spot.

One day, tired and dubious what to do, Samson stumbled on a spring overgrown with brambles, and where a number of locusts had settled.

"Ha!" exclaimed Samson, "Locusta—in this *locus sta*! We will accept this as a command and here abide."

This poor pun sufficed to determine the place where Samson made his headquarters. The locality is Dol, so named from its meadows. The spring still flows. But the story is an importation from the Life of Gregory the Great by Paulus Diaconus.[1]

It may be noticed that the saint cautiously planted himself at the extreme limits of Domnonia, as far as might be from Conmore, but avoided settling beyond the limits of the British colonies. Thence, at a signal of danger, he could escape under Frank protection.

That Samson had brought a large party with him appears. For when he went out walking, "bini et terni, quaterni et quini, seni et septeni per desertum ambulabant." [2]

Samson was settled at Dol before the break out of the Yellow Plague in Britain, for among the refugees who came over was Teilo; and this saint paid Samson a visit there. He was cordially welcomed, for, says the author of the Life of Teilo, "They came from the same district, they spoke the same tongue, and both had been educated by the same archbishop, Dubricius, by whom Samson had been consecrated bishop." [3]

Whilst Teilo was with his fellow countryman at Dol, he is credited with having produced the spring at Cai (Kerfeuntain), near Dol, and with having helped Samson to plant an orchard that extended from Dol to Cai.[4] Samson wished Teilo to remain with him, but to

[1] Gregory had started for mission work in Britain, when a locust alighted on his book. "In hoc loco sta!" he said, and halted. *Opera S. Gregorii*, Benedictine ed., Paris, 1705, T. IV, col. 9.

[2] *Vita 2da*, p. 44. [3] *Vita S. Teliavi, Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 109.

[4] "Ipse enim et prædictus sanctus Samson plantaverunt magnum nemus arboreti fructiferi, quasi ad tria miliaria, id est a Dol usque ad Cai; et decorantur ipsa nemora ex eorum nomine usque in hodiernum diem." *Ibid.* But the well near the garden of the presbytère at Carfeuntin is popularly known now as that of S. Samson. The well of S. Samson in the cathedral church at Dol has been recently

this he would not consent; it was his desire to go into Letavian Cornubia.

When Samson was firmly established at Dol with a crowded monastery, he began, but with caution, to employ his disciples in missions through Brittany. His nephew Mewan was with him, young and energetic. Samson despatched him across the central forest of Brécilien into the district of Broweroc, or Vannes, with a message to the aged Count there,[1] and doubtless also to Gildas, who had been a fellow scholar with him at Llantwit. He had almost certainly entrusted a commission to Teilo to act on the mind of Budic, King of Letavian Cornubia, to join in the proposed revolt against Conmore, or at all events to remain neutral. Machu, or Malo, was also active for the purpose of ripening men's minds for a revolution in the region of Aleth and of Corseul.

But nothing could be effected till Judual, the prince, was placed at the head of the movement, and he was retained in honourable captivity at Paris by Childebert.

Conmore, regent of Domnonia, had thrust himself into power, from being mere Count of Poher. On the death of Jonas, the Domnonian king, he had married the widow and usurped the regency. Next, after the murder of Meliau, and the death of Rivold, who had assassinated his brother, he extended his authority over Léon. He was intriguing in Broweroc, and had managed to exasperate the Count there, Weroc, against him.

Samson hastened to Paris, and was received by Childebert, who questioned him about his purpose in coming to Brittany. Samson replied, "I come from across the sea, a native of Demetia, and was delivered over to a most religious master *in Scotia provincia*." This is inexplicable. From what has been told us of the early history of Samson he was educated at Llantwit and not in Ireland.

Then Samson broke out into a violent tirade against Conmore, whom he charged with having murdered Jonas, and forced Judual to fly to escape being also put to death.[2] Thereupon he asked to see the prince.

"I fancy he is dead," replied Childebert.

closed by order of the municipal authorities. See on the topic of Kerfontin, J. Loth, *La Vie de S. Teliau*, Rennes, 1884, pp. 34–5; extract from *Annales de Bretagne*, Tomes ix and x.

[1] "Optimum esse ratus [recurrere] ad Guerocum comitem, ut ad hoc auxilium ferret, beatum Conaidum (i.e. Mevenum) transmittere decrevit." *Vita S. Meveni*, *Analecta Boll.*, Tom. III (1884), excerpt., p. 5. In that the object is represented differently. *Chron. Britann.* apud Dom Morice—"Iste est Guerrocus ad quem transmissus est S. Mevennus."

[2] See De la Borderie, *Hist. de Bretagne* I, p. 426—7

This exasperated the saint to the last degree, and he turned abruptly to leave, uttering contumelious words against the king, and threatening by means of potent imprecations to destroy the children of the king and queen, unless he were granted his request. And he left in a fury, attended by a Count whose favour he had won.[1]

Some of those about the king urged him to give way, and Childebert was frightened at the ghastly threat made by the saint. The king sent after Samson and bade him not leave that day, but come and dine with him.

In the meantime the Queen, Ultrogotha, had interfered. Conmore had behaved loyally towards the Frank King, who had no complaint to make against him. But the biographer, resenting her interference, represents her as in love with Judual, as consequently unwilling that he should be taken away from Paris, and determined to poison both the saint and the king. For this end she had the cup out of which both were to drink infused with some noxious matter. But when the server brought the "glass" vessel to Samson, the latter made the sign of the cross over it, and it snapped into four pieces, and the liquor flowing over the hand of the page burnt his flesh to the bone.

If there be any basis for this story, it is that a hot drink was prepared, that cracked the glass and scalded the server's hand. But the incident is more than suspicious; it is adopted into the Life of Samson from that of S. Benedict.

Samson started up and declared that he would not eat with the king.[2]

Next day, the queen sent him a handsome horse as a present. Samson was unaccustomed to the saddle, and when he mounted, the high-spirited beast curvetted, but he kept his seat, to the great surprise of the courtiers. This did not mend his ill-humour, and he protested that Ultrogotha had given him a wild horse, with the fell purpose of breaking his neck.[3]

[1] "Sanctus autem Samson videns ejus sermonem eos in nihilum ducens, iratus voluit ab eis discedere, minans degenerari eos a suis seminibus, si quem rogabat donare ei noluissent; furibunde egrediens clamanti cum illo comite," etc. *Vita 1ma*, p. 586. The author of the *Vita 2da* did not relish this and wrote, "Samson pertinaciter perseverabat ut Judualum inveniret," p. 48.

[2] "Communicare cum rege." "Tunc sanctus Samson non spontaneo sed necessario ritu communionem subiit." *Vita 1ma*, p. 586. "Ille ad mensam cum rege sedere compellitur." *Vita 2da*, p. 50.

[3] This story is taken by the author from the account given by Paulus Diaconus, in his History of the Lombards, of the visit of John Bishop of Bergamo to King Cuningpert. *Pauli Hist. Longob.*, VI, no. 8, *Monum. German. Histor. Scriptores rerum Longobard.*, Hanover, 1878, pp. 167–8.

The biographer goes on to say that Ultrogotha let loose a lion upon him. It is possible, but improbable, that a caged lion was kept at the Frank Court as a rarity; and hearing of this the writer may have feigned that it was let loose against Samson. Ultrogotha made no disguise of her sentiments towards Samson, and when he was at the altar, she turned her back on him.[1] The vengeance of heaven was now roused, her eyes started out of her head and fell on the pavement at her feet, blood spouted from the sockets, and she dropped on the pavement and died a most horrible death. Unhappily, for the veracity of the author, according to Gregory of Tours, Ultrogotha was a pious and admirable woman, and she survived her husband Childebert.

With intent to pacify his irate guest, and divert his mind from stirring up a revolution in Brittany, Childebert now made him a present of land at Pentale on the Seine, near Pont Audemer. Next, we have dished up again the hackneyed story of the monstrous serpent in a cave, tamed and led by the saint to the water, by his stole passed round it, and cast in. Not content with this we have also the anecdote of the birds that molested the cornfields driven by the saint into a barn; a story told in the Lives of S. Paul of Léon and of S. Illtyd, and which the author of the Life in the *Liber Landavensis* has transferred to the time when Samson was a boy under Illtyd.

The position of Pentale can be pretty certainly determined from the *Vita Geremaris abbatis Flaviacensis* (Mabillon, *Acta SS. o. s. B., sæc.* II). It was on the banks of the Rille, and had become a large monastery before its destruction by the Northmen in 851. The cave whence Samson expelled the dragon was on the river Seine. S. Samson-sur-Rille is now united to S. Samson-de-la-Rocque, and represents the site of the ancient monastery of Pentale.

But Samson was one of those men of determination, who was not to be diverted from his purpose. He persisted in his application to Childebert to release Judual and to suffer him to conduct the prince to Brittany. His persistence succeeded. The king permitted an interview, and finally gave way altogether.

We possess too few and too partial accounts of Conmore and of the insurrection against his rule to be able to give a just judgment as to the conduct of the saints who stirred up this rebellion. Conmore had at one time favoured them, and had been a generous benefactor. But after a while they turned against him. That he was an ambitious man cannot be doubted, that he governed badly is not shown. He

[1] "Sed regina in sua malitia perseverans dorsum ad altare convertit, sancti Samsonis orationem contemnens." *Vita 2da*, p. 54.

was an upstart; Celts cling with loyal affection and tenacity to their hereditary chiefs, and Conmore had taken the place of one to whom the people of Domnonia looked as their proper head.

Moreover, Samson stirred up the rebellion out of family ambition, Judual was his cousin, as we learn from Wormonoc's Life of Paul of Léon,[1] and he counted, should his kinsman become king, on being largely remunerated for his political services, and also on receiving lands accruing to him as related to the prince.

Samson succeeded in inducing Childebert to allow him to take Judual back with him to Armorica, and the king further endowed Samson with the *pagus* of Rimou on the Couesnon, in the modern department of Ille et Vilaine, and with the four islands, "Lesia, Angia, Sargia, and Besargia," which are apparently Guernsey, Aurigny or Alderney, Sark and Jersey.

On his arrival at Dol, Samson was received with rejoicing by his monks, who eagerly asked about his adventures. Samson was reserved in his replies. The author of the Second Life stuffs out his answer to the brethren with passages from the writings of Isidore of Seville and Gregory the Great.

Judual now made expeditions through Brittany. The Channel Islands we may suspect served a convenient purpose as a place for drilling and preparation for the outbreak.[2]

Rebellion flared throughout Domnonia and Léon. Conmore marched against Judual and was defeated in two battles; in a third, fought on the slopes of the Monts d'Arrée, he was killed by the hand of the young prince himself.

The revolution having succeeded, and Judual having obtained the rule over Domnonia that had belonged to his father, and having rewarded Samson and the other great abbots for their services rendered, Samson deemed it expedient to return to Paris to report to Childebert what had taken place, and to obtain a confirmation of the cession of lands made to him. He travelled in the same Irish chariot in which he had made his journey from the Severn Sea to the English Channel.[3] On the way, at a place called Rotignon, near Laon, the wheel came off and no blacksmith's shop was near. However, the monks got it on again, and supplied a temporary linch-pin, and then

[1] "Judualus, cognomento Candidus, Domnonensis patriæ magna ex parte dux nobilissimus, qui et ipse sancti Samsonis consobrinus dicebatur," etc. *Vita S. Pauli Leon.*, ed. Plaine, c. 63.

[2] An account under S. HOERNBIU (iii, pp. 277–8) has been given already of the gathering of the Saints on the Menez Bré to curse or excommunicate Conmore.

[3] "Sanctus vero ulterius progrediebatur [super currum sedens]; quem secum de sua patria venire fecerat." *Vita 2da*, p. 67.

the whole party moved forward once more. They allowed their imaginations to run riot, and converted the incident into a miracle, and told it as such to Childebert when they all reached Paris, and the King made Samson a present of the parcel of land where the accident had taken place. It was given the name of Rotinon, which the author of the *Vita 2da* derives from *Rota move*; of course, it does nothing of the sort.

For the third time we are given the story of the ejection of a serpent from a cave.

It was perhaps on this occasion that Samson had the pleasure of meeting S. Germanus of Paris. He visited him at his newly-founded abbey of S. Vincent, and found him in the vineyard with his workmen. The saints embraced, and Germanus invited him to supper and to stay the night. Samson ascertained that the abbey lacked water, which had to be fetched from a distance. He possessed some experience in detecting springs, and with his staff he pointed out to his host where he might profitably dig. This has been magnified by his biographer into the miraculous production of a spring. The Abbey of S. Vincent was not founded till 556 at the earliest. Consequently this meeting must have taken place at the second or on some subsequent visit to Paris.

On his return to Dol, Samson constituted it his permanent residence. He exercised considerable authority over the Channel Islands, where he laboured to uproot the paganism that still lingered in them. In one of his visits he found that the natives of Lesia (Guernsey) were attached to the observance of the First of January. He had them assembled before him, harangued them on the wickedness of celebrating such a heathen festival, and induced them to promise to forego it for the future. To make sure of the young people, "who on this infamous day ran about the island," he gave to each a small gold coin as a memorial of their undertaking to abstain from the observance.[1] Whether they kept their promise after his back was turned may well be doubted. New Year's Day is observed in the Channel Islands as in France, and indeed at Dol itself to the present time.

Samson was in Paris in 557, when he signed the decrees of a Council assembled there, "Samson peccator Episcopus."[2]

[1] "Venientibus januarii Kalendis . . . homines supradictæ insulæ hanc nequam sollemnem inepte juxta paganorum patrum abominabile exemplum præ ceteris celebrare consueverant . . . Ille . . . omnes parvulos, qui per illam insulam ob hanc nefariam diem discurrebant, vocavit ad se, singulisque eorum mercedem numismiuncelli auri quod est mensura trium denariorun donavit, præcipiens eis ne unquam ulterius ab illis hæc sacrilega consuetudo servaretur." *Vita 2da*, p. 71. [2] Haddan & Stubbs, *Councils*, ii, p. 75.

At this Council the bishops present passed a canon that concerned the Breton Sees. Some of these had been established by Childebert without consulting the prelates, and without the consent of the metropolitan of Tours, who claimed archiepiscopal jurisdiction over all Armorica. This had been the case with Paul of Léon, Tudwal of Treguier, and probably with Brioc as well. These men, having obtained concessions of land, had visited Paris and asked the King to ratify the grants, and give them ecclesiastical jurisdiction over certain districts. In the case of Paul, the King had insisted on his taking episcopal orders on him, but this made the matter the worse, for the King by this means had become the founder and delimitor of the diocese. The proceedings had been eminently irregular and established a mischievous precedent.

The Bishops in Council could not alter what had been already done, but they passed a canon forbidding such proceedings for the future.[1] We may be sure that the old Irish and Welsh usage of having abbots to exercise jurisdiction over bishops ceased thenceforth in Armorica, and that care was taken from this time forward that the heads of the great monastic communities in the Sees founded by Childebert should be bishops.

The age of Samson when he died is set down at a hundred and twenty, but this is a fiction not uncommon in the Lives of the Saints, as their biographers tried to show that they equalled the age of Moses. It is better to accept the more general statement that Samson "longævo vetustatis senio fessus," felt that his time of departure had arrived, and summoned his community about him, and when he had blessed them and said, "Bene valeatis, Christo placeatis cui famulatis," he entered into his rest.

The date of the death of Samson cannot be determined with any certainty. It is supposed that it took place about 565. The day we know; it was on the fifth of the Calends of August (July 28).

The points for fixing the dates in the Life of S. Samson are not numerous.

That Samson was a child of the old age of Amwn and Anna is refuted by the fact that both lived till he left Wales, and Amwn was placed by his son as superior of his Cornish monastery when he crossed into Brittany.

[1] The synod could not have been held before 556. Sirmond placed it in 557. Hefele, *Hist. des Conciles*, III, p. 552. Samson may have gone to Paris in 556, and in 557 it is more probable that he went there a second, not a third, time. But Maassen, *Mon. Germ. historica, Concilia*, Hanover, 1893, p. 141, is of opinion that the date of the Council cannot be precisely determined, save that it was between 556 and 573.

We give the following conjectural chronology of his Life, which rests mainly on the supposition that he died at the age of 80.

Samson born	*circa* 485
,, put as pupil to Illtyd	*c.* 490
,, ordained priest	*c.* 515
,, converts his father and becomes Abbot of Ynys Pyr	*c.* 516
,, goes to Ireland	*c.* 518
,, returns and retreats into a desert	*c.* 520
,, is consecrated Bishop and made Abbot of Llantwit	*c.* 522
,, quits Llantwit and crosses into Cornwall	*c.* 525
,, receives news of the death of S. Illtyd	*c.* 537
,, meets S. Petroc at Padstow	*c.* 543
,, quits Cornwall and settles at Dol	*c.* 544
S. Teilo flying from the Yellow Plague visits him	547
Samson goes to Paris for the first time	*c.* 553
Defeat and death of Conmore	*c.* 555
Second visit to Paris, attends Council	556 or 557
Dies	*c.* 565

The only dates that are fairly certain are those of the visit of Teilo and the Council of Paris. Approximately that of the insurrection in Domnonia, the death of Conmore and exaltation of Judual. Nevertheless, the dates cannot err greatly. Dubricius, who consecrated him, died, as we have shown, about 546. He was ill, when Samson was in Cornwall, and resigned to retire to Bardsey. It is not possible to put Illtyd's death later than 537. The fellow disciples of Samson with Illtyd were Gildas, who died in 570, Paulus Aurelianus, who died about 579, perhaps David, who died about 589. The approximate date of the death of Teilo, who visited him in 547, was 580.[1]

S. Samson is usually represented as an Archbishop. We have already given a reason for this; but we may here add a few words relative to the assumption of metropolitan rights by Dol.

In 840, Nominoe, governor of Brittany, began his attempt to free his country from the Frank yoke. Having succeeded in this, he turned his attention to ecclesiastical matters. Some of the bishops were Franks, thrust into Breton Sees, unable to understand and to speak the language of their flocks, and all more or less tainted with simony. Nominoe summoned them to give an account of themselves, and dismissed them to the Pope, and demanded their deposition. But Rome was slow in moving. The bishops crept back, nothing had been done. Then Nominoe, becoming impatient, cut the matter short, by summoning a council at Redon. Before that the bishops acknowledged that they had bought their promotion and laid down their crooks. This was in 848. Nominoe now convoked the counts and chiefs, secular and

[1] It is strange that Gregory of Tours should not once name S. Samson.

ecclesiastical, to assemble at Dol. He put Bretons into the vacant sees, raised their number to seven, exclusive of the old Sees of Rennes and Nantes, constituted Dol metropolitan, and subjected the other six to it. Then he was crowned by the new archbishop in the monastic church raised to its new dignity.

The Gallo-Frank Church was furious. Council after council of the Frank bishops denounced the usurpation, and popes fulminated in condemnation. All were unheeded, and Dol maintained its archiepiscopal title for three hundred years.

It was not till 1199 that Dol was crushed, and the independence of the Breton Church ceased. "The ecclesiastical province of Dol was recognized neither by the Popes nor by the neighbouring bishops for three centuries. All the efforts of Popes Nicolas I, John VIII and XIII, and Leo IX to bring the Archbishop of Dol to submission, and to subject them to the metropolitan of Tours, were unavailing, as unavailing as were the efforts made in the same direction by the Gallic prelates, in the Councils of Toul and Rheims, in the years 859 and 1049."[1]

Unhappily, partisans of the autonomy of Dol had recourse to unworthy expedients to bolster up its pretensions. The author of the *Vita 2da* makes Childebert grant metropolitan rights to the See over all Brittany. Further, Samson of Dol was confounded with a Samson who was supposed to have been Archbishop of York, and who transferred the pall to Menevia and thence to Dol.

There is not one word about Samson, son of Amwn, having ever been at York in the extant Lives.

S. Samson has found a place in most Latin Calendars and Martyrologies. His name occurs in almost all the English Calendars, but in very few of the Welsh. He is entered in the Leofric Missal and in Grandisson's Exeter Calendar and Legendarium. His day is July 28.

An odd legend of S. Samson is told by Alanus de Insulis, Bishop of Auxerre in 1151, who died in 1203. He relates that Melanius, Machutus (Malo), Maclovius (meaning Maglorius), Pabutual (Tudwal), Paternus, Waslocus (Winwaloe), and Samson were brothers all born of one mother at a birth. She sent them to be drowned as puppies, but they were rescued, and grew up to be the Seven Saints of Brittany. It is the same story as that told of the origin of the Guelf (Whelp) family, and it has been located in various places.[2]

[1] Neher, *Kirchliche Geographie*, Regensburg, 1864, i, p. 505. See also Dom Morice, *Preuves de l'Hist. de Bretagne*, i, cols. 759–67; *Martene Thesaurus Anecd.*, iii (in which are collected all the principal documents relative to the pretensions of Dol to be metropolitan).

[2] The same story is told of S. Teilo in the *Book of Llan Dâv* and of Lamisso,

In Art S. Samson is incorrectly represented as an archbishop with pall and crozier. He is so figured on the tower of S. Austell, and in a fresco in Breage Church.

For churches in Brittany and in France dedicated to S. Samson, see the Introduction to Dom Plaine's edition of the *Vita 2da S. Samsonis*, and F. Duine, *Notes sur les Saints Bretons*, Rennes, 1902, pp. 22–24, and his *Saint Samson*, Rennes, 1909, p. 21.

The churches and chapels of S. Samson in Cornwall and Ireland have been already referred to. There is a church dedicated to S. Samson at Cricklade in Wiltshire, and he is said to have had a chapel at Cressage, in Shropshire. Athelstan in 933 dedicated the abbey of Milton Abbas in Dorset to SS. Mary, Michael, Samson and Branwaladr, but the attaching of the two last names was due to his having acquired relics of these latter saints. The church has changed its patron to S. James the Great.

Colesborne in Gloucestershire is said formerly to have been dedicated to S. Samson, but here again he is displaced by S. James.

The church of S. Samson in York is almost certainly a late dedication since the fable had been accepted that Samson had been Archbishop of York.

Marcross, in Glamorganshire, formerly under the patronage of S. Samson,[1] is now under that of the Holy Trinity. There is a holy well, Ffynnon Samson, in the parish of Llangolman, Pembrokeshire. Samson as a disciple of S. Padarn was with him at Llanbadarn, and was one of the four set by him over the churches of Ceredigion. No churches there bear his name, but he is commemorated by a stone called Carreg Samson near the entrance to Llanbadarn Church, and by another, of the same name, on the mountain near Llanddewi Brefi. That at Llanbadarn forms one of two crosses near the porch. It is a very thin, tall Celtic cross of grey granite, about eight feet above ground, having panels of interlacing ribbon ornament, with some figures. The other cross, about four feet high, is of local stone, and bears little trace of ornament. Legend says that the two stones together formed Samson's flail, and that while he was threshing corn one day on Pendinas, across the valley, the flail broke, and the granite part went flying in the direction of the church, and Samson in his anger sent the other part after it.

second King of the Lombards, by Paulus Diaconus. The legends are dealt with fully under SS. DYFRWYR, ii, pp. 398–405.

[1] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 221.

S. SAMSON AB CAW, Confessor

ALL that is known of this Samson is to be found in the seventeenth century *Achau'r Saint* printed in the *Iolo MSS.* His name occurs in six of the lists given there of the sons of Caw.[1] He was thus a brother of Gildas. In one of these documents [2] the entry is extended, "Samson, saint and bishop, of Côr Illtyd (Llantwit). His church is that of Caer Efrog" (York). It will be seen that his existence rests on no good authority. There was another Samson, a bishop of S. David's in the ninth century. See what has been said relative to both in the previous article.

S. SANCTAN, Bishop, Confessor

SANCTAN was the son of Sawyl or Samuil Pennissel and of Dechtir, daughter of Muiredach Muinderg (Red-necked), King of Ulster.[3] His brother seems to have been S. Mocatoc or Madoc, who settled at Inis Matoc, either Inis Mogue in Templeport lake, Leitrim, or else Inis Fail, it is uncertain which, but probably the former.

Sanctan left Britain and went to Ireland, following the example of his brother. He settled at Cill-da-les, the situation of which has not been determined. But one of his foundations was Kilnasantan, in the County of Dublin. He has been so completely forgotten that the new R. Catholic Church there is dedicated to S. Anne, through a misunderstanding, Sanctan being supposed to be Sanct-Anna.

Very little is known of Sanctan. The glossator to a hymn by him in the *Liber Hymnorum* says, "Bishop Sanctan composed this hymn, and it was on his going to Clonard westward to Inis Matoc that he composed it; he was brother to Matoc, both of them being of British race, but Matoc came into Ireland earlier than Bishop Sanctan." At first Sanctan could not speak the Scottish tongue, but he acquired it in time. The hymn is one of those which are rather charms than acts of devotion.[4]

Sanctan is commemorated in the *Félire* of Oengus, in the Martyrologies of Donegal, of O'Gorman, and Tallaght, on May 9. There is another Sanctan commemorated on September 17, but of him nothing is known.

[1] Pp. 109, 117, 137, 142–3. [2] P. 117.
[3] *Martyrology of Oengus*, ed. Stokes, p. lxxxv.
[4] *Liber Hymnorum*, ed. H. Bradshaw Society, ii, p. 47.

S. SANNAN, see S. SENAN

S. SANT, Prince, Confessor.

SANT was S. David's father. Some of the early genealogies give his pedigree as Sant ab Cedig ab Ceredig ab Cunedda Wledig,[1] but authorities equally early and reliable state that he was the son of Ceredig.[2] His mother was Meleri (in later MSS., Eleri), the daughter of Brychan.

In all the early authorities his name occurs in Welsh as Sant, and in Latin as Sanctus, but late writers have persistently converted it into either Sandde or Xanthus, two names which are perfectly distinct from Sant as well as from each other.

In the Life of S. David, Sant is represented to have been King of Ceredigion, which he "laid aside to acquire a heavenly kingdom," i.e. became a monk.

The story is told that when he was asleep an angel appeared to him and said, "To-morrow thou wilt go a-hunting, and wilt get three things near the river Teify—a stag, a salmon, and a swarm of bees."[3]

These were symbols of David. The stag was supposed to kill serpents by trampling on them, and so represented conquest over evil; the salmon was a Celtic symbol of wisdom; and the bees signified the honey of David's discourse.

The story of the parentage of David is unedifying, but there is good reason to suppose that it has arisen out of a misconception. As his mother's name was Non, it was supposed that she was a nun, whom Sant carried off, and then abandoned. But David was not her only son; she was mother of other children, who married in Ireland. She was a king's daughter, and Sant, though he may have carried her off, probably retained her as his wife.

Lezant, in Cornwall, is properly Lan-Sant, and this is certainly not Holy Church, a designation applicable to every *Lan*, but gives the name of a saintly founder.

[1] E.g., the Bonedds in *Peniarth MSS.* 16 and 45, both of the thirteenth century.

[2] *Cognatio de Brychan, Progenies Keredic, Jesus College MS.* 20, etc. Giraldus in his Life of S. David calls him "Sanctus Keritici regis filius" (*Opera*, iii, p. 378). His name, however, does not appear in the pedigree of the royal house of Ceredigion, which is carried to Ceredig through a son Iusay (*Harleian MS.* 3,859). See what has been already said on the affiliation of Sant to Cedig and Ceredig, and also on the names Sant and Non, ii, p. 287. The pedigrees in *Jesus College MS.* 20 give a Sant as son of Gliws. Sant is the name of a little brook at Llantarnam, in Monmouthshire.

[3] *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 117.

Lezant is called Lansant in the Episcopal Registers. It is difficult and in some instances impossible in a MS. to distinguish between a *n* and a *u*. *Lan* has, however, become *lau* in several cases, as Lan Renan in Brittany is now Laurenan, and in South Wales Llan Aidan or Aeddan has been converted into Llawhaden, and Lan Gwythian on the Tamar has been softened into Lawhitton.

Lezant was erroneously stated by Dr. Oliver to be dedicated to S. Breoc. It is true that Bishop Bronescombe did dedicate the Church of S. Breoc "de Lansant" on September 24, 1259, but this was S. Breock by Wadebridge, and Lansant is a clerical error for Nansant.

The patron of Lezant is possibly Sant, the father of S. David. In the parish is Landue, which may signify the Church of Dewi or David. Bradstone, the adjoining parish, divided from it by the Tamar, is dedicated to S. Non, Sant's wife.

S. SANWYR or SANNOR, see S. SENEWYR

S. SARLLOG.

IN the list of *Côrau*, or Welsh religious foundations, given in a document in the *Iolo MSS.*[1] is entered, "Côr Sarllog, in Llandaff, for thirty saints, and Sarllog was its *penrhaith*, or principal." This would imply that Sarllog was a Welsh Saint, but nothing is known of him, if he ever had an existence. But it is pretty evident that the compiler of the list, having heard of Old Sarum, which in Welsh is Caer Sallog, was anxious to enhance the fame of Llandaff.

Eigen (otherwise Eurgen), the supposed daughter of Caradog, the famous Caratacus who was taken captive to Rome, is said to have married "a chieftain named Sarllog, who was lord of Caer Sarllog,"[2] by which is intended Caer Sallog. According to another document she married Sallog, lord of Garth Mathrin.[3]

[1] P. 152.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 115. On p. 7 he is stated to have been "a Roman chieftain who accompanied her to Wales."

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

S. SATIVOLA or SIDWELL, Virgin, Martyr

SATIVOLA is probably the Sicofolia of the Life of S. Paul of Léon. He had three holy sisters, and his biographer gives this as the name of one. The difficulty in the case is that Paul was son of Perpius, of Penychen, in Glamorganshire, whereas Sativola was of Exeter. But the family may have been constrained for political reasons to migrate, or may have been expelled.

Leland says, "Ex vita Ste Sativolæ," which he saw in Exeter in the *Legendarium* of Bishop Grandisson :—

"Benna Pater Sativolæ. (But *Pater* is probably a misprint for *Frater*, as the Legend of Jutwara says that Benna was the brother's name). Nata Exoniæ dolo Novercæ a feneseca amputato capite occisa, ut suburbana prædia ei præriperet."

Unfortunately, the *Acta Stæ Sativolæ* are torn out of Grandisson's *Legendarium*.

The story goes that a mower cut off her head with a scythe and that it was thrown into a well. It may be doubted whether the story has not grown out of her popular name Sidwell.

Her mother-in-law was the cause of the death of her sister, Aude or Jutwara.[1]

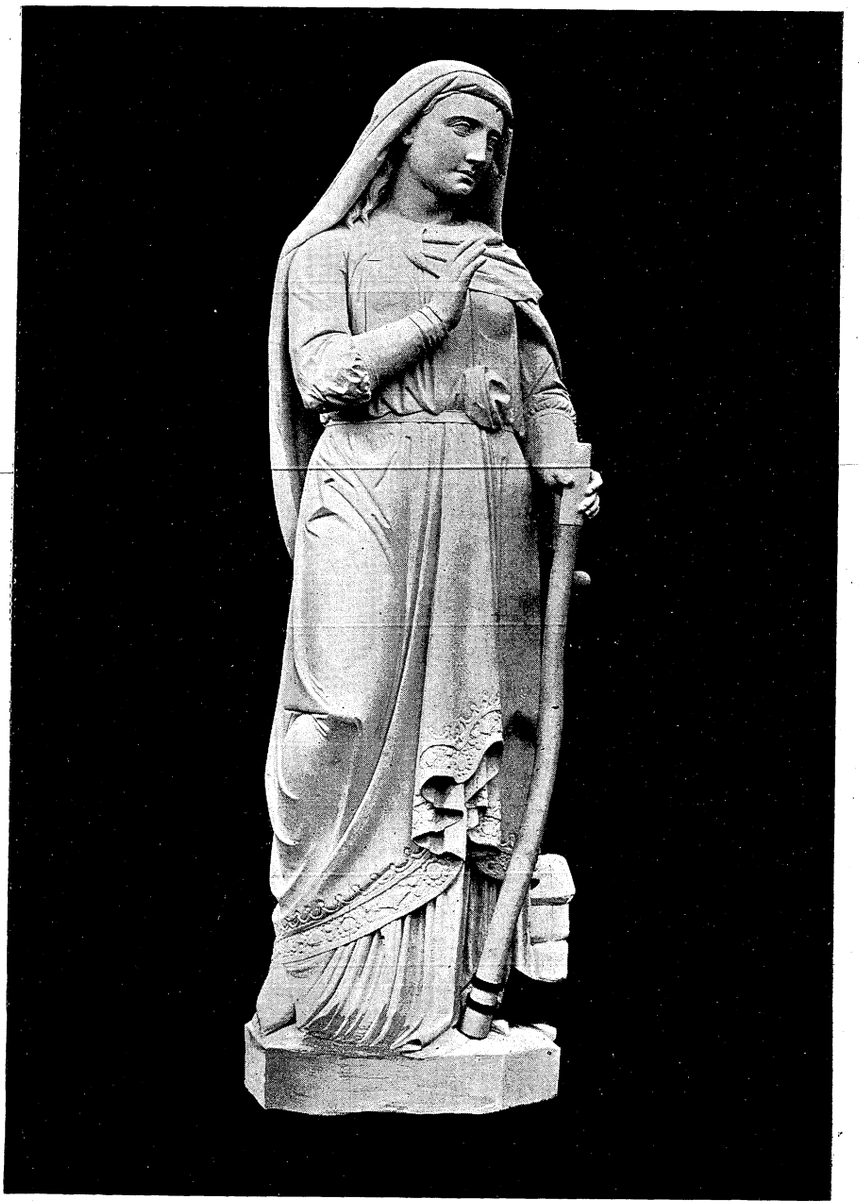
S. Sidwell and her sister S. Wulvella are together patronesses of Laneast, in Cornwall where also is their Holy Well in good condition, and whence water is drawn for baptisms. She formerly had a chapel in Launceston.[2]

The Parish Church of S. Sidwell, by Exeter, is dedicated to her, and here was her Holy Well. Nan Sidwell (i.e. Lan Sidwell), in Mawnan, may also have been the site of a church under her invocation.

In Bishop Grandisson's Exeter Calendar, in his Martyrology, and Legendarium, August 2 is given as her day, and this is the day on which her Feast was celebrated in Exeter and Launceston. At Laneast the Feast is regulated by that at Altarnon, and falls on the last Sunday in July or the first in August. Among the additions to an Exeter Calendar of the twelfth century in the British Museum (*Harl. MS* 863) her day is given as August 1, but this is probably a mistake for August 2. Nicolas Roscarrock, however, gives July 31.

S. Sidwell is represented in the church of her name by Exeter and in the east window of the choir of the Cathedral, as carrying a scyth and with a well at her side. So also on the screen in S. Mary's Steps, Exeter; in stained glass at Ashton Church, and on the screen there;

[1] I, p. 186.
[2] Gilbert, *Historical Survey of Cornwall*, 1820, ii, p. 508.



S. SIDWELL.
From a statute, S. Sidwell's Church, Exeter.

and on the screens at Beer Ferrers, Hennock, Holne, Kenn, Plymtree, Whimple, and Wolborough.

S. SAWYL, Confessor.

THE late documents printed in the *Iolo MSS.* are the sole authorities for the two Welsh Saints bearing this name, which is an early form of the name Samuel.

(1) Sawyl Benuchel was the son of Pabo Post Prydyn, and he and his brothers Dunawd and Carwyd (properly Cerwydd) are said to have been Saints of Bangor Dunawd, or Bangor on Dee.[1] He married Gwenasedd, daughter of Rhain Rhieinwg, by whom he became the father of S. Asaph.

In the Old-Welsh pedigrees in *Harleian MS.* 3,859 his name appears as Samuil Pennissel,[2] being credited with having a "low" instead of a "high" head. In the old *Bonedd y Saint*, which mentions him simply as father of S. Asaph, and in *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd* (thirteenth century), he is called Sawyl Benuchel.

He was a chieftain of North Britain, who, like many more of that region at the time, had to escape southwards with his life, being overpowered by the enemy. He is celebrated in the Triads [3] as one of the three *Trahawg* or "Overbearing Ones of the Isle of Britain"; and his name occurs in the long list of Arthur's warriors whom Culhwch adjured to assist in obtaining for him the fair Olwen.[4]

This Northern Sawyl was quite a different person from the Sauuil Pennuchel mentioned in the Life of S. Cadoc [5] as a *dux* who annoyed the saint and his clerics, and who, with his band, was swallowed up by the earth in a *fossa* that was still traditionally pointed out in the twelfth century, when Leofric wrote the Life.

A Samuel Chendisel, which answers exactly to the *Harleian* Samuil Pennissel, occurs in Irish hagiology as the father of the British Bishop and Saint Sanctan, who went over to Ireland, and the husband of Dechtir, the daughter of a King of Ulster.[6]

Geoffrey of Monmouth mentions a Sawyl Benuchel (in the Latin text Samuilpenissel) ab Rhydderch, who was the father of Pyr or Por.[7]

[1] *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 105, 126.
[2] *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, p. 179. He is there made to be the father of Guitcun.
[3] *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 389, 408. [4] *Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 112.
[5] *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 42–3.
[6] Stokes, *Martyrology of Oengus*, p. lxxxv.
[7] *Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 82; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 126. One of the 24 sons of

(2) One entry in the *Iolo MSS.*[1] gives "S. Sawyl Felyn (the Tawny) ab Bledri Hir ab Meurig, King of Dyfed. His church is Llansawyl in Emlyn Uwch Cuch," by which is meant Llansawel, subject to Conwyl Gaio, in Carmarthenshire. His grandfather Meurig, we are told, was "one of the four kings who bore the Golden Sword before the Emperor Arthur," on all high festivals.[2] The church may, or may not, be dedicated to him; Samuel or Sawyl was by no means an uncommon name. A Samuel Magister, a cleric, witnessed two grants to Llandaff in the time of Bishop Berthwyn.

Pistyll Sawyl, now Ffynnon Sawyl, by Penygarn in Llansawel, is mentioned in a patent roll, dated 1331, relating to Talley Abbey.[3] Sawyl is locally said to have sat down beside it and drank of its water, when returning on one occasion from S. David's. It supplies the village with excellent water.

The festival of Sawyl is given on January 15 in the calendar in the *Additional MS.* 14,886 (1643–4).

Briton Ferry, in Glamorganshire, was sometimes called in Welsh Llansawel, but incorrectly for Llanisawel,[4] which has nothing to do with Sawyl. The parish church is dedicated to S. Mary.

S. SEGIN, Confessor

ALL that is known of Segin Wyddel, or the Goidel, is found in the *Iolo MSS.*,[5] where it is stated that he was a saint of Côr Illtyd (Llantwit) who founded the Church of Llanfihangel, near Cowbridge, Glamorganshire, and that he has a church dedicated to him in North Wales, but where there we are not told.

The name is the same as the Irish saint-name Seghin, Segenius, Segineus (among other forms), which was borne by the fifth abbot of Iona, who died in 652, and by a bishop of Armagh, who died in 688.[6]

Llywarch Hên was named Sawyl; he was buried at Llangollen (Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, p. 266).

[1] P. 142. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Carmarthen Charters*, 1878, p. 63; *Arch. Camb.*, 1879, p. 171. There is a poem on the well in *Yr Haul*, 1887, pp. 272–3.

[4] Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, pp. 725, 831, 919; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 748.

[5] Pp. 153, 220.

[6] For both see Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*, iv, pp. 600–1.

S. SEIRIOL, Abbot, Confessor

SEIRIOEL, later Seiriol, was the son of Owain Danwyn ab Einion Yrth ab Cunedda Wledig, and brother of SS. Einion Frenin and Meirion.[1] He is traditionally known in Anglesey as Seiriol Wyn, or the Fair.

A seventeenth century MS. printed in the *Iolo MSS.*[2] says, "Seirioel was a saint in Côr Garmon, and afterwards Einion Frenin, of Lleyn, founded a Côr in Penmon (in Anglesey), over which he placed his brother Seirioel as principal (*penrhaith*), and gave lands and property thereto; and the men of Llychlyn (i.e., Scandinavia, meaning the Norse settlers in this country) flocked to Côr Seirioel to acquire useful and religious knowledge. Côr Seirioel and Côr Beuno were the most celebrated for learning of all the Côrau in the country of Gwynedd." Elaeth Frenin and Nidan, both Anglesey saints, were monks of Penmon.

The situation of Penmon is one of the sweetest and most peaceful that can well be imagined. The land rises steeply to the north, and the spurs of hill enfold a little basin in which trees grow luxuriantly, and the sun loves to linger, where flowers bloom early and the bees hum. It is completely shut in from the winds from the sea. Here under a rock is the well of S. Seiriol, still resorted to,[3] and by it the ruins of a circular habitation and traces of a bath. The water flowing away fills a pond that was formerly stocked with fish. The Priory Church is cruciform and early Norman. It has been carefully restored. In the south transept is a Celtic interlaced cross, and in the round-headed window a fifteenth century representation of S. Seiriol.

There are considerable ruins of the monastic outbuildings, and traces of the cloister. It was a Priory of the Benedictine Order, refounded in 1221 by Llywelyn the Great.

Some ancient walnut and chestnut trees dating from the monastic occupation of Penmon still flourish there.[4] But, unhappily, its pleasant seclusion is menaced, as the quarrymen are hewing away the

[1] *Peniarth MSS.*, 12, 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 424, 429; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 102, 113. The old form, Seiryoel, occurs in the pedigree of Gruffydd ab Cynan. With his name compare Deinioel, now Deiniol. A MS. printed in the *Cambrian Journal*, 1859, p. 233, makes Seiriol contemporary with Benlli Gawr, and to have been present when the giant met his death.

[2] P. 125.

[3] It was believed even in the middle of last century that if a sick person drank of the water of Ffynnon Seiriol he would be cured. (*Transactions of the Liverpool Welsh National Society*, 8th Session, p. 92.)

[4] The supposition that Seiriol was "the first to cultivate black cherry trees" (Angharad Llwyd, *Hist. of Anglesey*, 1833, p. 211), in Welsh *surian*, had its origin in a false etymology.

cliff that screens Penmon from the sea on one side, and that against which it nestles on the other.

Surmounting the hill, a walk over the down leads to where Ynys Seiriol, or Puffin Island, is seen in the sea, with a gabled tower on it in the centre of the island, and the ruins of a church of S. Seiriol. To this island the saint was wont to retire for solitary meditation, and it was seemingly much regarded as a happy resting-place, for the soil, when turned over by rabbits, exposes human bones. And here Maelgwn Gwynedd was buried in 547.[1]

The island is about three-quarters of a mile long by a quarter broad, and everywhere, except at the southern end, nearest to Anglesey, it rises steeply from the sea. The whole of the top of the island resembles a great rabbit warren. The sound between it and the Anglesey coast is very deep, about 80 feet, and is under a mile wide. The saint's name is also borne by Porth Seiriol.

The original name of Ynys Seiriol was evidently Ynys Lannog, from Glannog, the father of Helig of Tyno Helig. In English it is called by the Norse name Priestholm, the Priests' Island, and oftener, but much later, Puffin Island, from the puffins which abound in it.

Giraldus Cambrensis says that it was called Enis Lannach, or "the Ecclesiastical Island, because many bodies of saints are deposited there, and no woman is suffered to enter it."[2] He adds that it "is inhabited by hermits, living by manual labour, and serving God. It is remarkable that when, by the influence of human passions, any discord arises among them, all their provisions are devoured and infected by a species of small mice, with which the island abounds; but when the discord ceases they are no longer molested."

Before the inundation, connected in *Bonedd y Saint* with the name of Helig ab Glannog, took place, Puffin Island was joined on to the mainland. We extract the following from the curious account given by Sir John Wynn of Gwydir (died 1626):—"This Seirial hadd an hermitage att Penmen Mawr, and there hadd a chappell where hee did bestowe much of his tyme in prayers, the place beynge then an uncouth desarte and unfrequented rocke. . . . From Priestholme to Penmen Mawr did Seirial cause a pavement to bee made, wheruppon hee might walke drye from his church att Priestholme to his chappell att Penmen Mawre, the vale beynge very lowe grownd and wette, which pavem^t may att this day bee discerned from Penmen Mawr

[1] To Maelgwn is ascribed the foundation of both Penmon and Caer Cybi (*Peniarth MSS.* 77 and 127, *Mostyn MS.* 144).

[2] *Itin. Camb.*, ii, c. 7. Ynys Lenach is also rendered Insula Ecclesiastica in *Peniarth MS.* 169. But it is correctly Insula Glannauc in the *Annales Cambriæ*, *s.a.* 629. See iii, p. 262. The owner of the island is Sir R. Williams-Bulkeley, Bart.



S. SEIRIOL.
From 15th century Glass at Penmon.

to Priestholme when the sea is cleere, yf a man liste to goe in a bote to see ytt. Sythence this greate and lamentable innundacion, the waye and passage beynge stopped in this straight in regard the sea was come in, and did beate uppon the rockes att Penmen Mawre, this holy man Seirial, lieke a good heremite, did cause a way to bee beaten and cutte through the mayne rocke, which is the onely passage that is to passe that straight. This way leadeth from Dwygyfylchi to Llanvair Vechan, and is the kinges highway."[1] He further mentions there "a cricke uppon the rocke called Clippyn Seiriall" (his Ledge), and the saint's chapel, dangerously situated on the cliff. Pennant says[2] that he saw the ruins of the chapel, or as it was called, the saint's *Gwely*, or Bed; but there is no trace of it now. Pennant, however, seems to have confused the two; the *Gwely* used to be on the summit of the great central rock before it was blasted during the latter half of last century.[3] Cil Seiriol (his Retreat), probably the hermitage referred to, is also in the neighbourhood as well as his Holy Well, Ffynnon Seiriol.

Seiriol and Cybi were bosom friends, and used to meet frequently at midday at their wells at Clorach, about midway between Penmon and Holyhead, for converse.[4] There is a Ffynnon Seiriol, walled round, in the parish of Llaniestyn, some three miles from Penmon Church, on Penhwnllys farm, on the way to Clorach. The new church at Holyhead is dedicated to Seiriol. "Byarth Syryell" and "Biarth Siriell Ysa" are entered among the possessions of Penmon Priory in the *Valor* of 1535.[5] The Prior of Penmon was one of the three spiritual lords of Anglesey.

Seiriol was one of the "Seven Blessed Cousins" (Saints) who went on a pilgrimage to Rome.[6]

The festival of Seiriol occurs in but very few Welsh calendars. It is given on February 1 in those in *Peniarth MS.* 186 and the Prymers of 1618 and 1633. Browne Willis[7] gives February 11, and Angharad Llwyd[8] February 15.

Lewis Glyn Cothi (fifteenth century) in one of his poems[9] satirizes

[1] *An Ancient Survey of Pen Maen Mawr*, reprinted by W. Bezant Lowe, 1906, pp. 19–20; *Arch. Camb.*, 1861, pp. 147–9. He wrongly makes Seiriol to be a brother of Helig ab Glannog. John Ray in his *Itinerary*, 1662 (printed in his *Select Remains*, 1760, p. 225), mentions the "large paved Caussey, visible at low water." [2] *Tours in Wales*, ed. 1883, iii, p. 110.

[3] North, *The Old Churches of Arllechwedd*, Bangor, 1906, p. 186.

[4] ii, p. 209. [5] iv, pp. 429–30. For *buarth* see under S. Llwni, iii, p. 383.

[6] *Peniarth MS.* 225, p. 164; *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, p. 271.

[7] *Bangor*, p. 282. [8] *Hist. of Anglesey*, p. 318.

[9] *Poetical Works*, p. 280. The passage seems to imply that Seiriol specially blessed cheese-making. On p. 416 the bard invokes the saint's protection.

the mendicant friars, who were the rivals of the bards, for hawking about images of saints made of glass and alder wood, and selling them to the peasantry in exchange for cheese, flour, wool, etc. He says—

"One bears fitfully
The Blessed Curig under the skirts of his cloak;
Another fellow carries Seiriol
And nine cheeses in his arms."

S. SELYF, or SALOMON, King, Martyr

SELYF, whom the Bretons call Salomon,[1] was the son of Geraint ab Erbin, Prince of Devon.

There may have been, in Brittany, two Salomons, the son of Geraint, and another, who lived later, murdered the King, Erispoe, son of Nominoe, the liberator of Brittany, and was himself assassinated in 874.

Of the first M. de la Borderie disposes as having never existed. But M. de la Borderie knew almost nothing about the Welsh sources of early British History and the Pedigrees. Selyf is, moreover, named as the father of S. Cybi, and he is spoken of as ruling between the Tamar and Lynher, that is to say, in the old principality of Gelliwig, in Cornwall.[2] Selyf's wife was Gwen, or S. Wenn, the daughter of Cynyr of Caergawch, and sister of S. Non. According to the Welsh Pedigrees Selyf's mother was Gwyar, daughter of Amlawdd Wledig, and he had as brothers Cyngar, Iestyn, Caw, and Cado or Cador. Selyf is only entered in the late Saintly Pedigrees as a Welsh Saint.[3]

That the princes of Britain were granted tracts of land in the new colonies founded in Armorica is probable, and would be implied by the statement made in the Life of S. Leonore concerning Rivold or Righuail, that he held rule over the Britons both those in the island and those who had settled on the mainland.[4] The Venetian district had been settled something like a century before Armorican Domnonia; and there are indications that Geraint, the father of Selyf, had been there.

[1] The name Solomon assumes in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, and the *Annales Cambriæ* the form Selim, which later became Selyf and Selef. King Solomon is usually called in mediaeval Welsh Selyf Ddoeth.

[2] *Vita S. Kebii, Cambro-Brit. Saints*, p. 183. See what has been said on his pedigree in ii, p. 203, and iii, p. 47.

[3] *Myv. Arch.*, p. 429; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 116, 136, 139.

[4] *Vita S. Leonori.* De Smedt, *Catalog. Codicum hagiographicorum bibl. Latin. in Bibl. Nat. Parisiensi*, ii, p. 153.

A wild fantastic story is attributed to Paulilianus, a writer of Léon in the tenth century, and who is probably Bishop Marbo, who subscribed himself Paulilianus in Britannia, Episcopus, in 954, at the refounding of the abbatial church of S. Pierre en Vallée, near Chartres. He wrote an account of the Translation of the relics of S. Matthew. This has been summarised by Le Baud.[1] He says that this Salomon was of holy life; and he quotes in confirmation a chronicle of the Kings of Brittany, which no longer exists. Paulilianus, he goes on to say, relates how that the relics of S. Matthew were translated from Cairo to Brittany. Salomon, the King, had then to wife the daughter of Flavius, a patrician; and he entered into alliance with Valentinian, the Emperor of the West.

When the vessel on which was the body of the Evangelist arrived off the port of Kaynnen, Salomon went to the spot and desired to have the relics removed; but the body proved too heavy to be transported. Then Riuvallus, Duke of Cornouaille, declared that obviously the saint was offended at the custom prevalent in Armorica of parents selling their children into slavery, and being required to do so, to pay the customary tax into the royal treasury. Riuvallus exhorted Salomon to put an end to this barbarous custom. Then Salomon placed his hand on the relics of the Evangelist and swore to do so in this fashion, that the children who were to be sold, should instead pass into the service of the Church of S. Matthew. Then only did the body become light enough to be transported on shore, and laid where afterwards arose the stately Abbey of S. Mathieu.

Salomon reigned for a good many years, but finally an insurrection broke out, and he was killed by his revolted subjects whilst praying in a church. The patrician Flavius complained to the Emperor Valentinian, who sent an army to chastise the rebels. Such is the story, manifestly fabulous, and as certainly not written by Paulilianus in the tenth century.

Valentinian III was Emperor of the West from 425 to 455.

Geraint, father of Selyf, fell at Llongborth a century later.

The story of the murder of Salomon is suspiciously like that of his namesake, who fell in 874. The acquisition of the relics, moreover, took place in 830.[2]

If there be any truth in the story, Salomon probably fell in endeavouring to extort tribute from the provincials.

Two localities claim to be the scene of martyrdom of a King Salomon, and this gives colour to the plea that there were two of the same

[1] *Hist. de Bretagne*, 1638, but written in 1518.

[2] Dom Morice, *Preuves*, i p. 3, from a *Chronicon Britannicum*.

name who came to a violent end. One place is Langoëlan in Morbihan, near Guéméné, on the old Roman road from Carhaix. The other is La Martyr near Landerneau. There is a Merzer (martyrium) of S. Salomon at Langoëlan. The Annals of S. Bertin make Salomon, the murderer of Erispoe, to have fallen there; but M. de la Borderie insists it was at La Martyr.

In Cornwall the Church of Lansalos was probably of Selyf's foundation. In Domesday it is given as Lansalpus. Bishop Grandisson's Register gives Lansalewys. Adjoining is Duloe, a foundation of S. Cybi. Hard by is Pelynt, of which Non, the sister-in-law of Selyf, is the patron. Morval again is a foundation of his wife, S. Wenn. In Bishop Bronescombe's Register Lansalos is given as dedicated to S^ta^ Ildierna, a clerical error of gender.

There is a Holy Well at Lansalos, and the Church possesses a sanctuary, an indication that it was an ecclesiastical tribal centre. The feast at Lansalos is on the Sunday after February 1. The day of S. Salomon in the Dol Calendar of 1519 is February 8. So also in the Breviary of S. Malo, 1537. But June 25 is the day on which the murderer of Erispoe is culted, according to the Missal of Vannes, 1530, the Vannes Breviaries of 1586, 1660, and 1757; and this is the day given by Le Grand and Lobineau.

The Martyrology of Tallaght gives Solomon on April 11, but without a word to explain who is meant.

The *Iolo MSS.*,[1] in one document, include another Selyf among the Welsh Saints, Selyf, Prince of Powys, and son of Cynan Garwyn ab Brochwel Ysgythrog. He fell at the battle of Chester in 613. The Irish annalist Tighernach calls him Rex Bretanorum,[2] which seems to imply that he was for a time the Gwledig or Over-King of the Cymry.

He is distinguished in the Triads [3] as one of the three *Aerfeddog*, or Grave-slaughterers, of Britain, so called because they avenged themselves on their enemies from their graves.

This Selyf cannot be regarded as a Welsh saint; he was simply a Welsh prince. He is sometimes called Selyf Sarffgadau, or the Serpent of Battles. He was, however, the father of S. Dona, of Anglesey.

S. SENAN, Abbot, Confessor

SENAN of Iniscathy, the bosom friend of S. David, is known in Wales, and was a founder in Cornwall and also in Brittany.

[1] P. 130. [2] *Revue Celtique*, xvii, p. 171.
[3] *Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 304.

In Cornwall he is called Sennen, in Wales Sannan,[1] in Brittany Seny.

The authorities for his Life are:—

1. A Metrical Life in the so-called *Kilkenny Book*, and in the *Salamanca Codex*. The latter is imperfect. It is printed by Colgan, *Acta SS. Hibern.*, p. 612 (the numbering of the pages is incorrect, and is given as 512–27). Reprinted in the *Acta SS. Boll.*, March, i, pp. 761–8, from a MS. of the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century; also *Acta SS. Hib., Cod. Sal.*, coll. 735–58.

2. A Prose Life, printed in the *Acta SS. Boll.*, March, i, pp. 769–78; and by Colgan, p. 530 (incorrect numbering for 612) to 537.

3. An Irish Life in the *Book of Lismore, Anecd. Oxon.*, 1890, pp. 54–74, and translation pp. 201–21.

4. An Irish Life, from the Stowe collection, transcribed by Donall O'Duinin in 1627. This we have not seen. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 1862, p. 124, No. 377.

5. A Life in the Breviary of Léon, 1516, beginning, "Sanctus Senanus ex nobilibus Christicolisque parentibus de Scotia natus fuit." Of this Breviary only two copies exist, and both are imperfect. We have seen the copy formerly in the Library of the Frères Lamennais at Ploërmel, now at Rennes, and have transcribed from it the Life of S. Senan.

6. A Life in Albert Le Grand's Collection, but this is based on the lections in the Breviary of Léon, and on a transcript of a Life sent him from Ardfert in 1629, but with the addition of local traditions collected in the parish of Plouzané.

In the Life of S. Patrick the story is told that when the Apostle was preaching in Limerick, about the year 448, the Hy Figeinte received him gladly. Then the Corcobaskin, on the Clare side of the Shannon,

[1] Sannan is a not uncommon name in Wales, but it usually occurs as a female and brook name, and, under its earliest form, as Sanant. (1) Sannan (Sanant), daughter of Cyngen, and wife of Maelgwn Gwynedd (*Cognatio de Brychan*); Sannan, daughter of Nougoy (Noë ab Arthur), and mother of Elisse, King of Powys, c. 700–50 (*Harleian MS.* 3,859, *Jesus College MS.* 20); and a twelfth century Sannan, daughter of Dyfnwal (*Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 302). (2) Sannan, a stream (also a farm, Glan Sannan) in Llanfynydd, Carmarthenshire; and Frut Sanant, a Glamorganshire brook, mentioned in a twelfth century grant to brother Meilir and the brethren of Pennar (Birch, *Neath Abbey*, pp. 9–11). There is a Cwm Sannan near Llanfair Waterdine, Radnorshire. None of the saintly pedigrees—not even those of the *Iolo MSS.*—include a Sanan, male or female, among the Welsh Saints. There is, however, a pedigree in *Cardiff MS.* 5 (1527), p. 120, which gives a "Sanan in Denbighshire," and makes him brother of Gwynhoedl and Tudno, and thus a son of Seithenin Frenin o Faes Gwyddno; but the entry is most probably a mistake for "Seneuyr," given in the old pedigrees as the name of another brother.

entreated him to give them a bishop who might instruct them in the way of Life. Patrick regretfully refused, as he had not sufficient missioners at his disposal, but he prophesied that a child would be born, who would be to them all that they could desire. The prophecy is given in the *Book of Lismore* :—

"A new child shall be born in the West
In the Island across the sea.
The Corco-baskin will bow 'neath his hand
Men, women and children alike.
He will be splendid, royal and stately,
With God as well as with men.
Happy the people, and happy the Church,
That under this child shall be." [1]

What the story shows is no more than this—that Patrick, being short of fellow-labourers, encouraged the Corcobaskin with hopes. As they received no great Christian teachers till Senan came—for the priest Maculatus and the deacon Latius, whom Patrick did send them, effected little good, and Senan, who arose forty years later, was their real apostle—they invented the prophecy and made it apply to Senan, who was born in 488.

The fable goes that the mother of Senan was in the garden when the pangs of maternity came on her, and that she laid hold of a branch of rowan, which immediately broke into leaf and developed bunches of scarlet berries. The story is not to be put aside as absolute invention. The Irish, as with all Celts, were desirous of discovering the future of their children by means of omens, connected with the birth, as dreams, encounters with birds or beasts, and it was the function of the wise-woman who acted as mid-wife, to draw some prognostic from such event as was associated with the birth. In this instance Coemgella had laid hold of a rowan-tree, laden with its berries, and the mid-wife fastened on this incident as affording the required omen.[2]

What she actually foretold matters little, but after Senan's life had fashioned itself, then it was assumed that the rowan, growing among rocks and on moorlands, prefigured his dwelling, not in rich pastures, but in deserts, and the bright clusters of the mountain ash might not inappropriately be assumed to represent his many monastic settlements.

Senan was born at Magh Lacha, about three miles north-east

[1] *Anecdota Oxon., Book of Lismore,* pp. 56, 203.

[2] Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib., Vita 2da Senani,* c. 6 ; *Book of Lismore,* p. 206. "Cujus nativitate tempore lignum aridum quod ejus mater manu tenebat confestim floruit quasi prenoscitans quod puerulus qui nascebatur florere deberet in domum domini sicut cedrus Libani." *Brev. Léon.* 1516.

of Kilrush, in the county of Clare. His father's name was Gerrcend, son of Dubhtach, of the race of Conaire Mor, first High King of Ireland. His mother, Comgella, daughter of Ernach, son of Gulban, was a native of Altraigh.

He had a brother named Cronan, whom his mother called Conandill, or "Conan darling." He also became a Saint. He had a sister as well, named Conainne.

His father, in addition to his main farm, had another at Tracht Termuin (the Strand of the Boundaries). When the family was about to move from one farm to the other, Senan was sent ahead to make ready for the reception of the family.[1]

One afternoon, Senan, along with his mother, was driving his father's cattle, and as night approached, and the way lay over the strand, he was afraid of pursuing his course in the dark. Hard by was a *dun,* or hill-fort, occupied by one named Mechai ; and he went with his drove to the gate and asked to be taken in for the night. Mechai was not at home, but his son was in charge, a churlish fellow, who rudely refused the petition ; he had no hay for the oxen during the night.

Accordingly Senan was constrained to proceed with his drove, with the chance of some straying. The night fell dark as pitch, and as he pushed over the sands with the cattle he heard the mutter of the advancing tide, and presently the water came hissing and lapping about his heels. His mother became frightened and broke out into wailing.

Presently, he saw a flare in the sky and heard yells above the growl of the swelling sea. Looking back, he saw Dun-Mechai in flames. Some foes of the chief had taken advantage of his absence and of the darkness to set fire to it.

This providential escape, as well as the sense of peril from the tide, produced such an effect on Senan's young mind, that on reaching home in safety, he snapped the ox-goad across his knee, and vowed that he would embrace the ecclesiastical profession.[2]

When he had reached the age at which he was expected to bear arms, he was called upon by the chief of the Corcobaskin to join in a raid on the Corcomroe territory, i.e. Barren in Clare. It was in vain that he protested his vow, he was compelled to take part in the foray. The Corcobaskin were defeated and driven away with loss, with the enemy in pursuit. Senan, running as hard as his legs could carry him, happily perceived a heap of thrashed corn, and dived into it. As, however, he was not wholly covered by the grain, he was drawn forth

[1] *Vita 2da,* c. 7 ; *Book of Lismore,* p. 204 ; *Brev. Léon.*

[2] *Ibid.,* c. 10 ; *Ibid.,* pp. 205–6 ; *Brev. Léon.*

by the heels, and asked who he was. He answered evasively that he was a country lad who, at the sound of arms, had concealed himself out of sheer fright; and the enemy, supposing him to be a person of no consequence, dismissed him unharmed.[1]

Obviously, Senan was not of the stuff wherewith to make a soldier, and after this exhibition of cowardice his parents accepted the inevitable, and sent him to the Abbot Cassidan at Kerry-Cuirke, between Kinsale and Cork, as there was no monastic establishment in their country.

Here he remained for a few years, learning to read, and then went to finish his studies with S. Natalis in Ossory. Natalis was son of Ængus MacNadfraich, King of Munster, and of Ethnea Uatach. He lost both his parents in the battle of Kelliston, in 489.

"This was the rule of the school of Natalis. Each scholar had to go on a day, in turn, to herd the calves of the Church," Another obligation was to work the quern, but on this two had to be engaged simultaneously.[2]

After a few years spent in the school of Natalis, an unpleasant incident occurred. The biographer veils the facts as well as he can, but it is not difficult to read between the lines. "Senan's fame spread abroad throughout the territories on every side. . . . The tribes and kindreds used to come from every point to him. Some of them with alms and offerings, others to seek alms, others to seek cure of their diseases, some to obtain his spiritual direction, some to effect an union with him and to induce him to take up his residence among them."[3]

Natalis, the Abbot, found himself thrust on one side and ignored, whilst the young pupil was pushing to the front and acting as master in the monastery. The situation became so strained that at last Natalis bade him pack. There was assumption on one side, and jealousy on the other. The biographer pretends that they parted on the best terms. Senan now went to Iniscathy, where S. Maidoc resigned to him his abbatial staff. So we are told; but this is not possible, if the Maidoc be he who was afterwards at Ferns. What is probable is that Maidoc had been placed as a boy in an Irish monastery by his brother Gildas, and that Senan took Maidoc with him, when he now went to Wales; and that he left Maidoc with S. David, with whom he remained for many years.[4]

Before settling finally anywhere Senan resolved on travelling.

[1] *Vita 2da*, c. 8; *Book of Lismore*, p. 205. From the latter it would seem that Senan ran away and hid in the corn before the fighting began, and went to sleep or pretended to do so.

[2] *Book of Lismore*, p. 206. [3] *Ibid.*; *Vita 2da*, c. 16. [4] i, pp. 118–21.

He had made an intimate friend of Ciaran of Saighir, who is said to have been his "individuus comes semper ac socius," and now he entered into brotherhood with S. David. When they parted David presented Senan with his staff.[1]

Senan visited Rome and Tours, and was for awhile in Brittany. On his return home and a revisit to David, he landed at Ardmenedh, an islet off the Munster coast, where he remained for forty days and founded there a cell and church. Then he departed for Iniscarra, about five miles from Cork. Whilst he was there a ship touched on the island, having on board fifty ecclesiastics, who are described as Romans come to Ireland to study the rules observed by the abbots there. But according to a more probable account only three of these were actually Romans. These strangers were divided into five bands, each comprising ten persons, and each had placed itself under the patronage of one of the most illustrious abbots of Ireland. Each in succession had the charge of the vessel.

One day, when it was under the command of the Senan crew, a violent gale arose, against which the boat laboured with difficulty, and shipped many seas. The pilot went to the ecclesiastics, whilst they were dining, to complain that they were in extreme peril. Then from a table up sprang a bishop, named Mula, possibly Molua, with a mutton bone in his hand that he had been gnawing, ran forward, and signing the cross in the air with the shank-bone, cried, "O Senan, help us quickly, and give us a favourable wind!"

As the gale abated shortly after, and the wind shifted, it was concluded that this was due to Mula's adjuration with the bone, assisted by the merits of S. Senan.[2]

Senan had trouble with the chief, Lugaid, who claimed territorial rights over the island of Iniscarra. He demanded tribute. This Senan refused, point blank. Thereupon Lugaid sent one of his race horses on to the island to feed on its grass. By some accident the horse was drowned, and Lugaid was highly incensed, and uttered threats of vengeance.

Senan dared him to do anything against him, and declared that he would not only deprive him of his place in heaven, but would also curse all his posterity, that none should sit in his seat and rule his people.[3] Lugaid, who was King of the Hy Eachach, was alarmed, and two foster sons intervened and patched up a reconciliation. The

[1] *Book of Lismore*, *Vita 2da*, c. 19. "Discedens ab eo accepit proprium S. Davidis baculum, in amicitiæ et confraternitatis pignus, secumque ducit in patriam."

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 209; *Vita 2da*, c. 20. In this latter the adjuration with the bone is omitted. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 210; *Vita 2da*, c. 22.

chief granted to Senan the isle free of dues, and the Saint in return assured to Lugaid the kingdom of Rathlin, to himself and his seed for ever.

Then Senan left Iniscarra and departed for Inis Luirghe, an island in the Shannon between Limerick and Scattery, and founded a church there. Whilst he was in this islet the daughters of the Chief of the Hy Figeinte came to him, and induced him to form a religious community for women on the mainland. He did so, and veiled these maidens.[1] He also abandoned to them the church he had just founded, and departed by boat, with intention of settling on Inis Mor, but the wind and tide carried him instead to Inis Tuaiscert, which has not been identified. Here he planted another church, and left in it a portion of his household.

Then he resumed his journey to Inis Mor, now Deer Island, at the mouth of the Fergus. Here he erected another church, and here occurred the incident with S. Setna that shall be related under the heading of S. Sithney.[2]

Even here he would not tarry; he left Setna and other holy men in the island, and formed an establishment in one of the Ennis Kerry Islands. But here, also, his stay was brief, and he went further to Inis Cunla, on which he constructed a cell that was designed for his disciples Finan and Finnian.

His restlessness not yet appeased, he departed again, and seeing from the top of a mountain that an islet lay in the mouth of the Shannon, he crossed over to it, and resolved on constituting his headquarters there. This was Inis Cathy, now Scattery Isle.

But no sooner was he there than the chief of the Hy Figeinte, Mac Tail by name, heard of it, and was offended, because he claimed that the island was his own. He sent over two brothers of Senan, Coel and Liath, to order him off.

Liath was father of Demnan, one of Senan's disciples, and he acted in this matter with great reluctance. Coel had no scruples. On reaching the island, they endeavoured to persuade Senan to quit it; when he refused, Coel said, "If we do not turn him out, Mac Tail will deprive us of our property, and really Senan has not a shred of right to the

[1] Senan left eight disciples in Iniscarra, among them, S. Fechin, son of the King of Muskerry, and S. Killian. The damsels were the daughters of Brendad, Prince of Hy Figeinte, "the first-fruits of the Eoganacht Gabhra." *Vita 2da*, c. 23; *Book of Lismore*, p. 211.

[2] *Vita 2da*, c. 24. A curious incident occurs here. There are fears of encroachment of the sea, whereupon Liberius offers to be buried (alive?) where the tide line is that by the merits of his body lying there the further rise of the sea may be prevented; c. 26.

island." Then he laid hold of Senan by the shoulders and endeavoured to force him down to the boat. Senan shouted to his lusty young disciples for assistance, and they rescued him from the hands of Coel, who was forced to return unsuccessful, pelted with a hail of imprecations. Not long after this Coel died, and then Senan absolutely refused to give him Christian burial.

Mac Tail now sent his Druid to curse Senan, and a lively scene ensued between the Pagan and the Christian, hurling imprecations at each other. Neither was a bit the worse, though the writer of the Life pretends that in the sequel the Druid was drowned. But as Mac Tail was undaunted, it does not seem that he considered that Senan was very redoubtable. Mac Tail now visited the island himself, to expel the saint. When he reached Inis Cathy, Senan confronted him with a bold face. Then ensued a scene of truly Hibernian recrimination.

"Man," said the King, "I will tie a stone to your neck and pitch you into the sea."

"You dare not, and you can not do it," retorted Senan.

"Well—I will do this," said Mac Tail; "I have brought over my horses to eat up your grass."

"I am not going to be your ostler," exclaimed Senan.

"I purpose journeying to an assembly of the people at Corcumruadh," said the chief, "and I shall leave my horses here to depasture your grass till I return."

"God grant that you never do return!" retorted the saint.

No sooner was the king gone than he contrived to get the horses killed.

Mac Tail was informed of this, and he was furious. His son said to him, "Take care what you are about. Saints' curses fall heavy."

"I care no more for this fellow," replied the king, "than I do for a black hornless sheep."

On his way, so runs the tale, the prince's horse stumbled over a black sheep, threw his rider, and Mac Tail, falling on his head upon a stone, was killed.

Obviously the saying about the black sheep was put into the mouth of Mac Tail, after the event.

He was succeeded by a man of another stamp, Nectan Cenn-fodha, who not only made grants of land to the saint, but constituted him Saint over the whole Tribe of the Hy Figeinte, occupying what is now the County of Limerick.[1]

Senan blessed his island and announced that he had obtained a

[1] *Vita 2da*, cc. 33, 34; *Book of Lismore*, pp. 214–6.

favour from God that no monk crossing over from the mainland to it should be drowned, and that no one buried in the soil of the island should go to Hell.[1]

One day, Senan's nephew, Donan, went out in a boat catching crabs, and took with him a couple of boys. As the urchins were troublesome, he landed them on a skerry, and proceeded with his fishing. Whilst he was thus engaged the tide turned and ran so strong that Donan could not reach the lads, who were swept off the rock and drowned, and all he was able to do was to secure their bodies.

A great outcry was made among the relatives of the children, and a demand was made for *eric*, or payment in compensation for the loss. Senan had much difficulty in appeasing them, and only succeeded in so doing by protesting that to his certain knowledge the souls of the lads were in Paradise, and were quaking with alarm lest they should be recalled to reanimate their bodies.[2] These were the first dead who were buried in Inis Cathy.

Whilst Senan was in Scattery Isle he was visited by Brendan of Birr, and by Ciaran, the Wheelwright's son, of Clonmacnois, and these two constituted him their confessor and spiritual guide.[3]

There was a holy virgin, named Brigid, in the Hy Figeinte district. She is not to be confounded with Brigid of Kildare. She lived at Clon Infinde, near the Shannon, and was under the direction of Senan. She had woven a habit (*casula*) [4] for Senan, but had no messenger, by whom to send it. So she made a hamper of holly-twigs, lined it with moss, laid the habit therein, with a letter to inform him that she had run short of salt, and also desired the Holy Communion, and committed it to the river. It was either washed up on the beach, or recovered by one of the monks who was out fishing, and was brought to Senan. The abbot at once packed the hamper again with two bars of salt, and the Sacred Host, and committed it to the tide when running inland, and Brigid, who was awaiting it, received it at her place.[5]

Senan was vastly particular on one point. He was determined to cut off occasion for the scandals that had, unhappily, been common in the double communities. Consequently, he stubbornly refused to allow any woman to land on Scattery. So strict was he that when an aged nun, named Cannera, arrived to die there, he refused to allow her to land. Cannera had been the spiritual daughter of the great Brigid.

[1] *Vita 2da*, c. 30; *B. of L.*, p. 214. [2] *Ibid.*, c. 35; *B. of L.*, p. 217.
[3] *Ibid.*, c. 36; *B. of L.*, p. 217.
[4] *Casula*, in Irish *casla*, does not necessarily apply to an ecclesiastical vestment used at the altar. The term is applied to a monastic habit.
[5] *Vita 2da*, c. 39. Brigid was of the family of Mac Tail.

For some time she had lived in solitude, but had afterwards attached herself to Senan, and had probably entered his house for nuns among the Hy Figeinte.

According to the legend, one night Cannera saw all the churches of Ireland emitting rays of light; but the greatest blaze was made by that of Senan. She at once went to visit him on his island. What follows is from the Life in the *Book of Lismore*.

"Senan went to the harbour to meet her, and gave her welcome.

"'You see, I have come,' said Cannera.

"'Go,' replied Senan, 'to your sister who dwells in yon isle to the East, for I cannot receive you here.'

"'I have come to abide here,' retorted Cannera.

"'Women are not suffered to enter this isle,' rejoined Senan.

"'How canst thou say that?' asked Cannera. 'Art thou better than Jesus Christ? He came to redeem women no less than men. He suffered on the Cross for women as well as men. He opens the kingdom of heaven to women as surely as to men. Why then dost thou shut women out from this isle?'

"'You are an obstinate woman,' said Senan.

"'Come now,' said Cannera, 'give me a place where I may be buried, and give me the Sacrament.'

"'I will give thee a place of resurrection on the sea-brink,' said Senan. 'But, mind you, the sea will eat it away, and carry off your bones.'

"'God will grant,' said she, 'that the spot where I shall lie may not be the first to be swept away by the waves.'

"'Very well, then,' said Senan, 'come ashore.'" [1]

Tom Moore's version of the story, "The Saint and the Lady," will be remembered. He missed the real beauty of the tale.

As Senan perceived that his end drew nigh, he felt a longing to revisit the scenes of his early school-days, as also to pray at the cell of his aunt, Scath, or Scota, at Barrymore, in Cork. Nothing has been told us of his boy days with this aunt; but there was a tender spot in his heart, associated with her. She had been kind to him, maybe, had sympathized with his yearnings after spiritual things, which his parents could not understand. And so now an intense longing possessed him to see where the dear old woman had lived and died. Her oratory is still standing, though ruinous.

Before leaving, a characteristic incident occurred, illustrative of the transition state in which the Irish of these parts were, half-way between Paganism and Christianity.

"We entreat you," said the virgins of Kil-eochaille, now Kill-na-

[1] *B. of L.*, pp. 219–20; *Vita 2da*, c. 40.

gaillagh, when he left his boat and visited them, " give us the body of some lowly monk of your community to be buried by us, so that his relics may be our protection."

The Pagan usage had been to bury a child or a woman alive as a propitiatory sacrifice to the Earth-Mother, as also in order that the spirit might haunt the spot and scare away foes and depredators. Afterwards, as manners softened, a horse or a dog or a lamb was substituted for a human victim, when a house was built. There was a further purpose in the demand. Till a grave had been made and one buried in it, there was no security of tenure to land. Consequently the great anxiety of founders to have a corpse laid in the land on which they settled. That secured the inviolability of their holding.[1]

Senan promised the sisters what they wanted, but bade them be patient.

Then he departed to pray at the graves of his old schoolmaster and his aunt. Having done this, he returned towards Iniscathy, and had got as far as an old thorn-tree near Kil-eochaille, when he felt that his strength was gone and that his end approached.

Kil-eochaille or Kill-na-Gaillagh is on Rossbay, over against Iniscathy, and the oratory there is still standing, though ruinous. From where he lay—across the rippling blue water—the old man's dying eyes rested on his beloved island, and beyond, the rounded hills of Clare, the Corcobaskin country, through which light had streamed from that little colony he had founded.

Hastily, a bishop of the name of Martin was sent for, and there under the thorn-tree on a windy day in early spring he was communicated with the Bread of Life, and died, saying, " Let me lie here till dawn."

So all night his dead body lay where his spirit had passed.

In the morning came his disciples from Iniscathy, among them, that same Bishop Mula, who had allayed a storm with a mutton bone in the name of Senan, to carry off the corpse. But the Sisters of Kil-eochaille protested. He had died there. He had promised them relics; let him lie where he had died.

To this the disciples would not consent, but to satisfy the nuns, they cut off the old man's thumb and left it with them.[2]

Senan died on March 1, on the same day as his friend S. David, though perhaps not in the same year. The date cannot well be fixed. If he were born in 488, and he lived to the age of eighty, he died in 568; but we cannot be certain as to the year of his birth nor as to the age to which he lived.

[1] See Baring-Gould, *Strange Survivals*, London, 1892, pp. 1–35.
[2] *Vita 2da*, c. 42; *B. of L.*, p. 221.



S. SANNAN.
Modern Glass in Llansannan Church.
From a Drawing by H. Gustav Hiller.

According to Albert le Grand, Senan had been abbot and bishop for thirty-three years when he started for Armorica, and disembarked in the west in what is now the parish of Plougonvelen, near the ruined abbey of S. Mathieu. Thence he made his way to a place called after him, Plouzané, where he destroyed an idol temple, and planted two crosses, which remain, but which were actually boundary marks to his *minihi*, or sanctuary. The crosses surmount *lechs*, or early Christian tombstones, and stood till lately in a little wood called Coet-ar-c'hras, or the Wood of the Refuge. Near the church is his Holy Well. The site of his monastery is still pointed out. On Whitsunday the procession of Plouzané is joined by that of Loc-maria, and the Tro Sant Sané is made, or the circuit of the old sanctuary land. The Pardon is, however, on the Sunday nearest to August 10.

Although Senan died on March 1, the day of his burial, March 8, is observed in Ireland, and so entered in the Martyrology of Oengus, in that of Donegal, and was in that, now lost, of Cashel. Also the Drummond Calendar, and that of Salisbury. O'Gorman gives March 1 and March 8. The Martyrology of Tallaght gives March 7. Whytford on March 8, but he prints Fenan for Senan. Nicolas Roscarrock enters him on March 7 and 9, but he says that in Cornwall his feast is observed on April 15; but the Feast is nowadays kept on June 30 at S. Sennen. In Brittany his day is March 6, Breviary of Léon, 1516, Missal of Dol, 1526, and Albert le Grand.

In Wales, Sannan's day is given as on March 7 in the Calendars in the *Iolo MSS.* and the Prymers of 1618 and 1633, and on March 8 in that in *Hafod MS.* 8. *Allwydd Paradwys*, 1670, gives April 29 as the Festival of Senan; so also Cressy.[1] This saint is supposed to have been the Senan who is mentioned in the second Life of S. Winefred, by Robert of Shrewsbury, as having been buried at Gwytherin beside S. Winefred. Sannan occurs also on June 13 in the Calendars in *Jesus College MS.* 141, *Peniarth MSS.* 27, 172, 186, 187 and 219, *Mostyn MS.* 88, and the *Iolo MSS.*—so formidable an array of Calendars that it makes one suspect that the festival is that of another saint of the name, who is patron of Llansannan, in Denbighshire, as the *Gwyl Mabsant* was held there in the month of June within living memory; but no such saint, of whom anything is known, has his day in that month. The date of one of the old fairs at Llansannan suggests another possible patron for the church, S. Sanctan, noticed above,[2] a

[1] Quoted in Rice Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 321. It is often assumed, e.g. Cathrall, *N. Wales*, 1828, ii, p. 166, that this was the Sannan of Llansannan.

[2] P. 171. In a poem attributed to Iolo Goch (*Gweithiau*, ed. Ashton, p. 533) occurs the line, "A nawd Sanan Nud y seinyeu," "the protection of Sannan, the Nudd (Hael) of the saints."

British saint who settled in Ireland. The equation of the names is correct; but the fair day, May 7 (O.S.), does not quite coincide with his festival, May 9.

Besides Llansannan there is dedicated to Sannan the church of Bedwellty (Mellte's House), in Monmouthshire. Browne Willis gives the festival day of the former on June 13, and of the latter on March 8. Sannan is also one of the three patrons of Llantrisant, in Anglesey, whom Willis gives as Sannan (June 13), Afan (December 17), and Iefan, or John (August 29, the Beheading of the Baptist).

In the township of Tref Llan, Llansannan, is a field called Tyddyn Sannan, near a spot called Pant yr Eglwys, where are the remains of a building supposed to have been a church. Close by is the hill Foel Sannan.

In Cornwall he is patron of only S. Sennen at the Land's End. Leland [1] speaks of him as Sinninus Abbas, who came over with Breaca and other saints from Ireland, "qui Romæ cum Patritio fuit," which, of course, is a mistake. According to William of Worcester, "Sanctus Senseus jacet in parochia Sancti Justi juxta Hellyston, circa 4 miliaria." William's writing is so bad that it is not easy to discern whether he wrote Sennius or Sensens.

The old church at Plouzané was a very rude and curious circular structure. It was unhappily pulled down some years ago to make way for a vulgar modern edifice.

There is a statue of him, without distinguishing attribute, at Plouzané representing him in pontifical habit blessing.

Sennan has been supposed, on the most flimsy grounds, to be represented by S. Kessog in Scotland. The legend of Kessog in the Martyrology of Aberdeen is unlike that of S. Senan, except for one incident. Kessog as a child was playing with two other children by a pool, when the latter fell in and were drowned. Their parents were furious, and threatened to destroy all Munster unless they were restored to them alive, which was accordingly done. Kessog was buried in Luss.[2] The story of the drowned boys was imported into the Life of Kessog from that of Senan, but with alterations. The two saints were distinct personages.

S. SENEWYR, Confessor

SENEWYR or Senefyr was one of the sons of Seithenin Frenin of Maes Gwyddno (now under Cardigan Bay), whose territory was over-

[1] *Itin.*, iii., p. 15. [2] Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, 1872, pp. 373–4.

whelmed by the sea. He had as brothers, Tudclyd, Gwynhoedl, Merin, and Tudno.[1] Other brothers are mentiond in the later genealogies, and all are said to have become after the inundation saints of Bangor on Dee.[2]

The name of Seithenin, their father, is handed down in the Triads with the unenviable distinction of having, in a fit of intoxication, let the sea through the dams which secured Cantref y Gwaelod.

Senewyr is very probably the patron of Llansanwyr,[3] now Llansannor, in Glamorganshire. It is, however, entered among the possessions of Tewkesbury Abbey in 1180 as the chapel "Sanctae Senwarae de la Thawa," [4] with a female saint's name, possibly enough by mistake. In the *Book of Llan Dâv*,[5] the place is called Nadauan, standing apparently for Nant Auan, and in the fourteenth century appendix [6] to the same the church is given as "Ecclesia de La (= Lan) Thawe"; and again in the *Valor* of 1535 [7] as "Llansannor alias Thawe." In the latter part of these designations we have the name of the stream there, called in English Thaw, in Welsh Dawon.

Browne Willis [8] gives the dedication of Llansannor as "St. Thaw alias Lythas, September 1," a hopeless combination.

S. SENNARA, Widow

SENNARA, in Breton Azenora, was the mother of S. Budoc.[9] The church of Zennor in West Cornwall is dedicated to her. In Bishop Bronescombe's Register, 1270, it is Ecclesia Stæ Senaræ; so also in those of Bishops Stapeldon, 1315; Grandisson, 1327; Brantyngham, 1370 and 1383, and Stafford, 1400.

The parish adjoins Towednack, and forms a portion of a strip of extraneous foundations that cuts the Irish colony in half. At Zennor the feast is on May 6, or the nearest Sunday. At Plourin, in Finistère, where she is patron along with her son, Budoc, the Pardon is on the Sunday nearest to August 7.

[1] *Peniarth MSS.* 16, 45; *Hafod MS.* 16.
[2] *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 419, 428–9; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 105, 141.
[3] Llan-sanwyr, *Peniarth MS.* 140, *Llanstephan MS.* 164, *Jesus Coll. MS.* 13; -sanwr, *Peniarth MS.* 147.
[4] Clark, *Cartæ*, 1885, i, p. 21, where the *Lenwarae* must be a misreading.
[5] See index, p. 414. [6] P. 324. [7] iv, p. 349.
[8] *Llandaff*, 1719, app. p. 2; *Paroch. Anglic.*, 1733, p. 199. The only possible name on that day is Lupus (Bleiddian, Lythan), for which see i, pp. 222–3, iii, p. 366. [9] i, p. 331.

S. SERIGI, Martyr

SERIGI (Serygei) Wyddel was the Goidelic chief who occupied Môn or Anglesey till Cadwallon Lawhir, the son of Einion Yrth and father of Maelgwn Gwynedd, made a desperate effort to put an end to the Goidelic occupation of the island. He completely routed the Goidels, and slew with his own hand Serigi at a place called to this day Cerrig y Gwyddyl, near Malldraeth, in Anglesey.[1]

If the *Iolo MSS.* are to be trusted, Serigi was the son of either Mwrchan ab Eurnach Hên or of Eurnach,[2] who is also known as Urnach Wyddel, and had his stronghold at Dinas Ffaraon, now Dinas Emrys, near Beddgelert.

Cadwallon is said to have founded a church, called, from the above circumstance, Llan (or Capel) y Gwyddyl, at Holyhead, within the fortifications. Sometimes it was called Eglwys y Bedd, from the fact that it contained Serigi's grave or shrine, and it had an endowment distinct from the collegiate church of Cybi. Nicholas Owen, in his *History of Anglesey* (London, 1775), says[3]: "The ruins of it a few years ago were removed in order to render the way to the church more commodious. Here formerly was the shrine of Sirigi, who was canonized by the Irish. It seems to have been held in exceeding great repute for several very wonderful qualities and cures; but, according to an old Irish chronicle, it was carried off by some Irish rovers, and deposited in the Cathedral of Christ Church, in Dublin."

This statement is inaccurate. The chapel still stands, in the S.W. corner of the churchyard, and was turned into a grammar school,[4] but the chancel was pulled down when the new entrance was made through the ancient walls of the *Caer* to the south porch of the church. The chancel arch still shows, but was built up. The author does not mention the chronicle in which is recorded the carrying off of the relics of Serigi. That he was ever "canonized" by the Irish is doubtful, as his name occurs in none of their Martyrologies. It is curious enough that the Welsh of Anglesey should have culted a chief of the hostile Gwyddyl who had oppressed them for centuries, and who was killed in a fair fight.

A figure carved in granite on the south door of Holyhead Church, holding a sword, is probably intended for the "martyr" Serigi.

[1] Triads in *Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 305. According to later accounts (e.g., *Peniarth MSS.* 75, 129, 130) he met his death at Llan y Gwyddyl, in Môn. Curiously, there are three remains in the parish of Towyn, Merionethshire, called Eglwys y Gwyddelod (or Gwyddyl)—one on Mynydd y Bwlch Glas, another in Coed Perfeddnant, and another on Mynydd Ty'n Llwyn.

[2] Pp. 81–2. But see Sir J. Rhys's observations on Serigi (probably Norse), *Celtic Folklore*, pp. 564–5, 569.

[3] Pp. 34–5; also Pennant, *Tours in Wales*, ed. 1883, iii, pp. 71–2; Lewis Morris, *Celtic Remains*, p. 391.

[4] Dr. Wynne's, founded in 1748; *Arch. Camb.*, 1870, pp. 358–9.

S. SIDWELL, see S. SATIVOLA

S. SILIN, see S. SULIEN

S. SIMAUS, Confessor

SIMAUS, also named Siviau, who is now called Cieux, was a disciple of S. Brioc, and a monk at his Great Monastery (Landa Magna) in Ceredigion. When S. Brioc came to Llydaw, Simaus remained behind. One night, however, he dreamed that he saw a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, and his old master ascending it. Thinking that it signified his death, Simaus took ship and came to Armorica where he landed in the port of Cesson, now Le Léguer; and on reaching the monastic settlement of Brioc, found that his master was, in fact, dead.

On his way, in the boat, we are informed that the devil tried to suffocate him, but he was delivered on crying for assistance to his master.[1]

He did not return to Ceredigion, but remained in Armorica and founded a church where is now S. Cieux. He is there represented in a statue as a monk. He reached the spot where he settled by water and the rock on which he is supposed to have landed is called Le Berceau de Saint Cieux. Above the path by which he ascended from the shore is a cross called La Croix de S. Cieux. His spring is not very copious; it falls in drops from the rock, and these are locally known as the Tears of S. Cieux.[2]

His feast is kept on the Sunday nearest to June 26.

If S. Brioc died in 530, we may put that of Simaus at some twenty years later.

[1] *Vita S. Brioci*, ed. Plaine, c. 55.

[2] Garaby, *Vies des Saints de Bretagne*, 1839, p. 470.

S. SITH, Virgin, Abbess

SITH is the same as Itha or Ita, whose Life has been already given,[1] but here a few additional notes may be added. Her actual name was Deirdre, as given in the Martyrology of Donegal, and this was Latinized into Dorothea; and in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ* she is given as "Derithea que alio nomine Itta vocatur." She is also called Mite or Mide *Mo-Ita*, with the endearing prefix. In this compound form her name occurs in Rosmead, Co. Westmeath, i.e. Ros M'ide.

The Life in Bishop Marsh's Library is apparently an abbreviation of a longer Life ("breviter enarrari cupimus," and "alia . . . propter brevitatem omittimus"). Although purporting to have been written in the second generation after S. Itha, it cannot be so old in its present form. There are three anecdotes given in the Life in Marsh's Library not found in the Rawlinson Life. These we may briefly give.

When S. Coemgen lay a-dying he begged that Itha might come and see him. When she arrived he besought her to close his mouth when he expired with her hand, "for I know by revelation of an angel of God that on whomsoever you lay your hand, when dying, him the angels will translate into the Kingdom of God." This she did.

On a certain occasion a wealthy man went to S. Itha and begged her to obtain for him that his mares might foal offspring only male, and with white heads and chestnut bodies.[2] To this she very naturally demurred, but as he was very urgent, she finally gave way and obtained from God that he had several born that year as he desired.

When she was at an advanced age, Mac Niss, Abbot of Clonmacnois, sent messengers to her to obtain from her water that she had blessed, to be administered to the Abbot Aengus who was ill, and it was hoped that if he drank it, he would recover. S. Itha through her prophetic powers foresaw that this would be done, and she told the sisters that she would be dead before the delegates arrived, consequently she at once blessed water, but she added that it would avail Aengus nothing, for he would be dead before the messengers returned with the water. And it so fell out as she had predicted.

[1] iii, pp. 324–31.

[2] "Pete Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, qui trinus et unus celi et terre, maris et hominum, vestium et peccorum colores coloravit, ut ipse officiat colores pullorum, sicut ego volo," i.e., "ut eque mee masculos pullos albi capitis, et rubei coloris pariant hoc anno." *Vitæ SS. Hibern.*, ed. Plummer, ii, p. 125.

S. SITHNEY (SETNA), Abbot, Confessor

SITHNEY, in Breton Sezni, is the Irish Setna, who was a disciple of S. Senan. The Latin form of his name is Sidonius.

In the Register of Bishop Stapeldon of Exeter (1310–8) the dedication of Sithney Church, in Cornwall, is given as that of Stus. Siduinus; in that of Bishop Bronescombe (1276) it is Stus. Sidnius; in that of Bishop Grandisson (1336), S. Sydnyny, (1363) Ecclesia Sti. Sidnini; in that of Bishop Brantyngham (1392), Sti. Sidenini; and in that of Bishop Stafford (1403), Sti. Sithnini.

There is no *Vita* of S. Setna, but his acts may be collected from those of S. Senan of Iniscathy. A Life indeed is given by Albert le Grand of S. Sezni, but it is manufactured out of that of S. Piran by John of Tynemouth. Where John of Tynemouth has written Geranus for Kieranus, i.e. the Abbot of Clonmacnois, the adapter has blindly followed him. No reliance therefore can be placed on this Life. S. Senan is also venerated in Brittany, and Albert le Grand gives his acts, and says he was son of Hercan and Cogella. He gives as the parents of Sezni, Ernut and Wingella. The true names of S. Senan's parents, thus mutilated, were Ercan and Coemgella, according to the Metrical Life, Gerrgenn and Coemgell, according to the Irish Life. The father of S. Ciaran or Piran in John of Tynemouth is Domuel, and the mother is Wingella.

Setna was a native of Munster, and had two brother saints, Goban and Multeoc. His father's name was Erc, and his mother was Magna, a sister of S. David.[1]

He attached himself early to Senan, which is not surprising as his uncle, David, and Senan were intimate and attached friends. Setna was with Senan when this latter saint settled in Inis Mor (Deer Island), at the mouth of the Shannon.

One day he caught a woman washing her child's linen in the fountain whence all the community drew their drinking water. This was too much for his patience, he flew into a rage, and stormed at the woman, using violent language and wishing bad luck to her and the child. With him joined his fellow pupil, Liberius.

Shortly after, the child disappeared, and the mother concluded that it had fallen over the cliffs into the sea, and, further, that this was due to Setna's curses. She sped to Senan and accused Setna and Liberius of having ill-wished her child, and thereby caused its death. Senan was very angry with his pupils, and ordered Liberius, as the elder of the two, to go and do penance on a rock in the sea, and he bade Setna

[1] The Tract on "The Mothers of the Saints," in the *Opuscula of Oengus*.

row him out to this skerry, leave him there, and not return without the child's body.

After some hours Setna found the urchin on the beach, paddling in the pools, and he at once conveyed him to his mother. The child had not fallen over the cliffs, but had strayed, and the woman had rushed to conclusions prematurely and unwarrantably.

So Setna was bidden to go after Liberius and take a lesson not to be intemperate in his language for the future.[1]

Setna must have gone to Ciaran of Saighir, for we find that he succeeded him in the abbacy of that place, probably when Ciaran went to Cornwall; but it can have been only temporarily till Carthagh settled there as permanent ecclesiastical head of the Ossorians. It is due perhaps to this temporary presidency of Setna over Saighir that the mistake arose, and the acts of Ciaran were attributed to him.

It was whilst Setna was a member of the community of Saighir that an incident occurred which, though fabulous, is picturesque.

He had gone on a visit to S. Molua of Clonfert. They sat talking of heavenly matters, and time flew unnoticed, till Setna started up with an exclamation. The sun was declining, and he feared he could not reach Saighir before it fell dark, and there would be risk in crossing the Shannon after nightfall. Then Molua bowed his head over his hands and prayed. Setna started, and the sun did not set till he had reached his monastery. The distance was from fifteen to twenty miles. The story has been developed out of a very simple occurrence. Setna succeeded in crossing the Shannon before the light was quite withdrawn, and as the season was midsummer it was not dark throughout his journey, and he got home without accident.[2]

There are several Setnas in the Irish Calendars. One at Killany in Louth is a distinct personage. But it is not so certain that Setna, the disciple of Senan, was not the deaf and dumb boy set to keep cows on Slieve-Bloom, whom S. Columba of Tir-da-glas saw, pitied, blessed, and he recovered hearing and speech; not only so, but he also obtained the gift of prophecy.[3]

Columba died in 549. The date of S. Ciaran's retirement from Saighir we do not know, but it was about 500. Senan of Iniscathy died in 554. S. Molua, Setna's friend, died in 608.

[1] Life in the *Book of Lismore*, p. 212. "Petit S. Libernus seu Liberius, Quod facinus! respondet Sidonius, Facinus est detestandum, nempe quod mulier quædam lotione vestium suæ prolis defædet et inficiat undam fontis ex quo aquæ ad tremenda mysteria sacrificii messæ soleant desumi . . . et forte rigidius quam multis videatur expedire divinam ultionem fæminæ et proli imprecantur. . . . Tunc ejulans mater accurrit ad sanctum Senanum, reique narrat eventum, utpote quo modo suus filius discipulorum ejus imprecationibus fuit extinctum," etc. *Vita 2da S. Senani*, in Colgan, *Acta SS. Hibern.*, c. 24, p. 533.

[2] *Vita Sti. Moluæ*, c. 37; *Acta SS. Boll.*, Aug., i; *Acta SS. Hib., Cod. Sal.*, coll. 277, 885.

[3] *Acta SS. Hib., Cod. Sal.*, coll. 291, 452.

In the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library (B. 512) is a poetical dialogue between S. Findchu and S. Setna, in which the latter foretells the calamities that were to befall Ireland. It cannot have been composed before 1350, for it fairly correctly gives the succession of events in Irish history up to that date, after which it goes hopelessly wrong.

The conclusion of Setna's story comes to us from Brittany. When Carthagh assumed the rule in Saighir, to which he was entitled as belonging to the conquering and intrusive family from Munster, Setna had to retire, and probably deemed it advisable to follow his master Ciaran to Cornwall, where he founded the church of Sithney. Then he went on to Brittany. Here the Breton Life probably may be trusted. He landed at Kerlouan in Léon. Near this he established himself on rising ground above a pleasant little bay, and formed for himself as well a place of retreat and solitude, now the Peniti-san-Sezni. His main establishment was at Guic-Sezni, and there, says the author of the manufactured Life, he lived till he was aged a hundred and twenty-seven.

His Life based on that in Albert le Grand has formed the topic of a Breton ballad, that is given in the edition of 1837, but not in that of 1901.

The Bretons pretend that so many miracles were wrought by the body of S. Sezni, that the Irish sent a fleet, and carried it off. This means no more than that the Bretons did not possess his relics, because he did not die in Armorica. In fact, he was buried in Kinsale. He probably died at the close of the sixth century.

In the Irish Martyrologies two Setnas are entered on March 9, but they belong to a later period. Another, probably the Setna, disciple of S. Senan and S. Ciaran, on March 10.

In Brittany his feast is September 19—MS. Missal of Tréguier, fifteenth century, Breviary of Léon, 1516, and Albert Le Grand.

At Sithney the feast is on August 3.

The statues representing him in Brittany give him no distinguishing attributes, but he is shown vested as a bishop.

SS. SOCRATES and STEPHEN, Martyrs

AMONG the few Celtic entries in the eleventh century *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, MS. 50 in the Trinity College Library, Dublin, occurs,

against September 17, "In Britannis Socris et Stephani." [1] SS. Socrates and Stephen appear also in one of the earliest amplifications of Bede's Martyrology, and again in the modern Roman Martyrology, as martyrs in Britain. Rice Rees [2] quotes Cressy's *Church History*, which says that they were "two noble British Christians," and disciples of S. Amphibalus, who were martyred in the persecution of Diocletian. Father Stanton goes further, and says that the scene of their passion was probably Monmouthshire or South Wales, as churches were dedicated to them in that district. We have not been able to ascertain the truth of this last statement, nor to glean anything more about them.

S. SOI, see S. TYSOI

S. STINAN, see S. JUSTINIAN

S. STYFFAN, see S. YSTYFFAN

S. SULBIU, Confessor

IN the *Book of Llan Dâv* is recorded the grant of Lann Sulbiu (or Suluiu) to the Church of Llandaff, in the time of Bishop Ufelfyw, by Meurig ab Tewdrig, King of Morganwg, "pro redemptione animæ suæ." [3] Elsewhere it is enumerated among the possessions of that church under the name Ecclesia Sancti Sulbiu.[4] It is to-day Llancillo, subject to Rowleston, in Herefordshire.

Nothing is known of Sulbiu. His name would now have been Sulfyw.

[1] 1, p. 69.
[2] *Welsh Saints*, p. 316.
[3] P. 160.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 31, 43, 90.

S. SULIAU, see S. TYSSILIO

S. SULIEN, Confessor

THIS Breton-Welsh Saint has been entirely confounded by late writers with S. Silin or Giles, but the two are kept quite distinct in earlier writings.[1] The confusion has arisen through similarity of names; but Silin cannot by any possibility be equated with Sulien, in Old-Welsh Sulgen.[2] Sulien only is known to the Saintly Pedigrees, both earlier and later, whilst the calendars are the principal authority for Silin, who is therein usually styled "Saint," which in mediæval Welsh was reserved for non-Welsh Saints. It is quite clear that Silin was formerly regarded as the Welsh equivalent for S. Giles, the well-known abbot, who enjoyed a very extensive cult, which reached England and Scotland in the eleventh century, and whose festival is September 1. The equation is as early as the thirteenth century, for in the *Red Book of S. Asaph* (fo. 138*a*), in a document dated 1296, Llansilin Church is called "Ecclesia S'i Egidii de Kynlleith." [3] Salesbury also in his Welsh Dictionary, published in 1547 (*s.vv. Dyw* and *Silin*), gives Silin as the Welsh form for Giles; and the calendar in *Allwydd Paradwys*, 1670, has against September 1, "Ægidiws, i.e. Silin Abad." [4]

Sulien came to Wales with S. Cadfan,[5] who headed a great company from Brittany. He is usually coupled with S. Mael, who was one of the number, and possibly his brother. In the *Iolo MSS.*[6] it is stated that they, with others, "became Saints in Bangor Illtyd and in Bangor Catwg, at Llancarfan, and went as saints with Cadfan to Bardsey." In another document, printed further on,[7] they are said to have been "kins-

[1] E.g., the Ode to King Henry VII, *Iolo MSS.*, p. 314, where they are coupled together, "Sulien a Sain Silin."
[2] Cf. the O.-Welsh forms Morgen and Urbgen for later Morien and Urien. In late mediæval Welsh Sulien is sometimes confounded with Julian, as in the calendar in *Additional MS.* 14,882 (Sept. 2), and by Guto'r Glyn, who in a poem calls Corwen "bro Suwlien." Silin also does duty for Julian.
[3] In the *Taxatio* of 1254 it is "Ecc'a de Llansilyn."
[4] S. Giles's early history is very obscure. He is believed to have been born in Greece in the seventh century, perhaps of noble parents, and to have migrated to France. His name assumes the following forms—Greek Αἰγίδιος, Lat. Ægidius, Ital. Egidio, Span. Gil, Fr. Gilles, Égide. The *n* in Silin is hypocoristic, as in Meuthin, Elidan, S. Maughan's, etc. In the Welsh calendar in *Peniarth MS.* 172 (late sixteenth century) Sept. 1 is given as the festival of "Silin ap Aron"; but Giles's father's name is not known for certain.
[5] *Peniarth MSS.* 16, 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Cardiff MS.* 25 (pp. 26, 114), etc. Sulien was not a very common name. It was borne by two distinguished men in S. David's—one, bishop of that Diocese (d. 1088), and the other his grandson.
[6] P. 103.
[7] P. 112; cf. p. 134.

men of Cadfan, descended from Emyr Llydaw, who came with Cadfan to this Island, and are saints in Bardsey. Their churches are in Gwynedd, where they lived in great piety and holiness of life." But these statements are late. Sulien's father's name is nowhere given, not even in the later Pedigrees.[1]

Sulien is commemorated twice in the Welsh Calendars; (1) alone, on September 2, which festival occurs in the Calendars in *Peniarth MSS.* 27, 172, 186, 187, 192, 219; *Jesus College MS.* 141; *Mostyn MS.* 88; *Llanstephan MS.* 117; the *Iolo MSS.*; *Additional MS.* 14, 882 (as "Sant Julian"); and the Prymer of 1618; (2) in conjunction with Mael, on May 13, in the calendars in *Peniarth MSS.* 186, 191 (but Mael alone in *MSS.* 187, 219); *Jesus College MS.* 141; *Mostyn MS.* 88; *Llanstephan MSS.* 117, 181; the *Iolo MSS.*; *Allwydd Paradwys*; the Prymer of 1633; and the Demetian Calendar. The Prymer of 1546 May 12, by mistake.

Sulien is, conjointly with Mael, the patron of Corwen [2] (apparently, "the Stone Choir, or Church"), in Merionethshire, and of Cwm, in Flintshire.[3] A great fair used to be held at Corwen on May 13, O.S. Ffynnon Sulien is about a mile and a half from the Church, near Rûg Chapel. From it water was formerly fetched, across the Dee, for Baptisms. It would appear that the church of Silian, in Cardiganshire, is dedicated to Sulien. Willis and Meyrick [4] call it Capel Julien or Sulien, with festival on September 2. The Tumble Mission Church (modern) in the parish of Llannon, Carmarthenshire, is dedicated to him. Willis, under Llaniestyn, Carnarvonshire, says, "ubi in cœmeterio est extructa Capella S. Suliani, S. Suliens, July 22." [5] Rhossilly, a

[1] Rice Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 220, makes him son of Hywel ab Emyr Llydaw, but without authority.

[2] In the chancel is the fourteenth or fifteenth century effigy of "Iorwerth Sulien Vicarius de Coruaen."

[3] There can be no doubt, we think, that Corwen and Cwm bear the double dedication. Edward Lhuyd and Browne Willis give Cwm as to Mael and Sulien, and the former mentions a Ffynnon Fael a Sulien there. But they give Corwen as dedicated to Sulien alone. Lhuyd (*Parochialia*, ii. p. 44, suppl. to *Arch. Camb.*, 1910) says, "The church is dedicated to St. Silian. Their feast is kept about y^e^ beginning of 7^ber^." So Willis, *Bangor*, p. 362. In a MS. of 1606 the church is called Llansilien (Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 913); cf. the Llan Silyn (in Edernion) of *Myv. Arch.*, p. 742. On the other hand, in a MS. of 1590–1, and in a poem by Guto'r Glyn to Sir Benet, parson of Corwen, it is to Mael and Sulien (see iii, p. 400). But Tudur Penllyn, in a poem to the same, mentions Sulien only. So in a list of fairs in *Cardiff MS.* 11 (i, p. 186), that on May 13—there was not one on Sept. 2—is entered as "ffair gorwen gwyl Sulien." The dropping of Mael—possibly the lesser—may have been for brevity.

[4] *Paroch. Anglic.*, p. 194; *Hist. of Anglesey*, p. 46.

[5] *Bangor*, p. 275. Julian, martyr at Damascus, was commemorated on July 20, and another Julian, martyr at Rimini, on June 22.

parish in Gower, is the Rosulgen of the *Book of Llan Dâv*,[1] which embodies the name Sulien. There was more than one ecclesiastic of the name connected with that Diocese in the time of Bishop Oudoceus—Sulgen, Abbot of Llancarfan, and Sulgen, Abbot of Docunni, or Llandough.[2]

In the "Genealogy of Iestyn ab Gwrgan, Prince of Glamorgan," printed in the *Iolo MSS.*, we are told [3] that Gorwg ab Eirchion "gave a new name to his court, calling it Tresilian, after a saint of that name whom the infidels had killed." Tresilian is still the name of a dingle opening to the sea, midway between Llantwit Major and S. Donats, but we have no means of knowing who the saint was.

Silin = S. Giles is likewise commemorated on two days in the Welsh Calendars; (1) on September 1, in practically all the Calendars which commemorate Sulien on September 2, to which may be added the Calendars in the Welsh Prayer Books of 1567, 1664, etc., and Bibles of 1588, 1620, etc.; and (2) on October 1, in conjunction with Garmon, or Germanus, in a great many Calendars.

The Demetian Calendar (*Cwrtmawr MS.* 44) gives Silin, Bishop, on January 27. He is in all probability S. Julian, first bishop of Le Mans, in France, and not the Julian, martyr at Sora or Atina, also commemorated on this day. There was a fair at Capel S. Silin, Cardiganshire, on the day, Old Style, and later on February 7.[4] In the Calendar in *Additional MS.* 14,886 (1643–4), "Sain Silin" is entered on January 26.

S. Giles, Abbot and Confessor, popular in England, was popular to a considerable extent also in Wales, under the form Silin. To him is dedicated the parish church of Wrexham, one of the finest churches in the country, the tower of which is famed as one of the "Seven Wonders of Wales," and on which are placed three statues of the saint, with his attributes. Formerly the church was given as dedicated to S. Silin,[5] but its patron is now recognized only as S. Giles. There was according to Norden's Survey, 1620, a field in the township of Acton, close to the town, called Erw Sant Silin.[6] Browne Willis [7] gives the Patronal

[1] P. 239. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 419 (index). [3] P. 9.

[4] In *The Taylors Cussion*, the common-place book of Geo. Owen (d. 1613), ed. Mrs. Pritchard, 1906, is given among the Cardiganshire fairs (i, fo. 76*b*), "Capell, St. silin—primo septembr."

[5] E.g. in a MS. of 1590–1 (Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 914). E. Lhuyd (*Paroch.*, i, pp. 107, 132) says, "Their St. Silin, and Wakes y^e^ first Sunday after St. Giles." Bishop Maddox (1736–43) in *MS. Z* in the Episcopal Library at S. Asaph gives Wrexham Church as "dd. to St. Giles. W(elsh) St. Silin."

[6] Palmer, *Hist. of Parish Church of Wrexham*, 1886, pp. 11, 194.

[7] *S. Asaph*, p. 297; *Bangor*, p. 363. At the latter reference the dedication is to "Silin, though as some say to S. Giles"; in his *Paroch. Anglic.*, p. 223, it is to S. Silien.

Festival as S. Giles's Day, September 1, "according to the observation of their Wake."

To S. Giles, as Silin, is also dedicated the church of Llansilin, in Denbighshire, where his festival was observed on October 1, which is in reality one of the festivals of Germanus of Auxerre, the day of his burial, and occurs in most of the Welsh calendars. There are two churches in the neighbourhood dedicated to S. Garmon, which fact, no doubt, brought about the alteration from the 1st of one month to the 1st of the next. The church of Llansilin consists of two equal bodies of four bays, and in the north aisle was the chapel of S. Silin, which contained his statue on a bracket in 1534. The church underwent much rough treatment in 1646, during the Civil War, and the "image of S. Silin" was destroyed among other things.[1] Ffynnon Silin, in a field of Tynllan, close to the village, has been closed, but the water was conveyed in pipes to supply the fountain in the village in 1882.

To him are also dedicated Letterston, where is a Ffynnon San' Silin, and Upton, subject to Nash, both in Pembrokeshire; and Gileston, in Glamorganshire. Capel Sant Silin, in the lower end of the parish of Llanfihangel Ystrad, Cardiganshire, is long since extinct; and there was formerly a pilgrimage chapel, used for solemn processions on certain Holy Days, which occurs as "Capell St. Sylin" and "Capella Scti Egidii," in the parish of Mynachlogddu, Pembrokeshire.[2] There is an old historic house at Aber, near Bangor, called Bod Silin.

Luxulyan, in Cornwall, may, perhaps, be a corruption of Lan Julian, or Sulian. A Juliana is given among the supposed daughters of Brychan.[3] S. Sullien, Sulien, Lan-Sulien, Plu-Sulien, occur in Brittany.

The fleabane-wort (*plantago psyllium*) is called in Welsh Llysiau Silin.[4]

S. TALHAIARN

THE *Iolo MSS.* documents are solely responsible for Talhaiarn as a saint, whether he be taken for the sixth century bard or another

[1] Thomas, *Hist. of Dio. of S. Asaph*, 1912, iii, pp. 19, 21; *Gwaith Gwallter Mechain*, 1868, iii, pp. 28, 42.

[2] Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, i, pp. 504, 509. [3] i, pp. 319–20.

[4] Davies, *Welsh Botanology*, 1813, p. 214; *Meddygon Myddfai*, 1861, p. 291. "Caniad San Silin" is the name of an old Welsh air (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 1,075).

person of the name. He is made to be a native of Monmouthshire who settled in North Wales. "Talhaiarn Caerlleon, of Caerleon on Usk, the son of Garthwys ab Morydd ab Cenau ab Coel Godebog. Talhaiarn was *periglawr*, or confessor, to Emrys Wledig, and after Emrys was slain he assumed the eremitical life at the place where his church is in Rhufoniog."[1] The church meant is Llanfair Talhaiarn, in Denbighshire, but there can be no doubt as to its dedication to the B.V.M.[2] In the list of Welsh parishes in *Peniarth MS.* 147, written *circa* 1566, the parish name is given as "Llanfair ddol hayarn."[3] Dolhaiarn or Talhaiarn is the name of one of the townships of the parish.

The pedigree above, which is evidently extracted from *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd*, should more correctly run, Arthwys ab Mar ab Ceneu ab Coel, but the latter document, though it mentions four sons of Arthwys, does not give Talhaiarn.

Further, Talhaiarn is mentioned as the father of S. Tangwn, and appears to have been a saint of Llancarfan, for among "the seven questions proposed by Catwg the Wise to seven wise men in his college at Llanfeithin," we have the following, "What constitutes supreme goodness in a man? Equity," replied Talhaiarn the Bard.[4]

One of the "Sayings of the Wise" tercets runs :—[5]

> Hast thou heard the saying of Talhaiarn
> To Arthur of the splintered lance?
> "But God there is no one strong"
> (Namyn Duw nid oes gadarn).

Talhaiarn is credited with having composed the Gorsedd Prayer, still used, of which there are three versions printed in the *Iolo MSS.*[6] The prayer is not early in its present form, but savours of pantheism. The same work contains the following notice—"Talhaiarn, the father of Tangwn, presided in the chair of Urien Rheged, at Caer Gwyroswydd (i.e. Oystermouth) after the expulsion of the Goidels from Gower, Carnwyllion, Cantref Bychan, and the cantref of Is Cennen."[7] On another page,[8] S. Talhaiarn, father of Tangwyn, is mentioned as one of the three Chief Baptismal Bards of the Welsh Nation. And again,[9]

[1] P. 128. In Breton the name occurs as Talouarn, and in the charter form Saint-Dalouarn.

[2] Rice Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p 333, gives it as SS. Talhaiarn and Mary.

[3] So also *Peniarth MS.* 134 (1550–62), p. 243, "Llanvair dol hayarn." But in the *Taxatio* of 1291 and the *Valor* of 1535 *dal-* for *dol-*.

[4] *Myv. Arch.*, p. 776. [5] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 257. [6] Pp. 79–80.

[7] P. 77. On the same page he is a disciple of "Maelgyn Hir, of Llandaff. the bard and maternal uncle of S. Teilo."

[8] P. 79. [9] P. 167.

in a fable, entitled "Envy burning itself," wherein he gives his son Tangwyn some sound advice on his going out into the world.

Of Talhaiarn the bard we know next to nothing. He is mentioned by Nennius (c. 62), "Talhaern Tataguen in poemate claruit." [1] But some of the MSS. read "Tatanguen" for "Tataguen," and out of this has been evolved the "Talhaiarn Tad Tangwn" of the *Iolo MSS.* To Taliessin [2] "Talhaiarn was the greatest *sywedydd*," prophet or astrologer.

SS. TANGLWST and TANGWYSTL

THESE are given as the names of two reputed daughters of Brychan,[3] but only one is intended, as the former name is a late corruption of the latter. Tanglwst, it is said, was the wife of Gwynog ab Cadell ab Cawrdaf ab Caradog Freichfras (as such she could not by any possibility have been a daughter of Brychan), and Tangwystl the wife of Cyngen, prince of Powys, and mother of Brochwel Ysgythrog. But Cyngen, through misreadings, has been given at least four daughters of Brychan as wives, for whom see under S. TUDGLID, his wife's real name.

There are two farm-houses, called Hafod Tanglws Ucha and Isa [4] respectively, about 5 miles from Merthyr Tydfil, which are supposed to have been named after Brychan's daughter. Tradition has it that her sister Tydfil was visiting her there at the time she was slain.

See also under S. TUDHISTIL.

S. TANGWN AB CARADOG FREICHFRAS, Confessor

THIS Tangwn was son of Caradog Freichfras, the Carados Brebras of romance, by the beautiful Tegau Eurfron, and the brother of SS.

[1] Cf. the "Tedei tad awen" of the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, whence the "Tydain Tad awen" of the latest series of Triads.

[2] Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, p. 134.

[3] For Tanglwst, *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 121, 140, *Myv. Arch.*, p. 419; for Tangwystl, *Jesus Coll. MS.* 20, *Myv. Arch.*, p. 430. Tangwystl means "a pledge of peace." It occurs in *Harleian MS.* 3,859 as Tancoyslt, and in Cornish as Tancuuestel, Tancwoystel. Tangustel is given as the name of two men in the *Black Book of S. David's* (1326), 1902, pp. 265, 267.

[4] The name occurs also in Tangelust grange, Tanglus-lond, Tanguestellond, and Tare (Tir) Tanglust, situated near Pyle, in Glamorganshire, and mentioned in several Margam Abbey deeds. Birch, *Margam Abbey*, index, pp. 399, 400; Penrice Charters—Tanglus Lond (1516), Tanglust Land (1540).

Cadfarch, Cawrdaf, and Maethlu.[1] The older genealogies make him the patron saint of the little church of Llangoed, in Anglesey; but that church is sometimes attributed to Tangwn and Cawrdaf conjointly,[2] and sometimes to Cawrdaf alone,[3] which is certainly a mistake.

Tangwn's day does not occur in any calendar, but the festival of Llangoed is given as December 15.[4]

S. TANGWN AB TALHAIARN, Confessor

THIS saint is said to have been a son of the Talhaiarn noticed above, but, as pointed out, the affiliation rests entirely on a misreading. We are told that "his church is in Somersetshire, its English name being Tangyntwn," [5] an imaginary "original" for Taunton (O.-E. Tantun); but, unfortunately, that town derives its name from being the *tún* on the Tan, now Tone, which flows through it.

Tangwn has been identified, rightly or wrongly, with the S. Tangusius of the Life of S. Beuno, with whom, at Caerwent, the latter was placed as pupil until "he obtained a knowledge of all the Holy Scriptures." [6] He is credited with having succeeded S. Tathan as second abbot of the monastery at Caerwent.

There is a fable printed in the *Iolo MSS.*,[7] entitled "Envy burning itself," in which Tangwn (there called Tanwyn) is the principal actor. Talhaiarn, after he had given his son as liberal an education as he was able, called him to him one day and told him that he could do no more for him, and that he must now "go wherever he might be led by God and his destiny" to seek his fortune. Bidding him farewell he gave him three words of advice, "Travel not on a new road where there is no broken bridge on the old road. Seek not power where you can have love in its stead. And pass not by the place

[1] *Peniarth MSS.* 12, 16, 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 104, 123; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 420, 430.

[2] E.g., Rice Rees, *Welsh SS.*, p. 324.

[3] *Myv. Arch.*, p. 423; Willis, *Bangor*, p. 282; Angharad Llwyd, *Hist. of Anglesey*, p. 284.

[4] N. Owen, *Hist. of Anglesey*, 1775, p. 58; *Arch. Camb.*, 1847, p. 327. Owen enters Cawrdaf (Dec. 5) as patron of the parish, and the day may be an error.

[5] P. 128. The name also occurs as Tangwyn and Tanwyn, *ibid*, pp. 79, 167–9.

[6] *Llyvyr Agkyr*, p. 119; *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, pp. 13, 300.

[7] Pp. 167–9. It is modern, and affects the Gwentian dialect. The fable next given is another version of it, only the characters are different.

where there is a wise and pious man teaching and declaring God's Word and commandment, without stopping to listen to him."

He soon found a patron in the person of a rich nobleman, who made him his steward. By his integrity, wisdom, and benevolence, Tangwn soon won the respect and affection of every one. But it was not long before the nobleman became very jealous of him, and meditated his death. He had a limekiln, and one day he went to the lime-burners and told them that an enemy had arrived who contemplated carrying him and his faithful people away captive and seize all. He would be the first man, he said, to pass that way after he had gone, and they were to throw him into the kiln, which they vowed they would do. On his return, the nobleman sent Tangwn, by a new road, to pay the lime-burners their wages. "Tangwn was silent, thinking of his father's advice," and he went on his mission along the old instead of the new road. He turned aside too to hear a man preaching, and "remained there some time, listening to the voice of godliness and wisdom." The nobleman "bethought him of going to the kiln to see and hear how it befell," but by that time there was a fresh relay of burners, who did not know the nobleman, and, as instructed, "they cast him into the kiln, and he was burnt to ashes." Thus did "Envy burn itself."

There is an Alsatian version of the legend, which is known to us through Schiller's ballad, *Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer*.

S. TANWG, Confessor

THE earlier Saintly Pedigrees simply state that this Welsh saint was one of the Breton refugees who came to Wales with S. Cadfan.[1] The later ones say that he was a kinsman of that saint, the son of Ithel Hael of Armorica, and "a saint of the Bangor of Bardsey, who came with Cadfan and Garmon ab Rhidicys to this island."[2] As son of Ithel Hael he would be one of a large family of saints.

He is the patron of Llandanwg, on the shore, in Merionethshire. Ellis Wynne, once rector of the parish, and the author of *Y Bardd Cwsg*, in a letter written in 1720 says, "We have a Tradⁿ abᵗ our Cch of Llandanwg yᵗ it was a Chapell of Rest for Corpses to be transported to yᵗ famd Repository at Bardsey Jslād"

[1] *Peniarth MSS.* 16, 45, 182 (p. 39); *Hafod MS.* 16; *Cardiff MS.* 25, pp. 26, 114; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 429.
[2] *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 106, 112, 133; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 418, 430–1.

Tanwg's festival is given as October 10 in the Calendars in *Peniarth MSS.* 187 and 219, *Llanstephan MS.* 117, and the *Iolo MSS.*, but the 9th in those in the Prymers of 1618 and 1633, and by Browne Willis as September 9,[1] clearly a mistake.

The parishioners of Llandanwg, in the sixteenth century, used to invoke their patron in the formula (translated), "God and Tanwg help us!"[2]

In the *Myvyrian Archaiology*[3] is an entry from one of two MSS. written 1578–1609, "Dannwc a Samarws y Saint ym Mhenial ym Meirionydd." Samarws does not appear in any other Saintly Pedigree, and the only suggestion we can make is that the two possibly stand for the "Tanwc ac Eithras (Ethrias)" of the ordinary Pedigrees. Penial occurs repeatedly in sixteenth century documents for Pennal (S. Peter ad Vincula), near Machynlleth.

S. TATHAN, Abbot, Confessor

THE authority for the Life of Tatheus or Tathan is the *Vita* in *Cotton MS. Vespasian* A. xiv, which has been printed, rather inaccurately, in the *Cambro-British Saints*, 1853, pp. 255–64, and most carefully in the *Vita S. Tathei and Buched Seint y Katrin*, edited by Mr. H. Idris Bell in 1909 for the Bangor Welsh MSS. Society. This Life was abridged, without any fresh details, by John of Tynemouth, in *Cotton MS. Tiberius* E. i, and the abridgement was taken by Capgrave into his *Nova Legenda Angliæ* (ed. Horstmann, 1910, ii, pp. 361–3). Some of the legends in the *Vita* occur also in the Life of S. Cadoc, where Tathan is called Meuthi.[4]

The Life, which is eminently fabulous, is of the usual homily type, and was evidently composed by a Norman writer. It is, however, interspersed with a number of scraps of poetry—a rather unusual feature—which renders it highly probable that the Life is based on an earlier one, written in leonine hexameters.

At the outset we encounter a difficulty. The *Vita* says that Tathan was the son of an Irish king named Tathalius. The most authentic

[1] *Bangor*, p. 277.
[2] Leland, *Collect.*, 1774, ii, p. 650. His protection was invoked for Henry VII. *Iolo MSS.*, p. 314.
[3] P. 424.
[4] In Meuthi and Tathan we have the familiar honorific prefixes *mo* and *to*, and the endearing suffix *an*. Cf. the Irish Molua, Moluan, and Tolua, for the same person. Tathan's name favours, at any rate, his supposed Irish origin.

Welsh Saintly Pedigrees do not include him, but the later ones [1] give him as a son of Amwn Ddu, whose wife was Anna, daughter of Meurig ab Tewdrig, King of Morganwg. He was thus a brother of S. Samson and nephew of S. Illtyd. But if Tathan were the instructor of Cadoc, he belonged to a full generation earlier than Samson.

What Irish king the name Tathalius [2] represents we cannot say. The name is very probably Tuathal, but the only king of Ireland of that name about the period appears to have been Tuathal Maelgarb (the Bald-rough), who was king from 532 to 544. But he is too late to be the father of the instructor of Cadoc; and very little is known of him.

Tathan, the legend says, was an only son, whom his parents gave up to be educated for the ecclesiastical profession. But this is most unlikely if he were an only son. Tathan was directed by an angel in a dream to cross over to Britain. Taking with him eight disciples,[3] he put to sea in "a sorry boat without tackling," and "so sailed without a rower or sail or any oar, as the wind directed them," until they landed on the coast of Gwent, probably at Portskewett, which is not far from the decayed Roman town of Venta Silurum, or Caerwent.

Caradog was then king of the two Gwents (Uchcoed and Iscoed), and presently hearing of the arrival of Tathan and his monks, sent him an invitation to come and see him. This Tathan declined, but the king, accompanied by his twenty-four knights, went to him in person. Caradog besought him to come and found a monastic school at Caerwent. Tathan acceded to his request, and the king gave him "a piece of land nigh unto the city, extending from the high road (the Via Julia) even to the river" (the Neddern brook), where Tathan beheld a spot most suitable for "Divine Service and the habitation of clergy." There he founded a collegiate church in honour of the Holy and Undivided Trinity and placed therein twelve canons. It was to this church that the body of the virgin martyr Machuta was afterwards brought from Llanvaches, and by Tathan's request buried in the floor.

A nobleman who had ten sons desired to devote one of them to Religion, and with him gave a cow to supply Tathan and his monks with milk. One night some evil-disposed men turned forty-seven horses belonging to the king into Tathan's meadow, and they spoiled

[1] *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 114, 132.

[2] Caer Dathal or Dathyl is mentioned in the *Mabinogion* as the head-quarters of Math ab Mathonwy. It was probably Pen y Gaer, near Tal y Cafn, in the Vale of Conway. Tuathal is properly in Welsh Tudwal. [3] In the sequel seven.

his hay-crop. As a chastisement all the horses were struck dead, but on the king coming in person to apologise for his men's wicked act, Tathan restored them all to life.

Some time after this incident Caradog, for some reason or other, left Caerwent and built a palace on the banks of the Severn (perhaps at Caldicot), and bestowed the city of Caerwent and the adjoining territory upon Tathan "for a perpetual inheritance."

The story of Tathan's troubles with Gwynllyw, over that same cow, and his receiving Cadoc as a pupil, as also the story of Machuta, have been already told,[1] and need not be repeated here.

"After his death he was buried in the floor of the church, and his seven disciples that were with him clave unto their master's tomb."

Tathan's college became a famous *clas*. The five "presbiteri Tathiu" who witnessed King Griffith's *privilegium*,[2] during the episcopate of Herwald (consecrated Bishop of Llandaff in 1056), were clergy of Caerwent; and the *Book of Llan Dâv* also mentions the "abbas Guentoniæ urbis" and the "lector urbis Guenti."[3]

The following particulars of Tathan occur in the late documents printed in the *Iolo MSS.* "Tathan, a saint of Bangor Illtyd, was the son of Amwn Ddu, King of Graweg. His mother was Anna, daughter of Meurig ab Tewdrig. He founded the church of Llandathan, in Glamorgan, whence he went to Ynyr Gwent, to promote a Bangor at Caerwent, where he became principal. In his old age he returned to the church which he had founded at Llandathan, where he lies buried."[4] He became Ynyr Gwent's *periglawr*, or confessor.[5] Bangor or Côr Tathan, at Caerwent, had "five hundred saints. Tathan had also a Côr at Llandathan for five hundred saints, and he was principal of these two Côrs."[6] Again, "S. Tathan, of Ewyasland (now mainly included in Herefordshire), founded Llandathan; and he had there a small Côr for forty learned saints."[7]

By Llandathan is meant S. Athan's, near Llantwit Major. But in the fourteenth century additions to the *Book of Llan Dâv*, it is thrice mentioned as "Ecclesia de Sancta Tathana";[8] and in the *Taxatio* of 1254 and the *Valor* of 1535 as "Ecclesia Sancte Tathane." In the *Taxatio* of 1291 it is "Ecclesia de Sancto Thathana," *Sancto* being no doubt a clerical error. Who this female S. Tathana was we have no means of knowing; but it is clear that the church is not

[1] iii, pp. 237, 392–3.

[2] *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 270. [3] Pp. 222, 243, 245.

[4] P. 132; cf. p. 114. Ynyr was most probably Caradog's son and not his father, as generally given.

[5] P. 108. [6] P. 151. [7] P. 220. [8] Pp. 320, 325, 331.

dedicated to the founder of the college at Caerwent, nor, as has also been supposed, to S. Athanasius (the Great), May 2.[1]

Tathan does not appear to have received an extensive cult. He was most probably the original patron of the parish church of Caerwent, now S. Stephen. The church is situated almost in the centre of the old city, about quarter of a mile from the Vicarage, and is mainly a thirteenth-century structure. As Meuthi or Meuthin[2] he was patron also of the now extinct Llanfeithin, in the parish of Llancarfan, close to the monastery of his old pupil Cadoc.

S. Tathan's festival is December 26 (S. Stephen's Day), but it occurs in but very few Calendars. It is given in those in *Cotton MS. Vesp.* A. xiv (also in the heading to his *Vita*), *Allwydd Paradwys*, and by Nicolas Roscarrock. Wilson, 1608, gives November 23. The "occurrence" of the festivals accounts for the present dedication of Caerwent Church to the proto-martyr.

The following occurs among the "Sayings of the Wise:"— [3]

> Hast thou heard the saying of S. Dathan
> When he had lost all?
> "God will not portion out unjustly"
> (Duw yn anghyfiawn ni ran).

In 1911 was explored the Vicarage orchard at Caerwent, just outside the east gateway of the city, which was believed to cover the site of Tathan's collegiate church. The situation of the Vicarage with its glebe (28 acres in all) corresponds in every respect with the delimitation of the *Vita*. Amidst a mass of masonry, chiefly Roman, were discovered over a dozen skeletons, all lying East and West. One of them was enclosed in a somewhat rude coffin of stone slabs, or cist, and may be that of S. Tathan. On this possibility the skeleton was translated in April, 1912, to the floor of the recently restored South aisle of the parish church, with a slab bearing a Latin inscription placed over it.

S. TAVAUC, Confessor

In the *Book of Llan Dâv* is mentioned, as belonging to that see, "villa Sancti Tauauc (Tyvauc) cum ecclesia." [4] It is no doubt the

[1] E.g., Willis, *Survey of Llandaff*, 1719, append., p. 3.
[2] In the text of the *Vita S. Cadoci* in *Titus* D. xxii the form Meuthin occurs.
[3] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 257.
[4] Pp. 31, 43, 90.

same as the Lann Tivauc, in Penychen, named in a grant by Meurig ab Hywel, king of Glamorgan, to Llandaff in the time of Bishop Joseph.[1] Penychen is a cantref of Eastern Glamorgan; but we are not able to identify the church, nor to find any other reference to its patron saint. Llandevaud (S. Peter) is the name of a Monmouthshire church.

S. TECWYN, see S. TEGWYN

S. TEGAI, Confessor

"Tegai, in Maes Llan Glassog, in Arllechwedd," and Trillo and Llechid were children of Ithel Hael of Llydaw. So the older Bonedds.[2] The later genealogies give Ithel a number of children besides, and add that they all came hither with S. Cadfan.[3] In one pedigree [4] he is entered as "Tygai y Meisyn glassog"; whilst others [5] give "Tegai Glassawc yn Maes ythlan," and "Tygai Glasawc ym Maelan" (a saint of Bardsey). Llandegai is intended by these various readings; but out of them a saint could not fail to be evolved.[6]

Tegai is the patron of Llandegai, in Carnarvonshire, which adjoins Llanllechid. Tradition says that he lived there at a tenement called Maes y Llan, latterly Tan y Fynwent, near a place called Meusyn (or Maes yn) Glassog, a little to the north of the church, but which now forms part of Penrhyn Park. He is said to have been buried in a stone coffin at the east end of the church, with a stone cross to denote the spot. The cross has been removed, it is supposed during the Commonwealth. The coffin was dug up in cutting a grave, and is preserved, as is also a portion of the cross.[7]

Previously to coming to Llandegai, Tegai is said to have begun to build himself a cell upon a firm spot in the fenny ground below

[1] *Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 255, 257.
[2] *Peniarth MSS.* 12, 16, 45; *Hafod MS.* 16. The dissyllabic Tegai or Tygai is accented on the ultima. The name possibly resolves itself to To + Cei.
[3] *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 112, 133; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 427, 430.
[4] *Cardiff MS.* 25, p. 115.
[5] *Myv. Arch.*, p. 430; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 104.
[6] iii, pp. 130–1.
[7] Derfel Hughes, *Hynafiaethau Llandegai a Llanllechid*, Bethesda, 1866, pp. 69–71.

Llangristiolus church, in Anglesey, still called from him Cors Dygai, his Fen or Marsh,[1] and through which runs the river Cefni.

Tegai's festival is not entered in any of the calendars.

S. TEGFAN, Confessor

"S. TEGFAN of Môn" was the son of Carcludwys ab Cyngu ab Yspwys ab Cadrod Calchfynydd. He was thus a brother to Alltu Redegog, S. Elian's father. His mother was Cenaf, daughter of Tewdwr Mawr, who is also sometimes said to have been Elian's mother. But there is a mistake somewhere; she could not be the wife of Carcludwys *and* Alltu. Tegfan was a *periglawr*, or confessor, at Bangor Gybi, Holyhead.[2]

He was a totally different person from S. Decumanus = Degyman, with whom his name is sometimes equated, but wrongly.[3]

Tegfan is mentioned in Dafydd Llwyd's *cywydd* to S. Tydecho, from which it may be inferred that he resided for some time with that saint and S. Dogfael at Llandudoch, or S. Dogmael's, near Cardigan.

He is the patron of Llandegfan, in Anglesey, in which parish the town of Beaumaris is situated. The church is sometimes wrongly given as dedicated to S. Tydecho [4] (December 17).

Tegfan's festival is not known, but the Llandegfan *Gwyl Mabsant* used to be held on Easter Monday.[5]

S. TEGFEDD, daughter of Amwn Ddu, Virgin

TEGFEDD, the daughter of Amwn Ddu ab Emyr Llydaw, settled with her brother Tydecho in the district of Mawddwy, in Merioneth-

[1] Williams, *Observations on the Snowdon Mountains*, London, 1802, p. 66; *Yr Haul*, 1869, p. 169.

[2] *Hafod MS.* 16; *Cardiff MS.* 25 (p. 36); *Peniarth MS.* 75; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 430; *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, p. 268; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 109, 128. See also ii, pp. 435–6.

[3] The name occurs as Tecmant in the O.-Welsh pedigrees in *Harleian MS.* 3,859; Tecwant in *Jesus College MS.* 20. It means "he of the beautiful mouth." Leland (*Itin. in Wales*, ed. Smith, 1906, p. 134) gives Tegfan as meaning "bellus locus."

[4] Willis, *Bangor*, p. 281, "S. Tydecho, or as some say, Decuman"; N. Owen, *Hist. of Anglesey*, p. 56; Lewis Morris, *Celtic Remains*, p. 403.

[5] *Y Geninen*, 1884, p. 319.

shire. According to Dafydd Llwyd's *cywydd* to S. Tydecho [1] her beauty attracted a local chieftain, named Cynon,[2] who carried her away by force, but after a sharp encounter he had to restore her, unviolated, and to appease Tydecho's anger by a grant of the lands of Garthbeibio, in the neighbourhood, which were made free of heriot, amobrage, and other services for ever. These privileges were granted, it is said, by the Pope, and confirmed by Hywel ab Cadell.

In the calendar in *Peniarth MS.* 219, December 18 is entered as the festival of S. Tegfedd, which is no doubt her day, as it immediately succeeds that of Tydecho. No church is known to be dedicated to her.

S. TEGFEDD, daughter of Tegid Foel, Matron, Martyr

TEGFEDD, or Tegwedd, daughter of Tegid Foel, lord of Penllyn, in Merionethshire, was the wife of Cedig ab Ceredig ab Cunedda Wledig, by whom she became the mother of S. Afan Buallt.[3]

Tegfedd is patroness of Llandegfedd or Llandegveth, near Caerleon, where she was slain by the Saxons. The "villa" of Merthir Tecmed was given by S. Cadoc to S. Teilo on settling the dispute between himself and King Arthur; [4] and "podum Merthir Tecmed" was granted to the Church of Llandaff in the time of Bishop Trican.[5]

S. TEGIWG, Matron, Martyr

TEGIWG, Tygiwg, or Tigiwg was the daughter of Ynyr, king of Gwent, and her mother was Madrun, daughter of King Gwrthefyr

[1] Printed, e.g., in the *Cambrian Register*, 1799, ii, pp. 375–7, and Edward Jones, *Bardic Museum*, 1802, pp. 45–6.

[2] There is a hill, Bryn Cynon, above Bryn Cywarch, in Mawddwy.

[3] *Peniarth MSS.* 16, 27, 45; *Cardiff MS.* 25, p. 112; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 271; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 130. According to the so-called *History of Taliessin*, Tegid was the husband of the celebrated personage Ceridwen, by whom he was the father of a son, Morfran, a daughter, Creirwy—"the fairest maiden in all the world"—and another son, Afagddu—"the most ill-favoured man in all the world" (*Mabinogion*, ed. Guest, iii, pp. 321–6, 356–61).

[4] *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 50.

[5] *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 199, cf. p. 273.

(Vortimer). She had as brothers, Iddon, Ceidio, and Cynheiddon.[1]

Her legend is told in the Life of S. Beuno.[2] There was a workman, hailing from Aberffraw, in Anglesey, at the palace of Ynyr Gwent. He was a very handsome young fellow, and Tegiwg fell desperately in love with him. Nothing availing, and, "lest she should have him some other way," her father consented to the match. After a while the young benedict bethought him that he would pay a visit, in company with his princely wife, to the old folks at home. All went well until they arrived at Pennard in Arfon, where they dismounted to rest. She was very fatigued with the journey, and soon slept. Looking at her, he thought of his own humble origin, and felt quite ashamed of himself. How could he go home "with so elegant a wife without a place to take her to?" And so, "through the instigation of the devil," he cut her head off with his sword, and then pushed on his way to Anglesey.

Some shepherds of Beuno's reported to their master that they had found the corpse; and "Beuno took up the head and pressed it to the body, and the maid arose quite well, and related to him all that had befallen her." Beuno gave her the choice of returning to her own people or remaining with him, serving God. She chose the latter. Where her blood fell on the ground a crystal spring bubbled up, which is called Ffynnon Digiwg.

Her brother Iddon, after a while, came in search of her, but she would not leave Beuno. He vowed vengeance on her deserting husband, and went with Beuno on his trail. They found him in the king's palace at Aberffraw, where he was steward, and Iddon rushed forward and cut his head off in turn. This caused a commotion, but Beuno put things right by raising the decapitated man to life again.[3]

The well still exists, on the borders of Penarth, in the parish of Clynnog, and is now locally called Ffynnon Digwg. An aged hawthorn bush formerly grew beside it.[4]

Tegiwg has no church dedication or festival.

[1] *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 422, 430; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 129.

[2] *Llyvyr Agkyr Ll.*, ed. Morris Jones and Rhys, pp. 124–5.

[3] S. Beuno is reported to have raised six persons to life again, Llorcan Wyddel, Aelhaiarn, Deiniolfab, Deiniol Farch Du o Bowys, Gwenfrewi, and Tegiwg (*Peniarth MS.* 75, *Additional MS.* 31,055).

[4] *Cyff Beuno*, 1863, pp. 59–60; *Transactions of the Liverpool Welsh Nat. Society*, 1892–3 Session, pp. 95–6.

S. TEGLA, Virgin

THOUGH the Saintly Pedigrees nowhere mention any saint of the name, there is some probability that there was a Welsh S. Thecla. Through the great veneration paid to the virgin-martyr companion of S. Paul, in the Eastern and Western Churches, the name Thecla obtained a wide use as a Christian name throughout Christendom. Her romantic story captivated the imagination of the Church, and though in the form we now have it, it can only be received as a fiction, there is ample proof of its high antiquity, and that Thecla was most probably a real person. The *Acts of Paul and Thecla* is one of the oldest books of the extant New Testament Apocrypha.

An early Welsh dedication to Thecla would have been contrary to the common usage, though in the Middle Ages she might well have had her name prefixed with *Llan*, like the Blessed Virgin, S. Peter, and others. But she was not a favourite saint in Britain, where she does not appear to have had at any time a single church dedication; and this lends probability to the supposition that there was a Welsh S. Thecla, with a local cult, who in the Middle Ages got confounded with her better-known namesake. The ritual observed at her well, to be mentioned presently, was older than Christianity.

The only Celtic saint of the name known to us is Thecla, otherwise Etha, one of the companions of Breaca, an Irish saint who landed in Cornwall and founded a religious settlement at Breage. This Thecla is commemorated on October 27; but there is nothing to show that she visited Wales.

There are two Tegla dedications in Wales, Llandegla, in Denbighshire, and Llandegley, in Radnorshire.

Two festival days are assigned to Tegla Forwyn (Virgin) in the Welsh Calendars. One is June 1, but this is the day on which Thecla and Zosimus, martyrs, are commemorated at Antioch. It occurs in most of the calendars.

The other day is that of the companion of S. Paul—the "Protomartyr" of Iconium—which the calendars in *Jesus College MS.* 141, *Additional MS.* 12,193 (1508), and *Llanstephan MS.* 117 give on September 23 (her day in the Western Church), and the *Iolo MSS.* and the Prymer of 1618 on the 24th (her day in the Eastern Church). Browne Willis gives September 23 as the festival at Llandegley, and the 25th at Llandegla,[1] evidently regarding the Pauline Thecla as the patron saint.

[1] *Paroch. Anglic.*, 1733, pp. 185, 223. Edward Lhuyd says under Llandegla, "Feast y^{e} Sunday after y^{e} 23rd of Sept." Bp. Maddox also gives the 23rd.

One of the great fairs at Llandegla (formerly famous for their black cattle) was October 15, O.S., latterly on the 26th. This was the festival of Thecla, the virgin abbess of Kitzingen, in Franconia, who was one of the religious women sent by S. Boniface from England, under the headship of S. Lioba, her kinswoman, to introduce the Benedictine rule into Germany, *circa* 748. She was probably a nun of Wimborne, and perhaps originally of Barking. It is difficult to believe that the church is dedicated to this Saxon saint.

According to the *Valor* of 1535,[1] the "Offryings apon Saynt Teglas Dayis troug the eyre [amounted to] viij nobls," at Llandegla.

Llandegla was formerly celebrated for its Holy Well, Ffynnon Degla, a small spring which lies in a quillet of the glebe-land, called Gwern Degla. Its water was considered highly efficacious in cases of epilepsy, so much so, that one of the names for that complaint in the Welsh dictionaries is Clwyf Tegla, Tegla's Disease or Sickness.[2] As the curious superstitions and ceremonies connected with it are of especial interest, carrying us unmistakably back to its pre-Christian divinity, we give here the two earliest accounts, differing as they do in some details. The earlier occurs in Edward Lhuyd's notes on Llandegla, 1699. "N.B. Ynghylch Klevyd Tegla [respecting Tegla's Disease]: one John Abraham a smith now at Lh: Golhen when a Child was troubled wth Klevyd Tegla; on which this Child went 3 times ab^{t} y^{e} Church and told y^{e} Lord's Prayer, and afterwards lay him down being in y^{e} edge of night under y^{e} Altar, having the Church bible under his head, and slept there that night. This is always done on Fridays. They give the Clerk a groat at y^{e} Well, and offer another groat in y^{e} Poor's Box. A man has always a cock with him under y^{e} Altar, A woman a hen, a boy a Cockrel & a girl a Pullet. These are given the Clerk, who says y^{t} y^{e} flesh appears black, and that sometimes these Fowls, if y^{e} Party recover, catch y^{e} Disease viz^{t} The falling sickness. 'Tis certain says my author y^{e} Rector, this I. Abr. was by this means perfectly cured & he was then ab^{t} 13 y. of age."

The other is in the handwriting of Bishop Maddox (1736–43), in MS. Z in the Episcopal Library at S. Asaph. "About 240 y^{ds} from

The church of Llandegla was in 1273, and earlier, a *capella* of Llangollen, and as such belonged to the Abbey of Valle Crucis (*Red Book of S. Asaph*, fo. 44*a*).

[1] vi, p. xlii.

[2] It was a "spiritual" disorder. It is known also as "y clefyd bendigaid" (the holy disease), and "gwialen Crist" (Christ's rod). The Romans called it "morbus divinus (or sacer)," and the Greeks ἱερὰ νόσος and νόσος Ἡρακλείη. In France and Belgium it is "Le mal S. Jean" (from the Baptist); but more popularly, "Mal de S. Valentine," "Veltenstanz," and "Danse de S. Gui."

the Church (about the middle of a quillet of Glebe call'd Gwern Degla) riseth a Well, call'd Tecla's Well, with the following letters cut in Freestone AGEZ ⋮ G . . .[1] In this Well the people that are troubled with convulsion fits or falling sickness call'd S^{t} Teccla's evil do use to wash their hands & feet, going ab^{t} the well 3 times, saying the L^{ds} prayer thrice, carrying in a handbasket a cock, if a Man; & a hen, if a Woman offering 4 pence in the s^{d} well. All this is done after sunset. Then going to the Ch yd after the same manner go ab^{t} the Church, saying the L^{ds} Prayer thrice, getting into the Church sleep under the Communion table with the Church bible under their heads, & the carpet to cover them all night till break of day. Then offering a piece of silver in the poor's box, leaving the Cock or Hen in the Church. They again repair to the Well & p'form as above.—They say sev^{l} have been heald y^{r}by (1710). if the cock dyed in the Church, the Patient valaeras [?] hims. curd."[2]

The Rural Dean in 1749 "gave strict charge to the parish clerk at his peril to discourage that superstitious practice, and to admit none into the church at night on that errand."

The well measures about 4 ft. by 3 ft.; its four sides are intact, and the bottom stone-lined. The water is about a foot deep. We were informed on the spot that it was customary to prick the fowl with a pin, which was afterwards thrown into the well; and that in church the epileptic was to put the bird's beak into his mouth and blow into it before letting the bird go. "An old man once told the parish clerk (in 1855) that he remembered quite well seeing the birds staggering about from the effects of the fits thus transferred."[3] It appears that the last person who went through the ceremony for a cure, with a cockerel, was one Evan Edwards, son of the sexton of the parish, about the year 1813.[4]

The cock has been very generally associated with epilepsy, being killed or buried alive as a preservative against it. For the cure of epilepsy there is still practised in the north of Scotland what may be called a formal sacrifice. On the spot where the epileptic first falls a black cock is buried alive with a lock of the patient's hair, and

[1] Probably part of a monumental inscription, but not now visible.

[2] Pennant, writing later in the century, gives practically the same account as Bp. Maddox. He adds, "If the bird dies, the cure is supposed to have been effected, and the disease transferred to the devoted victim." *Tours in Wales*, ed. 1883, ii, pp. 15–16.

[3] *Arch. Camb.*, 1856, p. 185. It is there stated that the epileptics slept "all night, holding a live cock in their arms."

[4] *Bye-Gones*, Oswestry, 1888, p. 243. For an account of a cure (of an only son) effected at the well, with the customary ritual, see W. Jenkyn Thomas, *The Welsh Fairy Book*, London, pp. 278–81.

some parings of his nails.[1] Much the same ritual as at S. Tegla's Well was observed at S. Dier's Well (now closed up), at Bodfari, not far from Llandegla, where they offered chickens for children, a cockerel for a boy and a pullet for a girl, going nine times round the well. This was done, it is said, "to prevent their crying in the night."[2]

Tempelschlaf or incubation was, and is, a practice which, in virtue of its origin, belongs to Paganism. The temples of Æsculapius, the divine physician, were the chief centres of incubation, and were numbered by the hundreds. Later, patients went to sleep in churches and even inside the shrines of saints.[3]

S. Thecla was worshipped at Seleucia, the chief town of Isauria, as a Christianized Greek chthonian god, and incubation practised at her shrine. It was her custom to appear by night to suppliants who had come to her church to sleep, but her apparitions seem more usually to have conveyed prescriptions of remedies.[4]

In *Lambeth MS.* 94, fo. 153*b* (late 13th century), is a tract containing the *Vita* and *Miracula S. Teclæ Virginis*,[5] which, from the localities of some of the miracles, had its origin obviously at Llandegley, in Radnorshire. Therein she is Thecla, the companion of S. Paul. The first miracle relates to the punishment, delivery, and repentance of three Radnor robbers at Llandegley; the second to a woman there who was struck blind, her eyes falling out, for inveighing against the saint's feast; the next miracle relates to a man named Leffius, blind from birth, who invokes the saint, and she appears to him as a beautiful girl, with two bright stars in her hand, which she puts into his eye-sockets, and he receives sight; the next concerns one "Kinan tribunus patriæ," who was healed of his pain on condition that he set certain prisoners free; in another a very comely Irishman named Aeith (= Welsh Aedd) passes by her church on his way to Rome; another mentions two women "de uilla Peona" (there are Pyon parishes north of Hereford); and the last miracle relates to a woman "ex pago Versigeno" (possibly Gwerthrynion, in N.W. Radnorshire).

[1] Mitchell, *Past in the Present*, pp. 146, 265. By the Greeks and Romans the cock was sacrificed to Æsculapius.

[2] ii, p. 342. Slit-eared calves and lambs were offered to S. Beuno, i, p. 217; and horses to S. George at S. George, near Abergele, ii, p. 246, Pennant, *Tours in Wales*, 1883, iii. p. 149.

[3] Cf. S. Elian's shrine, ii, pp. 438–9.

[4] Miss Mary Hamilton, *Incubation*, 1906, pp. 135–8. According to the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* (cap. x) she healed people "of whatsoever distemper they had," and "the unclean spirits were cast out," which included epilepsy.

[5] The text has been published from this MS. in Gebhardt and Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Neue Folge, vi, 2.

The *Miracula* have no connexion whatever with Llandegla. The name of the church at Llandegley is explained, "Britannico idiomate Lanteglin[1] nuncupatur, quod Latine fundus Tecle sonat."

There is a sulphureous spring at Llandegley, once much resorted to, but with no legend attached to it, we believe.

Croes Degla formerly stood on Cyrn y Brain mountain on the borders of Llandegla and Llangollen parishes.

S. Thecla or Tegla is generally supposed to have a chapel dedicated to her perched on an islet rock at the mouth of the Wye, by Chepstow, where she is said to have been murdered by pirates. The meagre ruins of the chapel and hermitage still exist, but the chapel is now called by natives and others Treacle Chapel, and it appears on Saxton's map as "S. Treacle Chapel." William of Worcester sometimes calls the islet "Rok Seynt Tryacle," and the chapel "Capella Sancti Teriaci Anachoritæ." In the *Valor* of 1535 it is "Capella Sancti Triaci;"[2] so it cannot be a Tecla dedication.

S. TEGONWY, Confessor

TEGONWY was the son of S. Teon ab Gwineu Deufreuddwyd,[3] whose pedigree is traced up to Beli Mawr. He "was a saint of Bangor Illtyd, and was afterwards with Cadfan and Deinioel promoting the Bangor of Bardsey."[4] He was the father of SS. Llywelyn and Mabon. The late document printed in the *Iolo MSS.* is the sole authority for him as a saint.

The pedigrees in the thirteenth century *Mostyn MS.* 117 make him the father of Caenog and of Iorwerth Hirflawdd, founder of the Powysian tribe of Iorwerthion, who married Aranwen, daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog.

S. TEGWEL, Confessor

TEGWEL is a provected form of Dogwel, which is again a reduced form of Dogfael. June 14 frequently occurs in eighteenth century

[1] The name occurs a number of times, and always with the *-n*, which is probably hypocoristic. Llandeglen is the form in Giraldus, *Opera*, i, p. 241. The saint's name is sometimes spelt Teglaf in Welsh. [2] ii, p. 501.

[3] *Peniarth MSS.* 12, 16, 45, etc. [4] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 129.

Welsh almanacks as the festival of S. Tegwel, i.e. Dogfael, which see.[1]

There was a Capel Degwel, now extinct, in Cwm Degwel, in the parish of S. Dogmael's, Pembrokeshire,[2] and a Llanddegwel, or Capel Degwel (or Dygwel), in the parish of Llanfechell, Anglesey, long since extinct. Bottegwal is a township of Abergele parish, and there is a Cwm Tecwel at Festiniog.[3]

S. TEGWEN, Matron

TEGWEN is included among the Welsh saints in the *Iolo MSS.* only.[4] She was a daughter of Tewdrig ab Teithfall, and wife of Alltu Redegog, the father of Elian Ceimiad. She was sister to Meurig, King of Morganwg, and Marchell, mother of Brychan.

S. TEGWY or TYGWY, Confessor

"TEGWY and Tyfriog in Ceredigion Iscoed" were, with Lleuddad and others, sons of Dingad ab Nudd Hael by Tenoi, daughter of Lleuddun Luyddog.[5] Tegwy is the patron of Llandygwydd, in Cardiganshire, which was formerly called Llandegwy or Llandygwy, e.g. in the parish list in *Peniarth MS.* 147, *circa* 1566. In the same parish is also Capel Tygwydd. Meyrick wrongly identifies the saint's name with Tegwydd, by whom he means Tegwedd or Tegfedd, daughter of Tegid Foel, and he gives the *Gwyl Mabsant* of Llandygwydd as January 18.[6] The festival of Tygwy or Tegwy, given in the calendar in the Prymer of 1633, and by Browne Willis,[7] is on January 13.

[1] ii, pp. 349–51. [2] Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, i, p. 509.
[3] For the hardening of the initial letter cf. the Radnorshire Cwm Toyddwr for Cwm Deuddwr.
[4] Pp. 118, 137. Cenaf is also given as wife of Alltu. See ii, p. 435.
[5] *Peniarth MSS.* 16, 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 103; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 430. He is called Tygwy in *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 418, 427; and, by mistake, Tetkwyn in *Peniarth MS.* 12, Tegwyn in *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 113, 139, and Dygwy, *ib.*, p. 144. Among the saints invoked in a poem for Henry VII are "... a Theccwyn, ef a Thyccwy," *ib.*, p. 314; *Cardiff MS.* 63, p. 318; but "Thegwyn" and "Thygwy" in the copy in *Cardiff MS.* 7, p. 151.
[6] *Hist. of Cardiganshire*, 1808, pp. 46, 126.
[7] *Paroch. Anglic.*, 1733, p. 194.

S. TEGWYN, Priest, Confessor

TEGWYN, in company with Tanwg and many others, came with Cadfan from Brittany to Wales.[1] According to the *Iolo MSS.*, he with others who were "kinsmen of Cadfan, descended from Emyr Llydaw, came with Cadfan to this Island. They were saints in Bardsey, and their churches are in Gwynedd, where they lived in great piety and holiness of life."[2] Again, "S. Tegwyn came to this Island with Cadfan in the time of Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu. He procured wise men and divines from Gaul, now called France, to renovate Faith and Baptism (Christianity) in this Island, in consequence of the decay and failure that had befallen the Faith in Christ."[3]

Tegwyn is the patron of Llandecwyn,[4] subject to Llanfihangel y Traethau, in Merionethshire. There is a monument to his memory, originally at Llandecwyn, with an inscription in predominantly minuscule characters of perhaps the eighth or ninth century, which may be read thus, "†Scti Tetquini Pri (ho)n(o)ri Dei claris(imi)que Dei s(e)rvi Heli diaco(ni) me fecit + a b c d e f +." This may be translated, "(The cross) of S. Tegwyn, priest; to the honour of God and the most illustrious servant of God; Heli, deacon, made me." The stone, which is now at Llanfihangel Vicarage, was found in the north wall of the old church in 1879, when it was being pulled down to erect the present church.[5]

Edward Lhuyd, in 1699, mentions the saint's holy well—"Fynnon Dekwyn by plâs Dekwyn not far from y^e^ Church." This must be the little well by the road-side, now called Ffynnon y Foel. Y Foel is the *ffridd* called in full Moel Tecwyn. Maen Tecwyn formerly stood a little distance from the church in a field known to-day as Cae Maen Tecwyn, which adjoins the churchyard, and belongs to Plas Tecwyn. Its exact position is now not known. The stone was destroyed about the early part of the eighteenth century to build, it is believed, a cow-house, Beudy'r Foel. The saint's name is also preserved in the names of the two lakes in the parish, Llyn Tecwyn Ucha and Isa, and likewise in the name of the common, Gwyllt Tecwyn.

Tegwyn's festival does not occur in the Welsh calendars, but Browne Willis[6] gives it as September 14, and Lhuyd says, "They keep their feasts Sunday next after Dydd gwyl y grôg" (Holy Cross Day).

[1] *Peniarth MSS.* 16, 182 (p. 39); *Hafod MS.* 16; *Cardiff MSS.* 5 (p. 117), 25 (pp. 26, 114); *Myv. Arch.*, p. 430. Rice Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 223, gives him as a son of Ithel Hael, but without authority.
[2] P. 112; cf. p. 134. By him is meant the Degwy on p. 103, where they are made also saints of Llantwit and Llancarfan. [3] *Ibid.* p. 108.
[4] Despite the present-day form, Tegwyn is the thirteenth century spelling.
[5] *Arch. Camb.*, 1905, pp. 237–41; 1906, pp. 121–4. [6] *Bangor*, p. 277.

S. TEILO, Abbot, Bishop, Confessor

TEILO was one of the most important of the Welsh Saints. His Life, in its earliest form, is contained in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 97–117 (ed. 1840, pp. 92–111). There is a Life in *Cotton MS. Vespasian* A. xiv, but this is "simply an imperfect transcript" from the Llandaff MS.[1] John of Tynemouth wrote a Life, abbreviated from the above, which is in *Cotton MS. Tiberius* E. i. This is printed in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, and has been incorporated by the Bollandists in *Acta SS.*, Feb. II, pp. 308–10. In the rubric to the *Vespasian* copy the author is stated to have been "Master Galfrid, the brother of Urban, Bishop of Llandaff," who may have been Geoffrey of Monmouth.

The Life in the *Book of Llan Dâv* has been reprinted, with an important introduction and notes, by M. J. Loth in *Annales de Bretagne*, ix, pp. 81, 277, 438; and x, p. 66; cf. also *Analecta Boll.*, xiv (1895), p. 445. There is a *cywydd* or poem in honour of Teilo by Ieuan Llwyd ab Gwilym, a poet of the early fifteenth century.[2]

The *Book* of *Llan Dâv* or *Liber Landavensis* was drawn up in the middle of the twelfth century for the purpose of establishing the rights of Llandaff against those claimed by the see of S. David's to certain groups of Teilo churches and villages (37 in all) within its territory, and against the claims of the see of Hereford in Erging or Archenfield. It forms the Cartulary of the Archmonastery or Cathedral Church of Llandaff; and "the charters pure and simple are, on the face of them, genuine." It includes grants purporting to have been made between the sixth century and the year 1107, besides Lives of SS. Dubricius, Teilo, Oudoceus, and Samson, and other matter. It was reproduced diplomatically from the original MS. at Gwysaney, near Mold, by Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, in 1893.

The Life of S. Teilo was composed as a sermon to be pronounced on his festival at Llandaff. It begins "fratres karissimi," and contains much pious and unctuous exhortation. The author knew the Lives of S. Padarn and S. David, but the latter was a different version from that by Rhygyfarch, as in one important particular it gives an entirely different rendering of the incident of the vexations caused by Boia, whom he does not name.

[1] *Book of Llan Dâv*, preface, p. xxxiii. For the variant readings of the *Cotton MS.* see pp. 360–2.

[2] There are several MS. copies of it of the seventeenth century. It has been printed, with translation by Prof. T. Powel, in the *Transactions of the Liverpool Welsh National Society*, 5th Session (1889–90), pp. 64–71, and in the *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 295–7 (apparently from *Llanover MS.* B. 1, ff. 63*a*–64*b*).

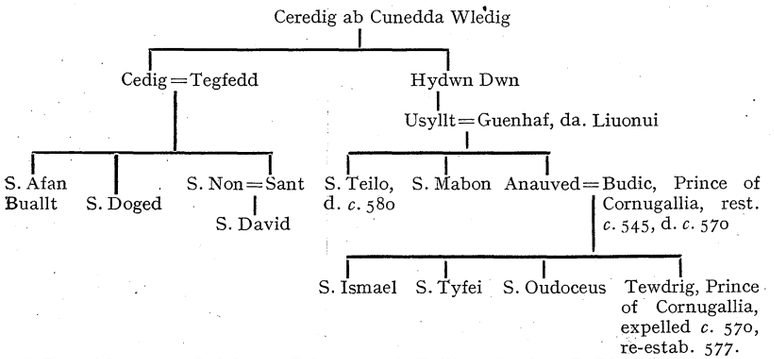
From the Life of S. Oudoceus in the *Book of Llan Dâv* we learn that Teilo was the son of Ensic and of Guenhaf, daughter of Liuonui. His sister Anauved was married to Budic, son of Cybrdan, an exile from the Armorican Cornouaille, who had taken refuge in Dyfed.

In the Welsh Saintly Pedigrees the name of his father, who according to them was the son of Hydwn (Hidwn) Dwn ab Ceredig ab Cunedda Wledig, is variously given, in the earlier MSS., as Ensych (*Peniarth MS.* 16), Eussyllt (*Peniarth MS.* 45), and Enoc (*Hafod MS.* 16), and, in the later ones, as Enllech and Enlleu. The real form, in modern spelling, is, no doubt, Usyllt (the Latin Auxilius), which see.[1]

According to the *Vita*, Teilo's original name was Elios, which was given him because "his learning shone as the sun"; but it was "corruptly pronounced" Eliud, which, if it existed, would now be Elydd. To this was afterwards prefixed the common honorific particle *to*.[2]

He was born at Eccluis Gunniau (Guiniau),[3] apparently Penally, near Tenby; at any rate the church of Penally laid claim to his body,

[1] Ieuan Llwyd's *cywydd* gives him as son of Ensig ab Hychdwn ab Cedig ab Ceredig. The *Iolo MSS.*, p. 137, have fabricated a Teilo Fyrwallt as son of Nwython ab Gildas. Hydwn we are told, *ibid.*, pp. 110, 124, was a king in Ireland. The following pedigree will show Teilo's relationship to other Welsh saints.



[2] The oldest recorded form of the name is Teiliau (*Book of S. Chad*). In Latin, Teliaus, Teliauus. "Congruo nomine Elios a sapientibus nuncupatus est," *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 98. "Eliud scilicet qui nunc Teliau vulgo vocatur," *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 135. He is continually called Eliud in the Lives. It was not an uncommon name. The simple form of Teliau or Teiliau was Eliau or Eiliau, which was borne by several persons, especially in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, and occurs in the Carnarvonshire name Moel Eilio. The forms Eliud and Eliau are not easily squared. For the successive modifications of Teliau cf. the name Enniaun, ii, p. 423. In Brittany he is known as Deleau and Thélo.

[3] *Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 124, 255.

for there was the burial place of his ancestors, and he had ancestral rights to land there.[1]

From early childhood he was trained by S. Dubricius, who was pleased with the brightness of his intelligence, and his eagerness to acquire knowledge. After a while he was sent to Paulinus, who was master of the school at Ty Gwyn, where he became an intimate friend of S. David, his fellow-pupil. And when David started his independent foundation in Glyn Rhosyn, where now stands the Cathedral that bears his name, Teilo accompanied him.

The author of the Life now goes on to give some account of the Goidelic invasion of South Wales, and derives a good deal from Bede's description of the Picts, and blunders over the derivation of their name.[2]

From the Life of S. Carannog we also know that after the first expulsion of the Goidels from Dyfed they made renewed attempts to obtain a lodgment there.[3] For more information concerning them the biographer refers to the *Historia* of Gildas.

The Goidels planted themselves in the Menevian promontory, and a chief among them established his *caer* near where David had constituted his monastery.[4] This was Boia, and the remains of his stronghold are visible to this day on Clegyr Fwya.

According to the author of the Life of S. Teilo, it was this chief who instigated his wife to attempt the virtue of the monks by the blandishments of her maids. As this failed, the chief and his whole house were converted and were baptised.[5] This is very different from the story in the Life of S. David.

[1] "Ob sepulturam patrum suorum et hereditarium jus." *Ibid.*, p. 116. Eglwys Wnio is also suggested; Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, i, pp. 292, 321.

[2] "Quidam populi de Scithia qui sive a Pictis vestibus sive propter oculorum stigmata Picti dicebantur." A fantasy of Isidore of Seville. *Oculorum* should be *aculeorum*. Isidore says, "Scotti propria lingua nomen habent a picto corpore, eo quod aculeis ferreis cum atramento variarum figurarum stigmata annotentur."

[3] In illis diebus venerunt Scoti et occupaverunt regionem britannicam," *Vita S. Caradoci*, in *Brev. Leon.*, 1526. "In istis temporibus Scotti superaverunt Brittaniam," *Vita S. Carantoci*, in *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 97.

[4] "Quidam illius nefariæ gentis princeps trucidando miseros incolas et comburendo edes et templa sanctorum a navalibus [ubi] appulerant usque Minuensem civitatem processisset, ibi constitit ibique suum palatium construxit." *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 100.

[5] "Quo viso, predictus persequtor et tota domus sua per gratiam servorum Dei catholicam fidem susceperunt et ab eisdem in Christi nomine baptizati sunt." *Ibid.* Whytford, in the *Martiloge* under February 9, says, "the pictes hethen men entred englonde & destroyed many places & slewe moche people, & a prynce & capytayne of them went in to wales, y^{t} by this holy saynt [Teilo] was coũerted."

After a while David, Teilo and Padarn started on pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[1] Our biographer characteristically makes Teilo the leading figure in this pilgrimage, but the author of the Life of S. David gives the pre-eminence to his hero. But the whole of the story of the expedition to Jerusalem is to be mistrusted, as it was an invention, apparently, of the Welsh after the Norman invasion, to enable them to establish the independence of the churches of Llandaff and Menevia against the encroachments of Canterbury. In this story the three saints receive episcopal consecration at the hands of the Patriarch of Jerusalem. The versions differ in some particulars from one another.

On reaching Jerusalem the three pilgrims entered the great church. The inventor of the story had sufficient wit not to make Jerusalem in the hands of the Saracens. The people watched them curiously. There were three chairs, of marvellous construction, two of metal and one of cedar, and this latter had been the chair from which Christ had taught. Now the humble Teilo elected to sit in the wooden chair, whereupon by general acclaim he was declared the chief of the three, and as he had taken Christ's seat, he must preach to them therefrom like Christ. It is an early and hagiological version of the Three Caskets story.

When the saints departed from Jerusalem, after consecration by the patriarch, they were given three gifts, to David a marvellously formed altar "nam jocundius ceteris celebrabat"; to Padarn a staff and a silk choral cope, because he was a fine singer; but to Teilo a sweet-toned bell, with miraculous properties, because he excelled as a preacher.

In Rhygyfarch's Life of S. David, it is he alone who receives the four gifts, the consecrated altar, a bell, a staff, and a tunic of gold web.

The author of the Life of S. Padarn makes his saint receive the staff and the tunic. We see here how each author improved the story to the glorification of his special hero. As M. Loth says, "It was especially in the twelfth century that a lively struggle was engaged in between Menevia and Llandaff for certain territories, and as to supremacy. The partisans on each side had recourse to all sorts of arguments, and specially to the legends concerning the saintly founders of these bishoprics."

The story of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and consecration by the

[1] Contrary to the Lives of these three saints, the *cywydd* by Ieuan Llwyd makes them go to *Rome*, where Teilo was, for his eloquent preaching, presented with "a yellow bell," which could "bring the dead to life." The bells of Rome rang out of their own accord to welcome him.

Patriarch, was invented, first of all, to support the independence of Menevia; then it was adopted and altered by the author of the Life of S. Teilo, to establish his supremacy over the see of S. David.[1] But the whole episode may be dismissed as unhistorical, and as an interested fabrication.

In place of this mythical journey to Jerusalem we may insert what perhaps took place, a brief association with S. Dubricius, abbot of Mochros.[2]

The association is, indeed, eminently doubtful, but it is possible. Dubricius had a monastery on Caldey isle. In going to and fro Dubricius may have become acquainted with him and have had him for awhile under his charge. But whether Teilo was with him in his early childhood, or after he had left the school of Paulinus, is what we do not know.

It is remarkable that in the Life of Teilo there is nothing said directly as to any such association, but in the preface it is spoken of. The statement that on his consecration to be bishop of Llandaff, he undertook the charge that had been exercised by Dubricius is an insertion of the compiler of the *Book of Llan Dâv*.[3]

Further on there is, however, a hint to the effect that he had been a disciple; for when mention is made of Teilo's visit to S. Samson at Dol it is added, "For they were natives of the same district, and had the same language, and had been educated together under the blessed Dubricius, the arch-ruler."[4]

One may conclude that the author of the Life as we now have it substituted the voyage of David, Teilo and Padarn to Jerusalem for the account found in the original document, which he "farced" and manipulated for the account of his having been pupil to Dubricius and his ordination by him.

If we look at the grants made to Teilo, we find that they consist in donations made by Iddon ab Ynyr Gwent in what is now Monmouthshire, and by Aircol Lawhir and Meredydd ab Rhain, kings of Dyfed, of lands in Dyfed.

[1] The object of the author of the Life of S. Teilo is made clear when he says that Teilo was elevated to the pontifical dignity in the place of S. Peter, and David to that in the place of S. James. "Ab universa plebe electi sublimati sunt pontificali dignitate Teliaus vice Petri, David vice Jacobi."

[2] "Viri sapientes et doctores ad eum studendi causa confluebant. Imprimis sanctus Teiliaus." *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 80.

[3] P. 107. "Sanctus Teliaus ecclesiæ Landaviæ cui consecratus est curam pastoralem accepit cum tota parrochia sibi adjacente quæ fuerat Dubricii antecessoris sui."

[4] "De una regione procreati fuerant, et unius linguæ viri, et simul cum beato Dubricio archipresule edocti." *Ibid.*, p. 109.

The position of Llandaff was between these patches of land. There is no evidence that Teilo exercised any authority over the churches of Dubricius in Erging.

That Teilo did more than endeavour to consolidate the rule of the abbot bishop over his bits of land granted here and there is not probable, nor did he exercise jurisdiction over the abbeys of Llancarfan, Llantwit and Llandough. Where there was no bishop on the staff of the college, he may have been called in to ordain, but jurisdiction he had none. It was not till under Oudoceus, his successor, that the first rudiments of episcopal jurisdiction began to appear.

There is a Teilo church within a few miles of S. David's, but this does not show that Teilo at any time exercised episcopal rule in Menevia. It means no more than that Teilo, being of the family of Ceredig ab Cunedda, had certain rights to land in the district of Menevia, and established a church on the scrap that fell to him. There was no diocese of Llandaff, and no diocese of Menevia; the rule was in the hands of the abbots of the several monasteries, and was confined to the *llans* that belonged to them. All outside was under no rule whatever.

But Teilo was a strong personality and active, and his commanding position in Morganwg, and the favour he enjoyed with the princes, encouraged the extension of his territories. In Teilo's time Llandaff became the most powerful, influential, and best endowed monastery in South Wales. It increased in that of Oudoceus; it extended into Erging in that of Berthwyn. By degrees the conception of episcopal rule spread from England to Wales, and then Llandaff and Menevia became dioceses in the Latin sense.

"The wide extent of country planted with monasteries by the central college of Llandaff is shown by the list of Teilo churches in what are now the counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke and Brecon, which is given in the *Book of Llan Dâv*. These are no less in number than thirty-seven, all outside the present diocese of Llandaff, and most of them outside Morganwg, even when its boundaries were extended. Twenty-five of the thirty-seven retained in later centuries the name of *Llan*, that is, 'Monastery,' and fourteen of them bore the name Llandeilo, that is, 'Teilo's monastery.' . . . It becomes therefore clear what were the relations of Dubricius and Teilo respectively to Llandaff. Dubricius was archbishop with the subordinate monastery of Llandaff under his authority, but was never archbishop of Llandaff in any sense of the term; Teilo, however, was episcopal abbot of Llandaff from the very foundation of the monastery. This explains many things that otherwise are puzzling. In after years

the bishop of the diocese was generally known among the Welsh as Esgob Teilo, 'Teilo's bishop,' never as Dyfrig's bishop; the church of Llandaff was Eglwys Deilo, 'Teilo's church'; the monastery of Llandaff was Bangor Deilo, 'Teilo's monastery,' and similarly the *Book of Llan Dâv* is Llyfr Teilo, 'Teilo's Book,' and the charter of the rights and privileges of Llandaff is Teilo's Privilegium." [1]

To these may be added the common mediæval appellation Plwyf Teilo, "Teilo's Plebs," for the Diocese. Teilo became convertible with Llandaff.

There can be no doubt whatever that Teilo, and not Dubricius, was the founder and original patron of Llandaff. Dubricius is not once mentioned in the ninth century marginal and other entries in the *Book of S. Chad*, which, when bought, was presented to be placed on "the altar of S. Teilo." Among the signatories it contains are "Nobis episcopus Teiliav," and "Saturnguid sacerdos Teiliav"; and it mentions "tota familia Teliaui." In the *Book of Llan Dâv* Teilo is called "patronus noster," [2] and the Cathedral Church "Monasterium S. Teliavi," and "Ecclesia S. Teliavi." [3] The greater importance of Teilo in the mind of the hagiographer is noticeable in the fact that his Life of him is more than double the length of that of Dubricius; and it is significant that outside Erging not a single ancient church is dedicated to the latter saint.

The present dedication of the Cathedral to SS. Peter the Apostle, Dubricius, Teilo, and Oudoceus (the last named is left out sometimes in the *Book of Llan Dâv*) is due to the shrewd and energetic Bishop Urban, who so rededicated it when he rebuilt it (commenced in 1120), on a larger scale, and translated thither the relics of S. Dubricius from Bardsey.[4] He wanted to establish his claim to the Dubricius and Oudoceus churches.

We will now resume the account of Teilo's Life.

In the year 547 appeared the Yellow Plague. The account of the breaking out of this terrible pestilence is curious. It was preceded by the appearance of a vaporous column sweeping over the land, one head in the clouds, and the other trailing along the ground. All who came within its course sickened to death, and the contagion spread, affecting beasts as well as men. No medicines were of any

[1] Newell, *Llandaff*, S.P.C.K., pp. 18–19. [2] P. 87.

[3] P. 220. We have also "Mormarch presbyter S. Teliavi," p. 273. The *Book of Llan Dâv* is called his "cyrografum," p. 87, "gref," p. 248, and "graffum," pp. 339, 344. Elsewhere there are several persons mentioned bearing the name Gwas Teilo (but no Gwas Dyfrig), which is a translation or imitation of a well-known Goidelic formula.

[4] *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 86.

avail—that is no wonder considering what medicines were then in use—and physicians perished with the patients. The ravages of the plague were so terrible that the country was well-nigh depopulated.

Teilo, in a dire fright, resolved on flying along with his community. He took with him a number of other bishops as timorous as himself, and a great many men and women as well, and escaped into Cornwall, where the king, Gerennius or Geraint, received him honourably, and constituted him his confessor. Geraint made him promise to visit and commmunicate him when he lay on his deathbed. But Teilo would not remain in Cornwall; and there he has left the scantiest trace of his presence.[1] He crossed over to Armorica and visited S. Samson at Dol.

Then in the *Vita* ensues a long account of the doings of Teilo in Brittany. This occurs only in the Life in the *Book of Llan Dâv*; it is not in that in the *Vespasian MS.* But this need not be looked on with suspicion, as it was common in Saintly Biographies to confine the narrative to the Acts of the saint in the land where that *Vita* would be read on his feast, and the MS. in question is probably only a selection from the larger Life.

We do not know exactly when Samson founded Dol, but it was probably about 544, not earlier, and the account in the Life of Teilo in the *Book of Llan Dâv* represents him as assisting Samson in laying out the orchard for the new monastery.[2]

Teilo remained in Armorica for seven years and seven months, i.e. from 547 to the middle of 555, or from 548 to 556. During that time he was for a while in Cornouaille with King Budic, who, it is pretended, offered him the primacy over all Armorica.[3] He, of course, did nothing of the sort; Budic had no power whatever in either Domnonia or Bro-weroc, and had great fears for himself lest the masterful regent Conmore should swallow up his territory. Budic was married to the sister of S. Teilo, and therefore ready enough to welcome him.

[1] Mr. Copeland Borlase, in his *Age of the Saints*, indulges in much fanciful attribution of churches to S. Teilo in Cornwall, that is totally void of authority, and contrary to statements of dedication in the Episcopal Registers. One of his attributions is based on a blunder made by Dr. Oliver in his *Monasticon*. For Geraint, see iii, p. 49.

[2] "Ipse et predictus sanctus Samson plantaverunt magnum nemus arboreti fructiferi, quasi ad tria miliaria, id est a Dol usque ad Cai." *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 109. Cai is Carfeuntin, where was the original seat of Samson's monastery.

[3] The angel said to him in a dream, "Obnixe tibi offerent episcopalem curam et privilegium totius gentis Armoricæ." *Ibid.*, p. 112. According to the Welsh text of Geoffrey of Monmouth (ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 204), in the room of Samson, "at the instigation of Hywel ab Emyr Llydaw, was placed Teilo (in the Latin, Chelianus), bishop of Llandaff."

If he offered him an ecclesiastical office, it was the bishopric of Curiosopitum or Quimper; but we do not know that it was vacant at the time.

According to the legend Teilo was sent a horse from heaven on which to ride.

When Teilo was about to depart he required of Budic that he should surrender his son Oudoceus, born since the restoration of Budic to his principality, to be educated by him in Britain. His final benediction on the Armorican British was, that they should ever be good horsemen, seven times better as soldiers on horseback than when on foot.[1]

His stay in Armorica had been made illustrious by the usual miracle of subduing a dragon and hurling it into a river or into the sea.[2]

That Budic made grants to his brother-in-law whilst the latter was in his territories cannot be doubted. Teilo is patron there of several churches, as Châteauneuf-du-Faou, and Landeliau and Lennon near by. But he is also patron of Plédeliac, not far from Jugon. This is a *plou*, and it means that Judual made a grant to him in Domnonia for services rendered to him by inducing Budic to join in the Armorican revolt against Conmore. Teilo is also patron of S. Thélo on the Oust, near Uzel, in the ancient forest of Brécilien. No trace of him is to be found near Dol.

The foundations of Teilo in Cornouaille deserve to be spoken of more fully. They lie near the river Aulne. Châteauneuf is a lovely spot. The river sweeps round a hill formerly crowned by a castle, but on which now stands a grotesquely ugly modern chapel, that replaces a beautiful flamboyant structure. In the town itself is the church of S. Teilo. His statue has been relegated to a position of insignificance, to make way for saints of the Roman Calendar.

On high ground between Châteauneuf and Carhaix is Landeliau, of which he is titular saint. On the road to Scaër from Châteauneuf is Lennon, of which he is also patron. He has a chapel in the parish of Plogonnec, near Quimper. Montertelot (Monasterium Teliavi), near Ploërmel, had him formerly as patron.

Teilo remained in Armorica till 555 or 556, after the success of Judual and the death of Conmore. He had doubtless been serviceable at the court of Budic, acting in concert with S. Samson, and he was rewarded by the grants in Domnonia of Plédeliau and S. Thélo.

[1] *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 113.

[2] "In medio Tethis," *ibid.*, p. 111; not identified.

Then he started to return, as already stated, seven years and seven months after arriving.[1]

Teilo must have left some of his party at Plédeliau, to form his *plebs* there, but he took back with him most of those who had fled with him from the Plague.[2] He crossed to Cornwall and probably arrived in Falmouth Harbour, and at once went on to Dingerein, now marked by mounds, where was the palace of Geraint the king. Him he found dying, and he ministered to him in his last moments. A story is told of Teilo sending a stone sarcophagus adrift on the waves in Brittany, which floated over and served for the king's interment.

On his return to Llandaff Teilo set to work to organize his abbatial possessions, and he seems to have induced a few of the old disciples of Dubricius to unite under him. The names given are Junapeius, Gurmaet, Cynmur, Toulidauc, Juhil, Fidelis, Ismael, Tyfei and Oudoceus; but of these the three last were his nephews, and had never been under Dubricius, and of the list only one or two, Junapeius and Cynmur or Congur, appear in the list of disciples of Dubricius; Gurmaet, Toulidauc, Juhil, Fidelis were pupils of Teilo, and the names of the two last appear as witnesses to deeds of gift to the archmonastery of S. Teilo.

The grants made to Teilo recorded in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, however, give us several names, Arguistil, Elguoret, Convran, Judnou, and Guordocui. All these had been under Dubricius, and we may suppose that the Yellow Plague, having devastated their churches, they consented to remain with Teilo.

It is somewhat remarkable that of the so-called disciples of Dubricius, whom Teilo is said to have drawn to him, Gurmaet and Toulidauc, founded churches, one in Breconshire, and the other at Carmarthen, and so far from submitting them to Llandaff, these churches remained out of the diocese till Rhydderch ab Iestyn, King of Morganwg, gaining the sovereignty of South Wales (1023–33), annexed them to that diocese.[3]

Teilo is mentioned in the Life of S. Cadoc as having been called in, with S. David and others, by that saint to settle a dispute between him and King Arthur on the banks of the Usk. Cadoc, in return

[1] "Preparata itaque magna barca peractisque septem annis ac septem mensibus quos sanctus Teliaus duxerat in Armoricorum patria." *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 114.

[2] "Intravit in eam (barcam) cum multis doctoribus et quibusdam aliis episcopis, de quibus gens Brittannorum de sanctitate post pestilentiam recreare-tur." *Ibid.*, p. 114.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 253–5.

for his kindness, granted him the villa of Merthyr Tegfedd, now Llandegveth, near Caerleon.[1]

What negatives the assumption made later that Teilo was bishop with diocesan jurisdiction is the fact that not one of the great Abbots of Llancarfan, Llantwit and Llandough was called in to witness a charter or grant made to the church of Llandaff. It was otherwise under S. Oudoceus, the successor of Teilo.

Teilo consecrated many bishops, and sent them through the country, and furnished them with districts in which to found churches. Among them he consecrated his nephew Ismael.[2]

Probably in 577, after the Battle of Deorham, the Saxons crossed the Wye, destroyed wherever they went, and marched along the old Roman road to Abergavenny. Iddon, son of Ynyr, King of Gwent, blocked their way at where is now Llantilio Crossenny. Like a true Celtic Saint, Teilo accompanied the king to bless his forces and to curse his enemies, taking his clerics with him. Teilo and his clergy ascended the little hill where is the White Castle, above the plain and the confluents of the Trothy, and thence viewed the battle, shouting psalms of invocation and howling imprecations on the Saxons. Happily, Iddon was successful, he defeated the enemy and took much spoil. In gratitude to the saint, he granted him land about the mount, and Teilo there built a church.[3]

Meredydd ab Rhain, King of Demetia, killed a man belonging to S. Teilo, who had taken sanctuary and clung to the altar. He had to pay for his transgression by the surrender of an estate in Carmarthenshire.[4]

Aircol Lawhir (Agricola the Long-handed), a preceding king, had kept his court at Lis Castell (Lydstep, near Tenby), and much drinking and rowdyness went on, resulting in frequent murders. Aircol sent to Teilo, who commissioned two of his disciples, Juhil (Jouil) and Fidelis, to remain at court and keep order. As no murders were committed thenceforth, Aircol made a grant of land at Trefgarn to Teilo.[5]

One day Teilo met a man called Cynguaiu on his way to drown his seven sons, all born at a birth, in the river Tâf. He was too poor

[1] *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 48–50.

[2] "Hismaelem consecravit in episcopum, mittens illum ad consulendam ecclesiam Minuensem et jam viduatam pastore. Nam sanctus David ad Dominum migraverat." "Multos alios ejusdem ordinis viros similiter sublimavit in episcopium, mittens illos per patriam, dividensque parrochias sibi ad opportunitatem cleri et populi." *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 115.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 123–4.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 125.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 125–6.

to rear them, he said. Teilo intervened and saved their lives, and they were brought up to the religious life, and were termed the Dyfrwyr, or Water Men, because they were found in the water, and lived only on fish. The story is somewhat hackneyed. It is told all over Europe, and is the traditional tale of the origin of the Guelf family.[1]

Teilo is represented by Giraldus Cambrensis as having been bishop of Menevia after Cenauc, the immediate successor of S. David.[2] It is doubtful whether Teilo survived S. David. The notion that at one time he occupied the Menevian see is due to a misunderstanding. Teilo had a church near S. David's on land that belonged to him as a member of the tribe of Ceredig, and Giraldus, finding that he had been a bishop *in* Menevia, supposed that he had been bishop *of* Menevia. He was incapable of divesting himself of the conception of dioceses as existing in the sixth century in Wales. Teilo was succeeded at Llandaff by his nephew Oudoceus.

When Teilo died it was at Llandeilo Fawr, in Carmarthenshire, and at once a dispute broke out as to the possession of his body. Llandeilo claimed it, because it was his residence at the time of his death; Penally, because that was the burial place of his ancestors; and Llandaff, because it was his principal monastic seat.

According to the legend, gravely told by the biographer,[3] the corpse multiplied itself into three, so as to satisfy each claimant. This is an after invention to explain the awkward fact that puzzled the faithful, and provoked the ridicule of the ungodly, that three churches possessed the entire body of Teilo. Almost certainly the church of Llandaff did not get hold of the sacred relic, or it would have recorded the translation, and not have been obliged to accept this clumsy invention to justify its claim. But the hagiographer does not omit to say that the real body went to Llandaff.

The impress of Teilo's great personality still survives in the numerous dedications to him, particularly in South Wales. In Glamorganshire, Llandaff Cathedral (with SS. Peter, Dubricius, and Oudoceus),[4]

[1] *Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 127–9. See further under SS. Dyfrwyr, ii, pp. 398–405.

[2] *Itin. Camb.*, ii, c. 1.

[3] *Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 116–7; cf the Triads, *Myv. Arch.*, p. 391. The "tria corpora" are mentioned in a *Postcommunio* of the Proper Mass for his Feast in a fourteenth century hand; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i, p. 622. With the triplication compare those of the bodies of S. Beuno, i, p. 220, and S. Baldred, Kentigern's suffragan. A marginal note on Llandeilo Fawr states, "Ubi corpus Sancti Thelyai sepultum fuit." *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 337.

[4] S. Paul is sometimes added in the dedication, but without authority; see *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 86. Bp. Urban in 1119 says that there were formerly twenty-four canons of the cathedral, *ibid.*, p. 88; but according to the *Iolo MSS.*,

Merthyr Mawr (called in the *Book of Llan Dâv* Lann Teliau Merthir Mimor), Llandeilo Ferwallt, now Bishopston, and Llandilo Talybont. In Monmouthshire, Llantilio[1] Crossenny, Llantilio Pertholey (Porth Halog), and Llanarth. In Breconshire, Llandeilo'r Fân (situated on the brook Mawen, was originally founded by Teilo's disciple Gurmaet, and called Lann Guruaet). Llywel Church is dedicated to SS. David, Teilo, and Llywel. In Radnorshire, Llandeilo Graban. In Carmarthenshire, Llandeilo Fawr, Brechfa, Llandeilo Abercowin, Trelech a'r Bettws (possibly the Lann Teliau Trev i Cerniu of the *Book of Llan Dâv*, unless this is Crinow, now with no dedication), Llanddowror (=Llandyfrwyr, originally called Llandeilo), and (Llandeilo) Cilrhedyn. In Pembrokeshire, Crunwear,[2] Castell Dwyran, under Cilymaenllwyd, possibly Stackpole Elidyr, and Llandeilo (Llwydarth), with church in ruins, under Maenclochog. Llandeloi, in the same county, is usually given as dedicated to S. Teilo, but wrongly we believe; in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the name was written Llandylwyf and Llandeilwyf.[3] The church of Pendine, with no dedication, under Llandawke, in Carmarthenshire, is most probably the Lann Teliau Penntiuin of the *Book of Llan Dâv*.

A goodly number of Teilo foundations have become extinct. There was formerly a Llandeilo "in the same cemetery" as Hentland, in Herefordshire.[4] In Bishopston a chapel at Caswell, possibly Llandeilo Porth Tulon, formerly existed. Several have disappeared in Carmarthenshire; such as Llandeilo Nant Serw; Llandeilo Garthdefir, in the parish of Talley, on a farm called Brondeilo, where, from under the hill hard by, gushes out Pistyll Teilo; in the parish of Caio, Capel Pumsaint, called in the *Book of Llan Dâv* Lann Teliau Pimp Seint; in the parish of Llanegwad, Llandeilo Rwnws (=Brunus), its materials having been used up in building the farm-house of the name. There is a Holy Well and farm, called Ffynnon Deilo, near the village of Nantgaredig. In Llandeilo Fawr and neighbourhood his name is, or was, perpetuated by Ffynnon Deilo, in the churchyard, near the east end of the church, but now covered over, and the water conveyed into Church Street, for general use; Carreg or Sedd Deilo, now destroyed, at Glynmeirch, on the boundary between Llandeilo and Llandebie parishes; Ynys Deilo, and Maenor Deilo. Capel Teilo,

p. 151, Côr Teilo at Llandaff was for a thousand saints. Curiously, Llandaff and Llanelwy derive their names from the rivers on which they are situated.

[1] The old form of the saint's name is "fossilized" in Llantilio.

[2] In the *Chronicon Monasterii S. Albani*, ed. Riley, Rolls ser., 1873, ii, p. 192, is given the presentation in 1479 "in Rectoriam de Cornwere, alias dictam Landeylow Gronewern, Menevensis Diœcesis."

[3] Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 917. [4] *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 275.

in the parish of Kidwelly, has its south wall still remaining. Llandeilo Brechfa in Ceredigion was probably the Brechfa near Tregaron; Ystrad Teilo, a farm near Llanrhystyd, in the same county. Llandeilo Llwyn Gwaddan and Henllan, in Llanddewi Velfre parish, Pembrokeshire, are extinct. Stepsau Teilo, his Stepping Stones, across the river Ogmore, near the church of Merthyr Mawr, no longer remain; Westwood confounded them with the still existing Stepping Stones, fifty-two in number, set in the Ewenny, near the ruins of Ogmore Castle.[1] At Llandaff are Croes Deilo, a Celtic cross about three feet high, at Llandaff Court, and Ffynnon Deilo, on the steep hill near the Cathedral. In the Old Welsh *Privilegium* of S. Teilo is mentioned Gundy Teliau, his Gwyndy, but what is the exact ecclesiastical import of the name is not clear. It probably meant originally a stone house, like Candida Casa, now Whithern, in Galloway; but in the Latin paraphrase of the Welsh the name is rendered "Curia Landaviæ."[2] In the Demetian Code of the Laws of Hywel Dda "Llann Teilaw" (near Maenclochog) is given as one of "the seven Bishop-houses (Escobty) in Dyfed," and it is stated that "the abbot of Teilo should be graduated in literary degrees."[3] It is not exactly known what these houses were, but it is evident that they were some kind of monastic houses ruled by abbot-Bishops.

What is pretended to be S. Teilo's skull (Penglog Teilo) is at Llandeilo, near Maenclochog. It is preserved at the farm close to the old church, where its hereditary custodians, named Melchior, have lived for many generations. The saint's Holy Well is a little way above the house. To drink the well water out of the saint's skull is, or rather was, believed to ensure health generally, but more especially cured whooping-cough and pulmonary complaints. Its virtue, however, depended on its being ministered by the eldest son of the tenant. The legend is that a faithful maid-servant from this Llandeilo was privileged to attend on the saint on his death-bed at Llandeilo Fawr, and that when dying he strictly enjoined her to take his skull, in a year's time from his burial at the latter place, to her home, where it would prove a blessing, as above, to future generations. Persons still, out of curiosity, resort to the place to drink water out of the saint's skull. The skull, as now preserved, is imperfect, only the brain-pan remaining. The open sutures prove that it must have been the head of a young person, and as S. Teilo is said to have died

[1] Evanson, *Stones in the Parish of Merthyr Mawr*, Cardiff, 1909, p. 20.

[2] *Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 118–9. The name is the familiar Ty Gwyn transposed.

[3] Ed. Aneurin Owen, folio, p. 273.

at an advanced age, it could not have belonged to him. Moreover, a part of one superciliary ridge remains, and this is of slight elevation, so that it seems almost certain to have been part of a young person's head.[1]

It may be observed that in the Celtic Church of Ireland and of Scotland hereditary custodians of Saints' pastoral staffs, bells, articles of clothing, or other relics were quite common; and here and there are a few lay families who still hold the small portion of land that was originally allotted to them for their services. At the break up of that Church the relics passed to the *coarb* or heir of the Saint.[2]

In Cornwall, the only trace of Teilo is a doubtful one. There is said to have been a chapel and well of S. Dillo in Burian parish.

The parishes in Brittany of which S. Teilo is patron have been already mentioned. The statues that represent him have no special attribute to distinguish him from other bishops, but a stained glass window in the church at Plogonnec of the fifteenth century, removed from the chapel at S. Deliau in the parish, represents him vested as a bishop, and riding on a stag—no doubt in reference to the two stags mentioned in his Life, which on one occasion proffered their assistance to carry fire wood to his monastery, and remained there for further labour.

Relics of S. Teilo are shown at Landéleau by Châteauneuf. At Guengat, near Douarnenez, in Finistère, in the *lande* is a granite block scooped out into a sort of chair with sides on which the arms can rest. It is called the Seat of S. Délo, and those afflicted with fever are placed in it, with the expectation of a cure. The adjoining parish of Plogonnec has in it a beautiful flamboyant chapel dedicated to S. Teilo.[3] At Landéleau is a dolmen called Ty Sant Heleau, and in the church a stone coffin or trough known as the Lit de Saint Heleau.

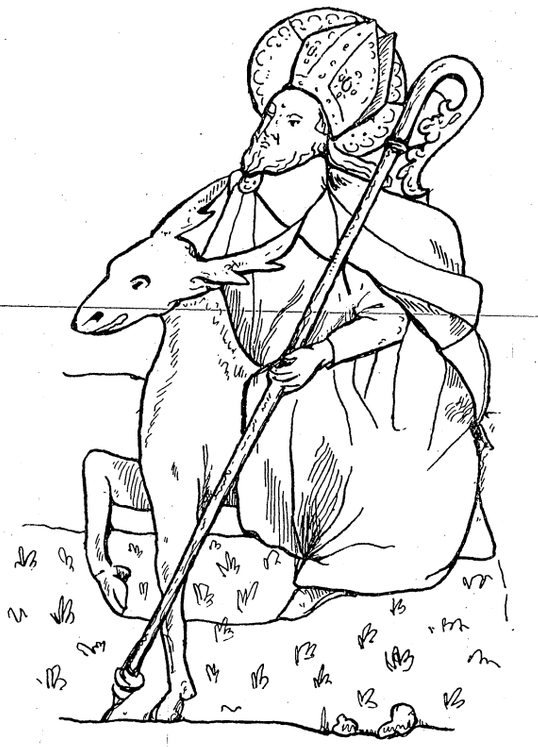
The day of S. Teilo is February 9.[4] On this day he is entered in the Llanthony Calendar, before 1170, in *MS. Reg.* 8, D. vii; in a Tewkesbury Abbey Calendar of 1250, *MS. Reg.* 11, C. vii; in the Calendar in *Cotton MS. Vesp.* A. xiv; the Welsh Calendar of Haroldston, fifteenth century, and those in *Peniarth MSS.* 40, 60, 191, *Hafod*

[1] Sir J. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, pp. 397–400; *Pembrokeshire Antiquities*, Solva, 1897, p. 75; J. Ceredig Davies, *Folk-lore of West and Mid-Wales*, 1911, pp. 299–300.

[2] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, 1887, ii, p. 418.

[3] Diverrès, *Monographie de la commune de Guengat*, in *Bulletin de la Soc. Arch. de Finistère*, T. xviii (1891).

[4] There used to be a proverbial couplet in Glamorganshire about the snow, "Oni ddaw e'r Gwyl Deilo Ni ddaw e mwy i drigo"; if it did not come by his festival it would not come to remain any length of time.



S. TEILO.

From 15th century Glass at Plogonnec, Finistère.

MS. 8, as well as several other calendars. On this day a great fair, known as Ffair Wyl Deilo, was held at Llandaff and Llandeilo Fawr, and is still held at the latter on February 20. The Llandaff fair became extinct as a great horse fair at Canton, Cardiff. February 7 is given as his day in the calendars in the Prymer of 1546, and *Peniarth MS.* 219, *circa* 1615. "Gwyl Badarn a Theilo," on the Sunday before Michaelmas, is entered in the Demetian Calendar (S).

At Châteauneuf-du-Faou the patronal feast is observed on the last Sunday in January, at Llandeleau on Monday in Whitsun week. His name does not appear in the old Breton Calendars, but at Dol he is in the Breviary of 1769 commemorated on November 29 as a double. At S. Thélo, however, his feast is observed on February 9. Lobineau, probably by a misprint, gives November 25 instead of 29, and he is followed by Garaby, Gautier du Mottay, and De la Borderie.

S. Teilo is invoked as Iliaue in the tenth century Celtic Litany in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury.[1] There are fourteenth and fifteenth century fragments of a *Missa de S. Teilao*.[2]

S. Teilo's supposed tomb is on the south side of the presbytery in the Cathedral, in a sepulchral recess beneath a Norman window, and on it is the recumbent effigy of a bishop in episcopal habits, in Dundry freestone, of about the fourteenth century. It was opened in 1830, when a wall was taken down which bore an inscription, dated 1736, stating that it was the supposed tomb of S. Teilo.[3] It was anciently the custom for persons to take the most solemn oaths over his tomb, in the presence of the Bishop and Archdeacon, "super tumbam Sancti Theliawi et super omnia sacrosancta ejusdem ecclesiæ."[4] His relics, apparently, never had a portable feretory.

At the Dissolution his shrine was in the Lady Chapel, for among the Cathedral goods at the time was S. Teilo's "shryne of silver p'cell gilte of the coveringe in o^r Lady Chapell," which was pulled down and broken; and there were taken away, "St. Elios hedde of sylver gylte, an arme of the same Seynte gylte," and "Seynt Teyloes shoes silver beyd with stones."[5] These were portions of his silver statue on the shrine. According to the *Valor* of 1535[6] the Treasurer

[1] *Revue Celtique*, 1888, p. 88; cf. *ibid.*, 1890, p. 145. In the eighteenth century the Welsh people were still in the habit of piously ejaculating, "Teilo mawr!" (Dr. Erasmus Saunders, *View*, etc., 1721, p. 36).

[2] Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, pp. 162–3; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i, pp. 621–2.

[3] Bp. Ollivant, *Llandaff Cathedral*, 1860, pp. 24–5.

[4] *Harley Charter* 75. B. 9, of 1234; Willis, *Llandaff*, pp. 14–15.

[5] *Arch. Camb.*, 1887, pp. 229, 234; *Cardiff Records*, i, pp. 376, 379.

[6] iv, pp. 345–6.

of the Cathedral received the oblations on S. Teilo's Day in the Cathedral, and to him also belonged Erw Deilo.

Porth Deilo, as it was formerly called, is the fine north-west door of the Cathedral, round-headed and Transitional in character, "thro' which, before the Reformation, dead bodies were carry'd into the Church to be bury'd." [1] In the tympanum over the great west door is a figure of S. Teilo, with his right hand raised in benediction. Bishop Rushooke's seal to a Margam deed of 1384–5, among the *Penrice MSS.*, has a fine figure of him; and there was also formerly a large size statue of the saint in one of the niches in the chapter-house of Hereford Cathedral before it was destroyed during the Great Rebellion.

Ieuan Llwyd, in his poem to S. Teilo, after mentioning the relics of the saint at Llandaff in his day—his body, mitre (crown), bell, and ritual comb—refers to an incident which occurred in the year 1403 (Adam of Usk, *Chronicon, s.a.*), and invokes the saint's vengeance on "the progeny of Alice Ronwen, the she-bear," who were some filibusterers from Bristol, who had landed at Cardiff and had attempted to pillage the Cathedral, but were driven back.

One of the "Stanzas of the Hearing" tercets runs :— [2]

> Hast thou heard what was uttered by Teilo,
> A man who did penance?
> "It is not good to contend against God"
> (A Duw nid da ymdaraw).

One of the seven questions said to have been propounded by S. Cadoc to seven wise men of his college at Llancarfan was, "What is the greatest wisdom in a man?" To which Teilo is represented to have replied, "To refrain from injuring another when he has the power to do so." [3]

Teilo is celebrated in the Triads [4] as one of the three "Blessed Visitors of the Isle of Britain," the other two being SS. David and Padarn; and he is credited with having been the special patron of some of the Welsh bards, such as Gwrhir (Gwas Teilo), Ystyffan, Maelgwn Hir, and Balchnoe. [5] Each of these is designated "Bardd Teilaw (Teliaw)," but the epithet is simply a late document misreading of "Bardd Teulu," a domestic bard, with no reference to S. Teilo.

[1] Willis, *Llandaff*, p. 12.
[2] *Myv. Arch.*, p. 128, and in nearly the same words in the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 255. [3] *Myv. Arch.*, p. 776. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 391, 402.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 409; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 77, 79.

S. TEITHFALL

TEITHFALL'S title to be reckoned a Welsh saint rests entirely upon late documents printed in the *Iolo MSS.*

In the "Genealogy of Iestyn ab Gwrgan" occurs the following notice :—"Teithfallt ab Nyniaw, called also Teithfalch in some MSS., was a very good, religious, wise, and heroic king. He fought valiantly against the Saxons, and vanquished them. He passed a law which made it imperative on all to contribute a portion of their wealth and possessions for the maintenance of religion, the clergy, learning, and the churches. Many of the Saxons and Picts came into Wales in his time, and slew a great number of the people; burning also churches and choirs. He ended his days as a saint (or monk), having handed over the government to his son Tewdrig." [1]

According to this document his pedigree ran, Teithfallt ab Nyniaw ab Bran ab Edrig ab Crair ab Meurig ab Meirchion, etc.

Another notice states, "Teithfalch, called also Tudfwlch, was the son of Nynniaw. His church is Llandudfwlch, in Gower," [2] which we are not able to identify. Nynniaw or Nynnio was King of Gwent and Garthmathrin, and is also credited with having been a saint and bishop; but both father and son are apocryphal as saints. Tewdrig was also esteemed a saint.

S. TELOI

IT is to be presumed that the church-name Llandeloy, in Pembrokeshire, embodies a saint's name, Teloi, though nothing is now known of the saint. In two late sixteenth century lists of Welsh parishes [3] the name is given as Llandylwyf and Llandeilwyf. Browne Willis [4] enters Teilo (February 9) as church-patron, but this is a mere guess, which is negatived by the old forms, as well as by the accent being on the ultima.

[1] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 10. In the *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 118, his name is written Teithfall. The *Cognatio de Brychan* gives a Teudfall ab Teuder ab Teudfal ab Annhun rex Græcorum, who was the father of Tewdrig, father of Marchell, mother of Brychan, and a totally different person.
[2] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 136. For Nynniaw see *supra*, p. 27.
[3] Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 917; also Llan Dylwyv in the list in *Myv. Arch.*, p. 746.
[4] *Paroch. Anglic.*, 1733, p. 176.

M. J. Loth [1] mentions Landeloi as one of the charter forms for the modern Landeleau, near Châteaulin, and supposes the name to be the same as Teilo.

S. TENENAN, Bishop, Confessor

THIS saint is said by Lobineau and by De la Borderie [2] to have been a native of Britain. The latter took as his authority a seventeenth century *Legendarium* of S. Pol de Léon. On the other hand, Albert le Grand made him son of an Irish kinglet.

The authorities for his Life are not good. A *Vita* in MS. in the Collection of the Blancs-Manteaux, Bibl. Nat. Paris, *MSS. Français*, 22,321. A Life by Albert le Grand from the Breviary of Léon of 1516, now lost so far as the second part is concerned; also from the *Legendaria* of Léon and Folgoët.

We have further a revision of the old Life in the later Breviary of Léon.

Moreover, there is mention made of Tenenan in the lections for the feast of S. Caradoc in the 1516 Breviary of Léon which still exists.

The account in the *Acta SS. Boll.*, Jul. iv, pp. 179–80, is from Albert le Grand.

Tenenan, whether by birth British or Irish, at all events passed his early life in Ireland, and he is reputed to have been a disciple of S. Caradoc,[3] who is identified, wrongly, as we have shown, with S. Carannog, Carantoc or Cairnech.

According to the legend, Tenenan rapidly advanced in learning under his master Caradoc.[4]

Then he departed and went to Britain, where he was placed at the royal court, and here "the Countess of Arundell," a young and beautiful heiress—so says Albert le Grand—fell in love with him. Tenenan, who had resolved on embracing the religious profession, prayed to God to relieve him of the embarrassing attentions of the lady, and he was immediately afflicted with leprosy.

[1] *Chrestomathie Bretonne*, Paris, 1890, p. 232.

[2] De la Borderie, presumably from the MS. of the Blancs-Manteaux, says that the saint was born in Britain at a place called Vallis Æquoria, *Hist. Bret.*, i, p. 496.

[3] "Caradocum, sanctitate et doctrina famosum, puer audivit." *Prop. Léon.*

[4] "Cujus in schola tantum brevi profecit, ut et scientia, et meritorum gloria suos longe cœtuneos superaret, sanctissima nihilominus Christi disciplina, quam vanis philosophiæ documentis multo illustriet." *Ibid.*

Then he went back to Ireland, where he revisited his old master Caradoc, who at once invited him to take a bath in a tub. Tenenan did this, and when he rose from the water he was cured of his leprosy. He then bade Caradoc enter the bath—we are not told that the water was changed—and after some resistance Caradoc complied, whereupon the seven iron bands that Caradoc had had fastened about his body snapped and fell off.

Neither of the Saints was overpleased at his relief. Each thought that the riddance might lead to spiritual pride.[1]

After a while Tenenan was ordained priest,[2] and then he resolved on quitting Ireland and settling in Armorica. There was, as clearly transpires from the Life, an exodus of Irish from Ireland at the time and Tenenan was accompanied, we are told, by Senan, Kea, Armen and Glaumeus. Senan was almost certainly the Saint of Inis Cathy, and Kea or Kenan was the son of Ludun or Lleuddun Luyddog, and had been educated in Ireland.

The boat in which this party of colonists arrived entered the harbour of Brest through the Goulet, and found itself in a lovely inland sea almost waveless, with the land on all sides densely covered with forests.[3] They rowed to the head of the harbour to where the Elorn discharges its waters into the sea, and ascended it to where was a camp, which in later times became the site of the famous Château de Joyeuse Garde. This was near the present town of Landerneau.[4]

The whole party disembarked, and made its way to the fortress, where it was well received, and Tenenan was invited to settle there.

[1] "Venit igitur ad sanctum Karadocum: sed antiquam venisset nunciavit ei angelus venturum ad se Tenenanum: Karadocus cum gaudio et exultatione preparavit balneum suo hospiti. Veniens ille cum exisset jam ecclesiam et orasset occurrit iste obviam illi et osculati sunt invicem benedicentes. Etduc to eo a monasterio ad refecterium cogebat eum oppido ut introiret lavacrum. Ille negabat et inveniebat causas satis ydoneas: denique Karadocus ait; si non intraveris, non vives in vita eterna. Cum hoc audisset Tenenanus coactus intravit balneum: accedebat iterum Karadocus ut lavaret eum. Animadvertens igitur Tenenanus quoniam ad se abluendum accederet dixit: non lavabis me in eternum. Respondit Karadocus: nec tu vives in eternum si non lavero te. Lotus est itaque et statim ut tetegit cum Karadocus sanatus est a lepra: et conquerebatur dicens: non bene fecisti in me frater: quia forte superbus fiam a modo et multum deceptus ero." *Brev. Léon.*, 1516. The Caradoc of the Breviary is Carantocus; see S. CARANNOG.

[2] "Factus inde presbyter, mundi illecebris omnino abdicatis, se totum Christo specialius addixit, ecclesiasticis officiis, indefesso labore, mancipatus." *Prop. Léon.*

[3] Nec mora . . . . Tenenanus, rebus compositis, cum nonnullis sociis, mare Britannicum, felici enavigatione, præter gressus, in sinum Brestenseon in solo Leonensi situm, appellit." *Ibid.*

[4] "Inde fluminis Elorni ripam, quæ Landerniam ducit . . . in densissimam sylvam exilit, non sine magno suscipientium gaudio et fructu." *Ibid.*

To the north of the Elorn was a dense forest, almost impenetrable. Accordingly when Tenenan began to found churches he did this on the fringe of the forest at Plabennec, and the other near the camp, but he formed a monastery to serve also as a school at Lesquelen, between Plabennec and Kersaint. The description given of it savours of early times, and reminds one of the very similar account of the works of S. Cadoc at Llancarfan.[1] Tenenan threw up a huge mound of earth and stone, and surrounded it with dykes. This mound still remains.

We are told that the settlers in this portion of Armorica, what with their troubles through piratical invasions, and what with their having no instructors with them, had lapsed into indifference to their religious duties,[2] and Tenenan had laboured among them to recover them to their Christian obligations. He did more, he instructed the colonists in the art of building stone cashels, as existed in Ireland, and one such was erected, circular in form, at Plabennec. Apparently, before it was complete, a body of pirates landed and began to sweep the country and approached Plabennec. Tenenan made the gate of his cashel secure by fastening it with a broken half wheel of a wagon, and sent a swift messenger through the forest to the fortress on the Elorn to entreat help.

The pirates invested the cashel and attempted to break in,[3] but before they had succeeded in climbing over the walls, the colonists from the Elorn arrived with their leader, mounted on a white horse.

They had traversed the forest, unperceived by the assailants, and took them in the rear. The result was that the pirates fled to regain their ships, which they had probably left in the Aber Benoit. Later fable magnified the timely rescue into an intervention of an angelic leader brandishing a fiery sword, who led the colonists.

We are next informed that on the resignation of the see of Léon by S. Goulven, Tenenan was elected to succeed him.

One day, a priest who was carrying the Blessed Sacrament through the woodland to a dying man, stumbled and let the Host fall; and although he searched for it, he was unable to find it. He informed Tenenan of the accident, and the Bishop prayed when at the altar,

[1] ii, p. 17.

[2] "Loci namque incolas, eum in locum, propter frequentes Danorum incursiones, abolitos, nec propterea de religionis Christianæ exertitiis admodum sollicitos, ad vitæ revocavit sanctioris institutum." *Prop. Léon.* The Danes are an anachronism.

[3] Albert le Grand, giving the story a late mediæval colouring, describes the cashel as a round tower still standing in his day, and the pirates as attempting to get into the church by breaking the glass in the windows.

when lo! a white dove entered the church bearing a leafy branch of oak to which depended a honeycomb, and laid it on the altar. Tenenan examined the comb, and found within the lost Host, about which the bees had constructed a waxen shrine. A similar legend is found in Cornwall, and was versified by the late Rev. Robert S. Hawker. After having ruled the Church for several years, he died on June 16, and it is supposed, was buried at Plabennec.

Now this story as it stands is very difficult to unravel. Albert le Grand gives 635 as the date of the death of Tenenan; but he is lavish in dates, which he derived from his internal consciousness.

What makes the solution the more difficult is the fact that the Breton hagiographers have confounded together Cairnech or Carannog with the elder Carthagh. Both were in Armorica, both founded churches there, both had been in Ireland, but with which Tenenan was is not clear.

Albert le Grand calls Tenenan also Tinidor, and the Life in MS. in the Bibl. Nat. Paris says:—"Tenenanus heremum petiit et ædificavit cellulam in loco qui ob ejus memoriam Lan-Tinidor vocatur, non procul ab alveo Ylornæ fluminis."

But Lan Tinidor is Lan Ternoc, now Landerneau. Consequently we have his name under three forms, Tenenan, Tinidor, and Ternoc. Ternoc and Tenenan (from Ternan) are permutable forms, as Aedan and Maidoc. Ternoc is the Welsh Tyrnog.

Now the Welsh do know of a Tyrnog, who was grandson of Ceredig and brother of Carannog or Cairnech. But this can hardly be reconciled chronologically with the statement that Tenenan became Bishop of Léon after Goulven. However, this latter statement is most suspicious.

Those who set to work to compile a list of the Bishops of Léon found that there had been an Irish bishop at Plabennec in the diocese at an early period, and they worked him into the catalogue. They could not place him before Paul who founded the see, nor intercalate him between Paul and Goulven; so they thrust him in after the latter. In the adjoining diocese of Tréguier the compilers went to work in another way. To accommodate the several Celtic bishops whose names were in the *Legendaria*, they devised an imaginary see of Lexovia, as preceding Tréguier, which was founded by S. Tudwal, and they arranged them in order to their own satisfaction, but in reckless disregard of chronology. The see was a pure creation of fancy, invented for the accommodation of these bishops.

Cairnech or Carannog died about 470. It is possible enough that Tyrnog may have been a nephew and not a brother. In the Church

of Tregarantec (Tref-Carantoc), founded, as the name implies, by Carannog, is preserved a relic of S. Ternoc, with the inscription on the case, "Sancte Ternoce, ora pro nobis," and S. Ternoc is regarded as the patron of the church of which Carantoc is the titular saint.

This looks much as if Tenenan or Ternoc had been associated actually with Carannog, and not with Carthagh (Caradoc). So confusing was the fact that Tenenan was identical with Ternoc, that at Landerneau, his foundation, it came in late times (eighteenth century) to be assumed that the patron of the place was Arnec or Ternoc, a son of Judicael, King of Domnonia, who died in 650. But of this Arnec or Ternoc nothing authentic is known; whereas the *Vita S. Tenenani* is explicit in its statement that Landerneau took its name from Tenenan. So also at Tregarantec, it is supposed that the Ternoc who is patron is this Arnec or Ternoc.

Tenenan or Ternoc has not been quite forgotten in Ireland. There was a Saint Ternoc of Cluana Mor commemorated in the Irish Martyrologies on July 2. Cluana Mor is probably Clonmore, in Wexford.[1] It was precisely in South-Eastern Ireland that Cairnech or Carannog was active as a missioner.

Tenenan is said to have migrated to Armorica in company with Senan and Kea or Kenan. Senan of Iniscathy died about 568; Kenan, before his migration, had been in conflict with Tewdrig, King of Cornwall, about 500. He is represented as having survived the death of King Arthur, which, on the authority of the *Annales Cambriæ*, is fixed as taking place in 537. If we take Tenenan as the Tyrnog of the Welsh genealogies, but suppose him to have been a nephew and not brother of Carannog, then most of the difficulties about his chronological position disappear. Doubtless Carannog made over to him his Tref on Kemenet Ili, and there for a while he ruled as abbot-bishop.

De la Borderie says: "There were at least three Saints Tenenan. 1, An Irish contemporary of S. Patrick, viz. of the fifth century; 2, Our Tenenan = Tinidor, who is of the 7th; 3, another, who lived in the times of the Northman invasions. Albert le Grand has run them all together."[2]

De la Borderie is always positive in his assertions, and most positive when deficient in evidence. We know nothing of a Tenenan who was bishop of Léon after Goulven. The Tenenan contemporary with Patrick would be the disciple of Cairnech, probably a boy when Patrick died.

[1] *Letters Relative to the Antiquities of the County of Wexford*, collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey of 1840, ii, p. 35.

[2] *Hist. de Bretagne*, i, p. 496.

The reason why De la Borderie supposes that there was a Tenenan in the tenth century is that the late writer of the Life speaks of the pirates as Dani. He knew of no earlier harriers of the coast, and as the ravages of the Northmen had burnt themselves into the memories of the Bretons, he unsuspiciously called the early raiders Danes. But we do hear of the coasts being ravaged at a much earlier period, in the fifth and sixth centuries, by Frisians, and we know that there were Saxon settlers in Neustria in 451, for Saxons joined the forces of Aëtius to repel Attila and his Huns. If the Saxons had ravaged and colonized in Neustria, they had probably also made incursions into Armorica.

It would then seem probable that there was only one Tenenan or Ternoc, and that he flourished at the beginning of the sixth century. The whole of the district of Léon was much occupied at the time by Irish from the South-East of Ireland. Cairnech, Fiacc, Senan, Setna, Carthagh, Brendan, all left their marks there, and we have little hesitation in attributing the arrival of Tenenan to this period of emigration from Ireland.

S. Tenenan is venerated on July 16—MS. Missal of Tréguier, fifteenth century; Léon Breviary of 1516; S. Malo Breviary of 1537; but in the Léon Breviary of 1736 moved to July 19, and in that of Quimper of 1835 to July 21.

He is patron of Guerlesquin, of La Forest and Plabennec. Honoured also at Lannilis. The ancient patron of Landerneau. Probably also patron of Tregarantec.

He was formerly represented in a statue at Landerneau as a monk holding a lantern, a play on Landern-eau. He is invoked against gripes.

See further under S. Tyrnog.

S. TENNI

Llandenny is a church in Monmouthshire, now given as dedicated to S. John. The name, however, points to Tenni as the original patron, but nothing is known of him. In the *Book of Llan Dâv*[1] the church is called "Ecclesia Mathenni Mustuir Mur," i.e. "The

[1] Pp. 207–8. So in the *Additional Charters*, Brit. Mus., no. 5342 (1330). In the *Taxationes* it is Mahenni (1254) and Mykenni (1291). With the name compare Ecclesia Mamouric (*Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 206), Machynlleth, Mathafarn, etc.

Church of Tenni's Field belonging to the Great Monastery" (the Archmonastery of Llandaff). The manor is still known as Mathenny *alias* Llandenny; and there are places called Hendredenny in the parish of Eglwysilan, Glamorganshire.

S. TENOI, Matron, Abbess

THERE are three daughters of Lleuddun Luyddog, the Leudonus who gave name to the *provincia* of Leudonia, i.e. Lothian, mentioned in the earlier copies of *Bonedd y Saint*. (1) Denw or Denyw (*Peniarth MSS.* 16 and 45, *Hafod MS.* 16), wife of Owain ab Urien Rheged, and mother of S. Kentigern; (2) Tenoi (*Peniarth MSS.* 12, 16, and 45, *Hafod MS.* 16), wife of Dingad ab Nudd Hael, and mother of Lleuddad, Baglan, Tegwy, Tyfriog (Tyfrydog), and Eleri; (3) Perferen or Peren, the mother of S. Beuno.

The two first would appear, owing to similarity of names, to have become confounded, for in Scottish hagiography the mother of Kentigern is called Tenew, Thenew, and Taneu, among other forms, which one would be more inclined to equate with Tenoi than Denyw. Her church in Glasgow was once popularly known as S. Theneukes Kirk, which has been corrupted into S. Enoch's.

Lleuddun, who has been briefly noticed,[1] was father also of Medrod, who rebelled against his uncle, King Arthur.

Tenoi occurs in the later Life of S. Winefred, by Robert, Prior of Shrewsbury, where she is called in the Latin Theonia, and Theon in the Welsh version, *Buchedd Gwenfrewi*. She is there mentioned as superior of a convent of nuns at Gwytherin, in Denbighshire, where her son Eleri also as abbot "served the Lord apart, with his brethren and fellow-disciples." The monastery was a double one.

S. Winefred, leaving Holywell, some time after her decollation, entered the convent under Theonia, whom she learnt to "love with deep affection, and often, when speaking of her longing for the celestial kingdom, drew tears from the mother's eyes." Winefred succeeded her as abbess. Theonia was buried in the cemetery at Gwytherin, and Winefred, on her death-bed, requested Eleri to bury her by his mother's side.

To Tenoi was dedicated Llandenoi, now extinct, in the parish of Llanrheithan, Pembrokeshire. It occurs as Landenev in the *Black Book of S. David's*, 1326.

[1] iii, p. 374. For Tenoi as a possible compound of To + Noe see *supra*, p. 20.

S. TEON, Bishop, Confessor

IN the old Saintly Pedigrees Teon is not entered as a saint but merely as the grandfather of S. Llywelyn. But in a MS. *circa* 1670 printed in the *Iolo MSS.* it is stated that S. Teon, the son of Gwineu Deufreuddwyd, of the line of Beli Mawr, was "a saint and bishop of Côr Illtyd, and afterwards a bishop in Gloucester; and after that an archbishop in London, from whence he was driven by the pagan Saxons, and went to Brittany."[1] The latter part of the notice is taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth, who tells us that Theonus or Teon, with the archbishops of Caerleon and York (Thadioceus), in the time of Ceredig, King of Britain, seeing that all the churches within their jurisdictions had been devastated, fled with their clergy into Wales, taking with them the relics of the saints. Many took flight to Brittany.[2] Theonus was the last of the reputed metropolitans of London (the first of them was also named Theonus or Theanus), and is supposed to have been translated from Gloucester in 542, and to have fled into Wales in 586.

In *Llanstephan MS.* 187, Teon is said to have been of Cegidfa, i.e., Guilsfield, near Welshpool. He was the father of Tegonwy, the father of S. Llywelyn of Welshpool.

The Stiperstones mountain, in the parish of Worthen, Shropshire, was called from him by the Welsh Carneddi Teon.[3]

S. TEULYDDOG, Confessor

THE pedigree of Toulidauc or Teulyddog does not occur. He was originally a disciple of S. Dubricius, but after S. Teilo's return from Brittany, when the Yellow Plague had passed over, he, with other fellow-disciples, associated himself with that saint.[4]

In an Ode to King Henry VII [5] the bard invokes, in the same line as S. Teilo, the protection of "Tylyddog" for the King; and Lewis Glyn Cothi [6] similarly invokes "Telyddog."

[1] P. 129. His pedigree is given in *Mostyn MS.* 117 (thirteenth century).
[2] *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, xi, cc. 3, 10; *Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, pp. 233, 236.
[3] Carneddau Teon are mentioned in one of the poems to Owen Glyndwr by Iolo Goch; *Gweithiau*, ed. Ashton, p. 161.
[4] *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 115.
[5] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 314, as Tylyddog, but in the copy in *Cardiff MS.* 7, p. 151, as Tylwyddog.
[6] *Gwaith*, 1837, p. 49.

The *Book of Llan Dâv* [1] mentions a Lann Toulidauc as "in Carmarthen," sometimes abbreviated "in Caer." There can be no doubt that this church of Teulyddog was located within the walls of the old Romano-British Maridunum, and that he was the original patron saint of the town of Carmarthen, but had in Norman times to make room for S. John the Evangelist, or at any rate to take second place, only to be ultimately clean forgotten. His foundation became merged in the Augustinian Priory of S. John, which was officially, in its Cartulary,[2] called in full the Priory of S. John the Evangelist and S. Theulacus. The latter is a shortened form of Teulyddog, but is sometimes imagined to represent Teilo.

One of "the seven Bishop-houses in Dyfed," mentioned in the Demetian Code of the Laws of Hywel Dda,[3] was Llann Deulydawc; and it is added that (with certain other abbots) "the abbot of Teulyddog should be graduated in literary degrees." Whatever may be the precise meaning of "Bishop-house" (*Escobty*), the term implies that in pre-Norman times this Carmarthen church had become a foundation of special distinction, being ruled by an abbot-bishop, and was possessed of a considerable endowment in land.

S. TEWDRIG, King, Martyr

TEWDRIG [4] was the son of Teithpall or Teithfall, and the father of Meurig, King of Morganwg. What is really known of him we derive from the *Book of Llan Dâv*.[5]

Tewdrig in his old age surrendered the rule over Morganwg to his son Meurig, and retired to live an eremitical life at Dindyrn, now Tintern, on the Wye, where he found a rock suitable for him to make a cell in it.

Whilst there, the Saxons burst in on Gwent, and the old king took up arms again to repel them; for it was said of him that he had been ever victorious in all battles.

[1] Pp. 62, 124, 254, 287.
[2] Sir Thomas Phillipps, *Cart. S. Johannis Bapt. de Caermarthen*, 1865.
[3] Ed. Aneurin Owen, folio, p. 273.
[4] The name, which appears in the *Book of Llan Dâv* as Teudiric, but in *Harleian MS.* 3859 as Teudubric, is a borrowing of the Teutonic name which occurs in Old English as Theodric, and in German as Dietrich, meaning "the ruler of the people." It was Latinized Theodoricus, and ultimately planed down to Thierry and Terry. Teithpall is a corruption of Theodebald. His father's name is given as Nyniaw (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 10).
[5] Pp. 141–2.

An angel had appeared to him and said, "Go to-morrow to the aid of the people of God against the enemies of the Church of Christ, and the foe will turn to flight as far as Pull Brochuail (now Brockweir above Tintern Parva). And do thou fully armed stand in the front of the battle, and when the foe see thy face they will fly as usual. And thenceforth for thirty years, during the reign of thy son, they will not venture into the land, and its inhabitants will be in peace. But thou wilt receive a wound at Ryt Tindyrn (the ford of Tintern) and wilt die three days after."

So Tewdrig, fully harnessed, mounted his horse and stood at the head of the troops to defend the ford over the Wye. The Saxons were put to flight, but one of them hurled a lance across the water and wounded the old king.

When it was perceived that the wound was mortal, his men were for removing him, but he forbade them to do so, and said that he would die there, and that he had desired his body to rest in the Isle of Echni, the Flat Holm, in the Severn Sea.

On the morrow, however, appeared two stags harnessed to a wagon, and Tewdrig, recognizing that they were sent by the will of God, allowed himself to be lifted into the conveyance. The wagon carried him to the bank of the Severn and there stayed, and on the spot a sparkling spring began to flow. Then suddenly the wagon dissolved, and Tewdrig gave up the ghost.

Meurig erected an oratory on the spot, which was blessed by S. Oudoceus. The spot was Mathern, below Chepstow; there the old king was laid, and not conveyed, as he had desired, to Echni.

The land around was made over to Oudoceus for the monastery of Llandaff, and in later times the Bishops had a palace there, for about three centuries. In the Church, on the south wall of the chancel, is a tablet set up in memory of Tewdrig, with an inscription in English by Bishop Godwin (1601–18). Godwin in excavating discovered a stone coffin containing the almost perfect skeleton of the saint, and a ghastly fracture in the skull showed plainly the cause of death. At the restoration of the chancel in 1881 the stone coffin with the bones was again found beneath the tablet.

Mathern [1] Church is still dedicated to S. Tewdrig, and was formerly known as Merthyr Tewdrig, his *Martyrium*.

What were the incursions of the Saxons referred to at an interval

[1] In the *Book of Llan Dâv* the church is called Merthir Teudiric, but in the fourteenth century additions to it, Martherne and Martharne, and spellings with the first *r* occur elsewhere. It has been supposed that it involves the word Merthyr.

of thirty years we do not know. The Saxons did not invade the Severn Valley and destroy Gloucester till 577; but the reference is to earlier piratical expeditions by sea into the Bristol Channel, unrecorded in history.

The royal hermit of Tintern is credited with having founded the churches of Bedwas, Llandow, and Merthyr Tydfil.[1]

The Hermitage of Theodoric, on the east of the old mouth of the river Afan, near Aberavon, in Glamorganshire, frequently mentioned in mediæval documents from the middle of the twelfth century, relating to Margam Abbey, appears to have been named after a hermit of noble birth who lived in the early part of the twelfth century. Its ruins were recently discovered.[2]

William of Worcester, who lived in the fifteenth century, says, "Sanctus Theodoricus rex et martir, cujus pater fuit fundator ecclesiæ cathedralis de Landaff, primo die Aprilis dedicatur duplex festum."[3]

Allwydd Paradwys and Wilson give January 3 as the day of S. Tewdrig.

Bishop Miles Salley of Llandaff (1500–17) in his will directed "his heart and bowels to be deposited at the High Altar of the Church at Matherne, before the image of S. Theodorick."[4]

The following notice of Tewdrig occurs in the "Genealogy of Iestyn ab Gwrgan": "Tewdrig ab Teithfallt was an eminently good king, who drove the infidel Saxons and the Goidels out of the country. He founded many churches and colleges, endowing them with possessions. He founded a church at Llandaff on the spot where stood the church of Lles (Lucius) ab Coel, which was burnt down by the infidels, and endowed it with extensive lands; he also gave property to Côr Illtyd, and instituted there four fair establishments for the votaries of religion and learning. It was through him that Illtyd brought S. Garmon to Wales; for Côr Eurgain had now been almost entirely destroyed by the Saxons; but a new and contiguous one was established by Illtyd through the gifts and affection of Tewdrig. . . . S. Garmon then founded a college at Llancarfan, after which the Saxons made a second irruption into the country, but they were opposed and vanquished by Tewdrig, who, however, was slain in the engagement, at the place called Merthyr Tewdrig."[5]

The document is of the seventeenth century, and these statements are only partially authentic.

[1] *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 148, 221.
[2] Birch, *Catalogue of Penrice and Margam Abbey MSS.*, 1893, i, pp. 1, 7, 35 *Margam Abbey*, p. 391 (index); *Arch. Camb.*, 1903, pp. 121–44.
[3] *Itin.*, ed. Nasmith, 1778, p. 163. [4] Willis, *Llandaff*, 1719, p. 61.
[5] *Iolo MSS.*; p. 10; cf. pp. 108, 136, 149.

S. TEWDWR

THE sole authority for a Welsh saint of this name is the *Iolo MSS.*,[1] where he is entered as Tewdwr Brycheiniog, and said to have been a son of Nefydd ab Nefydd Ail ab Rhun (Rhain) Dremrudd ab Brychan Brycheiniog. All the persons forming the links in his pedigree are there stated to have been saints.

Hugh Thomas (died 1714), the Breconshire herald, in one of the volumes of his collection, *Harleian MS.* 4181, in the British Museum, says, "Teudor or Theodor ap Nevith succeeded King of Brecknock; some thinke he lived at Crucas near Brecknock; and had issue a son called Dyfinfall," who succeeded his father.

Tewdwr Mawr, though a son of Emyr Llydaw and father of S. Canna, is nowhere accounted a saint.

In Glamorganshire there are recent Theodore church-dedications at Port Talbot, Newcastle, S. Bride's Minor, and Garw Valley.

A Teuderius, Confessor, is entered in the early calendar in *Cotton MS. Vesp.* A. xiv on October 29; but this was probably Theodore, the sixth century abbot at Vienne, commemorated on that day.

S. TEYRNOG or TIGHERNACH, Bishop, Confessor

TEYRNOG was the son of Hawystl Gloff by Tywanwedd, daughter of Amlawdd Wledig.[2] He was brother to SS. Tyfrydog, Tudur, Diefer or Deifer, and Marchell. The genealogies mention him as a saint "in the Vale of Clwyd," meaning at Llandyrnog. Diefer and Marchell were the old patrons of the adjoining parishes of Bodfari and Denbigh (anciently Llanfarchell). He is said to have been a saint or monk of Bangor Dunawd, on the Dee.[3]

[1] Pp. 121, 140. Teudur or Tewdwr ab Rhain, some time in the seventh century, divided the sovereignty of Brycheiniog with Elwystl ab Awst until he murdered the latter (*Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 167–8).
[2] *Peniarth MSS.* 16 and 45; *Hafod MS.* 16.
[3] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 105. The later authorities are divided as regards the spelling of his name. Teyrnog in *Iolo MSS.*, p. 105, and *Myv. Arch.*, p. 431; and Tyrnog in *Cardiff MS.* 5 (1527), *Mostyn MS.* 144 (seventeenth century), *Iolo MSS*, p. 124, and *Myv. Arch.*, p. 431. But he is to be distinguished from Tyrnog, son of Corun. Llandyrnog is occasionally found spelt Llandeyrnog (e.g. Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 914). In the *Taxatio* of 1254 it is Landernant, for Landernauc. The name Teyrnog is in Irish Tigernach or Tighearnach, which is Latinized Tigernacus (Tegernacus on the Capel Brithdir inscribed stone), and Anglicized Tierney. In Breton it was Tiarnoc (Cartulary of Redon). Tyrnog is Ternóc, for Ternācos.

We venture to suggest the identification of Teyrnog with the well-known Irish saint Tighernach, Bishop of Clones. Our sole ground for doing so is that their festival days coincide; but the Irish account of the origin of Tighernach differs entirely from that given of Teyrnog.

The authorities for the Life of S. Tighernach are: A *Vita Sancti Tigernaci*, printed in full by Mr. Plummer in *Vitæ Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, Oxford, 1910, from two Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian, of which, however, one is merely the copy of the other. A fragmentary Life in the *Salamanca Codex*, which was printed in 1888, in the *Acta SS. Hib.*, pp. 211–20. It was also published by the Bollandists, *Acta SS.*, April, i, pp. 401 ff., from three MSS., one being from the *Salamanca Codex*, while of the remaining two one was supplied by Hugh Ward, the other by Henry Fitzsimon. This last copy contained one chapter peculiar to itself. In Mr. Plummer's *Vitæ* it is in ii, pp. 262–8.

The composition is late, and is made up of much fabulous matter, but it nevertheless is worked over a fibre of history. Tighernach is also mentioned in the Life of S. Eoghain. He is made a contemporary with Bishop Conlaeth of Kildare (d. 520), with Brigid (d. 525), and with Dubhtach of Armagh (d. 548); so that there is no anachronism here if Tighernach died in 549 or 550.

His mother's name was Derfraich, daughter of Echach, Prince of Clogher. She loved "not wisely but too well" one Coirb, of Leinster, and by him became a mother. Coirb carried off his offspring, a boy, so soon as it was born, and committed the child to S. Brigid at Kildare, who held him at the font and fostered him. He was baptized by Bishop Conlaeth, and as he came of royal blood was named Tighernach.

Whilst still a child, he and Eoghain were carried off by pirates and sold as slaves in Britain, where they were bought by a petty king, who brought them up as his own children, and treated them with great kindness.

Because Tighernach was a pretty child the king and queen took him into their bed, but as he set it on fire—playing with the candle maybe—they put him to sleep in the crib with their two sons; but according to the legend his overpowering sanctity smothered them, so they sent to S. Monenn of Rosnat, that is to say, Mancen or Maucan, of Ty Gwyn, to resuscitate their sons and take charge of the precocious infant.[1]

[1] "Deinde sanctus puer . . . sancti Monenni disciplinis et monitis in *Rosnatensi* monasterio, quod alio nomine *Alba* vocatur diligenter instructus," etc. *Vita*, col. 213. "Quos duos (sc. Tighernachum et Eugenium) vir sanctus et sapiens Nennyo, qui Maucennus dicitur, de Rostatensi monasterio . . . accepit." *Vita S. Eugenii*, *Acta SS. Hib.*, *Cod. Sal.*, col. 915. "The only inconsistency is the introduction of Monend or Monennus," says Mr. Plummer; "if, as seems probable, he is meant to be identified with Nynias of Whithern or Candida Casa, who is said to have died in 432." But the monastery was not Whithern, but Rosnat or Ty Gwyn.

This nonsense may be reduced to a very simple matter. The children played with their pillows, and made such a racket in the nursery, that the good-natured king and queen sent Tighernach away to school.

From the Life of S. Eoghain of Ardstraw we learn that he had as his companions there both Eoghain and Coirpre, afterwards of Coleraine. After some years spent at Rosnat, pirates descended on the coast, and carried away Tighernach, Eoghain, Coirpre and other boys from the school, and sold them as slaves in Armorica, where these three became by purchase the property of a petty king there, who set them to grind in his mill.

The mill consisted of a quern. It required two to work it. The upper stone had in it a hole into which a staff was thrust, and one boy turned the handle and stone round from left to right, when the staff was taken by the boy who sat opposite, and he twisted it round in turn. It was a long, tedious and laborious work, and was generally done by women or slaves.

The boys had taken their psalter with them, and this they read when supposed to be engaged in grinding corn. The king's steward looked in on them, saw how they were occupied, and reported it to his master, who, being a Christian, and holding learning in regard, freely discharged the lads, and sent them back to Rosnat, where they were welcomed by their master, and with him they completed their studies.

When Tighernach's monastic training was completed he visited Rome and Tours. On his travels he made fast friends with another Irishman, Ciaran, son of Eochaid, of whom we know nothing further. They journeyed together, and were fortunate in escaping from an inn where they discovered that the host was in the habit of murdering his guests, if he thought that they had money with them. At least, this seems to be the fact which underlies a somewhat strange story told of nine dead men in a tavern.[1]

On his way back to Ireland, on reaching the shore of the Irish Sea, he found that Ethnea, daughter of the King of Munster, had been forcibly carried off to be married to a prince in Britain. She threw herself on the protection of Tighernach, and he intervened. He was allowed to take her back to her native island, and he gave her the veil, and she founded a monastic school.

On landing in Munster and unloading his boat he was agreeably

[1] *Vita*, *Cod. Sal.*, coll. 213–4; Plummer, *Vitæ*, p. 263.

surprised to find a thurible which he had mislaid, and supposed that he had lost.

In Munster he found that the people still had recourse to an oracular stone, and worshipped it with Pagan rites. To this he succeeded in putting a stop.

He now went to his native place, over which ruled at the time a prince named Fiachra, who gave him a patch of land, around which Tighernach proceeded to dig a ditch. The sole condition imposed on Tighernach for receiving the grant was that, in return, he should go with Fiachra to battle and bless his men and curse the enemy. With this Tighernach cheerfully complied. On the very first occasion on which he was called out, the foe turned and fled, and Fiachra's men pursued them and cut them down, till Tighernach interposed to stop the butchery. It had been the custom heretofore after a battle for the victors to cut off the heads of the dead and wounded and carry them home, stack them and count them. Tighernach obtained a mitigation of this barbarous usage. He induced the king to order that the bodies should not be mutilated, and that a bit of turf should be carried away in place of each man who had been killed.[1]

Fiachra was vastly scrupulous about invading the rights of the saint. When his servant, one day, had torn up some grass from Tighernach's field, wherewith to line the king's shoes, Fiachra sent the grass back, lest Tighernach should suppose that he claimed a right to depasture his meadow.

The saint now went to Kildare to visit his spiritual mother, S. Brigid. She was well pleased with his character and piety, and forthwith gave orders that he should be consecrated bishop.[2]

When he had been consecrated, Tighernach departed to visit his maternal grandfather, Eochaid or Echach, and was well received by him and by his mother. Eochaid at once expelled Bishop Maccarthen from Clogher and installed his grandson in his place. This, however, was too high-handed a proceeding for Tighernach to approve of it, and he retired to a cell of his own founding. There he became celebrated

[1] "Deinde rex, ejusque exercitus, ad propria redientes, decollatorum capita secundum eorum estimationem secum tulerunt; sed non vere capita sed glebas palustres cum suis fenis prolixis esse cognoverunt." *Ibid.*, col. 217; Plummer, pp. 265–6. The interpretation of this story seems to be as given above. The object of carrying off the heads was to enable the victors to reckon up the number of the enemy slain. This could be done just as well by taking a turf for every head.

[2] "Convocatis episcopis eum ad pontificalis ordinis apicem provehi fecit. In hoc enim a clero et a populo totius Hiberniæ erat ipsa beata Brigida privilegiata ut quemcumque ipsa ordinandum judicandum ordinaret, ab omnibus eligeretur." *Ibid.*, col 217.

for his virtues, and many flocked to him; amongst other visitors he had was Dubhtach or Duach, Bishop of Armagh. On his way back Dubhtach fell ill, and, hearing of this, Tighernach went after him, found him very weak, but able to speak, and Dubhtach's salutation was, "Tighernach on earth, Tighernach in heaven!" probably meaning that Tighernach's body was on earth, but his spirit was engaged in heavenly contemplation.

An odd story is told of Tighernach's drive to see Dubhtach. He bade his charioteer shut his eyes whilst driving, and not venture to open them. Angels guided the vehicle. The charioteer could not resist the curiosity he felt to ascertain who was conducting the horses at such a furious speed, and without incurring an accident, and he looked. Thereupon his eyeballs burst. Tighernach, moved with pity, healed him, but the token of what had happened was ever after depicted in his eyes.

Dubhtach lived on for some years after, and always maintained an affectionate regard for Tighernach, who had shown him such attention when he was ill.

On the death of the expelled Bishop Maccarthen, Tighernach did not deem it unseemly to take over the charge of his abbey and rule. He also went into Oriel to the king, Tachodorus, as he is called in the Life, and he was granted Clones, where he was required to establish a monastery.

Oriel forms a strip between Connaught and Meath, on the South, and Uladh or Ulster, on the North, and was included in the latter It extended from Loch Erne to the borders of the Dalar aidh Tribe, which ran from Loch Neagh to Carlingford Lough. Clones is in Monaghan. Here Tighernach now fixed his seat, but as he continued to hold Clogher, in Tyrone, he was called "The Man of Two Districts."

Tighernach learned that seven hostages held by Aedh MacCormac were about to be slaughtered, "pro crimine parentum." He begged them of the king, who surrendered them to the saint on condition that the saint would deliver him, when he also was in peril of a violent death. To this the Bishop agreed. Soon after, Aedh MacCormac was attacked in his rath by foes, and it was only by invoking the saint that he escaped death. Tighernach ordained the seven hostages clerics, and two of them were promoted to the episcopate. As Bardubh, the wife of Aedh, was barren, Tighernach blessed her womb, and she then became the mother of Fechin, and of Romanus, who became an abbot.

One day the saint saw a hawk carrying off a chicken, to the great distress of the hen. He at once intervened, commanded the hawk to

restore the chicken, and commanded him and his race thenceforth to become guardians, not ravishers, of poultry.

For the last thirty years of his life he was blind, and spent most of his time in his cell, engaged in meditation and prayer. As the time of his departure approached, he appointed his beloved disciple Comgall to succeed him in his principal monastery, and he retired to die in the other.

The *Annals of the Four Masters* state that he died on April 4, 548; but the *Chronicon Scottorum* gives as date 550. He died whilst the Yellow Plague was ravaging Britain and Ireland, but not of the plague, but of extreme old age.

The only church in Wales of which he was founder and is still patron is Llandyrnog. Although in the Life there is no intimation of his having visited Cornwall, yet there is a dedication to him. Northill has him as patron, locally called S. Torney. There is a church of S. Thégonnec in Brittany, but we can hardly equate the name with Tighernach. What alone can be said in favour of the identification is that Thégonnec is represented as an archbishop, and that Tighernach was called the Bishop of Two Sees. Thégonnec is almost certainly Toquonoc, who was disciple of S. Paul of Léon. His day is September 6.

The day of S. Tighernach in the *Félire* of Oengus is April 4; on the same day in the Martyrology of Tallaght, and that of Donegal, and the Drummond Calendar; also the *Félire* of Marianus O'Gorman. On the same day Whytford has: "In englonde the feest of Saynt Tiernake y^{t} was of the kynges blode of yrelond, and in y^{e} tyme of warre was taken a childe and brought in to englond and sold as a bond man," etc. On the same day Nicolas Roscarrock; but in the Aberdeen Breviary on April 5. In the MS. Missal of Tréguier, fifteenth century, and in the Léon Breviary, 1516, on September 6. The Feast at Northill is on September 8, or rather the Sunday after, and this comes very near the day on which the saint is commemorated in Brittany.

His day is on April 4 in the Welsh Calendars in *Peniarth MSS.* 27, 186, 187, 192, 219, *Mostyn MS.* 88, *Llanstephan MSS.* 117, 181, the Prymers of 1618 and 1633, and *Allwydd Paradwys*; but on April 2 in that in *Peniarth MS.* 172. Browne Willis[1] gives his festival at Llandyrnog on April 4. *Llanstephan MS.* 117 gives a festival of Tyrnog also on September 25. Several Welsh calendars give Tyrnog on June 26, but this is in all probability a mistake for Twrog.

One of the stained glass windows formerly on the south side of the Church of Llangynhafal, in the neighbourhood of Llandyrnog, bore a legend with the invocation, "S'te Dyrnoke." In an ode to Henry VII[2]

[1] *Survey of Bangor*, 1721, p. 278. [2] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 314.



S. TYRNOG.
From Modern Glass at Llandyrnog Church.

the saint's protection (" nawdd Dyrnog ") is invoked for that king.

In the parish of Darowen, in Montgomeryshire, is a farm named Rhos Dyrnog, on which is a field called Cae yr Hên Eglwys (Old Church Field). Darowen Church is dedicated to Teyrnog's brother Tudur ; so the name bears witness to Teyrnog's presence there.

S. TILULL

A S. TILULL or Tylull is mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, with a church Lann Tilull.[1] The boundary of the *Llan* is given, and the editors suggest Sant y Nyl, in S. Bride's Super Ely, Glamorganshire, as identification.[2] Nothing appears to be known of the saint. The suggested place-name, however, might well enough embody the name of S. Nilus or Nil, Abbot of Calabria, who died in 1005, and is commemorated in the Roman and Benedictine Martyrologies on September 26, and who may have been introduced by the Normans, like the S. Roch of Capel S. Roque, in Merthyr Mawr.

S. TOQUONOC (THÉGONNEC), Bishop, Confessor

NOTHING further is known of this saint than that he was one of the British disciples Paul of Léon brought with him to Armorica. His name, as Wrmonoc, the author of the Life of S. Paul, says, was Quonoc, but he was also called Toquonoc,[3] with the well-known honorific prefix.

His church in Finistère is one of the most marvellous of the granite ecclesiastical structures in the department.

At S. Thégonnec he is represented as an archbishop with crozier. There is, however, no record of his having been a bishop.

His statue is in the church ; he holds a double branched crozier, and has a wain drawn by wolves at his feet. He is said to have had his horse killed by a wolf ; he accordingly ordered the wild beast to take the place of the slain and devoured domestic animal.

The Abbé Duine, in *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, 1903, pp. 471–2,

[1] Pp. 32, 43, 216–7.
[2] P. 376. It is between S. Bride's village and Coed Marchan.
[3] *Revue Celtique*, v, p. 437. In Welsh the forms would appear as Cynog and Tygynog.

gives some local traditions concerning the saint; and M. J. L. Ollivier, formerly Vicaire of S. Thégonnec, has published a Breton cantique on the legendary Life of the Saint. 1. Thégonnec arrived in Llydaw when quite a young man. He laboured to convert the natives, and endeavoured to build a church on a height, now having a cross on it. But during the night the stones rolled down to the spot where now stands the church. The saint recognized this as a token of the Divine will, and built where the stones rested. 2. A wolf devoured his horse. He constrained the wild beast to draw the wain in its room. 3. Whilst occupied on his work of building, he and his wagon passed through the hamlet of Bougez, a kilometre to the west; and he asked the inhabitants to give his horse some water. They refused: whereupon he cursed the place, "Boujez a voujezo; abikenn dour mad no dévézo," or "Bougez will remain Bougez, and will never have good water." Since then there has been a lack of water there. 4. The saint struck a rock with his staff, and a spring gushed forth, known to this day as the Ar Stivel, or Fountain of the Rock; and here Thégonnec resided for a while. 5. The reputation of the saint having spread, he was elected archbishop of Dol. It is, however, certain that there was not only no archbishop, but also no bishop of that name at Dol.

It is possible that this is due to a confounding of Thégonnec with Tighernach, who was entitled "the Bishop of Two Sees," and who certainly when young had been in Armorica.

The days on which Thégonnec is commemorated are September 8–14

S. TRIDIAN

THERE was clearly a Welsh Saint named Tridian or Trudian. There is a Landridian and a Ffynnon Dridian in the parish of S. Nicholas, in Pembrokeshire, and also a farm called Llandridion or Llandrudion, in the parish of S. David's.

Possibly Lanrhidian, in Gower, also preserves the name Tridian, and not Rhidian. In the *Annals of Margam* (*s.a.* 1185) the name is spelt Landridian, and the mention of a S. Illtyd's Well at the place suggests an original dedication of the church to that saint.[1]

Nothing appears to be known of Tridian.

[1] Luard, *Annales Monastici*, i, p. 18; Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, i, pp. 398, 408. There is an Abertridian in the parish of Eglwys Ilan, Glamorganshire. Tridian may possibly be the same as Triduana, the pet form of S. Tredwell's name, the virgin saint of Restalrig, near Edinburgh. See further what has been said under S. RHIDIAN, *supra*, p. 111.



S. THEGONNEC.
From Statue at S. Thégonnec, Finistère.

S. TRILLO, Abbot, Confessor

TERILLO or Trillo was the son of Ithel Hael of Llydaw, and brother of SS. Tegai and Llechid. He is mentioned in the earlier pedigrees [1] as being of "Dineirth in Rhos," i.e. Llandrillo yn Rhos, on the North Wales coast, in the county of Denbigh. His brother and sister settled in Carnarvonshire. According to later pedigrees [2] Ithel had other children, and they are said to have all come to Wales from Armorica with Cadfan, their kinsman. Trillo is stated to have been a saint of Bardsey.

On the shore at Llandrillo is an interesting oratory known as Capel Trillo,[3] of the type found more especially in Ireland. It is in form a parallelogram, measuring internally about 11 feet by 8 feet, and built over a perennial spring, situated at the east end, whence all the water for baptisms in the parish was religiously borne formerly. A little distance from the chapel is the Rhos Fynach fish weir, a stone and timber fence shaped like the letter V. The Bishop of S. Asaph (as Rector) and the Vicar of the parish are entitled to the tithe of fish taken in the weir—every tenth day from May 13 to October 18 being theirs—and the owner of the weir in former times insisted on continuing an immemorial custom of having prayers read in S. Trillo's chapel three times during the fishing season, a custom still kept up on the west coast of Ireland. Up to 1872 the Bishop received three-fourths and the Vicar one-fourth of the tithe of fish caught. Salmon were formerly taken in good quantities in this weir, but the fish now trapped are not of much value.

Another church dedicated to S. Trillo is Llandrillo yn Edernion, in Merionethshire. There is here a Ffynnon Drillo, which was formerly in repute as a healing well, especially in cases of rheumatism. It was situated in a corner of a low-lying meadow, about half a mile north of the village, until between 1850 and 1860, when, owing to the tenant farmer's objection to trespassers, as it was believed, its water suddenly ceased to flow, only to gush forth in a neighbouring tenant's field as a strong spring. The incident was put down to the intervention of the saint.[4] Edward Lhuyd, in his notes on the parish (1699), mentions a

[1] *Peniarth MSS.* 12, 16, 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Cardiff MSS.* 5 (p. 118), 25 (p. 115); *Llanstephan MS.* 28 (p. 71); cf. *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 427, 430. Dinerth is the name of one of the townships. There was also a castle of the name (mentioned several times in *Brut y Tywysogion*) situated a little to the east of Aberayron, in Cardiganshire.

[2] *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 104, 112, 133.

[3] For a description and illustration see *Arch. Camb.*, 1855, pp. 182–4.

[4] For a somewhat different account see the *Transactions of the Liverpool Welsh National Society*, 1892–3, p. 93.

tumulus, " Bedh y Santes ar lan Kadwet lhe kladdwyd Santes (*uxorem intelligit*) Trilho "—the grave of Trillo's consort, on the bank of the Cadwed brook. Under the neighbouring parish of Llandderfel he gives a rough sketch of the figure of S. Trillo which was then in the north window of that church, with the legend underneath it, " Scūs Trillo : abbat." The saint, who has a nimbus, is vested, and holds an open book in his left hand, and a pastoral staff, the top of which is gone, in his right.[1] But he was abbot only over his Llans, as was the custom in the Celtic Church.

There must have been a holy well of his formerly in the parish of Llansannan, Denbighshire, as there was a cottage called Ffynnon Drillo there, now in ruins, about a mile and a half from the parish church.

Browne Willis gives the dedication of Llandrygarn Church, in Anglesey, as to " S. Trygan alias S. Trillo " (Festival, June 15), and also to him Llangeneu (Festival, February 16), in Breconshire ;[2] but the ascription of these to Trillo is very improbable.

The dedication of the Church of Clocaenog, in Denbighshire, called in the parish-list in *Peniarth MS.* 147 (*circa* 1566) " Plwyf Trylokaynoc," is regarded as doubtful ; some say Trillo, others Caenog, and Foddyd ; but there can be no doubt as to its being dedicated to a S. Medwida or Meddwyd,[3] of whom, however, nothing is known.

Trillo's festival is June 15, which occurs in most of the earlier Welsh calendars. The grant of a fair at Bangor on S. Trillo's day, eve and morrow (still held on June 25), was procured by Bishop Matthew de Englefield (1328–57).[4]

The name of Trillo, together with those of SS. Deiniol and Grwst, and the king's son Rhun, appears among the signatories of the grant by Maelgwn Gwynedd to S. Kentigern.[5]

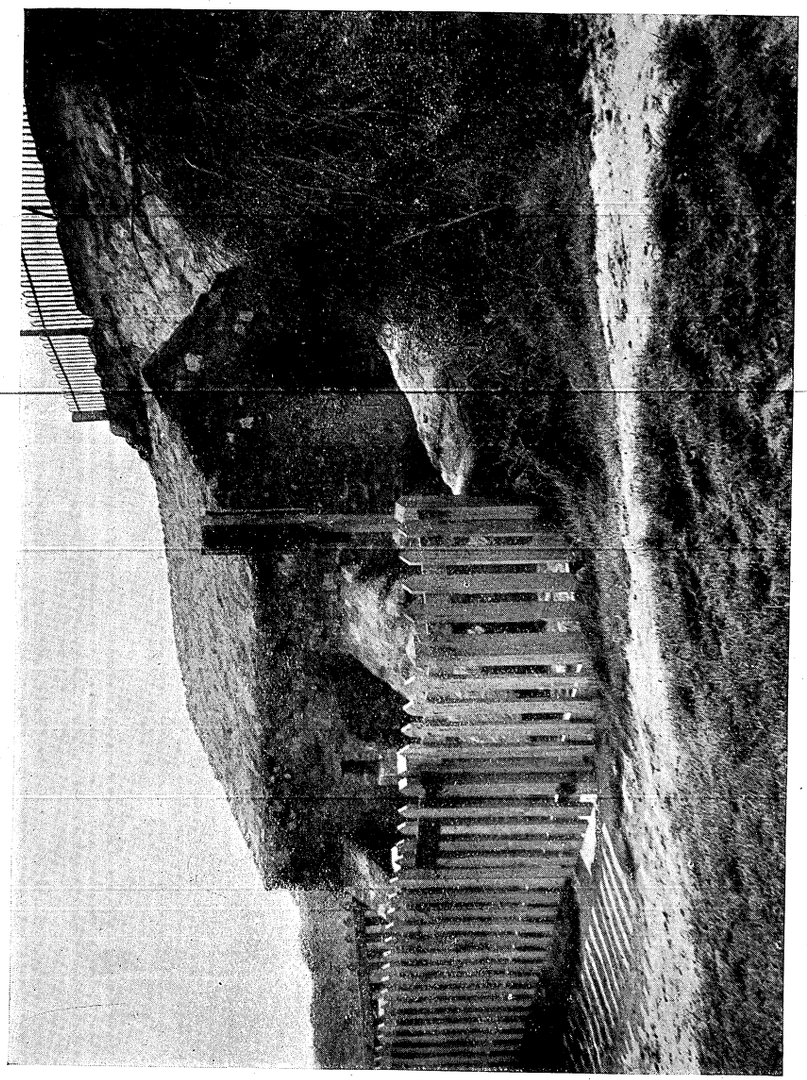
[1] *Peniarth MS.* 251, p. 118. It is reproduced in Lhuyd's *Parochialia*, iii, p. 158, Suppl. to *Arch. Camb.*, 1911.

[2] *Survey of Bangor*, p. 280 ; *Paroch. Anglic.*, p. 181 (so Ecton).

[3] ii, p. 49 ; iii, p. 458.

[4] Willis, *Bangor*, p. 75. He gives the festivals of the two Llandrillo churches on June 16 (*ibid.*, pp. 362, 365). Bp. Maddox (1736–43), in MS. Z, enters for the Edernion church, " Wake Sunday before Michaelmass." " In festo sc̄i Terillo" occurs in a document dated 1261 in the *Red Book of S Asaph*, p. 15, in the Episcopal Library.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 118. Tudur Aled, in an ode to Sion ab Dafydd, Abbot of Valle Crucis, pays him a compliment in the line, " A Thrillo wrth yr Allawr " (*Llanstephan MS.* 30, p. 57).



CAPEL TRILLO.
On the shore at Llandrillo-yn-Rhos.
(Photo by Wm. Marriott Dodson.)

S. TRUNIO, Confessor

THIS saint's name occurs in the earlier MSS.[1] as Trunio (in modern spelling), but in the later ones as Trinio.[2] He was the son of Difwng [3] ab Emyr Llydaw, and first cousin to S. Cadfan (with whom, no doubt, he came from Brittany) and SS. Winwaloe, Padarn, and Samson.

Very little is known of Trunio. He is the patron of Llandrinio,[4] in Montgomeryshire. His festival seems only to occur in the calendar in the autograph of Gutyn Owain in *Peniarth MS.* 186 (late fifteenth century), where it is given on June 29, but in a later hand. One of the two fairs formerly annually held at Llandrinio—instituted in 1309—was on the eve, day, and morrow of the Festival of SS. Peter and Paul, June 29; and in later times the wakes were observed on the first Sunday after that festival.[5] Whether S. Trunio's Festival suggested the later dedication of the church to SS. Peter and Paul, or the Festival of those apostles suggested that of S. Trunio, it is difficult to say, but one or other may be suspected.

Trinio is named among the many saints who were invoked in a poem for Henry VII.[6]

Walter Mapes, in his *De Nugis*, tells a curious legend, of the Undine class, about a person whose name is doubtfully read Trinio Faglog, who lived about the fifth century in the neighbourhood of Llyn Syfaddon, near Brecon, and whose mother was a fairy.[7]

S. TRYDDID

THE only authority for a saint named Tryddid or Treiddyd is the brief entry in the *Iolo MSS.*,[8] which states that he was a saint of Côr

[1] *Peniarth MSS.* 16, 45, etc.

[2] *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 103, 111, 133; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 430.

[3] Dyvwng (*Peniarth MS.* 16), Diwng (*Pen. MS.* 45), Diuangi (*Pen. MS.* 12), Diuwc (*Hafod MS.* 16), Difung (*Cardiff MS.* 25, p. 115). Diuwng occurs in the pedigree of Gruffydd ab Cynan.

[4] There is mentioned in the terrier a meadow, called Gweirglodd y Sant, at the S.W. corner of the churchyard.

[5] Willis, *Bangor*, p. 360, gives the dedication as to S. Peter, June 29. Bp. Maddox (1736–43), in MS. Z, says, "Church d'd to H. Trinity (wake 1st Sunday after St. Peters)."

[6] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 314.

[7] Cited by Sir J. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, i, pp. 70–2. A "Kynuelyn trunyaw" is mentioned in the Welsh text of Geoffrey's *Historia* (*Bruts*, p. 200), who appears in the Latin (ix, c. 12) as "Kimbelim, Maptrunat."

[8] P. 221.

Illtyd, at Llantwit, and founded the church of Llantryddid or Llantrithyd, in the Vale of Glamorgan. Often in records (e.g. the *Book of Llan Dâv*) the church name is spelt with an *r* for the *dd*—Lanririd, or the like, involving, as it would appear, the personal name Rhirid.[1]

The church is now given as dedicated to S. Illtyd; but may it not have been originally to that saint's wife, whose name is spelt Trynihid and Trinihid in his Life? [2] In any case, the existence of a S. Tryddid is very doubtful.

S. TUDCLYD, Confessor

TUTCLYT or Tudclyd was one of the sons of Seithenin Frenin, of Maes Gwyddno, whose low-lying territory was inundated by the sea, and now forms the Cardigan Bay. He was brother to Gwynhoedl, Merin (or Meirin), Tudno, and Senewyr,[3] who all on losing their patrimony became saints of Bangor on Dee.[4]

The only church dedicated to him is that of Penmachno [5] (for Pennant Machno), formerly occasionally called Llandudclyd,[6] in Carnarvonshire.

His festival is May 30, and occurs in a good number of the Welsh calendars, in some of which his name is given as Tuclyd.

[1] Its old name was possibly Nant Rhirid; see Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 992; ii, p. 134.

[2] *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 159, 171.

[3] *Peniarth MSS.* 16, 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 428, 431. On p. 419 of the last named his name is spelt Bliglyd.

[4] *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 105, 141.

[5] Its dedication, e.g. Rice Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 332 (from Ecton), to a S. Tyddud we must refer to a blunder over the spelling of the saint's name. It is said that there were formerly in the churchyard of Penmachno two churches, the one known as S. Enclydwyn's, and the other as S. Tyddud's. Within the parish, in the Lledr valley, was another church, called Llantyddud. The three have now disappeared, S. Tyddud's being pulled down in 1857, when the present church was erected on its site (North, *Old Churches of Arllechwedd*, Bangor, 1906, pp. 119–26). These forms represent Tudclyd, the first being for Tudclyd Wyn.

[6] In an elegy by Seisyll Bryffwrch (1160–1210) on Iorwerth Drwyndwn it is called Llan dutchyd (*Myv. Arch*, p. 236).

S. TUDGLID, Matron

TUTGLID or Tudglid was one of the daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog, and, according to the *Cognatio*, the wife of Cyngen, prince of Powys, and mother of Cadell, Brochwel Ysgythrog, Mawn, and others. In the Domitian version of the *Cognatio* her name is spelt Tuglit, and in *Jesus College MS.* 20, Gutuyl.

There can hardly be a doubt that Tudglid was the original patron of the Church of Llanwrtyd (now S. David), which is situated in Brychanland. Edward Lhuyd in his notes (1699) on the parish says,[1] "Ye feast of ye parish is kept on Dy-gŵyl Dyclid [i.e. the Feast-day of Tyclid], viz. 9th of May"; and he mentions as in the parish a "Ffynnon Dyclid." Tudclyd and Tudglid are the only saints whose names approach Tyclid in form; but the former belonged to another part of Wales. No saint of similar name is commemorated in the Welsh calendars on May 9; and nothing is known of a S. Gwrtyd.

Various late documents give as wife of Cyngen and mother of Brochwel, Tydfil,[2] Tangwystl,[3] and Tudwystl,[4] all daughters of Brychan; but they are all blunderings over the name Tudglid.

S. TUDHISTIL, Virgin, Martyr

THIS was a daughter of Brychan. In the Vespasian *Cognatio* she is entered thus, "Tudhistil inde dicitur Merthir Tudhistil"; and in the Domitian version, "Tutbistyl ab ea dicitur Merthyr Tutbystil."

Merthir Tudhistil has not been identified, but it must be the now extinct chapel surviving in the farm-name Capel Tydyst, in the parish of Llandeilo Fawr, Carmarthenshire. It is mentioned in a plaint in Aneurin Owen's edition of the Welsh Laws [5] as "Llan Dydystyl o vywn y vaenor Vabon," i.e. "Llan Dydystl, within Maenor Fabon," in that parish. Her sisters Tybïeu and Lluan are associated with two neighbouring parishes. There are several instances of a *Merthyr* being changed into *Llan*; e.g. the two Monmouthshire churches, Merthyr Maches, now Llanfaches, and Merthyr Tegfedd, now Llandegveth.

[1] *Parochialia*, iii, p. 50, Suppl. to *Arch. Camb.*, 1911.

[2] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 121; Tydwall in *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 271.

[3] *Myv. Arch.*, p. 430.

[4] *Peniarth MS.* 75, p. 53.

[5] Folio ed., p. 625.

Tudwystl, a daughter of Brychan, is given as wife of Cyngen, prince of Powys, and mother of Brochwel, in the sixteenth century *Peniarth MS.* 75, p. 53; but she is the Tangwystl of the *Myvyrian,*[1] and both are mistakes for Tudglid. On p. 54 of the same *Peniarth MS.* we have another daughter of Brychan, Tudwystl, "yn Ron yn ffraingk." Tadwystl also occurs.[2] The only name that matches these various forms in *Jesus College MS.* 20 is Taghwystyl. See under S. TANGLWST.

S. TUDNO, Confessor

TUDNO was the son of Seithenin Frenin, King of Maes Gwyddno, or the Plain of Gwyddno, which the sea overwhelmed in the sixth century, and formed what is now Cardigan Bay. He had as brothers Gwynhoedl, Merin (or Meirin), Senewyr, and Tudclyd,[3] all saints, and who, according to the later accounts,[4] on losing their patrimony, became saints, or monks, of Bangor Dunawd, on the Dee. Tudno is usually mentioned in the pedigrees as of Cyngreawdr,[5] which is the old Welsh name of the Great Orme's Head promontory, called by the Welsh inhabitants to-day Y Gogarth.

The only church of which Tudno is patron is the little fane on the Great Orme, which was formerly the parish church of Llandudno. It is situated on the northern slope of the high headland, in a secluded spot called Pant yr Eglwys, about two miles from modern Llandudno. It was wrecked in 1839 by a great storm, and lay in a ruinous condition until 1855, when it was restored. The saint's well, Ffynnon Dudno,

[1] *Myv. Arch.*, p. 430. [2] *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 270.

[3] *Peniarth MSS.* 16, 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Cardiff MSS.* 5 (p. 118), 25 (pp. 29, 35); *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 419, 428, 430. The name is compounded of Tut + gno, meaning familiar with, or skilled in, the land, and is to be compared with Cludno, Gwyddno, and Machno. It seems to occur in the name of the priory of Lo-Tuznou at Lannilis, in Finistère.

[4] *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 105 (Tudnof), 141. Tudno's name is sometimes misread Tyneio (*Myv. Arch.*, pp. 419, 431; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 142). The old parish church of Pwllheli is usually supposed to have been dedicated to a S. Tyneio, but the old parish name was Deneio or Denio.

[5] "Yg kyngredavdyr" (*Peniarth MS.* 16); "ynghyngreadur" (*Hafod MS.* 16); "yg Kyngredawdyr," "yngygreawdyr" (*Cardiff MS.* 25, pp. 25, 35); "ynghyngreawdr" (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 419); "gyngreawdyr fynyd," in Gwalchmai's *Gorhoffet* (*ibid.*, p. 144); "Kyngrayadur," "Kyngreadr" (*Record of Caernarvon*, pp. 110, 235). The name would now be written Cyngreawdr, but its meaning is not known. Gogarth occurs as a name elsewhere.

is about one hundred yards to the east of the church, and still issues forth a copious spring of crystal water. On the Orme, within the ancient *din* of Pendinas, is what was once a perfect Maen Sigl, or Rocking Stone, which is known as Cryd Tudno, his Cradle. One of the several caves on the coast of the headland is Ogof Llech, measuring about 6½ feet across each way by about 10 feet high, which is supposed to have been occupied by the saint as a cell.

June 5 is given as Tudno's festival in the calendars in the *Additional MS.* 14,882 (1591), *Peniarth MS.* 219, and in the MS. additions to the calendar in a copy of the *Preces Privatæ* of 1573 in S. Beuno's College Library. Browne Willis gives the same day.[1]

One of the "Thirteen Royal Treasures of Britain," taken away by Merlin in his Glass House to sea, was the Hogalen, or Whetstone, of Tudno Tudclyd, which had the property of sharpening the sword of a hero, but blunting that of a coward.[2] Sometimes it is ascribed to Tudwal Tudclyd, the father of Rhydderch Hael, which is much more probably the correct version.

* * *

Though strange to us thy life and death
Yet English faith shall say
Thou wast among God's witnesses
In that wild, ancient day.

And still, where thine own mountain church
Looks calmly o'er the waves,
And—sight of joy!—the blessed Cross,
Gleams fair on recent graves,

We'll honour one that walked with God,
And sought no earthly fame,
And blend with thanksgiving to Christ
His faithful Tudno's name.[3]

S. TUDUR, Confessor

TUDUR was the son of Hawystl Gloff by Tywanwedd, daughter of Amlawdd Wledig, and brother to SS. Tyfrydog, Diefer, Teyrnog, and Marchell.[4] He is mentioned in the genealogies as a saint at "Darowen in Cyfeiliog," in Montgomeryshire, and, in a late document, is stated

[1] Lewis Morris's brother, William, was present at the Tudno *Gwyl Mabsant* in 1761, and witnessed a party acting an interlude (*Morris Letters*, ed. J. H. Davies, ii, pp. 354–5).

[2] *Brython*, 1860, p. 372; Roberts, *Cambrian Popular Antiquities*, 1815, p. 76.

[3] The late Canon Bright, of Christ Church.

[4] *Peniarth MSS.* 16, 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 431; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 124, 145.

to have been, like the rest of Hawystl's children, a saint of Bangor on Dee, and afterwards of Bardsey.[1]

Tudur is the patron of Darowen, where he is believed to have been buried, and where his festival was observed, according to Browne Willis,[2] on October 14, which is also his day in the calendars in the Prymers of 1618 and 1633, and in some Welsh almanacks of the eighteenth century, but the *Iolo MSS.* give October 15. The same Welsh Prymers give the festival of a Tudur on March 13.

At Darowen during the wake, which began on the Sunday after the saint's day, there was observed a custom known as Curo Tudur, The Beating of Tudur. On the Monday the youths of the parish congregated in the village to select one of their number, generally the most unpopular or defenceless, to represent Tudur. The unfortunate fellow was then seized upon and carried about on the shoulders of some who were told off for the purpose, and soundly beaten on the back with sticks by the rest—probably to represent similar treatment, of which there is no record, dealt out to the saint. The castigation was administered in the village, and occasioned considerable amusement. Another account of the custom states that it was "done in this manner—one of the lads carried a long pole, or branch of a tree, upon his shoulders, and the other lads beat it with their clubs." [2] In more remote times it appears that the effigy of the saint was carried about and beaten.[4] The custom was discontinued early in last century.

The saint's holy well, Ffynnon Dudur, situated on the Darowen glebe, is mentioned in the terrier of 1663. There is a Ffynnon Dudur also in the parish of Llanelidan, Denbighshire, about a mile from the church; and another, as well as a farm of the name, in the parish of Llangeler, Cardiganshire. Edward Lhuyd (1699) says that there was a place called Eglwys Dydyr in the parish of Llanuwchllyn, Merionethshire.

The church of Mynydd Islwyn, in Monmouthshire, is sometimes assumed to be dedicated to him, but this is a mistake, as the parish was formerly sometimes called "Plwyf Tudur ab Hywel" (e.g., *Peniarth MS.* 147, *circa* 1566), whoever this Tudur was. Browne Willis gives the parish feast on October 7.[5]

[1] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 142. In *ibid.*, p. 105, a brother, Tydyaw, is given (Tudur not mentioned) as a saint in "Derwen Cyfeiliog," a mistake for "Darowen," also Tydyaw for Tudur. On p. 142 both saint-names are given; and on the same page he is made the father of S. Ceitho; but see ii, pp. 101–2.

[2] *Bangor*, 1721, p. 361.

[3] Carlisle, *Topog. Dict. of Wales*, London, 1811, *s.v.* Dâr Owain.

[4] *Montgomeryshire Collections*, iii, p. 182.

[5] *Llandaff*, 1719, append. p. 8; *Paroch. Angl.*, 1733, p. 205.

One document in the *Iolo MSS.*[1] enters as saint a Tudur, son of King Seithenin, and brother of Tudclyd and Tudno *supra*; but his existence is very doubtful.

In Brittany the name is Tuder. There is a parish called Treduder in the ancient Diocese of Tréguier.

S. TUDWAL, Bishop, Confessor

TUDWAL, who is described by the Welsh as Saint and Bishop, is known in Brittany as Tugdual and Tual.[2] He is usually stated, by modern writers, to have been the son of Morfawr ab Cadfan ab Cynan (Meiriadog), of the line of Brân Fendigaid, and the father of Cynfor (the father of Cystennin Gorneu), and of a S. Ifor.[3] None of the early Welsh Saintly Pedigrees, however, include Tudwal as a saint, and the *Iolo MSS.* are the only authorities for his pedigree.

Tudwal was by no means an uncommon name; and there is nothing to show that the Tudwal, whose pedigree has here been borrowed, was ever accounted a saint; rather the contrary. The correct pedigree is given in *Mostyn MS.* 117, of the thirteenth century, whereas the *Iolo MSS.* documents which attribute it, but in a garbled form, to the saint are derived from MSS. of as late as the seventeenth century.

Not only is the saint confounded with Tudwal ab Morfawr but also with Tudwal Befr, the husband of Hunydd (corruptly Nefydd), the daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog.[4] But the epithet *Pefr*, the Fair, is nowhere given to the saint. In fact, all that can be said of his origin is that he was a native of Britain.

Three Lives of S. Tugdual or Tudwal exist, of unequal value. The first is very brief, and was written by his disciple Louenan, in the sixth or early seventh century. The second was written between 888 and 907; and the third in the eleventh century. All three were published by M. de la Borderie in *Mémoires de la Soc. Archéol. des Côtes-du-Nord*, 2nd series, ii, pp. 77–122; reprinted in pamphlet form in 1887 under the title, *Les trois Vies anciennes de S. Tudual.* The first Life had

[1] P. 141.

[2] The Old Welsh form of the name is Tutagual, then Tutgual, Tutuual, Tudwal and, in Breton, Tual. It is the same name as the common Irish name Tuathal, now reduced to Toole. It is from an early Touto-uallos.

[3] Derived from *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 116, 135–7.

[4] Rice Rees, *Welsh Saints*, pp. 134, 148.

already been published by M. Anat. de Barthélémy in the *Mémoires de la Soc. des Antiquaires de France*, 1884.

The periods given above are the attributions of M. de la Borderie, but a far more competent authority, Mgr. L. Duchesne, places the *Vita* 1*ma* as a composition of the ninth century, the *Vita* 2*da* as one of the eleventh century, and the *Vita* 3*ia* as one of the twelfth century. For variants in the readings, see *Analecta Bolland.*, viii (1889), pp. 158–61. For an account of the MSS. we must refer the reader to the publication of De la Borderie.

The second king in Armorican Domnonia was Deroch, son of Rigual or Riwal, and during his reign the country received large accessions of British immigrants, and amongst these was Tudwal, belonging to the royal family, along with his mother Pompæa or Copaia, sister of Rigual, his sister Scæva, and a widow named Maelher,[1] together with some seventy-two monks and servants. The function allotted to Maelher was to wash the linen and the habits of the monks.

The immigrants landed at the south-west point of Léon, in the bay of Les Blancs-Sablons, and settled a little further to the east, where Tudwal established his *lan* beside one of the little rivers that discharge into the port of Conquet. This bore the title of Lan Pabu, as Tudwal being abbot went familiarly by the title of Father, one at the time very generally given to Bishops and Abbots, but which subsequently adhered especially to him and gave rise to an extraordinary misconception. The *lan* he founded goes now by the name of Trébabu (Tref-Pabu), situated in the extensive Plou Macoër, now Ploumoguer.

At the period at which Tudwal landed all Léon was under the rule of Deroch, second King of Domnonia. Deroch confirmed the possession of Lan Pabu to his cousin, but Tudwal did not remain there long. As soon as his establishment there was well organized, he started on a tour through the whole of Domnonia, which had been extensively colonized from Britain, to see to the spiritual needs of the settlers, and to plant other centres whence his monks might disperse to minister to their necessities as required.

Léon was already under the supervision of S. Paul, who had no work to offer Tudwal, but he accepted a few manors for the endowment of his monastery. One of these, Trepompae, now Trépompé, in the parish of Ste Sève, near Morlaix, bears the name of his mother, and the parish of his sister. Then he went on to what is now Tréguier, where he founded a large monastery called Val Trechor. He afterwards visited many other parts of Domnonia and received large gifts of land.

But it was necessary for him to obtain ratification of these donations

[1] These two are only named in the *Vita* 3*ia*.

from the Frank King Childebert I, and he went for the purpose to Paris, attended by twelve disciples, and a noble of the name of Albinus. The king agreed to confirm the grants, but under the condition that he should be consecrated bishop. Having accepted this condition Tudwal returned to Tréguier, where he remained till his death.

Such is the simple record in the *Vita* 1*ma*. The Second is much fuller, but stuffed with fabulous matter. According to this, the *dominus Albinus* becomes *Sanctus Albinus*, who acts as interpreter.

Whilst at Tréguier he is persecuted by Ruhut, the officer of Conmore, the regent; and the annoyance becoming intolerable, he went to Rome, where he was elected Pope under the name of Leo Britigena, and for two years exercised the sovereign pontificate. It will be noticed that this is in contradiction to the First Life, which states that he remained at Tréguier till his death. At the end of two years, an angel appeared and bade him return to Brittany, and to facilitate his journey provided him with a miraculous snow-white horse. On his return he was cordially welcomed, and died at Tréguier, where he was buried embalmed in aromatic herbs and oils that he had brought with him from Jerusalem, whither he had gone on pilgrimage during his sovereign pontificate.

The fable of his having been elected Pope is due to a misconception of his designation Pabu Tugdual or Tual.

The writer of this Second Life falls into error in making Tudwal a native of Ireland (Scothia). This mistake is rectified in the Third Life; in the prologue to which it is pointed out that the saint was a native of Britain and not of Ireland.

According to De la Borderie, S. Tudwal died on November 30, 553 to 559.

We greatly regret to state that the Life of this saint prepared for the LIVES OF THE BRITISH SAINTS, some six or seven years ago, and which was much fuller, has, by some fatality, been lost in the post, and this has had to be written in haste to supply the defect.

S. Tugdual is entered for commemoration on June 3, in the Breviary of S. Brieuc, 1548, the MS. Breviary of Tréguier, fifteenth century, also November 30 and December 2; the Breviary of Tréguier, 1770, November 30; December 1 in the Breviary of Léon, 1736, and that of S. Brieuc, 1783. But November 30 in the Breviar. Corisop. (transferred to December 1), 1701, Missale Maclov., 1609 and the MS. Calendar of S. Méen. He is not entered in the Welsh calendars.

S. Tudwal's Islands, East and West, are two small islands off the south coast of Carnarvonshire, situated about a mile east of the Lleyn peninsula. They are regarded as belonging to the parish of Llanengan. North of them is a fine bay, the S. Tudwal's Roads, which, from being

sheltered by the islands, affords good anchorage. On the eastern island, the larger of the two, was formerly a small chapel dedicated to S. Tudwal, which is mentioned in the *Taxatio* of 1291[1] as "Eccl'ia Prioris de Enys Tudwal." Leland says,[2] "Inis Tidwale a vi. Acres yn Cumpace. In it is a little Chirch desolate." The chapel was afterwards converted into a barn, when the island was under tillage. In 1886 the island was purchased for Father Hughes, who established a mission thereon, and after living a hard life there, and preaching on the coast, died the following year, and the mission was abandoned. It is now occupied by sheep, rabbits, and puffins.

On the western side of Lleyn is a parish called Tudweiliog, i.e. Tudwal's Land, but the church is dedicated to S. Cwyfen. Ffynnon Dudwal formerly existed on Penrhyn, in the parish of Llanengan. It was a beautiful spring of crystal water, which was drained dry some years ago by the local lead mine.

Llanystudwal, now Llanstadwell, is the name of a parish in Pembrokeshire, the dedication of the church of which is to-day given as to S. Tudwal, on Rice Rees's conjecture.[3] Nothing is known of a S. Ystudwal, or the like spelling, but Mr. Egerton Phillimore suggests to us that the name may represent Stradweul (or Ystradfael), a rare woman's name, borne, for instance, by the wife of Coel Godebog. This name might again stand for S. Tradwell or Tredwall, the virgin-saint of Restalrig, near Edinburgh,[4] who is commemorated in the Aberdeen Breviary on October 8. The parish feast-day at Llanstadwell does not appear to be known.

S. Tugdual is patron of the city of Tréguier, of Combrit, Grand-Champ, Labédan, Landuval, Langoat, Pabu, Plouray, S. Pabu, S. Thual, S. Tugdual, and Trébabu.

He is represented as a bishop holding a dragon bound by his stole on the sixteenth century stalls at Tréguier; and in episcopal ornaments and wearing the papal tiara, trampling on a dragon, in a statue of the seventeenth century at Langoat.

He is invoked as Tutwale, among the Confessors, in a tenth century Litany of Brittany.[5] He is invoked there to-day in public calamities, and for the cure of chest diseases.

[1] P. 291. [2] *Itin.*, v, f. 50.

[3] *Welsh Saints*, pp. 134, 348. Browne Willis, *Paroch. Anglic.*, p. 179, ascribes it to a S. Sywall. Dyffryn Tudwal was the name of a small manor situated, in part, in the parish of Llanddewi Rhydderch, Monmouthshire.

[4] J. R. Tudor, *The Orkneys and Shetland*, London, 1883, pp. 379–80.

[5] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii, pt. i, p. 82.

S. TUDWEN, Virgin

TUDWEN is said to have been a daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog,[1] but her name does not occur in the usual lists of his children.

The little church of Llandudwen, under Ceidio, in Carnarvonshire, is dedicated to her. Her festival is not entered in any of the Welsh calendars, but it is elsewhere given as October 21[2] or 27.[3]

Ffynnon Dudwen, which has now disappeared, was in the corner of a field near Llandudwen Church, and was held in great repute for bad eyes, rheumatism, etc. The devotees used to throw money and pins into it.

Loc-tuen, in Kervignac, Morbihan, was, in 1282, called Loc-tud-guenne.

S. TUDWG, Confessor

ACCORDING to the *Iolo MSS.*[4] Tudwg was the son of S. Tyfodwg, and a member of the congregation of S. Cenydd, in Gower. Llandudwg, now Tythegston, subject to Newcastle, in Glamorganshire, is dedicated to him. Browne Willis[5] gives his festival there as May 9, but it does not occur in any of the Welsh Calendars.

In the notification of a twelfth century grant among the Margam Rolls is mentioned, as part of the boundary, "the dyke from S. Tudoc's" (? a well), which may be the little brook running from Corneli, in the parish of Pyle, now called the Slwt.[6]

Tudwg is possibly the same as the Tudec or Tudi who is venerated in certain places in the diocese of Vannes, whither Cenydd had moved and formed some foundations, but he is not to be confounded with

[1] *Cardiff MS.* 5 (1527), p. 120; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 271. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 309, classes her among the saints of "uncertain date." Others take her for a male saint.

[2] Willis, *Bangor*, 1721, p. 274.

[3] Carlisle, *Topog. Dict. of Wales*, 1811; *Cambrian Register*, 1818, iii, p. 224.

[4] Pp. 107, 127. The name reminds us of the Tudoch of Llandudoch (S. Dogmael's), near Cardigan. It is to be distinguished from that of S. Tydiwg, of Dixton. Tythegston = Tudwg's Town.

[5] *Llandaff*, 1719, append., p. 4.

[6] Birch, *Hist. of Margam Abbey*, pp. 39, 399. Tythegston is mentioned there, among other forms, as Tudekistowe (1291) and Tedegestowe. In a Tewkesbury charter of about 1180 it appears as "Capella Sancti Theducti." There is at Pontypridd a place called Ynys Cae Didwg.

another Tudec or Tudy who has received a cult in the diocese, but specially in the Ile de Groix, also called Inis Tudy. Here is the parish church of Loc-Tudy, and the Pardon is on the third Sunday in July. At Le Palais, in Belle Ile, there is also a chapel of S. Tudy. He was, however, supposed to have died in the Ile de Groix, and there his relics were preserved.

In the Quimper Breviaries of 1642, 1701, and 1835, Tudinus is entered on May 11, but this is certainly not this Tudy but the disciple of S. Winwaloe and of S. Maudetus. Probably it is Tudwg who is venerated at Plessala, in Côtes du Nord, for it adjoins the region where his master Cenydd worked, and made a foundation at Plaintel, and Gildas, the father of Cenydd, was at La Harmoye, Magoar, and S. Gildas by Uzel. This part of Domnonia, then covered with forest, seems to have been a great place for founding small settlements by Gildas and his family and disciples.

Tudwg was the name of the rich man who killed Tyfai, the infant nephew of S. Teilo, and afterwards gave the uncle in atonement the *villa* of Cil Tutuc, somewhere near Tenby.[1]

S. TUDY, Abbot, Confessor

TUDEC or Tudi is mentioned in the Lives of S. Maudetus or Mawes, as his disciple along with Bothmael.

Maudetus arrived in Armorica in the reign of Childebert (511–58), and he was at once joined by these young men, "initio habitationis illius sancti in prædicta insula," that is to say, on the Isle of Modez as it is now called, in the Bréhat archipelago.

At some time or other Tudec went to Landevennec and became a disciple of S. Winwaloe. In the Life of that saint by Wrdistan he is called Tethgo.

Tudi is mentioned in the Life of S. Corentine, which was composed in the thirteenth century. This tells us: "Cornouaille, not having a bishop, required one; and three men of worth and sanctity were chosen, Corentine, Winwaloe and Tudi; and Grallo (the King) sent all three to be consecrated by S. Martin of Tours."

The story is apocryphal. S. Martin had been dead a century; but it was forged by the church of Quimper, which desired to escape from the jurisdiction of Dol, that claimed metropolitan rights over it. Nevertheless, there remains an element of truth in it. There was a saint of the name of Tudi, of some consideration in Cornouaille.

[1] *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 127.

The story goes on to say that Corentine was consecrated bishop, and surrendered his abbatial office to Winwaloe and Tudy. This also is contrary to fact, and shows how the author wrote with a mind biassed by the ideas of his time.

Winwaloe had himself founded Landevennec, and Corentine had nothing to do with it. Moreover, Corentine was bishop in 453, and Winwaloe was not born till about 480.

Tudy retired to an island off the coast, near Pont l'Abbé, and there founded a monastery. After his death it was removed to the mainland at Loc-Tudi, where there is an early and interesting church.

That he is the same as the Tudec or Tudi culted in the Ile de Groix is more than doubtful. This latter was probably Tudwg, disciple of S. Cenydd.

In the Life of S. Winwaloe by Wrdistan, composed in the ninth century, is found intercalated a piece of poetry in Latin hexameters, of which a portion at least was not the composition of Wrdistan at all, but of an amplifier, a century later at least. In this is a praise of the three great men who founded the little state of Cornouaille, King Grallo, Bishop Corentine, and the Abbot Winwaloe. Then it proceeds to say—

> "Jamque tamen ternos precesserat ordine Sanctus
> Eximios istos Tutgualus nomine, clarus
> Cum meritis monachus, multorum exemplar habendus;
> Cujus cumque sinu caperet cum vestibus ignem,
> Non tetigit flamma sed leni rore madescit:
> Sed cum cœlitibus vitam tum forte gerebat."[1]

M. de la Borderie has shown plainly enough that this cannot apply to S. Tudwal, who did no work at all in Cornouaille.[2] It refers to S. Tudi, of whom traditions lingered that he had been a great worker. And the author of the lines has transferred to him, from his fellow disciple, the story of his carrying fire in his lap. But he is wrong in saying that he preceded Winwaloe, Grallo, and Corentine. He was certainly junior to Winwaloe.

He is probably the Tethgo, who is mentioned in the Life of S. Winwaloe as his disciple.

He lived in a cell, probably a beehive hut, near that of the abbot. One night, a monstrous figure appeared to Winwaloe, and strove to frighten him. Winwaloe adjured the apparition. Tethgo heard the

[1] *Vita* in *Cartul. de Landevennec*, Rennes, 1888, p. 71.

[2] *Mémoires de la Soc. Archéol. des Côtes du Nord*, 2nde série, T. ii. (1889), pp. 345–6

voices raised in altercation, and went to see what was the matter, and saw the monstrous form. It was perhaps some native who had dressed himself up in a hideous disguise, with the purpose of scaring the saint away.[1]

Tudy must have died at the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century.

The feast of S. Tudec or Tudy is observed in Brittany on May 9 or 11. It is given at this latter date in the Breviaries of Quimper, 1642, 1701, and 1835. Gautier du Mottay gives May 11 in his Calendar, but May 9 in the body of his work. Fairs were granted to be held at S. Tudy, in Cornwall, in 1705, on May 9, and also on September 3. The patronal feast is now held at S. Tudy on May 20, i.e. New Style S. Tudy's Day (May 9).

In *Domesday* the parish of S. Tudy is called Eglos-Tudic. In Bishop Bytton's Register, 1291–1307, it is Ecclesia Sti Tudii; so also in the *Taxatio* of 1291. In the Registers of Stapeldon, 1308, Grandisson, 1348, and 1350, Brantyngham, 1371, and 1381, as Eccl. Sti Tudii; in that of 1371 as Eccl. Sti Todii; again as Tudii in 1383; and Stafford, 1420, as Tudii.

In Corn-uaille, in Brittany, S. Tudy has churches at Loc-Tudy, and Ile Tudy, near Pont l'Abbé, where the patronal feast is observed on May 11. Also at Landudec (Lan-Tudec), near Plougastel S. Germain, where the Pardon is held on the last Sunday in July.

At the chapel of S. Tudec, near Gourin, on the outskirts of the Forest of Toul-Laeron in Spezet, between Châteaulin and Carhaix, the Pardon is on the second Sunday in September. The correspondence with the Fair at S. Tudy in Cornwall on September 3 may be noted. The pilgrims lay their caps filled with rye at the feet of the statue of the saint, who is invoked against deafness and headache.[2]

At Trédudec (Tref-Tudec), near Plestin, Côtes du Nord, S. Tudy has been supplanted by S. Theodore, warrior-martyr of Heraclea, who, being in the Roman martyrology, has been introduced to efface the cult of the Celtic saint who acted as apostle to the district, and the Greek warrior's statue has been erected over the High Altar.[3] S. Tudy has a cult at Plouedern, near Landerneau. He was the patron of Poullaouen, near Carhaix, but has been replaced by S. Peter. He has a chapel at Spezet, where his Pardon is held on the third Sunday of July.

[1] *Vita Sti Winwaloei*, ed. Plaine, *Anal. Boll.*, xii (1888), p. 224; *Cart. de Landevennec*, ed. De la Borderie, pp. 69–72.

[2] Le Braz, *Annales de Bretagne*, ix (1893), p. 46.

[3] *Ibid.*, xiii, p. 109.

The saint is represented in a statue of the fourteenth century at Loc-Tudy in chasuble, bareheaded, a staff in his right hand, and an open book in his left. At Poullaouen in sacerdotal vestments, mitred, and with abbatial staff.

The presence of a church bearing his name in Cornwall is due in all probability to the spread of Winwaloe settlements in that part of Britain, from Armorican Landevennec.

S. TWROG, Confessor

Twrog was one of the sons of Ithel Hael of Llydaw,[1] and probably came to Wales with S. Cadfan. He was brother to SS. Tegai, Trillo, and Llechid. He was a disciple of S. Beuno, and, *ut fertur*, that saint's amanuensis.[2] In that capacity he is said to have written the noted Welsh MS., now lost, *The Book of S. Beuno*, known also as *Tiboeth*. Dr. John Davies, in his Welsh-Latin Dictionary, 1632, *s.v. Tiboeth*, gives the following interesting note, in Welsh:—"Tiboeth was the name given to the Book of S. Beuno, with a dark stone on it, that was in the Church of Clynnog, in Arfon. This book Twrog wrote in the time of King Cadfan, and it was saved when the church was burnt (*q.d.* Diboeth, ἄκαυστος). This I saw, says T. W. [Thomas Williams], in the year 1594." [3]

There is an earlier reference to the MS. In the charter confirming

[1] *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 418, 431; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 133.

[2] Willis, *Bangor*, 1721, p. 273, where, and at p. 280, his name is Latinized Tauricius. S. Aelhaiarn was Beuno's acolyte.

[3] The Latin-Welsh part of the original Dictionary, in the autograph (1604–7) of Sir Thomas Williams, of which Dr. Davies's is merely an abridgment, forms *Peniarth MS.* 228. The Welsh-Latin part is at Brogyntyn. *Tiboeth* stands for *Di-boeth*, i.e. un-burnt, where *poeth* bears the older meaning it has in "poeth offrwm," and place-names like Coed Poeth, Pentre Poeth, etc. It is referred to in a couplet by the fourteenth century poet Iolo Goch (*Gwaith*, ed. Ashton, p. 457)—attributed also to his contemporary, Sypyn Cyfeiliog:—

"Llygad ual glein cawat coeth
Tebic y vaen y tyboeth."

("An eye like the pure shower crystal, comparable to the stone of the Tiboeth"). This clearly implies that its covers were jewelled. Clynnog Church, it is stated, was burnt down thrice, and each time the MS. escaped fire, being encased in iron (*Y Gwladgarwr*, 1838, vi, p. 43). Twrog is represented in modern glass in Maentwrog Church holding the MS. in one hand, and resting the other on Twrog's Stone.

Gwyddaint's grant of Clynnog to S. Beuno it is stated that he gave it "in the hope of an eternal possession in Heaven, and to have his name inscribed in the Book of S. Beuno" (*Liber Sc̃ti Bongnobi*).[1] No doubt it was the "booke" referred to in the evidence in a case at Carnarvon in 1537 as "Graphus S'ci Bewnoi."[2] From the evidence it appears that it was of the nature of a register of the Collegiate property, but it was probably not then at Clynnog.

In all probability it was one of those MSS. of the Gospels or Liturgy in which deeds of gift are commonly found enrolled. The *Buchedd Beuno* and the Charter seem to have copied the donation of Clynnog *verbatim* from the MS., only that in the Charter the entry is a little extended.

In time the lost *Llyfr Beuno* or *Tiboeth*, of Clynnog, got confounded with the *Llyfr Twrog*, of Llandwrog, for which confusion Iolo Morganwg is mainly, if not entirely, responsible. He says, in one of the many MSS. in his handwriting at Llanover[3]—"Legends of wonderful Miracles performed by those saints (Welsh) were manufactured by the Monks and Popish Clergy. A copy, thus amplified or interpolated, was written about the year 1300, or rather later, and bears the name of Twrog or Llyfr Twrog. It is also called Tiboeth. I met with a copy of this MS., which I have in my possession as a loan." In a letter, written in 1809, he says that he was translating for publication "the Book of Twrog, of which he had found a copy in an odd corner of Wales in 1803."[4] It was never published, but his transcript of it is at Llanover. Its full title is as follows:[5] "Llyma Lyfr a elwir Llyfr Twrog, nid amgen na Chyfarwyddyd ar Welygorddau Brenhinoedd Ynys Prydain a Thywysogion ac Arglwyddi Cymru a Phymtheg Llwyth Gwynedd, ac enwau Saint Ynys Prydain au Eglwysau, a'u tynnu allan o'r Hen Lyfrau Cronigl a llyfrau Achau, gan Ieuan Twrog ap Aron, ap Arthal, ap Elidr, ap Gruffudd, ap Hywel, ap Cadwgan, ap Heilyn, ap Cadrod, ap Owain, ap Einion, ap Gwalchmai, ap Meilir, o Landwrog yn Arfon." The title clearly indicates the nature of the contents of the *Llyfr Twrog*; it is simply a compilation, from various sources, of Welsh pedigrees—royal, princely, and tribal—

[1] *Record of Caernarvon*, 1838, pp. 257–8, printed from two faulty copies in the *Harley Charters* 696 and 4776. The printed *Bongnobi* is for *Beugnobi*.
[2] *Y Cymmrodor*, xix, pp. 77, 83. [3] *Llanover Iolo MS.* 59, p. 93.
[4] *Cambrian Register*, 1818, iii, p. 373; see also Waring, *Recollections of Iolo*, 1850, p. 182; *Cambrian Journal*, 1854, p. 188. Bp. Humphreys, of Bangor, failed to hear anything of the whereabouts of *Llyfr Twrog* in 1685 (*Panton MS.* 28).
[5] *Llanover Iolo MS.* 66, p. 89. In a note added it is calculated that Ieuan Twrog lived *circa* 1400. Iolo gives "Twrog" as his authority once in the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 81.



S. TWROG.
From window by Kempe at Maentwrog Church.
(Phcto by Wm. Marrictt Dodscn.)

and a catalogue of the British Saints, with their Churches, by a certain mediæval writer named Ieuan Twrog, of Llandwrog. It was the provenance of the tract that led Iolo astray.[1]

Twrog is the patron of Maentwrog (originally, but afterwards the B.V.M., August 15), in Merionethshire, and of Llandwrog, in the neighbourhood of Clynnog (S. Beuno), in Carnarvonshire. He is probably the patron also of Bodwrog, under Llandrygarn, in Anglesey. Bryn Twrog is the name of a house in the parish. Maentwrog, S. Twrog's Stone, is so named, according to the local legend, from the huge block which the saint threw from the top of Moelwyn to this spot, where it has ever since remained.[2] It is in the churchyard, attached to one of the angles of the church, and is quite different from the ordinary stone of the district. Tradition adds that this great upright stone marks the saint's grave. But there was formerly a Bedd Twrog, his Grave, a *carnedd* on the mountain forming the higher portion of the parish of Llandwrog, but the stones have long since been carted away. It appears to have been also known as Mynwent Twrog, his Graveyard.[3]

June 26 is given as the festival of S. Twrog in the calendars in *Peniarth MS.* 219, and the Prymers of 1618 and 1633. Tyrnog also occurs in several calendars on the same day, possibly by mistake for Twrog. Browne Willis gives the wake-day at Maentwrog on the Festival of the Assumption, and those at Llandwrog and Bodwrog on June 26.[4]

Another Twrog is entered as a saint in the *Iolo MSS.*, a son of Hawystl Gloff and Tywanwedd. He was thus brother to Tyfrydog, Teyrnog, Tudur, and Marchell, and like them a saint first of Bangor on Dee, and afterwards of Bardsey.[5] The fact that he occurs only

[1] In *Cambrian Journal*, 1858, p. 364, it is stated that *Llyfr Twrog* contained notices of the Saints of Gwynedd, compiled by Gruffydd ab Rhirid, of Llandwrog, for Tudur ab Gronw, of Penmynydd, in Anglesey, and that it was "the same as *Bonedd y Saint*" in *Hafod MS.* 16.

[2] Pugh, *Cambria Depicta*, London, 1816, p. 170. According to another version Twrog was a giant, who dwelt in the mountain. The villagers had incurred his wrath, and he flung the huge stone down with the intention of killing some of them, which, though it hit the church, did no damage. The imprint of his five fingers are still visible on it! In the *Mabinogi* of Math, son of Mathonwy, the death (in single combat) and burial of Pryderi, prince of Dyfed, are located at "Maen Tyuyawc, above the Felenryd" (*Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 64), which is manifestly a mistake for Maen Tyryawc, now Maen Twrog.

[3] *Arch. Camb.*, 1863, p. 335; Ambrose, *Nant Nantlle*, 1872, pp. 54–5.

[4] *Bangor*, pp. 273, 277, 280. Angharad Llwyd, *Hist. of Anglesey*, 1833, p. 191, gives January 1 for Bodwrog. N. Owen, in his *History*, 1775, p. 58, however June 26

[5] Pp. 124, 142.

in these two late documents makes his existence very doubtful. He is no doubt a reduplication of Teyrnog (or Tyrnog).

S. TYBÏE, Virgin, Martyr

Tybïeu or Tybïe was one of the unmarried daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog,[1] who is said to have been "slain by the Pagans" at Llandebie, in Carmarthenshire.[2] The local tradition varies as to the precise spot on which she suffered martyrdom. According to one version she was killed, by Saxons or "wandering Irish," where now stands the Church; but according to another, where her Holy Well, Ffynnon 'Bïe, is, which that instant sprang up a crystal spring. The well is situated under half a mile from the church, and near it is a farmhouse called Gelli Frynon (Forwynion), the Virgins' Grove, where she and her sister Lluan and others are said to have resided. To Lluan, who was the wife of Gafran (died 558), father of the celebrated Aidan mac Gabran, was dedicated the neighbouring chapel Capel Llanlluan, in the modern parish of Gorslâs, the church of which is dedicated to her.[3]

Tybïe had a cell in a field, called Cell Tybïe, on the farm of Cae'r Groes, in Llandebie, where, it is said, she used to retire at times for prayer and meditation. She could see the church from the spot.

Her festival does not occur in the Welsh Calendars. Browne Willis [4] gives it on January 30, but Dr. John Jones [5] says December 26, on which day a fair is held in the village. The latter was a native of the parish, living at a time when the Gwyl Mabsant was still observed, and his date therefore is more likely to be correct. The last remnant of the wakes was the mock-mayor election at Christmastide.

In an Ode to King Henry VII, in which the protection of about a hundred Welsh and other saints is invoked for him, Tybïe's name occurs in the same line as S. Non.[6]

There is a railway station called Landebia between S. Brieuc and Dinan, in Côtes-du-Nord, but it can hardly bear Tybïe's name.

[1] *Cognatio de Brychan—Vesp.* (Tibyei), *Domit.* (Tebie); *Jesus College MS.* 20 (Tebieu); *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 419, 430; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 120, 140. The name is trisyllabic. In the last work, at p. 146, Tybïeu occurs in a list of "Saints in Morganwg and Gwent"—an error for Tydieu.

[2] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 108.

[3] For the association of her brother Hychan with Llandebie see iii, p. 286.

[4] *Paroch Anglic.*, 1733, p. 189.

[5] *History of Wales*, London, 1824, p. 323.

[6] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 314.

S. TYDECHO, Abbot, Confessor

Tydecho was the son of Amwn (Annun) Ddu ab Emyr Llydaw, by Anna, daughter of Meurig ab Tewdrig.[1] He was thus a brother to S. Samson, and first cousin to S. Cadfan, with whom he is said to have gone to Bardsey. He was one of five brothers whom Amwn dedicated to God and to Samson.[2]

He is mentioned in the Life of S. Padarn, under the form Titechon, as one of the three leaders (the other two being Hetinlau, and Catman or Cadfan) of companies of saints or monks from Armorica to Wales.[3]

There is no Life of S. Tydecho, but his legend has been preserved in a poem, *Cywydd Tydecho Sant*, by the fifteenth century bard Dafydd Llwyd ab Llywelyn ab Gruffydd, who lived at Mathafarn, not far from where Tydecho settled.[4] We give a summary of it.

This holy man, one of Heaven's warriors, lived the life of a religious in Mawddwy, in South-east Merionethshire, of which district he was the "guardian." He and SS. Dogfael and Tegfan dwelt together for some time at Llandudoch [5] (S. Dogmael's, in Pembrokeshire). He was an abbot, and a relative of King Arthur. He loved not the sea; he preferred the wild solitude of the glens of Mawddwy. Here he raised a "temple," and passed a most austere religious life. He was a "confessor," who wore a "hair coat," and his bed was the blue rock on the valley side. One day, that great tormentor of the saints, Maelgwn Gwynedd, thought he would annoy the saint by sending a stud of white horses to be pastured by his prayers. Tydecho turned them loose on the mountain side, and when they were fetched, despite the cold winds and the frost, they were found to be fat, strong coursers, and their white coats turned to golden yellow.

Maelgwn, provoked at this, seized the saint's oxen while at team. But the next day wild deer, in place of the oxen, were seen ploughing his land (Dôl y Ceirw, near the Dovey, still glebe-land), and a grey

[1] *Peniarth MSS.* 16, 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Cardiff MS.* 5 (p. 119); *Myv. Arch.*, p. 431; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 103, 111, 132–3. Some of the Peniarth Calendars which give his festival enter him as Tydecho Filwr (*MS.* 219), and Techo (*MSS.* 187, 192), shorn of the honorific prefix *to* or *ty*. He is also Techo in the Breviary of S. Malo; *supra*, p. 40.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 145–6.

[3] *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 189.

[4] MS. copies of it are plentiful. It has been printed, e.g., in the *Cambrian Register*, 1799, ii, pp. 375–7; Edward Jones, *Bardic Museum*, 1802, pp. 45–6; *Brython*, 1863, v, pp. 453–4.

[5] Llanymawddwy is sometimes called Llandudech by the older inhabitants; *Brython*, v, p. 454. Cf. the Breton Landecheuc; *Cart. de Landevennec*, p. 39. Tradition says Tydecho used to retire for prayer to a lonely spot called Cell Fawddwy, on Mynydd Llwyn Gwilym.

wolf harrowing after them. Maelgwn, bent on further annoying him, came with his pack of white hounds to chase them, and sat down on the blue stone, the hermit's couch, to watch the sport; but when he attempted to rise, he found himself glued to his rocky seat, unable to stir, and he was obliged to humbly beg the saint's pardon, and promised to make amends for his insults if he would but free him from his awkward plight. On being released he sent back Tydecho's oxen, and gave him in atonement the privilege of sanctuary for "a hundred ages"—asylum for man and beast, and exemption from all fighting, burning, and killing.

On another occasion his fair sister Tegfedd, who resided with him, was carried off by a local chieftain, Cynon, and his men. They were all struck blind, and he had to restore her, unviolated, to her brother, and to appease his wrath by a grant of the lands of Garthbeibio, in the neighbourhood, free of heriot, amobrage, and other dues, for ever. This was confirmed by Hywel ab Cadell, i.e. Hywel Dda.

Another time an army of five hundred men came to lay waste his lands. He miraculously conquered them without fighting, by enervating them.

There is a *cywydd* to "Tydecho and the two parishes of Mawddwy" by Matthew Bromfield,[1] who lived in the sixteenth century, but it is mainly a eulogy of Mawddwy and its people. It contains, however, an allusion to the saint's miracle of turning the water of the brook Llaethnant into milk. About 2½ miles above the village of Llanymawddwy, on Ffridd y Glasgoed, is Buches Dydecho, the saint's Milking Fold, and the local tradition states that his milk-maid one day in crossing the brook slipped and upset the milk-pail (*cerwyn*) into it, at a spot called Rhyd y Gerwyn, but Tydecho, instead of scolding the maid, converted, for the benefit of the poor at a time of great scarcity, the whole brook into milk, from its source at Creiglyn Dyfi down to near the village, where it becomes the Dovey. Hence its name of Llaethnant, the Milk Stream, which it still retains, though the sceptic mind is disposed to explain its foamy appearance as the result of its headlong rush over the boulders. The ravine is called Cwmllaeth. A little below the Buches, near Rhiw'r March, is Gwely Tydecho, his Bed, a mere shelf in the rock, situated in a romantic spot. Near it is Ffynnon Dydecho, scooped in the rock. Cadair Dydecho, his Seat, a depression in the rock, is still pointed out at the top of the wooded ravine of the Pumrhyd, close to the Rectory. Croes

[1] Printed, e.g., in *Golud yr Oes*, 1863, i, pp. 393–4. There is a metrical translation of both poems in the *Works of the Rev. Griffith Edwards*, 1895, pp. 39–42.

Dydecho is also in Llanymawddwy, and near it was a chapel, long since disappeared.

To Tydecho are dedicated the churches of Llanymawddwy, in Merionethshire, and Mallwyd and Garthbeibio, both entered as chapels of their mother church in the *Taxatio* of 1291. Mallwyd Church is built on the boundary line of the counties of Merioneth and Montgomery. Garthbeibio is situated in the latter, as is also Cemmaes, in its neighbourhood, likewise dedicated to Tydecho. The extinct Capel Tydecho, in Llandegfan, Anglesey, was dedicated to him, but not Llandegfan itself, as is sometimes stated.

George Owen (1552–1613), in his itinerary or diary in the *Vairdre Book* at Bronwydd, fo. 136*a*, says under Llanymawddwy, "there is a chapell called capel tydacho in the Churche yard now begininge to decaye—there was watchinge eu'y friday nighte." According to local tradition Mallwyd Church was built on the spot it now stands, in the vale, in obedience to supernatural warnings. The foundations of the old church of Llandybbo, which it has superseded, may still be seen on the mountain. In Gruffydd ab Gwenwynwyn's charter of 1277–8 the latter is called Llandeboe.

There was a Ffynnon Dydecho near the church of Garthbeibio. It is now filled up and its water drained off. Bathing in it was considered very efficacious in the cure of rheumatism and certain other complaints. The patients dropped a pin into it on leaving, and it was considered sacrilege to take any of the pins away. At its northern side once stood an image of the saint's head in stone.

Tydecho's festival is December 17, and occurs in most of the Welsh Calendars. In the calendars prefixed to the New Testament of 1567 and the Bible of 1620, it is on December 18; but this is given as Tegfedd's day. The local observation differed; at Llanymawddwy it was on the first Sunday after Lammas Day, O.S.; at Mallwyd and Garthbeibio on Easter Monday[1]; and at Cemmaes it followed Michaelmas Day.[2]

One MS. quoted in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*[3] gives a Tydecho as son of Gildas ab Caw, but this must be an error.

[1] Willis, *S. Asaph*, p. 293; *Cambrian Register*, ii, p. 375. Willis, *Bangor*, p. 362, gives December 17 for Llanymawddwy and Mallwyd.
[2] Willis, *ibid.*, p. 361.
[3] P. 431.

S. TYDFIL, Virgin, Martyr

THE spelling of the town-name Merthyr Tydfil has fixed for us the modern form of this saint's name, which should, more correctly, be Tudful. It is met with in a variety of spellings besides, such as Tudfil, Tudfyl, Tydful, and Tydfyl.

Tydfil was one of the daughters of Brychan.[1] She is entered in the Vespasian version of the *Cognatio*, "Tudeuel in Merthir Euineil"; and in the Domitian version, "Tutuil ab ea dicitur Merthir Tutuil." The misreading "Merthir Euineil" has been made to yield another daughter of Brychan, Enfail, to whom the church of Merthyr, near Carmarthen, is generally assumed to be dedicated.[2] But, like not a few others of Brychan's children, her supposed existence owes its origin to a copyist's blunder. "Euineil" stands without doubt for "Tutuul," i.e. Tudful.

In *Llanover Iolo MS.* 57, p. 188, occurs the following account of Tydfil's martyrdom at Merthyr Tydfil.[3] "About the year 480 it is said that Dudfyl dau[r] of Brychan, being here (at Merthyr Tydfil) on a visit to her father in his old age, was assassinated by the Pagans (Saxon Pagans says one MS., but it seems more likely to have been British or Pictish pagans). Rhun her Brother hereupon raised the Country, and attacking those Pagans on the banks of the River was there slain in the moment of victory, in the place there is a Bridge over the River called Pont Rhun. A spring of water near the Town is called ffynon Dudful. A Place not far from this spring is called Calon Hychan from Hychan, another son of Brychan . . . Hafod Tanglwst is the name of another place in this Parish so called from another Dau[r] of Brychan named Tanglwst." [4]

To Tydfil is dedicated the church of Merthyr Tydfil, in Glamorgan, and, as usually given, that of Llysronydd, now Lisworney,[5] subject

[1] *Jesus College MS.* 20; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 419, 430; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 107, 111, 140. The name is not common. A monument in the church of Llangattock juxta Crickhowell records the death of a "Dydvil" in 1798. Erdutuul, daughter of Tryffin, is mentioned in the *Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 112; and Erduduyl gwyndorliud occurs in the pedigrees in *Jesus College MS.* 20.

[2] Rees, *Welsh Saints*, pp. 152, 331; Diocesan Calendar, etc.

[3] Dr. John Jenkins, of Hengoed's misreading, in 1817, of the inscription on the Tegernacus stone at Capel Brithdir, Gelligaer, was interpreted as Tydfil's epitaph, and it was concluded that her body lay under the stone (*Hanes Buchedd*, etc., Cardiff, 1859, p. 69).

[4] For another account see *Iolo MSS.*, p. 121, which is given under S. RHAIN, *supra*, p. 109.

[5] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 221, it is said to be dedicated to Nudd Hael; and on p. 148 Tewdrig ab Teithfall is stated to have founded the church of Merthyr Tydfil.

to Llantwit Major, as well as the modern church at Port Talbot, in the same county.

The Lann Tituill (Llandudful), mentioned, with its boundary, in the *Book of Llan Dâv*,[1] is believed by Mr. Egerton Phillimore to be misplaced at Llwyn Deri,[2] and should be at S. Dial's, near Monmouth. The Nant Meneich of its boundary occurs also in that of the conterminous parish, Llanwarow or Wonastow. S. Dial's is also the name of one of the two chapels, now in ruins, in the parish of Llanfihangel Llantarnam, near Caerleon.

S. Tydfil's festival does not occur in the Welsh Calendars, but Browne Willis[3] and others give August 23. "Mabsant Merthyr," however, a famous revel, was held in Easter week, and lasted the whole week.[4]

There is a Hafod Tydfil in the Gwaun Valley, in Pembrokeshire.

S. TYDIEU, Virgin

TYDIEU was one of the daughters of Brychan,[5] under which name she is variously stated to have been "a saint at Capel Ogwr,"[6] "yn y Tri gabelogwar,"[7] and "yn trigabelogwar."[8] The two last are misreadings, and the first has been "read in." Capel Ogwr formerly stood near the river Ogwr or Ogmore, in the parish of S. Bride's Major, in Glamorgan.

The entry in the *Cognatio de Brychan* that matches the above is undoubtedly the following, in the Vespasian version, "Kein y thrauil ogmor"; in the Domitian version, "Keinbreit apud Teraslogur." But they point to quite another saint.[9]

The *Cambro-British Saints*[10] gives "Tydew, daughter of Brychan, in Manaw." This seems to be matched again by the "Bethan in Mannia" of the *Cognatio*.

Jesus College MS. 20 gives, as a daughter of Brychan, "Tutlith yn llys ronwy ygwlat vorgan," "Tudlith in Llys Ronwy, in Glamorgan"; but nothing is known of her.

[1] Pp. 241–2.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 379, 409.
[3] *Llandaff*, 1719, Appendix, p. 2; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 152.
[4] *Y Cymmrodor*, vii, p. 233.
[5] *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 140; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 419.
[6] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 121 (as Tydeu).
[7] *Myv. Arch.*, p. 431.
[8] *Peniarth MS.* 75, p. 54.
[9] ii, pp. 52, 100.
[10] P. 270.

S. TYDIWG, Confessor

In the *Progenies Keredic*, at the end of the *Cognatio de Brychan* in *Cotton MS. Vesp* A. xiv, is given "Tydiuc Sanctus" as a son of Corun ab Ceredig ab Cunedda, but of whom the saintly pedigrees take no cognizance. He was thus a brother of SS. Carannog, Tyssul, Ceneu, and others.

Tydiwg is the patron of Llandydiwg, in Monmouthshire, the Hennlann Titiuc, Lann Tydiuc, or Ecclesia Tytiuc of the *Book of Llan Dâv*,[1] mentioned as being situated on the banks of the Wye. It is known to-day as Dixton, for an earlier Dukeston, and dedicated to S. Peter. The parish comprises the two manors of Dixton Newton and Dixton Hadnock, divided by the Wye. Dukes-ton or Dix-ton represents the -diwg of Llandydiwg. With it may be compared Foy, also on the Wye, called in the *Book of Llan Dâv* Lann Timoi, and Llan-soy, dedicated to S. Tysoi. The saint's name is found Latinized Tadeocus,[2] as in a grant of Tadinton to the Priory of Monmouth (after 1134), where one of the lay witnesses is Johannes de Sancto Tadeoco, i.e. Dixton.

S. TYFAELOG, see S. MAELOG.

S. TYFAEN

Attached to Llandeilo Fawr, in Carmarthenshire, about four miles from the town, and situated in a secluded spot, is a chapel called Llandyfaen or Llandyfân, which it may be presumed is dedicated to a S. Tyfaen or Tyfân. The saint is sometimes identified with Dyfan and even Dyfnan; but both are impossible. The name is accented on the ultima, which implies that it was once trisyllabic. One hesitates to identify it with the name of Tyfanog and Dyfanog

[1] Pp. 183, 231, 275–6. The name seems to resolve itself to To + Tiuc. By this saint is no doubt intended the Dwywg of the *Iolo MSS.* See ii, p. 393, xi, c. 10), probably represents the same name. He is not mentioned by name in the *Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 236

of Ramsey Island, shorn of the diminutive suffix *-og*, whose name is, once at least, found spelt Dyfaenog.[1]

In the chapel-yard, to the north-west of the chapel, is a fine baptistery, oblong in form, and with nine steps down into it. It is filled by a very copious spring, which oozes out from under the rock. It was formerly regarded as a holy well, having restorative properties. Many persons suffering from paralytic affections, and other disorders, are said to have been cured by bathing in it. The spring was drained off in 1897–8 to supply Llandeilo in part with water.

S. TYFAI, Martyr

We learn from the Life of S. Oudoceus[2] that Tyfai was a son of Budic, of Armorican Cornouaille, and Anauved, sister of S. Teilo, and that he was born in Dyfed. He was brother to SS. Ismael and Oudoceus. In the Life of S. Teilo[3] it is stated that he was first a disciple of S. Dubricius, but that he afterwards, with other fellow-disciples, attached himself to S. Teilo on his return from Brittany after the Yellow Plague.

This hardly fits in with another notice of him in the *Book of Llan Dâv*.[4] It happened one day that the swine of a man of Penally, in Pembrokeshire, got into the harvest field of a well-to-do man of the name of Tutuc. When he saw this, in a fit of ungovernable fury, he seized his lance and rushed forth to find the swineherd. At Penally he came on the man, who was with Tyfai, a child (*infans*), who gallantly rushed between the pigdriver and Tutuc, when he saw the latter about to strike the serf. The lance pierced him, and he fell dead.

When Tutuc came to his senses, he was alarmed, for the child was the nephew of S. Teilo, and son of the banished prince of Armorican Cornouaille. The King, Aircol Lawhir, intervened, and as a blood fine, the man was constrained to make over two of his vills, Ciltutuc and Penclecir, to Teilo, and himself to go "into perpetual servitude, he and all his progeny." Tyfai was buried at Penally.

[1] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 314. So also in the copies of the poem in *Cardiff MSS.* 7 (p. 151), 26 (p. 57), 63 (p. 318).

[2] *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 130. Tyfai's name occurs under the following earlier forms, Timoi, Tiuoi, Tiuei, Tyfhei, Typhei, Tefei, and Tyfei. The name resolves itself to To + Moi.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 115. [4] P. 127.

The churches dedicated to him are Lamphey, in Pembrokeshire, which was formerly Llandyfei,[1] and not Llanffydd, as is sometimes stated;[2] Llandyfeisant,[3] the little church in Dynevor Park, subject to his uncle's foundation at Llandeilo Fawr, Carmarthenshire; Foy, on the Wye, in Herefordshire, anciently called Lann Timoi (or Tiuoi),[4] but has now been guessed to be dedicated to S. Faith; and the extinct chapel of Lampha, formerly written Lan Tiuei,[5] now the name of one of the manors of the parish of Ewenny, in Glamorgan, but apparently the chapel was in 1141 attached to S. Bride's Major.[6]

Tyfai's festival day is not known. Browne Willis[7] gives the festival at Lamphey as October 6, but this is S. Faith's day.

S. TYFALLE

THERE is a church in Breconshire called Llandyfalle or Llandefalle, which has been variously conjectured to be dedicated to S. Maethlu, S. Tyfaelog, and S. Matthew.[8] These, of course, are mere guesses from the name. The patron of the church is, no doubt, identical with that of the extinct Lann Tipallai, mentioned several times in the *Book of Llan Dâv*,[9] and which the editors have doubtfully identified with the Parsonage Farm, a little west of S. Maughan's, in Monmouthshire. Nothing, however, is known of the saint.

S. TYFANOG, Confessor

IN the Calendar in *Cotton MS. Vespasian* A. xiv, of the early thirteenth century, is entered against November 25, "Sci Tauanauci Confs." He is otherwise known as Dyfanog. Ramsey Island, near

[1] E.g. Lantefey, *Arch. Camb.*, 1883, p. 298; Llandyffei, *Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 353.

[2] E.g. Fenton, *Pembrokeshire*, 1811, p. 430—"Fanum Sanctæ Fidei Virginis."

[3] This formation appears to be the only instance of its kind in Welsh, and those wherein *Sant* enters at all in the composition of *Llan*-names are very few, and mostly confined to non-Welsh Saints. The most notable instance is S. Bride in Llansantffraid

[4] *Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 231, 275. The *Llan* has been dropped, as in the adjoining Sellack, for Lann Suluc.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 212. [6] Clark, *Cartæ*, 1885, i, p. 14.

[7] *Paroch. Anglic.*, 1733, p. 178.

[8] Ecton, to S. Teilo; Theo. Jones, *Breconshire*, ed. 1898, p. 321, conjectured S. Maelog.

[9] Index, p. 409, and p. 372.

S. David's, was, in Welsh, called after him Ynys Tyfanog or Dyfanog, and Capel Dyfanog, one of the two chapels thereon, was dedicated to him. See further under S. DYFANOG.

S. TYFODWG, Confessor

ACCORDING to the *Iolo MSS.*,[1] which alone give the few particulars relative to this saint, Tyfodwg Sant was the son of Gwilfyw ab Marchan, of the line of Coel Godebog, and the father of S. Tudwg. "He came to this Island with Garmon and Cadfan," from Armorica, and became a saint of Côr Illtyd. To him are dedicated the churches of Llandyfodwg (the Landiwoddok of the *Taxatio* of 1291), and Ystrad Dyfodwg. He is one of the three saints to whom Llantrisant (SS. Illtyd, Tyfodwg, and Gwyno) is dedicated.[2] All three parishes are in Glamorgan, and adjoining. Llantrisant was formerly, and is still, a very extensive parish. Three out of its five ancient *capellæ* were Llantwit Vardre, Ystradyfodwg, and Llanwonno. Tyfodwg is also said to have a church in Somerset dedicated to him, but its name is not given. There is a modern church dedicated to him at Treorchy, in the Rhondda Deanery.

By him in all probability is meant the Tyfodwg given in Iolo Morganwg's list of the Bishops of the see of "Glamorgan *alias* Kenffig,"[3] apparently Margam.

Tyfodwg's festival is not entered in any of the Welsh Calendars, but Browne Willis[4] gives Ystradyfodwg as dedicated to S. Dyfodwg with festival on June 25—the morrow of the Festival of the Nativity of S. John Baptist, to whom now the church is regarded as being dedicated.

The following is one of the "Sayings of the Wise" tercets[5]—

> Hast thou heard the saying of S. Tyfodwg
> Of the Uplands of Glamorgan?
> "No good will come of wantonness"
> (Ni ddaw da o drythyllwg).

[1] Pp. 107, 127, 148, 221. Sir J. Rhys, in his *Celtic Inscriptions of Gaul*, 1911, p. 56, says Dyfodwg is the Welsh form of the Irish name Dubthoch or Dubthach (now Duffy). It occurs, in the Latin genitive *Dobituci*, and its Ogmic equivalent *Dovatuceas*, on the inscribed stone at Clydai, in Pembrokeshire. For *-wg* and *-og* see ii, p. 40.

[2] Curiously, Lewis, in his *Topog. Dict. of Wales*, 1848, ii, p. 109, says it is dedicated to SS. Dyvnog, Iddog, and Menw.

[3] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 361; *Liber Landavensis*, p. 625.

[4] *Llandaff*, append., p. 2; *Paroch. Anglic.*, p. 199.

[5] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 256.

S. TYFRIOG, Abbot, Confessor

TYFRIOG was the son of Dingad ab Nudd Hael by Tenoi, daughter of Lleuddun Luyddog, and brother to SS. Lleuddad, Baglan, Eleri, and Tegwy.[1] He was a saint "in Ceredigion Iscoed," i.e. at Llandyfriog, in Cardiganshire, which church is dedicated to him.[2] His brother Tegwy or Tygwy is patron of Llandygwydd, in the neighbourhood.

His festival occurs only in the South Wales Calendar in *Cwrtmawr MS.* 44, where he is entered as "Tyfriog, Abbot," on May 1.[3] He is thus identified with S. Brioc, without the common honorific prefix *to*, later *ty*. The Life of S. Brioc states that he was born in the "regio Coriticiana," i.e. Ceredigion, but his parentage there is quite different to that given in the Welsh saintly pedigrees. The "Landa Magna" of the Life is probably Llandyfriog. See further under S. BRIOC.

S. TYFRYDOG, Confessor

TYFRYDOG "in Môn" was the son of Hawystl Gloff and Tywanwedd, and brother of Diefer, Teyrnog, Tudur, and Marchell.[4] He is said to have been a saint of Bardsey. He is the patron of Llandyfrydog, in Anglesey. In the parish is a Bryn Tyfrydog.

Giraldus Cambrensis[5] says, "There is in this Island (Anglesey) the church of S. Tevredaucus, into which Hugh, earl of Shrewsbury, on a certain night put some dogs, which on the following morning were found mad, and he himself died within a month," in 1098, being killed by a Norse pirate. He ascribes the calamity to the "vindictive nature" of the Welsh saints.

About a mile from the church, in the corner of a field near the Holy

[1] *Peniarth MSS.* 16, 45; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 418, 427, 431; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 103, 113, 139. In *Hafod MS.* 16 his name is given as Tyfrydog, and in *Peniarth MS.* 12 as Tyfrydod, both by mistake. Tyfriog stands for an early To-Brigācos.

[2] Edward Lhuyd, *Parochialia*, 1911, iii, p. 92, gives a very fanciful explanation of the church name—"Tis deriv'd *quasi* Llanddwfreiog: because it is just by y^e river Tivy w^ch is famous for eiogiaed *anglice* salmons."

[3] Willis, *Paroch. Anglic.*, p. 193, gives the church as dedicated to Tyfrydog, with festival on May 1. Tyfriog's protection is invoked in *Iolo MSS.*, p. 314.

[4] *Peniarth MSS.* 16, 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Cardiff MS.* 5; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 271; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 431; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 105, 124, 142. In *Hafod MS.* 16 Tyfriog is written Tyfrydog, through confusion. Tyfrydog is apparently the same name as the Breton Teffredeuc or Tefridec, the saint involved in the name Saint-Evarzec, in Finistère.

[5] *Itin. Camb.*, ii, c. 7; *Opera*, vi, p. 129.

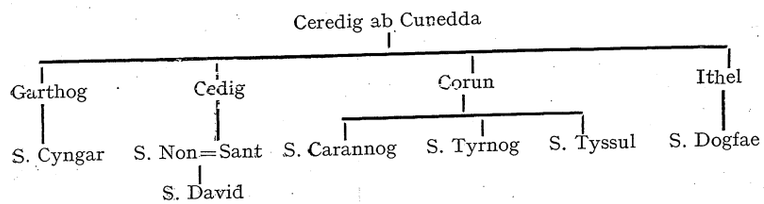
Wells of SS. Cybi and Seiriol, on Clorach farm, is a celebrated *maen hir*, a little over 4 feet high, called Lleidr Tyfrydog,[1] Tyfrydog's Thief, which has the appearance of a humpbacked man. The local tradition is that a man who sacrilegiously stole the church books, whilst carrying them away, was suddenly converted by the saint into this red sandstone pillar. The lump to be seen on one side of the stone represents the sack which contains his theft, lying over his shoulder. His soul, at stated intervals, is compelled to go three times madly round the field and back to the stone, in the dead of night, being pursued by demons with red-hot pitchforks.[2]

Tyfrydog's festival is January 1, which occurs in the Calendars in the Prymer of 1618, and *Allwydd Paradwys*, 1670.[3]

S. TYNEIO, see S. TUDNO

S. TYRNOG, Bishop, Confessor

TYRNOG was brother of S. Carannog, and son of Corun ab Ceredig. He was consequently akin to Sant, father of S. David. The pedigree was this:—



We have seen under S. Tenenan that this name is the same as Ternoc or Tyrnog, who was a disciple of Carannog, and who was healed by him of leprosy. Ternoc came to Armorica and founded Landerneau (Lan-Ternoc), and who is, erroneously, supposed to have become

[1] It is illustrated in *Arch. Camb.*, 1867, p. 346.

[2] A satire, entitled "Tuchangerdd Lleidr Dyfrydog" (1871), is printed in Pritchard, *Hanes ac Ystyr Enwau yn Môn*, Amlwch, pp. 98–9.

[3] So in Willis, *Bangor*, 1721, p. 282; Owen, *Hist. Anglesey*, 1775, p. 57; Llwyd, *Hist. Anglesey*, 1833, p. 227. Tyfrydog's protection is invoked in *Iolo MSS.*, p. 314.

bishop of Léon. That Carannog was some twenty years older than Tyrnog is possible enough, and that would explain his having his brother under him as a pupil.

Tyrnog founded no church in Wales. Llandyrnog, in the Vale of Clwyd, was founded by S. Teyrnog. His name alone and pedigree have been preserved.[1] It is deserving of note that the neighbourhood of Landerneau was clearly visited by S. David. His church is in the adjoining parish, and S. Non was buried at Dirinon, which is also hard by Landerneau.

That Tyrnog was at one time in Ireland is possible enough. That was the great field of operations by his brother Carannog, and Ternoc of Cluana-mor, probably Clonmore in Wexford, is commemorated in the Irish Martyrologies on July 2.

If the identification be admitted, then Tyrnog was in Ireland for some years, and then joined in the migration of several Irish saints to Armorica. He settled in Léon, and afterwards his cousin David visited him there. Whether he ever were a bishop is questionable. For further particulars see S. TENENAN.

What makes the identification more plausible is that Landeda near Lannilis, in the same district, has S. Cyngar, a first cousin, as patron. Tregarantec, the *tref* of Carantoc or Carannog, now regards S. Ternoc as its patron. We may suspect that Carannog passed over the management of his church there to his younger brother. The story of this *tref* is interesting. It was formerly one in the Kemenet Illi, a strip of land between the two rivers Aber Benoit and Aber Vrach; and was of considerable extent and jurisdiction. Later, we may judge, a certain Deiniol or Daniel formed a *plou* in it, now Ploudaniel, which became flourishing, as Tregarantec declined. Then Ploudaniel was cut out ecclesiastically from the parish of Tregarantec and was given by Judicael to his brother Guenian. This transfer assumed a legendary form. Ternoc had been forgotten and confounded with Ernoc, son of Judicael; and it was said that this Ernoc occupied Tregarantec. His uncle came to see him, and asked to be given a site. Ernoc replied that he might have as much land as he could go round, whilst he took his afternoon nap. Guenian waited till his nephew was asleep, and then, mounting a flying horse, he galloped through the air in a round and enclosed thus within his territory the whole of

[1] *Llanstephan MS.* 28 (1455–6), p. 69; *Peniarth MSS.* 74, 75 (sixteenth century); *Myv. Arch.*, p. 431. Sometimes the name is wrongly spelt Teyrnog, as in *Iolo MSS.*, p. 125, and Teyrnog is often found as Tyrnog, but the names are totally distinct. The *Progenies Keredic* in *Cotton MS. Vesp.* A. xiv does not give him as a son of Corun.

Ploudaniel, and a stone was shown then with a print of a horse's hoof where he alighted.[1]

Ernoc or Arnec is a very doubtful personage. Of him absolutely nothing is known, not even that he was a saint. Garaby gives his day as the same as that of S. Ternoc, October 11, whom he confounds with Tighernach, Bishop of Clones and Clogher.[2] The story of the loss of Ploudaniel to Tregarantec grew out of this. It was said that Ternoc was asleep, i.e. not exercising his due power in heaven, or else the parish would not have suffered such grievous diminution.

Popular tradition represents Ternoc as a bishop, and to have exercised episcopal functions over the whole of Kemenet Illi, that comprised five parishes. Among these is Guiseny, a foundation of Setna, a nephew of S. David, and disciple of S. Senan of Iniscathy, consequently allied to Tyrnog, and he was probably one of the party that came over together. Lambader may be the *lan* of a brother, Pedyr. Dogfael was another cousin of Tyrnog; he is not known in Léon but in the adjoining diocese of Tréguier.

S. Ternoc is given as a bishop in the MS. Missal of Tréguier, of the fifteenth century, on October 3; so also in the Léon Breviary of 1516, and the Léon Missal of 1526.

Why Garaby has transferred him to October 11 is not clear. He is followed by Gautier du Mottay and De la Borderie. *Llanstephan MS.* 117 gives the festival of a Tyrnog on September 25.

Ternoc is represented as a Bishop in the Church of Tregarantec; also at Ploudaniel, in a statue of the sixteenth century. Here there is a Holy Well in the grounds of the Château, but kept enclosed and locked. The church has been fitted throughout with bad modern glass representing the legend of S. Guenian, excogitated for the purpose, as practically nothing is known of him, save that he was brother of Judicael.

There is a small parish S. Erney in East Cornwall, a daughter church to Landrake. Whether this is dedicated to Ternoc cannot now be said. See further under S. TENENAN.

Tyrnog was not a common name in Wales. "Pair Dyrnog Gawr" was one of "the Thirteen Royal Treasures of Britain," of which it is said, "The Cauldron of Tyrnog the Giant: if meat were put into it to boil for a coward it would never be boiled, but if meat for a brave man it would be boiled instantly."[3] There is a farm in the parish of

[1] The story is in Kerdanet's edition of Albert le Grand, 1837, p. 221. It is not in the new edition by Abgrall and Thomas, as they were not permitted by the representatives of De Kerdanet to employ his notes and essays.

[2] *Vies des Saints de Bretagne*, 1839, p. 253.

[3] *Brython*, 1860, p. 372.

Llanddeusant, Anglesey, called Clwch Dernog (or Dyrnog), Tyrnog's Crag.

S. TYSOI, Confessor

THERE occurs in the *Book of Llan Dâv* [1] the grant of Lann Tyssoi to the church of Llandaff by Conhae or Conhage, in the time of Bishop Berthwyn. It is described as "podum Sancti Tisoi, pupil of S. Dubricius, which formerly belonged to S. Dubricius." The name is later spelt Landissoy and Landesoy.[2] It is in Monmouthshire.

It is now called Llansoe or Llansoy, a form in which the honorific prefix *to*, later *ty*, has been dropped. No dedication is given to the church, but in the face of this grant there can be no doubt as to its true patron.

Nothing is known of Tysoi; but he is in all probability the Soy who was one of the clerical witnesses to a grant to the monastery of Llancarfan, in the time of Paul, its abbot.[3]

S. TYSSILIO, Abbot, Confessor

UNFORTUNATELY, the MS. Life in Latin of this saint which was preserved in the Church of S. Suliac on the Rance has disappeared, and all we know of it is from the MS. Bibl. Nat. français, 22321, p. 730, and from the Lections of the Breviary of S. Malo, reprinted in the *Acta SS. Boll.*, October 1, pp. 196–8; and from the Life given by Albert le Grand after this Life, a copy of which had been sent him from S. Suliac, and from the Lections of the Breviaries and Legendaria of Léon and Folgoët.

Tyssilio or Suliau was the son of Brochwel Ysgythrog ab Cyngen ab Cadell Ddyrnllug; and his mother was Arddun, daughter of Pabo Post Prydain.[4]

[1] P. 187.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 321, 328; *Taxatio* of 1254; Clark, *Cartæ*, iii, p. 582 (1295–6), iv, p. 36 (1306–7). By the sixteenth century it became Llansoy.

[3] *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 89.

[4] *Peniarth MSS.* 12, 16, 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 417, 431; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 104, 130 *Peniarth MS.* 12 (early fourteenth century) also gives a "Tysiliaw ap Enoc ap Etwin ap Keredic ap Kuneda Wledic." The *Progenies Keredic* does not mention Edwin as a son of Ceredig. The name Tyssilio stands for Siliau, or Silio, with the common honorific prefix *to*, later *ty*, and would be more correctly spelt with one *s*. It is sometimes cut down to Silio in place-names. It is a totally distinct name from Tyssul. In Brittany Tyssilio is known as Suliau and Sulien. Tyssilio is rather a rare name. In the *Chronicon Fani Sancti Neoti* (*Asser's Life of King Alfred*, ed. Stevenson, 1904, p. 128) is the entry, "Anno DCCXC Tassilio dux venit in Franciam."

The Life says only that he was son of Brocmail, and that he had two brothers. From the Welsh pedigrees we know the name of one, Cynan Garwyn. He was first cousin to S. Asaph and to S. Deiniol.

His father, Brochwel Ysgythrog (of the Tusks), was reigning prince of Old Powys, and resided at Pengwern, or Shrewsbury, where probably Tyssilio was born. Cynddelw, a bard of the twelfth century, adverts with pride to the circumstance that the saint was "nobly descended of high ancestry."

Tyssilio at an early age resolved on embracing the religious life; but as his father destined him to the profession of arms, and was a self-willed, headstrong man, Tyssilio was constrained to take flight one day, whilst out hunting, after having announced his resolve to his brothers, who were with him.

He then hastened to Meifod, and threw himself at the feet of the Abbot Gwyddfarch, whom the Latin writer calls Guimarchus. The brothers of Tyssilio on their return to their father told him how that Tyssilio had fled. The prince was very angry, and sent a company of men to Meifod, with orders to bring his son back to him. On their reaching the monastery they saw the abbot, and rated him for having turned the head of the young prince with his fantastical ideas. Gwyddfarch replied with gentleness, and produced Tyssilio before them shaven and habited as a monk. They did their utmost to induce him to return with them, but as he steadfastly refused, did not venture to use compulsion, and break sanctuary, but returned and reported to Brochwel how matters stood.

His father allowed him to follow his own devices; but Tyssilio who thought that Brochwel would make a greater fuss over him than he did, and feared that force might be employed, asked Gwyddfarch to let him retire to a more remote spot, and he was sent to Inis Suliau, an islet in the Menai Straits, where he founded the church of Llandyssilio. Here he spent seven years, and then returned to Meifod, where he found Gwyddfarch full of a project of going to Rome. But he was too old to undertake such a journey, and Tyssilio said to him: "I know what this means; you want to see the palaces and churches there. Dream of them instead of going."

Then he took the old abbot a long mountain trudge, till he was thoroughly exhausted, and declared he could go no further; so Tyssilio bade him lie down on a grassy bank and rest. And there Gwyddfarch fell asleep.

When he woke, Tyssilio asked him how he could endure a journey to Rome, if such a stroll tired him out. And then the abbot informed him that he had dreamt of seeing a magnificent city, and that sufficed him. Some time after this Gwyddfarch died, and Tyssilio succeeded him as abbot.

Meifod (the May or Summer Residence) is beautifully situated by the lush meadows near the junction of the rivers Einion and Vyrnwy, under the commanding heights crowned by Mathrafal, to which the kings of Powys retired after the fall of Pengwern or Shrewsbury.

Now a terrible disaster fell on the British. Ethelfrid the Northumbrian, who had married a daughter of Ella, expelled her infant brother Edwin from Deira and united it to Bernicia. Edwin, according to Welsh accounts, fled to North Wales, and was well received by the King of Gwynedd. Ethelfrid was alarmed at the prospect of a league formed between the Deirans and the Welsh, and crossing the Western Hills, crushing the British Kingdom of Elmet as he passed through it, marched upon Chester.

At his approach, Brochwel assembled the men of Powys, and to him came, if we may trust Geoffrey of Monmouth, Bledrws, Prince of Cornwall, Meredydd, King of Dyfed, and Cadfan ab Iago, King of Gwynedd. The site of the battle is not easy to determine. Bede says that Ethelfrid "made a very great slaughter of that heretical nation, at the City of Legions, which by the English is called Legacaestir, but by the Britons more rightly Carlegion." Bede means Chester. The battle probably took place on the Dee, near Bangor Iscoed; for the monks of the monastery of Dunawd poured forth, after a fast of three days, and, ascending a hill that commanded the field, prayed for victory and cursed the enemy.

Ethelfrid, observing their wild gestures, bade his men fall on and massacre the monks. "Bear they arms or no," said he; "they fight against us when they cry against us to their God."

According to Bede, Brochwel behaved in a dastardly manner. Some twelve hundred of the unfortunate monks were butchered, only fifty escaping by flight; and "Brocmail, turning his back with his men, at the first approach of the enemy, left those whom he ought to have defended unarmed and exposed to the swords of the assailants." [1]

[1] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, c. 2.

This is not quite what is represented in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which, under the date 607, says, "This year Ethelfrith led his army to Chester, where he slew an innumerable host of the Welsh. . . . There were also slain two hundred priests, who came thither to pray for the army of the Welsh. Their leader was called Brocmail, who with some fifty men escaped thence."

Geoffrey gives a very different account from Bede. A tremendous fight took place at Bangor, in which many fell on both sides, and Ethelfrid was wounded and put to flight, after losing 10,066 men. On the side of the Britons fell Bledrws, Prince of Cornwall.[1]

That Brochwel fled without striking a blow is incredible; and it is also certain that Ethelfrid was not defeated and obliged to fly.

The date given in the *Chronicle* to this battle is 607, but the *Annals of Ulster* give 613, and this has been accepted as the date by Archbishop Ussher,[2] and by Green. Freeman, however, prefers 607.

Brochwel at the time of the battle was probably very old, and did not long survive it.

"The battle of Chester marked a fresh step forward in the struggle with the Welsh. By their victory at Deorham (577) the West Saxons had cut off the Britons of Dyvnaint, of our Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall, from the general body of their race. What remained was broken anew into two parts by the battle of Chester; for the conquest of Æthelfrith had parted the Britons of what we now call Wales from the Britons of Cumbria and Strathclyde. From this moment, therefore, Britain as a country ceased to exist." [3]

According to Geoffrey, Cadfan ab Iago, of Gwynedd, now became the recognized king of the Britons. Brochwel was succeeded by his son, called in the Life Jacobus, or Iago, who died two years later, without issue.

His widow, Hajarmé (i.e. in Welsh, Haiarnmed, now Haiarnwedd), was a strong and determined character, and after consultation with the chief men of Powys, resolved on withdrawing Tyssilio from his monastery, marrying him, and making him King of Powys.

The times were full of peril, and a strong and able prince was necessary. But Tyssilio was not the man for the occasion; he hated war, knew nothing of its practice, and above all, objected to marrying his deceased brother's widow, and leaving the profession of religion.

The sister-in-law at once, like a woman, took this as a personal

[1] *Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, pp. 238–9; *Hist. Brit. Reg.*, xi, c. 13. But see what has been said i, p. 302.

[2] *Antiq. Eccl. Brit. Index Chron.*, p. 1,157.

[3] *The Making of England*, ed. 1897, i, pp. 275–6.

affront. She was incapable of understanding that Tyssilio had a vocation for the monastic life; could not believe that he was intellectually and morally incapable of military achievements, and assumed that he disliked her personally. She therefore, also like a woman, did all in her power to injure or annoy the Monks of Meifod. She had assumed the regency.

The position of Tyssilio became intolerable. She seized the revenues of the abbey; and to free his monks from her persecution, he fled, along with some of his monks who were attached to him, and left Wales altogether, crossed the sea, and entered the estuary of the Rance.

The coast is wild and ragged, fringed with rocks and islets and reefs. A chain of islands, of which Cesambre is the chief, is thrown like a necklace of coral across the entrance to the Rance, which is commanded by the isle of Aaron or S. Malo. The river forms a broad estuary of glittering blue water, up which the mighty tides heave gently, the waves having been broken and torn to foam on the natural breakwater.

Ascending the river, some four miles, a point of high land shelving to a beach runs into it, with a long creek on the south, through which at low tide trickles a tiny stream. On this point of land Suliau drew up his boat, and here he resolved on settling. S. Malo was then at Aleth, which the writer of the Life calls Guicaleth (Vicus Alethi), and with him Suliau held converse. Probably S. Malo was not overjoyed to have an abbot settle so near him, and run his monastery in rivalry against his own. But, if so, he yielded. He knew who Suliau was, a son of a mighty prince, but from another part of Wales. Suliau told his story, how he was persecuted by his brother's widow, and how Powys was torn by factions.

Suliau began in modest fashion. He constructed a chapel and some cabins for his few brother monks, and tilled the soil. But he had trouble. The creek was dry at low water, and the cattle crossed easily from the further side; they entered his fields and ravaged his crops. Suliau was forced to bank up and plant withies and interlace them, so as to hedge out these vexatious intruders.

According to the Life, as given by Albert le Grand, Suliau was visited by S. Samson. This, however, is chronologically impossible; for he did not cross over into Brittany till a few years after the massacre of Bangor and the taking of Chester, which was in 607 or 613.

The chieftain who held rule in that part favoured the new settlers, and gave the whole of the spit of land to Suliau.

Suliau, like a prudent man, had not left Wales without taking his cook with him, his *chef* in fact (*archimagirus*); and this master of

the kitchen, monk though he was, had a little *affaire de cœur* with a girl on the opposite side of the Rance. He was wont, Leander-like, to swim across and visit her.

On one occasion, as he was crossing, a monstrous conger eel laced itself about him, and the poor cook was in dire alarm. He invoked all the saints to come to his aid. S. Samson, S. Malo, his own master, Suliau, could not deliver him, when happily he thought of S. Maglorius of Sark, and called on him for assistance. At the same moment, it occurred to him that he had his knife attached to his girdle, and, unsheathing that, he cut and hacked at the conger, till it released its hold. The story occurs in the Legend of S. Maglorius, and is told to exalt that saint at the expense of the rival saints.[1]

Whilst Suliau was in Brittany, and his monastery was growing, he received tidings that his sister-in-law was dead, and two of the monks of Meifod, whom the Life calls Pellibesten and Caramanien, came to him to invite him to return to Wales. However, Suliau was content where he was, and he gave the messengers a Book of the Gospels and his walking staff, and bade them return without him to Meifod.

Some time after that he died in his monastery on October 1, but in what year we do not know. His sister-in-law is not likely to have been desirous of marrying him if he were not in the full vigour of manhood in or about 610. If we may suppose that he was then aged thirty-five, he died approximately in 650.

S. Suliau is patron of the church of S. Suliac, on the Rance, where was his monastery, and his tomb, with an altar above it, is at the west end of the church, where also is his ring, with a large uncut stone in it, preserved under glass.

His statue, by the High Altar, represents him as a monk in a white habit, without mitre, but holding his staff. It is a popular belief that as the staff is turned so is changed the direction of the wind. The old woman who acts as sacristan informed us that her husband, a fisherman, when once returning, could not enter the harbour owing to contrary winds. She turned the crosier in the hand of S. Suliau, and at once the wind shifted, and the boat arrived with full sails.

Suliau is also patron of Sizun, in the diocese of Quimper; so that he probably did not confine himself to the Rance but went afield to found a branch establishment in Cornouaille.

In the *Red Book of Hergest*[2] is a poem attributed to Tyssilio, composed of thirty triplets, thirteen of which begin with the catch-words

[1] *Vita S. Maglorii*, Mabillon, *Acta SS. o.s. B.*, sæc i, p. 7.

[2] Col. 1,026; Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, pp. 237–41; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 123–4

Eiry mynyd (Mountain Snow). It is of a religious character, in the form of a dialogue between SS. Llywelyn and Gwrnerth, of Trallwng, or Welshpool. A postscript states, "Tyssilio, the son of Brochwael Ysgythrog, composed these verses concerning Gwrnerth's coming to perform his devotions with S. Llywelyn, his companion; and they are called the Colloquy of Llywelyn and Gwrnerth." In its present form the poem cannot be much older, if any, than the MS. in which it is preserved—this portion about 1400—and the references in the prefatory note and the text to the saying or singing of Matins and the Hours prove it to be mediæval. It is followed by another poem, of thirty-six verses, each with the same catch-words and similar in sentiment. In fact, there is a number of *Eiry mynyd* poems, all of which are of a religious or semi-religious character.[1]

The so-called *Brut Tyssilio*[2] is in reality one of several "compiled" versions (the earliest MSS. of which are of the fifteenth century) of Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniæ*. It is pretended that the *Brut* was originally the work of Tyssilio, and that it was subsequently "enlarged" by Walter (Mapes), Archdeacon of Oxford, and Geoffrey; but there is no authority for ascribing any work of the kind to Tyssilio.

The poem *Canu Tyssilyaw*, by the twelfth century bard Cynddelw,[3] eulogizes the saint and "Meifod wen." It contains a reference to his self-banishment to Gwynedd—Eifionydd it says—and to the annoyance he received at the hands of his sister-in-law. His church at Meifod, "the abode of the three Saints," was contiguous to that of Gwyddfarch, but there was no comparison between the latter and his, with its fine cloisters and spires, its priests and choir, its offerings and gold-enclustered crozier. It was the "sepulchre of Kings." Three distinct churches formerly co-existed within the extensive churchyard of Meifod. Eglwys Gwyddfarch, the earliest, was superseded by the more substantial and imposing edifice of Tyssilio. The third, S. Mary's, was consecrated in 1155. In its architecture, furniture, services, and ministrations Tyssilio's excelled the other two, and his festival

[1] Other *Eiry mynyd* verses will be found in *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 358–63, some of which are attributed to Merfyn Gwawdrydd and Y Mab Claf, or Maer Glas (son of Llywarch Hên). They are of a later date still than the *Red Book* poems.

[2] *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 432–75. The editors, on p. 601, distinctly state that the *Brut* is so designated merely to distinguish it from *Brut Gruffydd ab Arthur* (Geoffrey's). Their text seems to have been really taken, not from the *Red Book of Hergest*, as stated, but from *Jesus College MS.* 28, written in 1695, which again seems to be a transcript of *Jesus College MS.* 61, of the sixteenth century. See Preface to the *Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, and Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, 1876, p. 303.

[3] *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 177–9. The earliest copy of it is in the *Red Book of Hergest*, col. 1,165.



S. TYSSILIO
From Statue at S. Suliac.

day was that observed here to the last. The present fabric probably embodies more of his church than that of S. Mary. He was invoked, with S. Gwyddfarch, in a legend in the chancel window in the eighteenth century.[1]

Cynddelw, enumerating the churches founded by Tyssilio, says :—

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

Llanllugyrn we believe to be Llanllugan (now B.V.M.), in Montgomeryshire, generally supposed to be a Tyssilio foundation. Llydaw does not necessarily mean Armorica, as there are Llydaw placenames in Wales, but probably S. Suliac is intended. Pengwern is Shrewsbury, the ancient capital of Powys, where Brochwel resided. Possibly the church meant is S. Julian's, in that town. The last named is Llangammarch, in Breconshire. Mr. Egerton Phillimore points out to us that its dedication to Tyssilio is confirmed by the fact that in the Lives of the Saint, or in one of them, preserved in Brittany, he is said (according to Lobineau's Life and the "légendaires galloises") to have hidden for some time from the persecution of Hajarmé "dans le fond d'une province, appelée Buelt, où il bâtit une église et un monastère." Llangammarch[3] is situated on the river Cammarch, in the principality (later the cantred and now the hundred) of Buellt, Buallt, or Builth. Meifod was the premier church of Powys, and had jurisdiction over a very extensive district. The princes of Powys had their residence at Mathrafal, in the Vale of Meifod, and the church was their favourite burial place. Its daughter churches included Welshpool, Guilsfield, Llanfair Caereinion, Llanllugan, and Alberbury.

The churches dedicated to the royal saint Tyssilio are Meifod (with the B.V.M.), and Llandyssilio, in Montgomeryshire ; Llandyssilio, in Anglesey ; Llantyssilio, and Bryn Eglwys,[4] in Denbighshire ; Llandyssilio (yn Nyfed), on the borders of Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire ; and Llandyssilio Gogo, in Cardiganshire. Sellack,

[1] See fuller Thomas, *S. Asaph*, 1908, i, pp. 492–503 ; *Gwaith Gwallter Mechain*, 1868, iii, pp. 97–100.

[2] See iii, pp. 378–9. [3] See ii, p. 68.

[4] Lhuyd gives a Ffynnon Dyssilio under each of these two adjoining parishes. Under Bryneglwys in the *Valor* of 1535, vi, p. xliii, is entered, "Itm̃ in die Sāti Tyssilio in offeryng—xx^{d}." In the former parish are Bryn Tyssilio, locally called Bryn Silio, and Aber Silio. A Bryn Silio also in Llandyssilio Gogo.

in Herefordshire, called Lann Suluc in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, is usually ascribed to him, as also the little church of Llancillo, in the same county, but this latter very unlikely. It occurs as Lann Sulbiu in that same book.

At Rhiwlas, in the parish of Llansilin, Denbighshire, is a large stone formerly known as Maen Tyssilio, which was the rallying point of the youth for their games. Edward Lhuyd says (1699) that there was a well in the parish of Oswestry called Ffynnon Nant Dyssilio, to which the parishioners resorted to celebrate their wakes—the first Sunday after Lammas Day. There is a Pistyll Tyssilio, on the Rallt (by Spout House), in the parish of Welshpool. It is the "Fons Tessiliau" mentioned in Gwenwynwyn's charter, 1202, to the Abbey of Strata Marcella. In a grant dated 1467 is mentioned "the cemetery at Chirk of S. Tyssilio, confessor." [1]

It is difficult to account for the two Demetian dedications as being to him. Most probably they are to another S. Tyssilio, occurring only in *Peniarth MS.* 12, as a descendant of Ceredig, and mentioned in the earlier part of this article.

In Cornwall it has been suspected that Luxulyan (Lan Sulien) had him as founder, but is now said to be dedicated to S. Julitta. Gilbert, however, says, "Luxilian . . . the right name of this parish is Lan Julian, the church of Saint Julian; but although the church was originally dedicated to him, it has since changed its patron, and belongs to S. Ayre," and this he quotes from Tonkin, who wrote his parochial history of Cornwall in 1702–39. The feast at Luxulyan is on the Sunday before June 24.

In Brittany, in addition to S. Suliac on the Rance, he is patron of Sizun, under the Monts d'Arrée, in Finistère, and of Tressignaux, near Lanvalon; and he has a chapel at Plomodiern, near Châteaulin, in Finistère; another at Pleyben. There is a thirteenth century statue of him over the north porch of the Church of S. Suliac, as well as that within the church already described.

Tyssilio is sometimes said, by late writers, to have succeeded S. Asaph as bishop of Llanelwy, but the statement is perfectly groundless.

In the Life of S. Beuno we are told that when that restless saint left Berriew, on hearing the voice of a Saxon, he and his disciples proceeded to Meifod, where they remained with Tyssilio for forty days, and then left for Gwyddelwern.

November 8 occurs as the festival of S. Tyssilio in most of the Welsh Calendars. In some of the later ones, e.g. those in *Peniarth MS.* 187

[1] *Arch. Camb.*, 1880, p. 150.

and the Prymer of 1618, he is designated "King of Powys." The wakes at Welshpool and Guilsfield were held on November 8.

In Brittany his festival is on October 1, in the Missal of S. Malo, 1609, the Breviary of S. Malo, 1537, and 1627. So also Albert le Grand. On July 29, in the MS. Breviary of Tréguier, of the fifteenth century, and the Léon Breviary of 1516. The attribution of October 1 to him is due probably to a confusion between him and the S. Silin of the Welsh Calendars on that day, i.e. S. Giles. His feast being on October 1, the day of S. Giles, he has been confounded with him, and a statue of S. Giles at Tressignaux serves for him.

Tyssilio is invoked under the name of Suliau in the tenth century Celtic Litanies published by D'Arbois de Jubainville, and in the Missal of S. Vougay.[1]

S. TYSSUL, Bishop, Confessor

Tyssul was the son of Corun ab Ceredig ab Cunedda Wledig, and brother of SS. Carannog, Tyrnog, Tydiwg, and others.[2] He is not entered in the early thirteenth century *Progenies Keredic.* He is the patron of Llandyssul, in Cardiganshire, and Llandyssil, in Montgomeryshire. The former parish is divided into seven hamlets, in each of which, with the exception of that in which the parish church is situated, there was a chapel of ease in the seventeenth century, but in ruins.

The only calendar in which his festival occurs is the Demetian one in *Cwrtmawr MS.* 44, which has "Tyssyl, Bishop" against February 3. Browne Willis [3] and Meyrick,[4] however, give January 31 as his day at Llandyssul, and they are followed by Rice Rees [5] and others. The latter must be the correct day, as a fair was held on it, Old Style, and is still held on February 11. The wake at Llandyssil was held on or about November 11, probably through confusion with S. Tyssilio (November 8), whom Browne Willis gives as the Patron of the parish.

[1] *Revue Celtique*, xi, p. 138.

[2] *Peniarth MS.* 16; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 431; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 110, 124. He is invoked, with many other Welsh Saints, in the Ode to King Henry VII (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 314); cf. also Lewis Glyn Cothi, *Gwaith*, 1837, p. 261. In a short mediæval tract, "The Virtues of Hearing Mass," *dyssul* appears to stand for Tyssul in the vocative (*Llyvyr Agkyr*, ed. Jones and Rhys, p. 151; *Selections from Hengwrt MSS.*, ii, p. 296).

[3] *Paroch. Anglic.*, 1733, p. 194.

[4] *Hist. of Cardiganshire*, 1808, p. 46.

[5] *Welsh Saints*, pp. 209, 241.

There is a Ffynnon Dyssul in Llandyssul, and another in Llanfynydd, Carmarthenshire. The village of Llandyssul is supplied with water from the saint's Holy Well, which was enclosed in 1892 and a pump provided. It is situated to the north of the village, near the highway.

In a memorial window recently (1902) inserted in Montgomery Church Tyssul is represented as a bishop, with mitre and crozier, holding a representation of Old Llandyssil Church.

In Brélidy, in Brittany, are Lan-zul Vras and Vihan, where we seem to have the saint's name *minus* the honorofic prefix. The pardon of S. Sul is on the fourth Sunday in May. He is represented as a bishop in the chapel of S. Yves at Trédarzec.

S. UFELWY, Bishop, Confessor

UFELWY was the son of Cenydd, the crippled son of Gildas, and a hermit in Gower.[1]

Cenydd seems to have moved to Brittany to the neighbourhood of his father, and probably Ufelwy accompanied him, for there are traces that may refer to him in the district, where he may be recognized as Yhuel, who is said to have led an eremitical life in the parish of Redoné, near Quimperlé. The chapel has been destroyed, but the fourteenth century statues of S. Yhuel and S. Cadoc that stood in it, one on each side of the altar, have been transferred to the chapel of Rosgrande. He is figured as a very young man with flowing locks. This expresses the tradition that he was in Brittany only as a youth.

He had as well a chapel near the Gate of Lorient, where he is called S. Uhel, on the road to Kerantec. This chapel, in a deed of 1516, is mentioned as that of S. Juzelli.[2] If this be Ufelwy, his father's settlement was only a few miles off at Languidic, and that of S. Cadoc, who would seem to have been his master, at Belz, also near by.

We may perhaps equate him with S. Eval of Cornwall. In 1322 Bishop Stapeldon issued an order relative to the Church "Sancti Uvelli"; and Bishop Bronescombe in 1260 speaks of it by the same name. Bishop Quivil in 1280 calls it the Church of S. Uvelus.

[1] *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 118, 137, where the name is spelt Ufelwyn. The correct form of the name in modern spelling would be Ufelfyw, which would be liable to become Ufelwyw, and Ufelwy In the *Book of Llan Dâv* it occurs as Ubelbiu, Uvelviu, Ubelvivus, and Ubelvius; and other names of the same origin there are Uvel (Umel) and Uvelauc. Ufel means a flame, heat, spark. "Wele Euelvew ap Itgwon" was in the *villa* of Heneglwys, in Anglesey (*Record of Caernarvon*, 1838, p. 44).

[2] There was a Caer Uuel in Guiscriff. Morbihan. *Cart. de Quimperlé*, p. 115.

In the parish of S. Eval is a farm called Raws, where was a chapel called Laneff, a contraction for Lan-effal, and this was probably the site of the original oratory of the saint.

The parish church of S. Eval is planted in the midst of what appears to have been a prehistoric circle of upright stones, all but one of which have been thrown down, and used as foundation for the chancel. The churchyard, however, remains circular.

The other church in Cornwall formerly dedicated to him is Withiel, but has been transferred to the patronage of S. Clement.

S. Ffili, the brother of Ufelwy, has also left his mark in Cornwall. But when those brothers were there is uncertain.

Ufelwy is first heard of in any authentic document as disciple of S. Dubricius, in the Life of that saint in the *Book of Llan Dâv*. "From all parts of Britain scholars came to him, not only the uninstructed, but wise men and doctors, for the prosecution of their studies. First S. Teilo, then Samson, his disciple, Ubeluius," etc.[1]

Ufelwy was consecrated Bishop by Dubricius and given a district, or to be more exact, chose one for himself, at Bolgros, on the Wye, which was granted him by Guorvodu, King of Erging, as a thank-offering for victory over the Saxons.[2]

We learn from the Life of S. Oudoceus that in his time the Saxons made irruption into Ewyas and occupied it; and it is reasonable to suppose that it was at the same time that they attempted to gain Erging, but failed for the moment. The date would be a little after 580.[3] Bolgros is now represented by Belley-Moor, in Madley, Herefordshire, according to the editors of the *Book of Llan Dâv*.

Another foundation was Lann Guorboe, also made by Guorvodu.[4] This is thought by the editors of the *Book of Llan Dâv* to be Garway. But this cannot be, as pointed out by Mr. Egerton Phillimore. Lann Guorboe is "in campo Malochu,"[5] which is Mawfield, for an older Malefield, in *Testa de Nevill*, and the Malvern Charters, and is the same as Inis Ebrdil, the tract of land between the Dore Valley and the Wye from Moccas down to about Hereford and the Worm.

Another foundation in Herefordshire made by Ufelwy was Lann Sulbiu, now Llancillo, near the Monnow, also in Ewyas, but was a grant of Meurig ab Tewdrig, King of Morganwg.[6]

In the charters in the *Book of Llan Dâv* these grants are made into

[1] P. 80. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 161. [3] *Supra*, p. 33.
[4] *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 162. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 165, and see i, p. 109
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

the hand of Ufelwy, but to the church of SS. Dubricius and Teilo. This was probably an interpolation made at the time when the Bishops of Llandaff endeavoured to establish a claim over Ewyas and Archenfield and wrest it from the diocese of Hereford. On the theory that Ufelwy was a disciple of Dubricius, and that therefore all grants made to him were so made subject to the jurisdiction of Dubricius and Teilo and reverted to the mother-house, the claim was made for all the foundations of the pupils of these two saints.

There is no evidence that Ufelwy ever was bishop of Llandaff. His little abbatial see was confined to Ewyas and Erging, and did not extend over the whole of these districts. When, at a late period, a list of the Bishops of Llandaff was compiled, it was found that several of the pupils of Dubricius were entitled bishops, and that their names appeared in charters as witnesses. Their names were accordingly foisted into the list in a succession purely arbitrary; and Ufelwy is given the next place after Oudoceus.[1]

Ufelwy is credited with having founded a Church in Glamorgan, called Llanufelwyn,[2] by which is meant the church known later as S. Iorys, now S. George-super-Ely. No record of any grant of this patch of land is preserved in the *Book of Llan Dâv*.

In 602 or 603 Augustine of Canterbury sought a conference with the British bishops. The two parties met at Augustine's Oak, on the borders of the Hwiccas and West Saxons. Bede says that Augustine invited "episcopos sive doctores maximæ et proximæ Britonum provinciæ."[3] The words imply that it was not merely bishops who were summoned, but the heads of the great schools or abbeys, and this is precisely what he would have done when he had discovered that the leaders and those exercising jurisdiction in the British Church were the abbots who were only occasionally bishops.

The traditional list of those present at this first conference is contained in the *Iolo MSS.*[4]; but it is apocryphal. It gives seven bishops: 1, Hereford; 2, Llandaff; 3, Llanbadarn; 4, Bangor; 5, S. Asaph; 6, Wig; 7, Morganwg. That a Bishop sat in Hereford so early as 603 is not likely; and there was no see of Morganwg, or Wig. Ufelwy is supposed to have been the prelate from Llandaff who attended the conference. That he did so can hardly be doubted, as he was on the immediate confines, in fact on the debated and debatable ground in Ewyas and Erging; and if the conference took place at Aust, as has been supposed, then he was the nearest great abbot-bishop.

We venture to quote the account of the conference from the pen of

[1] *Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 303, 311. [2] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 370; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 276. [3] *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, c. 2 [4] Pp. 143, 548.

the Bishop of Bristol (Dr. Browne) in his little book, *Augustine and his Companions*.[1] His authority is Bede.

"Augustine began by brotherly admonition to urge the Britons to make Catholic peace with him. . . . Ecclesiastical and formal unity having been secured, by whatever action might be necessary, they were then to take a joint interest in spreading the Gospel among the heathen people. And here Bede interposes an explanation of the need for some action to secure Catholic peace. The Britons, he says, did not keep the Lord's Day of the Passover at the proper time, but from the fourteenth to the twentieth of the moon, and very many other things they did contrary to ecclesiastical unity. . . . The Britons held their own firmly. The disputation lasted long. The British firmness produced its natural effect upon men like Augustine. They began by praying the Britons to take their view; they went on to exhorting them; they ended by scolding them. And not to any of these methods and tempers did the British give any heed. To the last they preferred their own traditions to all that they were told of the agreement of all the churches in the world. This brings us to the last weapon in Augustine's armoury, scolding having been the last but one. I accept the story as given by Bede, but withhold an expression of opinion as to Augustine's part in it. Augustine proposed that some afflicted person should be brought before them, and each party should try to heal him by the efficacy of their prayers. The Britons consented, but unwillingly, and a blind man was brought. The British Priests did what they could, but they could do nothing. Then Augustine knelt down and prayed, and immediately the man received his sight. Thereupon the Britons confessed that Augustine's was the true way of righteousness. But, they said, they could not commit themselves to a change from their ancient customs, without the consent and permission of those whom they represented. They asked that a second conference should be held, when more of them would come."

Here we have the partisan version of the story by Bede. It is amusing to compare with this the account given by an Irish early writer of a similar conclave held at Old Leighlin, in 630, when an admonitory letter to the bishops of Ireland, from Honorius I, was read to them. S. Laserian, Abbot of Leighlin, strongly advocated the introduction of the Roman computation of Easter, according to the Papal letter. But S. Fintan Munu of Taghmon vehemently opposed this, and appealed to the judgment of God. He asked to have a house set in a blaze, and that one of the Roman party and one of his Celtic adherents should go

[1] S.P.C.K., 1897, pp. 100–8.

into the flames. Those who favoured the Latin Church shrank from the ordeal.[1]

"The story goes, Bede says, that to the second conference there came no less than seven Bishops of the Britons to meet the one only Bishop the English Church possessed. There came also many very learned men, chiefly from their most noble monastery. . . . Bangor Iscoed, Bangor under the Wood, 10 or 12 miles south of Chester. . . . Before the sacred conference the British leaders consulted a holy and prudent man, who lived the anchorite life among them, on this question, 'Ought they, on the teaching of Augustine, to desert their own traditions?' I feel sure that we must credit them with putting the question in full earnest: it seems to me certain that their minds were open to adopt Augustine's practice, if they saw the way fairly clear. And the anchorite's answer is quite startlingly broad and bold—'If he is a man of God, follow him.' 'And how,' they naturally asked, 'are we able to test that?' He replied, 'The Lord hath said, Take My yoke upon you, and learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly in heart. If then Augustine is meek and lowly in heart, you may believe that he himself bears Christ's yoke, and that he offers it to you also to be borne. But if that he is not meek is proved, it is clear that he is not of God, nor need we regard his teaching.' 'And by what means,' they asked, 'are we to discern this?' 'Arrange beforehand,' he advised them, 'that he and his people arrive first at the place of the synod. If he rises to receive you when you approach, know that he is a servant of Christ, and hear him with willing attention. But if he spurns you, and does not chose to rise when you appear, though you are more in number than he, let him in turn be spurned by you.'

"They acted on his advice. It turned out that, when they came, Augustine remained seated. They became angry, noting him as proud, and they set themselves to argue against everything he said. He said at last to them this: 'There are many points on which you act contrary to our custom, yea, the custom of the Universal Church. Yet, if on three points you will assent to my view, we will tolerate with equanimity all your other practices, though they be contrary to our own. These three points are—that you celebrate the Passover (Easter) at its proper time; that you complete the office of Baptism after the manner of the Holy Roman and Apostolic Church; that along with us you preach the Word of God to the English race.' . . . They then gave him their final answer. 'They would do none of these things. They would not have him as Archbishop; for,' they argued among themselves, 'if he does not rise to greet us now, he will treat us as of no account at all when we are under his rule.' On which Augustine is said to have threatened them by a prophecy that the English would destroy them. So natural a prophecy was in due course fulfilled."

[1] *Acta SS. Hibern.* in *Cod. Salam.*, col. 502.

William of Worcester, on the Saints of Wales, "per informationem Mag. Johannis Smyth, Episcopi Landavensis Ecclesiæ," says, "S. Uffaldus, C. Anglice Uffile, plures ecclesiæ in Wallia." That this Uffaldus or Uffile is Ufelwy cannot be doubted. What the Bishop of Llandaff meant by "many churches in Wales" was that he obtained many grants of lands, which were recorded in the Book of Charters, not that many churches in Wales were called after his name. Probably, however, he was commemorated at Llandaff, Bolgros, Lan Guorboe, Llancillo, and other churches he had founded, though the inclusion of his particular district in the diocese of Hereford had tended to displace him, and to substitute other patrons.

At Withiel, in Cornwall, he has been displaced for S. Clement.

S. Ufelwy does not appear in the Welsh Calendars. The Feast Day at S. Eval is November 20. That at Withiel is November 23, in reference to S. Clement. The transfer of patronage to S. Clement was probably made so as to make as little change as possible in the date of the Patronal Feast.

S. ULO

THERE was, clearly, a Welsh or other saint named Lulo, Ulo, Ilo, or some such form, who had a chapel at Holyhead and another at Penmaenmawr, and possibly elsewhere, but which have now disappeared. The Capel Lulo or Ulo in Holyhead parish was near Llech Nest, and has been converted into a farm-house. Here was also a Ffynnon Ulo, which no longer exists.

Capel Lulo is the proper name of the hamlet now known as Dwygyfylchi, in the parish of which name is situated the town of Penmaenmawr. The extinct chapel here was situated where the cottages are on the main road through the Sychnant, on the east side of the Afon Gwrach.

S. UMBRAFEL, Abbot, Confessor

UMBRAFEL, son of Emyr Llydaw, was one of the brothers who fled from Broweroc to Demetia. He was married to Afrella, daughter of

Meurig ab Tewdrig, King of Morganwg. He was the father of S. Maglorius, and is named in the Life of that saint. He is also named in the Lives of S. Samson, but spoken of as brother of Amwn Ddu.[1]

When the latter was ill, he was visited by his son Samson, who urged him to quit the secular for the monastic life. When Amwn received the tonsure, then Umbrafel and his wife also embraced it.[2]

Samson took Amwn and Umbrafel with him to Ynys Pyr, and afterwards, when he had founded a monastery in Ireland, he left his uncle there in charge of it as abbot.[3] Umbrafel said to him, "You know, elect of God, that at your suggestion, we have left all carnal affections, and that as you are altogether spiritual, so ought we to follow you not carnally but spiritually." Then Samson replied: "You, indeed, brother Umbrafel, must become an exile and pilgrim," and he sent him to take charge of his monastery in Ireland. At this time he was not a priest, but Samson knew that he would soon become one, as indeed was fitting as abbot. The abbey was, perhaps, that of Ballygriffin, a few miles north of Dublin, where the church is dedicated to S. Doulough or Duilech, who is commemorated on November 17. There was another church where S. Samson has left some traces in the south of Wexford, where is a Ballysamson, but the dedication of the church is now to S. Catherine. At Ballygriffin there are traces of S. Samson's ruined church, consisting of nave and chancel, and these are on the left-hand side at the entrance of the avenue of Ballygriffin Park.[4]

If Umbrafel has left any memorial of himself in the Irish Martyrologies his name has been so altered as not to be recognized. But as it does not attach to either of the sites where the name of Samson lingers on, it is probable that he proved something of a nonentity there.

S. URSULA AND THE ELEVEN THOUSAND VIRGINS, MM.

On the south wall of the chancel of S. Ursula's Church at Cologne is

[1] "Amoni patri sancti Samsonis frater fuit Umbraphel nomine, et Annæ matri ejus soror fuit Afrella nomine." *Vita 2da S. Samsonis*, ed. Plaine, i, c. 1; *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 6.

[2] "Frater ejusdem Ammonis videns fratrem suum caput tondentem, et omnes facultates suas pauperibus erogantem et uxorem suam viduitatis ordinem recipientem ac Deo omnipotenti et sancto Samsoni placentem, in totum se vovit offerre Deo et omnia sua ei eroganda. Nam et uxor ejus tali sorte, sicut Anna fecerat antea, Deo deservire devovit, quod postea implevit." *Vita 2da S. Samsonis*, i, c. 9; *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 14.

[3] *Ibid.*, i, c. 12. [4] O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, vii, p. 430.

a flat slab of limestone, measuring 20 inches by 28 inches, that bears an inscription. There is no division between most of the words, though here and there are dots. The inscription is as follows:—

Divinis Flammeis visionib(us) frequenter
admonit(us) et virtutis magnae mai
istatis martyrii caelestium virgin(um)
imminentium ex partib(us) Orientis
exsibitus pro voto Clematius v.c. de
proprio in loco suo hanc basilicam
voto quod debebat a fundamentis
restituit. Si quis autem super tantam
maiiestatem huiius basilicae vbi sanc
tae virgines pro nomine Christi san
guinem suum fuderunt corpus alicuius
deposuerit exceptis virginib(us) sciat se
sempiternis Tartarii ignib(us) puniendum.

The inscription has given occasion to much dispute as to how it is to be translated, as it is ambiguous in places. The *virtutis* in the second line has been supposed to be a sculptor's error for *virtutib(us)*.

Flammeis visionibus probably means menacing visions.

virtus is used as equivalent to δύναμις, and signifies miraculous power.

imminentium stands for *instantium, urgentium.*

ex partibus Orientis, if taken with *imminentium*, signifies that the virgins appeared in vision from the East. If taken with *exsibitus . . . Clematius*, that Clematius came from the East.

v.c. stands for *vir clarissimus*, a man of Consular rank.[1]

de proprio, out of his own means.

in loco suo, on its original site, hardly, as has been usually read, on his own estate.

exceptis virginibus does not mean that unmarried girls may be buried in the church, but that no bodies are to be permitted to be within the walls save those of the Virgin Martyrs. The inscription may be thus translated:—

"Frequently admonished by flaming visions, and (conscious) of the miraculous virtue of the great majesty of the Martyrium of the celestial virgins urging him, appearing from the East, according to his vow, Clematius, a man of illustrious rank, out of his own means, on its original site, rebuilt from the foundations the basilica, in consequence of a vow. Should any one, on account of the great majesty of the basilica, where the holy virgins shed their blood for Christ, lay here the

[1] The official grades were—1, The Illustres; 2, The Spectabiles; 3, The Clarissimi; 4, The Perfectissimi; 5, The Egregii. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, Oxford, 1880, i, p. 208.

body of any one, the virgins only excepted, let him know that he will be punished with eternal fire."

The genuineness of this inscription has been disputed.[1] It has been acknowledged as such by De Rossi, Le Blant, de Ritschl, Krauss, and other high authorities. It cannot be later than 406, when Cologne fell into the hands of the Ripuarian Franks. In lettering it resembles inscriptions at Rome and throughout the Latin West before the capture of the Eternal City by Attila, after which lettering and character of tumulary and other inscriptions underwent a great change. It is commented on by a preacher not later than 834, who quotes one half of it, and shows that it was at that time not thoroughly understood, some supposing that *ex partibus Orientis* meant that the Virgins came from the East.

From this inscription we learn certain things :—

1. That actually at Cologne there had been Virgin Martyrs.
2. That a martyrium had been erected over their bodies.
3. That this martyrium had been ruined, and was rebuilt from the foundations by Clematius.

And we may infer that the Christians of Colonia Agrippina were in the habit of burying their dead about this martyrium, and that it was necessary to make severe threats to prevent them from invading the sanctuary itself.

What Clematius does not tell us is the names of the Virgin Martyrs, nor when, nor how they suffered. He implied that they were few, some three or four. Had they been many he would certainly have used some expression to signify this.

We hardly venture to offer a suggestion as to the date of the Martyrdom.

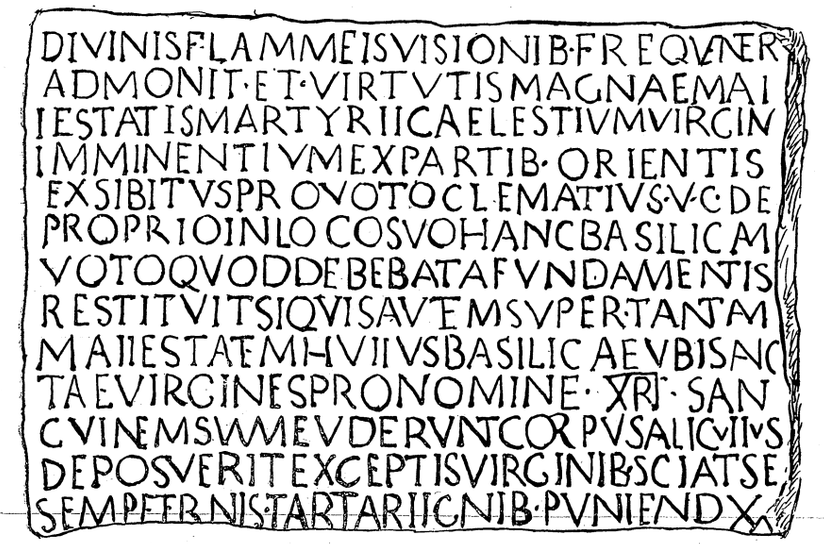
We can account for the destruction of the *sacellum*, and give its date.

In 355 the Franks destroyed Colonia Agrippina. Ammianus Marcellinus, a contemporary, says, "In that district there was no city or fortress to be seen, except that near Coblentz . . . and likewise a single tower near Cologne." The barbarians had destroyed as well Strasburg, Spires, Worms and Mainz ; "all were in their hands ; they established themselves in the suburbs, for the barbarians shunned fixing themselves in towns, regarding them as graves surrounded by nets." [2]

Julian entered the devastated territory, drove out the Franks and restored the fortifications of Cologne and the other towns to the best of

[1] A Riese: Die Inschrift des Clematius, in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 1909, supposes that the second part of the inscription was added after 852 ; and then the completed inscription re-cut by a lapidary. See *Analecta Bolland.* T. xxx, p. 362.

[2] Amm. Marcell., xvi, cc. 2, 3.



S. URSULA : THE INSCRIPTION OF CLEMATIUS, COLOGNE.



THE TREASURY OF THE BONES OF S. URSULA AND HER COMPANIONS AT COLOGNE.

his ability, with the inadequate means at his disposal. But it was not till 375 that Valentinian I undertook a systematic fortification of the Rhenish frontier.[1]

In 406, as Stilicho had withdrawn the legions from the Rhine for the defence of Italy against the Goths, the Franks poured across the river, sacked and destroyed all the cities on the left bank, Cologne among them, and swept over Gaul, carrying destruction everywhere. Thenceforth Cologne and the whole Rhine frontier ceased to belong to the Empire.

It is consequently incredible that the rebuilding of the church of the Virgin Martyrs at Cologne by Clematius can have taken place after 406. It must have occurred between the dates 356 and 406, perhaps at the general reconstruction under Valentinian in 375, for the martyrium had been wrecked by the Franks in 355.

But who was Clematius? The name is Greek, and was not uncommon. Libanius mentions at least four in his epistles. One had an agreeable stepmother, the same probably as the Clematius mentioned by Ammianus as having been killed by his stepmother because he rejected her advances. He was a noble of Alexandria.[2] Another was an ardent pagan, much addicted to sacrifices.[3] A third had attended his lectures, went to the Euphrates in a campaign against the Persians, spent the summer of 355 in Antioch,[4] and then passing through Nicæa and Nicomedia[5] went to the Rhine carrying with him a letter from Libanius to Barbatio, who had been appointed to the command of the legions there, after the death of Silvanus, who had been assassinated in the August of that year.

He arrived during the winter of 355–6, and returned some time before Barbatio was put to death in 359.[6]

If we could take the passage in the inscription, "ex partibus Orientis exsibitus," as referring to Clematius, instead of "imminentium ex partibus Orientis," so referring to the Virgins, it might apply to the friend of Libanius.

"In loco suo" has been usually taken to signify "in suo fundo," on his own estate. But this presents a difficulty. As we shall see in the sequel the Church of S. Ursula is situated in the midst of the pagan cemetery outside the walls of the Roman city; and it is hard to understand how that this common cemetery should have been on private property. We may almost certainly take the words to mean "on the original site."

[1] Amm. Marcell, xxx, c. 7. [2] *Ibid.*, xiv, c. 1.
[3] *Libanii Sophistæ Epistolæ*, ed. Wolf, ep. 1384. [4] *Ibid.*, epp. 1239, 1215.
[5] *Ibid.*, ep. 1239. [6] *Ibid.*, epp. 470, 1215.

Considering how general was the use of Clematius as a name, we cannot feel satisfied that the rebuilder of the church was the man who came from the East in 355–6.

S. Severinus was Bishop of Colonia at the time of, or just before, the capture of the city in 406. The see remained vacant for almost a century.

The first letter of Salvian shows us what was the condition of Cologne shortly after its fall. The Roman population had not been massacred, as seems to have been the case in 355, nor was it driven away; its condition, however, was one of extreme hardship. The citizens were at first treated as prisoners of war, and were reduced by the Germans to slavery. At a later period, some of them obtained their freedom, but all their possessions had been confiscated. A kinswoman of Salvian, an aged widow, once wealthy, was constrained to earn her bread as a day-labourer. Whoever was able fled the city, but there were not a few who were unable to do so. The destruction of Cologne as a *civitas* was complete, but the population remained, reduced in numbers, and crushed. Christianity lingered on, with ruined churches, and perhaps without clergy, till little by little the Ripuarian Franks became influenced by the religion of Christ, and finally accepted it.

The next notice we have of the Church of the Virgin Martyrs is in the Life of Cunibert, Bishop of Cologne, 623–63, but which was not written till the beginning of the ninth century. In this it is said, "Quadam autem die dum juxta morem in Sanctarum Virginum basilica annua solemnitate missam celebraret," etc.[1]

Then ensues a long gap.

The silence is broken by the voice of a preacher, whose "Sermo in natali" is a valuable record of the condition of flux in which was public opinion at Cologne at his time relative to the Virgin Martyrs.

De Buck, the Bollandist, as we think justly, from internal evidence places the publication of this sermon between 731 and 834.[2]

It was preached by a priest of Cologne, for he speaks of its citizens as "nostrates."

The preacher is remarkably candid; he frankly admits how little was then known of the saints concerning whom he preached. He asserts that the virgins suffered at Cologne, but were not natives of Cologne, and that they were very many in number. He speaks of them as "Virginum agmina," "multitudo," "turmæ," "exercitus," "chorus"; and in one passage as "tot millia" (c. 11), and he likens

[1] Surius, *Vitæ SS.*, Nov. 11.

[2] *Acta SS. Boll.*, Oct. T. ix, pp. 78–9; Klinkenberg, in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, lxxxix, pp. 113, *et seq.*

them to the twelve legions of angels (c. 2). He says expressly that nothing whatever was known of their previous life. "Neque abs re esse putandum est quod earum conversatio vel prima vel media nobis nota est" (c. 2). And again: "Gradus autem et profectuum ordines, quibus ad hanc arcem (cœli) de virtute in virtutem, adscendendo pervenerant, secreto quo voluit (Deus) a nobis nunc usque celavit" (c. 4). He asserts that the acts of these martyrs had not been written at the time of their passion, and that what had been written since was pure conjecture. "Plurima per opinionis conjecturam probantur esse conscripta: quibus tamen nulla unquam autoritas refragata est" (c. 5). He is not, however, disposed wholly to reject what was said as being mere fiction.

Then he proceeds to say that floating tradition about them is guesswork only, and that owing to the incursions of the barbarians all authentic record is lost. "Factum est ut earundem sanctarum virginum memoria post incursam Sanctorum corporum custodem ecclesiam paulatim ab ore primum, deinde ab ipso pectore religiosi dudum populi laberetur" (c. 8). The neglect was so great that Clematius, whose date the preacher misconceives, rebuilt the fallen basilica (c. 9).

He incidentally argues that the inscription of Clematius has been wrongly interpreted. It was *he* who came from the East and not the Virgins, as was generally supposed; and he combats the popular reading of the text that Clematius was the owner of an estate at Cologne (cc. 6, 7, 8).

He goes on to say that probably the opinion of some, that the Virgins came from Britain, is correct. "Plures autem. . . . Britanniam insulam tradunt hujus . . . multitudinis genetricem et nutricem pariter extitisse" (c. 12).

Then he proceeds to show how that, according to Bede's testimony, the British suffered under the persecution of Maximian (and Diocletian), and that probably these Cologne martyrs were refugees from Britain at that time (c. 13).

Among them it was reported that there was a king's daughter, named Vinnosa, whom the people of Cologne (*nostri*) called Pinnosa (c. 14). But, he adds, very few of the names were preserved. "Quarum paucissimas nomine . . . cognoscimus."

All that the preacher could assert with confidence was what he drew from the Clematian inscription. Even the assertion that the virgins were strangers who came to Cologne he borrowed from the popular interpretation of the words "Virginum imminentium ex partibus Orientis," although he disputed the application. Everything else was conjecture. But he suspected that British tradition would be

found to agree with the conjecture formed at Cologne. "In qua sententia concordant proculdubio et hi qui sanctum agmen misisse dicuntur" (c. 9). And he says that their presence in Batavia, which lies between Britain and Cologne, was attested by highly characteristic tokens, "convenientissimis signorum indiciis."

Of about the same period but a little later is the *Officium proprium* of the virgin martyrs. Earlier it cannot be, because it is framed on the Roman model, and it was through the insistence of Charlemagne that the Gallican Offices were displaced by the Roman. Moreover, the preacher above quoted would hardly have ventured to repudiate openly the statement made in the Office that the virgins came from the East, had that been authoritatively employed in his day and in the church where he preached.

In one antiphon in the Office the number of the virgins is given as eleven thousand, but this is certainly an alteration or interpolation of a much later date. The third antiphon for Lauds is: "Quæ divino nutu a partibus Orientis exhibitæ pro Christi nomine fudere cruorem, quia nunquam in persecutione potuerunt divelli ab ejus confessione." The fifth antiphon runs: "Clematius igitur vir clarissimus, voto quo debebat a fundamentis sanctum templum erexit, in quo et virgines venerantur merita, et populorum laudantium Deum concurrit frequentia."

This office contradicts the popular supposition that the virgins came from Britain, and accepts the rendering of the inscription that derives them from the East. It is noteworthy that not a single name is given in it, not even that of Pinnosa. When the Office was drawn up nothing was known of the virgins other than what could be derived from the Clematian inscription, and popular guesses were too unsubstantiated to be adopted into a grave liturgical office. This was, however, so little to the taste of Cologne, at a later period, that the Office underwent revision and interpolation. The third antiphon for Lauds was altered to—"Quæ divino nutu e Britannia Romam profectæ, pro Christi nomine," etc.

About the year 847 Wandalbert of Prum composed a metrical martyrology, and on October 21 he has:—

> "Tunc numerosa simul Rheni per littora fulgent
> Christo Virgineis erecta trophæa maniplis,
> Agrippinæ urbi quarum furor impius olim
> Millia mactavit ductricibus inclyta sanctis."

Here we have the virgin martyrs raised to a thousand, and they are represented as leaders.

It is open to question whether this entry is not a later addition to the martyrology of Wandalbert. It has been so regarded by Oskar Schade.[1]

Usuardus in his Martyrology, written in 860, on October 20 has:—"Civitate Colonia passio sanctarum Virginum Marthæ et Saulæ, cum pluribus."

The preacher "in Natali" had said, "potuit quippe fieri, ut in tanto earum numero, conjugata quælibet esset, aut vidua . . . nam, quis unquam omnium mulierum, non dicimus tantummodo virginum multitudinem tantam, sine sexus alterius intermixtione crederet convenisse?" (c. 2). Consequently the "cum pluribus" of Usuardus may apply to the mixed multitude, male and female, wives and widows, of whom the virgins were the "ductrices."

Usuardus furnishes us with two names in addition to that given us by the preacher.

A charter of 867 of Lothair II mentions a cloister "beatarum virginum" at Cologne, but neither names any one of the virgins nor gives their number.

It is somewhat remarkable that a ninth century calendar of the Cathedral Church of Cologne should contain no entry of the virgin martyrs till it was inserted at a much later date by another hand.[2]

A Litany in the Cathedral Library at Cologne, of the end of the ninth century, names Martha, Saula, Sambatia, Saturnina, Gregoria, and Pinnosa.

A Missal at Essen, drawn up between 873 and 891, on October 21, has the entry: "Sancti Hilarionis, et Sanctarum XI virginum, Ursulæ, Sentiæ, Gregoriæ, Pinnosæ, Marthæ, Saulæ, Britulæ, Saturninæ, Rabaciæ, Saturiæ, Palladiæ." The same eleven names occur in a Cologne codex of 950–1000, but in a different order.[3]

Here, for the first time, do we meet with the name of Ursula. A chronicle of S. Trond, of the beginning of the twelfth century, mentions only eleven virgin martyrs of Cologne.

The latest liturgical text giving eleven as the number is a sequence, of the end of the fourteenth century, at Münstereifel.

> "Te tinxerunt et sanxerunt — Gereonis cum bis nonis
> Ursulæ martyrium — Trecentena contio
> Et sanctarum sociarum — Et Maurorum trecentorum
> Undenarum virginum, — Sexaginta passio."[4]

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[1] *Die Ursula Sage*, Hannover, 1854, p. 18.

[2] Ennen, *Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, i, p. 448; Stein, *Die heilige Ursula*, in *Ann. hist. Vereins f. d. Niederrhein*, 1874.

[3] Binterim, *Kalendarium Ecclesiæ Germanicæ Coloniensis sæculi noni*, Cologne, 1824. Another Essen Calendar gives the full number, 11,000.

[4] Kehrein, *Lat. Sequenzen d. Mittelalters*, Mainz, 1873, p. 319.

We come now to two Cologne legends: "Fuit tempore pervetusto," and "Regnante Domino." It has been disputed as to which is the most ancient. The Bollandist Fathers regard "Fuit tempore pervetusto" as the earlier,[1] but Dr. Klinkenberg puts it in the second place,[2] so also did De Buck, who, however, had not seen the important prologue.

We have no doubt in our minds that the Bollandists are right in their contention.

In the prologue to the Legend "Fuit tempore pervetusto" the author dedicates his work to Gero, Archbishop of Cologne (969–76).

He says that he was one day praying in the church of the virgins when it came into his head that the presence there of such a crowd of martyrs was remarkable, and what was quite as remarkable was that no record old or new existed relative to their lives and passion. "Præcipue igitur in hoc mens dubia hærebat, quia nulla veterum pagina in hoc mundi climate nec moderni temporis series hactenus id elucubraverat." Possessed by this idea, he called at the convent that adjoined the church,[3] and inquired there. The nuns then informed him that, some years ago, a Count Hoolf had been sent to England to negotiate a marriage between the Emperor Otho I and Emma, daughter of Edward the Elder. This marriage took place in 929, so that Hoolf must have been in England in 928 or early in 929. Whilst there he visited Dorobernis (Canterbury), where he met Archbishop Dunstant (Dunstan), who, adds the writer, still illuminates the church with his virtues.

Here either the nuns who told the story, or the writer, made a mistake. Dunstan was archbishop from 961 to 988, and in 928 was only about four years old. The head of the Metropolitan see at the time was Wulfhelm. The nuns in the forty years or so that had elapsed since the visit of Hoolf had forgotten the archbishop's name and substituted for it the more noted name of the contemporary Dunstan.

Whilst the Count was at Canterbury, in an interview with the Archbishop, the latter began to boast of the many and great miracles wrought by the local saints, "sicut est moris omnibus paene episcopis," whereupon Hoolf entered on the topic of the Virgins of Cologne, "ventum est . . . ad historiam sanctarum Coloniensium virginum." Then the Archbishop told him a story about them, which he thirstily drank in, and on his return to Germany retailed to the nuns. These did not commit his narrative to writing, but when, more than forty years later, they found a man of letters interested in the matter,

[1] *Analecta Boll.*, iii, pp. 5–6.

[2] Wetzer u. Welte, *Kirchen lexikon*, 1901, s.v. *Ursula*; also Klinkenberg in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, lxxxix.

[3] The earliest notice we have of the existence of this convent is in 922.

they requested him to write down the story as it had been told to them.

Now as Hoolf heard the legend in 928 or 929, and the story was committed to writing between 969 and 976, it is evident that as some forty-five or forty-eight years had intervened, abundance of time had been afforded for the nuns to allow their imaginations to embroider the tale as received from the Count, and work into it some of the floating local legends.

The story as told by this anonymous author is as follows:—

There lived in very ancient times in Britain a king whose name is unknown: "rex cujus nominis notam mundana occuluit antiquitas" (c. 1), who was instructed in the laws of God and the Catholic faith. He was married, and Heaven granted to him a daughter who was named Ursula, "quia immensis ursi rabiem, videlicet diaboli, erat debellatura."

As Ursula grew up, the fame of her beauty and virtues reached the ears of a pagan king, who sent an embassy to demand her hand for his son, and threatened, in the event of refusal, to invade Britain and to lay it waste with fire and sword.

The father of Ursula was sorely perplexed. He had not the forces at command to withstand the threatened invasion, and he shrank from giving his daughter to a pagan.

However, Ursula relieved him in his distress by thus elegantly addressing him: "Tu, secundum carnis putredinem meus genitor!" and bidding him propose to the father of the suitor prince that between them they should provide ten noble damsels and eleven ships, and a thousand virgins of inferior rank to fill the ships, and that they should sail the seas for three years, after which God would provide.

The proposal was accepted with alacrity, and damsels were swept together from every quarter. Among them was Pinnosa, daughter of a certain duke. Here we have an importation of the Cologne legend into the story derived from England.

When all was ready, the virgins mounted the eleven vessels, for the sea was hard by where lived the king, and then was to be seen an admirable exhibition of the damsels going through their nautical evolutions to the gratification of the king and the public who looked on from the shore.

Having shown their skill, they sailed the seas in an aimless manner for three years, and then a wind arose which wafted them into the haven of Tile, on one of the arms of the Rhine, and after a brief tarry there, they were carried further up the river to Cologne, where again they halted, and then proceeded as far as Basle, where they left their ships and went forward on foot to Rome. Thence they returned in

the same manner to Basle, where they found their vessels uninjured. They went on board and were swept down the stream to Cologne, which happened at this time to be invested by the Huns, who at once slaughtered the Eleven Thousand. After the investment was at an end the inhabitants of the city issued from their gates and buried the bodies of the martyrs. Then the writer gives us the Clematian inscription entire, set up, as he informs us, " nondum longo post tempore " (c. 17).

All, however, had not been massacred on the same day, for one of the damsels, named Cordula, had lain concealed in a boat, but her conscience smote her, and she issued forth on the morrow, and was also slain by the Huns. This supplement, the writer says, was due to a revelation made to Helintrudis, a nun of Heerse, of whose virtues some were still alive to testify.

The date of the death of Helintrudis is not certainly known, but it must have taken place a generation before the story was committed to writing.

The style of the author is laboured and ornate, to such an extent that his meaning is not always clear. It was due to this that the Legend was rewritten, and that we possess the version beginning " Regnante Domino," which obtained an extensive circulation, so that the copies in the libraries of Europe are " unzählig " as Potthast remarks, and which supplanted and caused to be forgotten the clumsy composition " Fuit tempore pervetusto."

We should hardly have supposed that the priority of this latter legend to the other would have been questioned, but as it has been by Dr. Klinkenberg it is necessary that we should state our reasons for giving it the first place.

The author distinctly asserts that there was no extant record of the story of the virgins, whether ancient or modern, when he wrote. This he could not have stated had the legend " Regnante Domino " been then in existence.

He gives us his authority—the tale told by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Count Hoolf, which tale Hoolf related to the nuns of the cloister attached to the church of the virgins, and from them he took it down. The author of the legend " Regnante Domino " gives us no authority at all ; and he follows the writer of " In tempore pervetusto " step by step even down to the appendix concerning the revelation of the nun Helintrudis.

The writer of the legend " In tempore pervetusto " tells us that the name of the father of Ursula was unknown. The author of " Regnante Domino " gives the name as *Deonotus* which he manufactures out of a passage in the " Sermo in Natali." That preacher had said " Plures

. . . Britanniam insulam tradunt hujus *Deo notæ* multitudinis genetricem et nutricem pariter exstitisse."

He enlarges on, and explains passages in, the other legend. We have already quoted that in which the earlier author describes the naming of Ursula. The author of " Regnante Domino " gives it thus : " Huic itaque, quia exemplo David immanem ursum, scilicet diabolum, quandoque suffocatura erat, Deo disponente, qui quos prædestinat, vocat, a parentibus illi in baptismate, præsagium nomen Ursulæ inditum est."

The coarse address of Ursula to her father was softened down by the writer of " Regnante Domino " into the unobjectionable " Mi pater ! "

He makes his story more graphic and interesting. The evolutions of the damsels on their ships before the admiring crowd of spectators is thus given by the two writers.

Fuit tempore pervetusto.

9. Proinde paratis navibus cum armorum supplemento, altum petierat, erat igitur mare contiguum venerabilis Christi athletarum cuneus, et ut animo libuit lusum diebus singulis exercebat.

Aliquando vero ad meridiem usque, cum in centro sol positus, majores lineas ascenderet æris, interdum ad nonam vel vesperum sæpe etiam totum solem ludo consummantes suis satisfecerant votis. Cumque rex piisimus et divina spiritus alimmate perunctus aliique venerabilium personarum totius boni quamplures cupidi ad hoc missi spectaculum, qualiter Deo devotæ puellæ virginitatis cingulum præoptatis lusibus consecrarent, crebro intuerentur, favoribus quibus poterant virginitati applaudebant amori.

Regnante Domino.

9. Post hæc dato signo, quia mare contiguum est, raptim ad naves convolant, armentaque explicant, altumque petentes, modo concursibus, modo discursibus, interdum fugam, interdum bellum simulant, omnique ludorum genere exercitate, nihil, quod animæ occurrisset, intentatum reliquunt, sicque per dies singulos puellariter palæstrizantes, aliquando circa meridiem, aliquando ad nonam, aliquando die toto in ludis assumpto, ad vesperam reversæ sunt.

Ad hujusmodi ergo spectaculum pius rex cum grandævis patribus, cunctisque, regni primatibus frequenter aderat : vulgus etiam promiscuum (ut semper novarum rerum cupidum est) propositis seriis suis, virgineis lusibus suis applaudebat.

It seems to us that the author of " Regnante Domino " attempted to popularize the cumbrously written story told by the other writer. That he succeeded is certain. He tells the same tale in the same order of events, and adds nothing save the name of the father of Ursula.

In the legend, as now given, we have a fusion of Cologne tradition, if we may so designate it, with the English fable. In Cologne there were current two stories about the virgins. One made them come from Britain, the other, based on a reading of the Clematian stone, derived them from the East.

The author of the legend, or the nuns, fused both together. They made the virgins come to Cologne from Britain, visit it, go further and

return from the East, there to suffer martyrdom. In this legend for the first time we meet with the Huns as the authors of the massacre, but Attila is not named. Nor are any other virgins named save Ursula and Pinnosa, and, in the supplement, Cordula.

Sigebert of Gemblours composed his *Chronographia* to 1112. To the date 972 his original MS. was written by his own hand, and in that occurs not a word relative to the virgin martyrs at Cologne, but at the date 453 are indications of a strip of parchment having been added later. The holes for the threads are apparent, but the strip has been lost. Its contents, however, appear in copies of the Chronicle made at a later date. The passage thus added ran as follows :—" Omnibus bellis famosius fuit bellum quòd candidus sanctarum undecim millium virginum exercitus bellavit duce sancta virgo Ursula. Quæ filia unica Nothi, nobilissimi et ditissimi Britannorum principis, cum nondum nubilis a filio cujusdam ferissimi tyranni ad nuptias expeteretur, et patrem suum super hoc anxiari videret, qui deum metuebat si filiam deo jam devotam nubere cogeret, et tyrannum timebat, si filiam ei denegaret : divinitus inspirata nutandi patri suasit ut tyranno assentiretur, ea tamen illi proposita conditione, ut ipse et tyrannus decem virgines genere, forma et ætate electas sibi traderent et tam sibi quam singulis illarum mille virgines subscriberent et comparatis ad numerum ipsarum undecem trieribus inducias triennii sibi darent ad exercitium virginitatis suæ ; novo usa consilio ut aut difficultate propositæ conditionis animum ejus a se averseret, aut hac opportunitate omnes coaevas suas secum deo dicaret. Et ex hoc condicto virginibus trieribus et sumptibus comparatis per triennium, belli preludia cunctis mirantibus, tandem sub uno die agente vento ad portum Galliæ qui Tiela dicitur, et inde Coloniam appulsæ sunt. Ibique ex angeli monitu Romam tendentes ad urbem Basileam navibus, a Basilea Romam usque pedibus profectæ, eodem eundi tenore Coloniam sunt reversæ ab Hunnis undique obsessam. A quibus cunctæ martyrizatæ novo et mirabili modo triumpharunt et Coloniam sanguine et sepultura sua clariorem reddiderunt."

Here, obviously, we have a condensation of the legend " Regnante Deo." When Sigebert wrote his chronicle he knew nothing of the virgins, but at a later period he or some amplifier, who had read the legend, patched on this passage to the text.

We find another version of the story in Norway.

The monk Oddr wrote the Saga of King Olaf Tryggvasonar in the twelfth century, and the same story is found in the larger Olaf's Saga,[1]

[1] *Fornmanna Sögur*, Hafniæ (1825), i, pp. 224–32 ; x, p. 282.

also in the lections for the feast of Sunnifa, of which fragments have been published by Langebeck.[1]

It is to this effect.

In the days of Earl Hakon (970–95) there lived in Ireland a king who had a beautiful daughter called Sunnifa. A Northern Viking, hearing of her charms, became enamoured, and harried the coasts of Ireland, setting all in flames, because the king hesitated to accept his suit for his daughter. The damsel, to save her native land from destruction, expressed her readiness to quit Ireland. Her brother Alban and a great host of virgins joined her, and all sailed away East, trusting in God. They came ashore on the island of Selja, off the Norwegian coast, and finding it uninhabited, they settled in the caves, and lived upon fishes. But the islet served as a pasture for cattle in the summer, and when the farmers on the mainland saw people on the island, they supposed that they were pirates, and appealed to Earl Hakon to protect their pasture. The Earl at once assembled armed men and rowed to the island, but the Christian virgins fled into the caves for protection, Then the rock closed upon them, and they came forth no more alive.

In the reign of Olaf Tryggvasonar, a farmer found a skull on the island of Selja, which emitted a phosphorescent light and an odour, which he was pleased to consider agreeable. He took it to the king, who submitted it to Bishop Sigurd. Both recognized the evidences of sanctity, and the king and the bishop went to the island, where they discovered the cave filled with the bones of the saintly refugees. How they found that they were Irish, and that their leaders were named Sunnifa and Alban, we are not informed. Two churches were at once erected on Selja, and dedicated to S. Sunnifa and S. Alban ; miracles innumerable confirmed the conviction that the bones pertained to saints.

Heligoland was also supposed to have witnessed the Martyrdom of the Eleven Thousand. But we have no early account of the legend as attaching to this isle. We know that in 1240 it was called " insula S. Ursulæ, vulgo Helgerlandt." [2]

We come now to the version of the story as given by Geoffrey of Monmouth in his fabulous *Historia Regum Britanniæ*, that was published in 1147.

Geoffrey's story is as follows :—

" Dianotus, King of Cornwall, had succeeded his brother Caradoc in

[1] Langebeck, *Scriptores rerum Danicarum*, vi, pp. 3–4, 14–22.

[2] Lappenberg, *Ueber den ehemaligen Umfang . . . Helgolands*, Hamburg, 1830, pp. 13, *et seq.* *Acta SS. Boll.*, Oct. ix, pp. 291, *et seq.* Oskar Schade, *Die Ursula Sage*, pp. 114–9.

the Kingdom. He was a very noble and powerful prince, and to him Maximian had committed the government whilst he was employed abroad in his affairs. He had also a daughter of wonderful beauty, named Ursula, with whom Conan (Prince of the Armorican Britons) was most passionately in love."

Dianotus, having received a message from Conan that he and his young men were in want of wives, and desired a consignment from Britain, " was very willing to execute his orders, and summoned together the daughters of the nobles from all provinces to the number of eleven thousand ; but of the meaner sort sixty thousand ; and commanded them all to appear together in the city of London. He likewise ordered ships to be brought from all shores, to transport them to their future husbands. And though in so great a multitude many were pleased with this order, yet it was displeasing to the greater part, who had a great affection for their relatives and native country. Nor, perhaps, were there wanting some who, preferring virginity to the marriage state, would have rather lost their lives in any country than enjoy the greatest plenty in wedlock. In short, most of them had views and wishes differing from one another, had they been left to their own liberty. But now the ships being ready, they embarked, and sailing down the Thames, made towards the sea. At last as they were steering towards the Armorican coast, contrary winds arose and dispersed the whole fleet. In this storm the greater part of the ships foundered, but the women that escaped the danger of the sea were driven upon strange islands, and by a barbarous people either murdered or enslaved. For they happened to fall into the hands of the cruel army of Guanius and Melga, who by command of Gratian were making terrible destruction in Germany, and the nations of the sea-coast. Guanius was King of the Huns, and Melga of the Picts, whom Gratian had engaged in his party, and had sent them into Germany to harass those of Maximian's party along the sea-coasts. While they were exercising their barbarous rage, they happened to light upon these virgins, who had been driven on those parts, and were so inflamed with their beauty that they courted them to their brutish embraces ; to which, when the women would not submit, the Ambrons fell upon them, and without remorse murdered the greatest portion of them,"[1]

Geoffrey has put Maximian in place of Maximus. Conan Meriadoc, according to him, had led over the flower of the British youth to assist Maximus, who had assumed the purple. Maximus perished in 388,

[1] *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, v, cc. 15, 16. In the Welsh text, *Red Book Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, pp. 118–9, Dianotus or Dionotus (for Dinotus) is called Dunawt, later Dunod. Nothus is a decapitated form of Dinotus. Guanius and Melga are in the Welsh Gwinwas and Melwas. Cf. the Triads in *Myv. Arch.*, p. 412.

and then, according to Geoffrey, Conan and his British soldiers retreated into Armorica, which they colonized, and thenceforth it was called Lesser Britain. This portion of the story is unhistorical, and it is very doubtful whether Conan ever reached Armorica.

Geoffrey must have seen either the Legend " Regnante Domino " or some Breviary lections for the Feast of the Eleven Thousand Virgins taken from it, for he adopts the name Dianotus from it for the father of Ursula. But he alters the tenor of the tale. He saw how purposeless was the collecting of the Eleven Thousand damsels, and their drifting about on the ocean for three years, and as he had planted Conan in Armorica, he made him send for the virgins, and so gave an object to their voyage. Why he made the massacre to take place on certain islands and not at Cologne we are unable to say.

When Baronius revised the Roman Breviary, he took as lessons for the feast of S. Ursula the tale from Geoffrey as the least absurd of the two principal versions of the story. But of recent years the Holy See has approved and authorized the version from " Regnante Domino " to be read in the divine offices in the Roman dioceses in England. According to this, " When Attila and his Huns were retreating after their defeat in Gaul, before crossing the Rhine, they captured Cologne, then a flourishing Christian city, and the first victims of their fury were Ursula and her British followers. They offered a determined resistance to the attempts of the Barbarians, and were all put to a cruel death, some by the sword, others being shot with arrows or crushed with beams of wood, Ursula all the while encouraging them and leading them to victory. When the Huns had retired, the people of Cologne collected their sacred remains, and buried them with honour in the place where they fell. About two centuries later a church was erected over them, to which, in course of time, a monastery was attached."

Thus, the date now approved by the Holy See is no longer 388, but 451. There is probably not a word of truth in the lesson we have just quoted, and this shall be shown in the sequel. We need not at present follow the further development of the story. We are now in a position to summarize the various schemes relative to the martyrdom of the virgins at Cologne.

Before 355. Possibly in the persecution of Diocletian and Maximian, i.e. in 300–4, certain virgins, few apparently in number, suffered martyrdom at Cologne. Their names are not recorded (*Inscription of Clematius*).

Before 834. No certainty relative to the martyrs, various opinions entertained, one of which was that they came from Britain flying the persecution of Diocletian and Maximian, 300–4, and with

them was a British king's daughter named Vinnosa or Pinnosa (preacher *In Natali*).

Circa 840–5. Nothing known of the virgin martyrs save what was recorded on the Clematian stone. They came from the East. No names (*Officium Proprium*).

847. Numerous martyrs led by the virgins at Cologne, no names given nor time indicated when the martyrdom took place (*Wandalbert of Prüm*).

860. Martha and Saula and other martyrs (*Usuardus*).

Close of ninth century. From six to eleven virgins named. The name of Ursula first occurs (*Calendars and Litanies*).

Circa 970. The Virgin Ursula, daughter of a British king unnamed, is carried by a storm up the Rhine with eleven thousand virgins in her train to Cologne, thence they go to Rome, and on their return are massacred by the Huns. This would be in 451. This story came from England in 929, but was added to and embellished at Cologne (Legend *In tempore pervetusto*).

Circa 980. The same tale in all particulars, but the name of Ursula's father given (Legend *Regnante Domino*).

Twelfth century. Norse version. The virgin's name Sunnifa, that of her brother Alban; date end of tenth century (*Olaf's Saga*).

1147. Ursula, a British princess, leads a host of virgins to be married to Conan and his followers in Armorica. Her father's name Dinotus. Slain by Picts and Huns on some strange islands. Date, 488 (*Geoffrey of Monmouth*).

1164. The eleven thousand virgins slain at Cologne by Attila and his Huns. The name of Attila first introduced. Accepted by the Holy See as authoritative, with date 451 (*Visions of Elizabeth*).[1]

Accordingly, the various dates proposed for the Martyrdom are :—

The persecution of Diocletian	300–4
The period of the defeat and death of Maximus . .	388
The retreat of the Huns after the Battle of Châlons . .	451

As the Holy See has emphatically approved of the date 451, and the retreat of the routed army of Attila as the occasion of the Martyrdom, it will be as well at once to consider the tenability of this date.

De Buck, in the *Acta Sanctorum*, laboured diligently to prove that Ursula and her Companions were slain by Attila and his Huns when in full retreat after the rout on the Catalaunian fields in 451, and that the damsels martyred were Britons flying from the swords of the Anglo-Saxons This was not making bricks without straw, but making them

[1] Concerning her in the sequel.

of straw only. He left out all consideration of the Clematian inscription, which is the kernel about which such a vast mass of fable has accumulated. The Jutes did not arrive till 449, and they aided the Britons till 455, when the first quarrel ensued, but it was not till 463–73 that they got possession of all Kent. There would have been more probability if it had been asserted that the damsels were flying from the Picts and Scots, but then the date 451 will not serve, as that was precisely the period when the Britons, aided by the Saxons and Jutes, were successful and repelled the northern invaders. In the next place Attila and his Huns never reached Cologne either when invading Gaul or when in retreat.

For this invasion, our authorities are Jornandes' *De Rebus Geticis*, Apollinaris Sidonius, a contemporary, in his panegyric on Avitus, Gregory of Tours, who wrote his History of the Franks in 590, and the Lives of S. Genoveva, by a contemporary, of S. Lupus of Troyes, and S. Aignan of Orleans. In not one of these is there any mention of the Huns reaching Cologne.

In fact, the sole authority for their having been there is the fable of S. Ursula, composed between 969 and 976, and in that Attila is not so much as named.

Nor was it possible that Attila could invest Cologne on his way home; that he did not on his way out we know for certain.

Early in the year 451 Attila and his host quitted their seats in what is now Hungary and poured West, following the River Danube.

When the hordes reached the Black Forest they divided; the left wing crossed the Rhine below the Lake of Constance where the passage offered little difficulty, and, marching through the comparatively level Aarau by the Roman road, burnt and destroyed Augusta, so that it never again arose from its ashes; then they turned in a northerly direction, and doubtless Argentaria, now Colmar, fell. We can hardly doubt that Strasburg was ravaged, but we have to receive with the utmost caution the statement of late mediæval writers who have piled up lists of cities destroyed by the Huns, without having any documentary evidence for their assertion. Through the pass where now runs the railway the host crossed the Jura and arrived before the walls of Metz on Easter Eve (April 8).

Meanwhile, the right wing had passed north of the Black Forest through the country of the Thuringians (in Bavaria) and the Franks of the Neckar (Würtemberg).[1]

[1] "Turingus,
Bructerus, alvosa quem vel Nicer abluit unda
Prorumpit Francus." Sidon. Apoll., *Paneg. Avit.* v, 323–5.

These two German peoples were terrorized, or induced by hopes of plunder, to throw in their lot with the Huns. This wing crossed the Rhine on timber hewn down in the Hercynian Forest.[1]

The point of passage was where there were islets breaking the stream above Mainz.

Whether the Huns and their allies took the city and destroyed it is uncertain. The usual authority for it is the Acts of S. Auræus, which are late, and leave it quite uncertain when he died, whether when the town was taken by Huns or by Visigoths; and indeed the Acts are of no historical value. The Huns are also credited with the destruction of Worms and Spires, but evidence that they did so is wanting. In like manner they are held to have captured Trèves. They may have done so, but there is no certainty.

The vast horde poured over Belgic Gaul, ravaging wherever they went. And now the Thuringians seem to have turned north, separating themselves from the Huns, to wreck and ruin their own kinsmen the Salic Franks, against whom they may have inherited some ancient grudge. They treated their women, wives and daughters, their old men and children with such barbarity that the recital of it some eighty years later roused to fury the grandson of Clovis.[2]

The common danger drew together into alliance with the Romans, the Armoricans, the Ripuarian Franks, the Salic Franks, the Burgundians, some Saxons probably settled in what is now Normandy, and above all the Visigoths settled in Septimania.

Aëtius was the general in command of the Western armies of the Empire. He was at Arles, ill-supported by Valentinian III, and not in a position to take the field at once and check the advance of the invaders.

Metz had fallen and had been given over to indiscriminate slaughter. The devastating flood rolled on. Rheims was captured; Paris trembled in anticipation of the arrival of the Huns; but Attila drew away his dispersed forces with resolve to march against the Visigoths, and first of all to capture Orleans.

Meanwhile, there was no organized defence. No general took the lead and drew the confederates about him. Attila knew that Aëtius was preparing to attack him, and he was desirous of taking Orleans before the Romans and the Visigoths had united. Aignan, the bishop, knowing what was in his mind, hasted to Arles to urge Aëtius to come

[1] "Cecidit cito secta bipenni
Hercynia in lintres, et Rhenum texuit alvo." Sidon Apoll., *Paneg. Avit.* v, 325–6.
[2] "Recolite Thuringos quondam super parentes nostros violenter advenisse." Greg. Turon., *Hist. Franc.*, iii, 7.

to the aid of the city. This was promised, but Orleans was invested and on the point of falling, after a protracted siege, when the Roman legions and the Visigoths with other allies arrived on the scene. By this time the Huns had been so weakened by disease and by desertions, that they could not resist, and Attila withdrew on June 24, along the road to Châlons, and encamped on the Catalaunian Plains a few days later. Here the battle was fought that decided the fate of Gaul. He was utterly defeated, and had to retire to his bridges over the Rhine, and to make his escape to the Danube and the Pannonian marshes and plains where he had rooted himself and his Huns. As he retreated he left his track strewn with dead and wounded; and with but a remnant of his host recrossed the Rhine.[1]

Aëtius with his Romans and allied Franks hovered behind the retiring Huns. The Visigoths had withdrawn after the battle of Châlons. Only a remnant of the vast host which had crossed the Rhine retreated over it again. The Salic Franks pursued, and fell on the Thuringians to revenge the atrocities committed by them in their lands in the spring.[2]

It was on this retreat of Attila that, according to the Roman Breviary, he turned out of his way to run his head into the lion's mouth, to invade the territories of the Ripuarian Franks, and to besiege Cologne.

Let any one look at the map. He was flying with a disorganized and reduced force to the Danube. His allies, the Thuringians, on his left flank, were being chastised by the Salic Franks, so that all the Rhine below Mainz was inaccessible to him. The siege of Orleans had been abandoned at the end of June, and yet, he is supposed to have been besieging Cologne and to have slaughtered the virgins on October 21. This is clearly impossible.

But this is not all that can be advanced against the theory. Attila, flying to return whence he had set out, could not have taken the road by Cologne and the Rhine, unless fairly besotted, and unless he deliberately sought annihilation. From Bonn to Bingen, a distance of over a hundred miles, he would have to lead his defeated and discouraged host through a series of ravines. At every point along the road he would be subject to having rocks and logs rolled down on his long file, and of having his men picked off by bowmen concealed among the crags and brushwood of the mountain side, without a possibility of retaliating, and conducting his retreat over a road that could be blocked

[1] "Attila cum paucis reversus est." Greg. Turon., *Hist. Franc.*, ii, 7. "Hunni pene ad internecionem prostrati sunt, cum rege suo Attila, relictis Gallis, fugiunt." Isidor. Hispal., *Hist. Goth.*, ap. Bouquet, i, p. 619.
[2] Greg. Turon., *ibid.*, iii, 7.

at every turn and held by a handful of resolute men. Beneath Rheinstein the way was so narrow that it could be closed by a gate, rock on one side, river on the other. At Coblenz, in 1252, a parcel of citizens thus arrested a whole army of Crusaders headed by the Papal Emperor William of Holland, flung some into the river, wounded and killed others, and would not let them pass till they paid toll. In a word, the story of a retreat of Attila by Cologne and up the Rhine is an impossible fiction, on the face of it.

De Buck, the Bollandist, was not able to produce a particle of evidence to show that Attila reached Cologne. He filled pages with an account of the barbarity of the Huns. That is allowed ; but the question is, did they exercise their barbarity at Cologne ? The sole passage he was able to call to his aid was from Fredegar : " Agecius vero cum suis, etiam Francos secum habens, post tergum direxit Chunorum, quousque Thuringia a longe prosecutus est ; " and he assumes that this Thuringia is Tournay. But the writer who passes for Fredegar is an epitomist of Gregory of Tours, and, as we have seen, Gregory mentions the pursuit of the Huns by Aëtius and the Franks to Thuringia where the Salic Franks had to repay a wrong committed by the Thuringians a few months previous. Moreover, Tournay is not Cologne, nor near it.

The Bollandist Fathers have abandoned both of the positions so fought for by De Buck, that the virgin martyrs were British, and that the Huns invested Cologne in 451.[1]

Stein, in his more critical investigation of the legend, accepts the martyrdom of the virgins in 300–4, as commemorated by Clematius, but he also contends, unavailingly, for a second martyrdom by the Huns in 451.[2]

Dr. Klinkenberg, more justly, throws over this latter martyrdom as unhistorical. " Unzweifelhaft haben die Hunnen 451 Köln nicht auf ihrem Marsche nach Gallien, und noch viel weniger nach ihrer Niederlage passirt." [3]

We come now to the very difficult problem of the origin of the Ursula Saga, and we can hope to do no more than offer suggestions to explain its growth.

One fact remains as the nucleus around which the fable has grown to such vast proportions.

That fact is that there actually were virgin martyrs who shed their blood for Christ at Cologne some time before 355, possibly in the persecution of 300–4. Of that fact there can be no doubt. The Clematian inscription makes it certain that there was a *martyrium* over their bodies which had been wrecked in 355 and which he rebuilt 355–75.

[1] *Analecta Boll.*, xvi (1897), pp. 98, 167, *et seq.*
[2] Stein (A. G.), *Die heilige Ursula u. i. Gesselschaft*, Köln, 1879.
[3] Wetzer u. Welte, *Kirchen lexikon*, xii (1901), p. 489.

One point comes out, in the " Sermo in Natali," and in the two later legends, that deserves consideration. In all reference is made to Batavia as a district visited by the virgins, and according to the " Sermo " tokens of their presence were still present when this sermon was preached. Moreover, in all these stories the martyr virgins are represented as of British origin.

Now, we know as a fact that there had been a British settlement at the mouths of the Rhine ; when formed we do not know.

" Brittenburg at the mouth of the Rhine, once a Roman station, has been assigned to Briton emigrants at the time of Maximus, A.D. 387, by Courson (*Hist. des Peuples Brétons*, i, 151), and so also Camden (Gibson's ed., p. 54). And see the Dutch Chroniclers as quoted by Ussher (*Rer. Brit. Antiq.*, xii ; *Works*, v, 480 *seq.*). There was also, it appears, a place called ' Bretangen,' on the coast of Holland, near the mouths of the Rhine. And Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, iv, 31) and apparently Dionysius Periegetes (*vv.* 284–5) locate a tribe of ' Britanni ' from the first century on the shores of Flanders and Picardy, which would fall in with Bede's statement (*H. E.*, i, 1) that the island Britain was colonized by Britons from Armorica, i.e. originally the whole northern as well as western shore of Gaul. And this is corroborated again, although in a confused and blundering narrative, by Procopius (*De Bello Gothico*, iv, 20), who places ' Britones ' in conjunction with Frisians and Angles, either at or near the mouths of the Rhine, or in a ' Brittia,' of which he conceives as distinct from the island of Brittania, and as somewhere off the mouths of the Rhine." [1]

How long this British colony lasted we do not know ; but we may conjecture that it was exterminated or driven away when the Frisians, pressed forward by the Franks, occupied all the delta of the Rhine ; and it is conceivable that some refugees from it may have fled to Colonia as the strongest walled Roman city within reach, and that they may have been involved in the slaughter of the inhabitants that took place when the Franks destroyed Colonia in 355. Popular tradition loses all chronological perspective, and in after times a confused remembrance of this migration and the immediately succeeding massacre, which, as the preacher intimates, included men, wives and widows as well as virgins, and may have associated itself with the martyrdom of the Virgins something over fifty years before.

We have no evidence, but this is a supposition that is plausible, and

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., ii, pt. i, p. 101.

will explain a good deal that is otherwise dark in the story. The "Sermo in Natali" gives us a picture of the confusion of men's minds in Cologne relative to the virgin martyrs at the beginning of the ninth century.

α. Some said that the virgin martyrs perished in the persecution of Diocletian and Maximian, 300–4.

β. Some said that they came from the East, so reading the Clematian inscription.

γ. Others affirmed that they came from Britain *via* Batavia, where traces of their settlement still remained.

δ. All agreed that there had been a massacre of great numbers, and probably men, wives, widows and virgins had been slaughtered indiscriminately.

If our suggestion be accepted, then these opinions are reconciled, excepting *β*. The virgins had suffered in the Diocletian persecution; there had been a migration of Britons to Cologne just before the taking and destruction of the city by the Franks, and there had been a general slaughter in which the British immigrants had fallen with the rest, at the hands of the Franks. The mistake made was the lumping of all this butchery together.

The compiler of the "Officium Proprium" was, however, judicious enough to discriminate, and he rejected the later "martyrdom" as not pertaining to that of the virgins commemorated by Clematius.

Popular imagination, as time went on, still worked on the theme, and the idea of the virgins as martyrs overlaid the tradition of the massacre of the inhabitants and refugees, and converted the whole number of sufferers into virgins, and the recollection of the fleet of refugee Britons sank the remembrance of the murder of the citizens.

So the story took shape that thousands of British virgins had arrived at Cologne from Batavia and had there suffered martyrdom. It must not be left out of mind that on the testimony of the preacher, and also of the author of the legend "In tempore pervetusto," there was no documentary evidence whatever relative to the martyrdom; all was floating tradition gradually consolidating, eliminating some elements, absorbing others.

It was not pleasing to the German Christians of Cologne to remember that the slaughter had been due to their own Frank ancestors. Indeed, they may have supposed that these had been incapable of committing such atrocities, and as the Huns were the bugbears of the later times, the guilt of the butchery was transferred to them.

There was another element which went to swell the fable and to popularize it. Of the Suevi, Tacitus informs us (ix), "Pars Suevorum et Isidi sacrificat. Unde causa et origo peregrino sacro, parum comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum in modum liburnæ figuratum, docet advectam religionem." Tacitus gives the names of equivalent deities, known to him, in place of the German names. So he converts Wuotan and Thunnar into Hercules and Mercury. He was wrong in supposing that the worship of the goddess whom he calls Isis was a foreign cult introduced among the Suevi. This cult was in all probability not confined to the Suevi; he had, however, only heard of it as in vogue among them. In the Chronicle of S. Trond, by Rudolf, who died in 1138, is a curious and lengthy account of the making of a ship in the wood of Inda, among the Ripuarian Franks, which was placed on wheels and drawn by men to Aachen, then to Maestricht, thence to Tongern and Louvain, and so throughout the land, and was everywhere welcomed with dances and song. The clergy were highly incensed, regarding this as a relic of paganism, calling the ship "Malignorum spirituum simulacrum," "Diaboli ludibrium," and as a ship of Neptune or Mars, or Bacchus or Venus.[1]

In 1843 the writer of this article saw such a ship manned, and with flags flying, drawn by horses through the streets of Cologne.

There can be little doubt that these were relics of the ancient "navigium Isidis" as practised by the Germans, and that to it was attached some legend relative to a marvellous voyage made by her, but what was her Teutonic name, and what the story told of the voyage are now lost. It is, however, almost certain that S. Ursula stepped into her place, and it is possible that in her legend some features of the old lost myth are retained.

De Buck in dealing with the story and cult of S. Ursula devotes a whole chapter to the "Navicula S. Ursulæ." This ship was a religious congregation. "Navis inter oceani fluctus emicat, cujus malus est Christi simulacrum e cruce pendentis; media in navi residet Deipara, utrimque stipata choro undecim millium virginum; proram, puppimque sancti tenent apostoli. Titulus imagini præfigitur: Sodalitas sanctæ Ursulæ Brunensis."[2]

It is possible that we may have another trace of the lost myth of this heathen German goddess preserved to us in the *Nibelungen Lied*. In this, Brunhild, a princess of Iceland, who, like Ursula, is repugnant to the idea of marriage, ships with a retinue of damsels to the Rhine to be married to the Burgundian King Günther. We will quote the lines in Modern German.

[1] Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 1854, i, pp. 237–40.

[2] Crombach, *Ursula Vindicata*, 1647, pp. 847, *et seq.*, *Acta SS. Boll.*, Oct. ix, p. 294.

" Sechs und achtzig Frauen nahm mit sich das schöne Weib ;
Dazu wohl hundert Mägde, viel schön von Art und Leib ;
Sie säumten sich nicht länger ; sie wolten ziehn von dannen,
Die sie zu Hause liessen, wie zu weinen sie begannen.

" In tugendlichen Züchen die Frau räumte ihr Land ;
Sie küsst ihre nächsten Freunde, die da waren zu Hand.
Mit gutem Urlaube sie kamen auf das Meer,
Zu ihrem Vaterlande kam die Fraue nimmermehr.

" Auf ihrer Fahrt man hörte gar mannigfaltes spiel ;
Aller Kurzweile hatten sie da gar viel.
Da kam ihnen zur Reise ein rechter Wasserwind ;
Sie fuhren von dem Lande ; das beweinte mancher Mutter-kind."
(Aventure viii.) [1]

The end was tragic : the marriage led eventually to a massacre of Teutonic warriors by the Huns.

But the *Nibelungen Nôth* is a mediæval redaction in the twelfth century of various ballads that dated back to a pagan period, and which were common to the Teutons and to the Scandinavians, and were probably as familiar to the Saxons and Angles as they were to the Ripuarian Franks. The composer of the *Nibelungen Nôth* took vast liberties with the original poems, as we can see by comparing it with the lays in the *Elder Edda,* and the *Völsunga Saga,* that are steeped in rankest Paganism.

In these latter we have the form of the story as it prevailed among the Scandinavians. There Brynhildr, who becomes Brunhild in the German story, is daughter of Buðli, a king of Valland (Neustria), a Norse viking who had established himself in what is now Normandy, and she is the sister of Atli, whom the author of the *Nibelungen Nôth* has daringly identified with Attila. Moreover, Sigurðr, who wins Brynhild to become the wife of Gunnar (Gunther), a Gothic king ruling south of the Rhine, is himself a king over Hunland, though of pure Norse parentage.

Brynhild is most unwilling to become the wife of Gunnar, but she goes along with her maidens to the Rhine, and there she slays seven of her thralls, and five of her damsels, and finally herself, and all are consumed on her funeral pyre.

The author of the *Nibelungen Nôth* localized his story ; he made Gunther a Burgundian king, reigning at Worms ; Sigfried he converts from a king of the Huns to be son of the King of the Netherlands, and Brunhild he brings from Iceland. Atli, whom he transforms into Attila, he places on the Danube in Hungary.

He gave to the whole a Christian and a chivalrous character, effaced

[1] *Der Nibelungen Noth*, ed. Pfiger, Stuttgart, 1843, p. 104.

the traces of Paganism, softened down the ferocious barbarism of the original story, and furnished it with a pseudo-historic basis, by the introduction into it of historic characters, Attila, and Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths, regardless of chronology.

In the original tale, as we have it in the *Edda* and the *Völsunga Saga,* Brynhild comes to the Rhine to marry Gunnar, King of the Goths, who are located to the south of it. She induces her husband and brothers-in-law to murder Sigurd, who is married to Gudrun (Kriemhild in the *Nibelungen Lied*), and then destroys herself and her retinue, as already described. Then her brother Atli marries Gudrun, and carries her off to his realm Valland, in France. Atli then invites the brothers of Gudrun to a feast in his kingdom, and has them all massacred there. Whereupon Gudrun, in revenge, murders her own sons by Atli and kills Atli with her own hand.

No one who has read the *Nibelungen Nôth* can fail to see what liberties the author took with the tale. But it is possible enough that already, in the mouths of the people, the old cycle of Brynhild had undergone modification, had been softened, Christianized, and that the localizations of the three families, the Völsungs, the Gjukings, and the Budlings, had been changed.

And the same process may have gone on with the story in England. Brynhild throughout attracts the sympathy of the reader or hearer of the Saga ; she is the ill-used person, and on her ill-usage the story turns, and this leads to the final catastrophe.

It is possible that Wulfhelm, the Saxon Archbishop, may have retained in his mind some threads of the old Saga, and that in its passage through his brain, it may have become even more altered than it has in the *Nibelungen Nôth* : that the damsel Brynhild, so unwilling to be married, may have been unwittingly converted by him into a Christian virgin, who had vowed perpetual chastity ; he may have recalled that she sailed with her damsels to the Rhine, that there she and they were involved in an untimely death ; that Atli and the Huns were somehow mixed up with the story, and that there was a general massacre of the Teutonic warriors at the end.[1]

Whether something of the same sort of thing had been going on in Germany, whether the original tale had undergone fissure and transformation on one side into the *Nibelungen Nôth,* and in the other into

[1] *Sæmundar Edda,* ed. Th. Möbius, Leipz., 1860, pp. 120–96 ; English translation by Thorpe, London, 1866, ii, pp. 39–107. *Fornaldur Sögur,* Copenh. 1829, i, pp. 174–224 ; 332–8 ; ii, 11. Thierry, *Hist. d'Attila,* Paris, 1856, ii, pp. 297–358, has given German and Scandinavian traditions respecting Attila ; but he depends largely on the *Wilkina Saga,* which is late, and is derived from German sources

an ecclesiastical legend of Ursula, can only be matter of conjecture.

We offer this as a possible solution of the origin of this legend, as it shaped itself about the bones of the genuine martyrs at Cologne, who suffered presumably in the persecution of Diocletian.

We return to the legend beginning " In tempore pervetusto," derived from Archbishop Wulfhelm of Canterbury in 928 or 929, but not committed to writing till about forty-five years later, and then the story as it came from Wulfhelm had been fused with Cologne traditions.

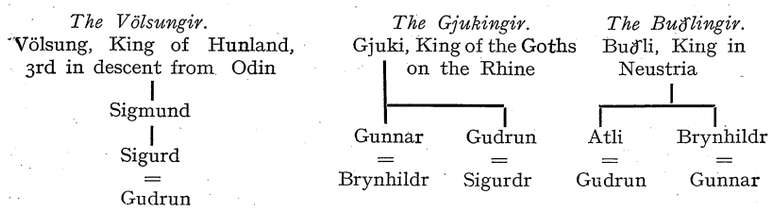
Dr. Klinkenberg has argued that the story is a Celtic-British tale or myth that was brought to Cologne, where it coalesced with one of the traditions there current.

But this we can hardly admit. We are distinctly informed that it came from a Saxon archbishop in that part of England from which the Britons had been exterminated or expelled. He was one of the very last persons to have been acquainted with British legends. Bede, who was nearer to where the British were strong, was profoundly ignorant of their traditions.

Moreover, as we have shown, Geoffrey of Monmouth derived his story from the legend " Regnante Domino," whilst materially altering it, and the Welsh knew nothing of Ursula and her attendant virgins till they received the tale from him. Nennius says not one word about it, nor does Gildas, nor does she enter into any of the Welsh saintly or secular genealogies. In Brittany she and Conan owe their introduction to Geoffrey alone.

The story is English. Wulfhelm must have had his memory quickened by what Hoolf said to him, and he recalled some half-forgotten ballad or legend he had heard in early days, and which in passing through his mind received an ecclesiastical character. The story as put together by him and Hoolf, and further expanded by the nuns of the Church of the Virgins, finally received shape when committed to writing in the legend " In tempore pervetusto." The introduction of the

which are fused with the Norse traditions. In his prologue and elsewhere the author states as much. The three families are :—



Huns into the story may rest on a confusion. Slavonic people are meant in the *Edda* and the *Völsunga Saga* by this name.

As far as we can gather from the Sagas, east of Denmark was Saxaland, then Vindland, the land of the Wends, then Hunaland. Sigurd's great-great-grandfather, Sigi, son of Odin, conquered the Huns and established himself king over them. Helmold says: " Haec (*sc.* Russia) etiam Chunigard dictus eo quod ibi sedes Hunnorum primo fuerit." But these are certainly not the Huns of history. Bede also speaks of " Frisiones, Rugini, Dani, Hunni, antiqui Saxones, Boructuarii " as occupying Germany.[1] And Cedrenus names together "Ο ἱ Οὔννοι καὶ οἱ Σκλαβινοί."[2]

Whence came the name Ursula, which is associated late with the story, and supplants that of Pinnosa ?

Is it a form of Hörsel, who is supposed to be the equivalent to Perchta or Hulda, a Teutonic goddess ? We cannot tell, but philologically Ursula cannot be derived from Hörsel, and the evidence for a goddess Hörsel is lacking.[3]

No early Martyrology contains the memorial of the Virgin Martyrs of Cologne. They do not occur in that attributed to Jerome, published by d'Achery. Bede knew nothing of them, and he was born in 672, and he states that he had included all the names of those of whom he had read.[4] The old Corbey Calendar, composed in or about 831, is also silent relative to these virgins. Neither are they in the Martyrology of Hrabanus Maurus, who died in 856. Ado, in his Martyrology in 880, is silent concerning them. Notker of S. Gall, who died in 912, does not record them. Nor, as we have seen, were they included in the early Calendar of the Cathedral Church of Cologne. The entry in Wandalbert's metrical martyrology may be an addition of a later date. It was not till after the publication of the legend " Regnante Domino," that had an extensive circulation, that Ursula and her Eleven Thousand Virgins were introduced into most of the Western Calendars and Breviaries.

We come now to a point alluded to at the beginning of this article,

[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, v, c. 10.

[2] Schaffarik, *Slawische Alterthümer*, i, pp. 328–9. The Hunland ruled by Norse adventurers recurs several times in the heroic Sagas, and is represented as somewhere on the Baltic, east of Saxaland. But in *Asmundar Saga Kappabana* it is situated on the Rhine, and the King Hildibrand travels up the Rhine to meet in fight the rival viking Asmund. *Fornaldur Sögur*, ii, p. 484.

[3] Sir J. Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 174, suggests Ursula might be regarded as a dawn-goddess, and the virgins her priestesses.

[4] Bede's name is given to this Martyrology, but it was composed or completed within a few years after his death.

the situation of the Church of the Virgins in an ancient cemetery. It stood outside the walls of Colonia Agrippina.[1] And about it was the place of pagan sepulture of the Roman town.

Numerous Roman tumulary relics and inscriptions have been found there, of which many are now in the city Museum. Some of these were discovered in 1643, when the foundations were dug for the "Golden Chamber." Later excavations made in 1866 show that on the north and east sides of the church pagan interments had been very numerous. There were sarcophagi and cists containing the ashes of such as had been burnt, and a small statue of a goddess was also exhumed. Christian oriented graves were also found, as might have been expected near so famous a martyr-shrine. But the most interesting discovery was a columbarium, or family mausoleum, with niches for the urns containing ashes; and among these was one with which were laid female ornaments and the fragments of a glass vessel with gilt inlaid representations of Scriptural subjects, such as Daniel in the lions' den, Susanna, Jonah, the Three Children in the Furnace, and the Healing of the Paralytic. These are now in the British Museum.[2]

The finding of these with incinerated remains seems to show that the dead woman had been a Christian, but that her family had conducted the funeral in a pagan manner. The first elevation of relics took place, according to his ninth century Life, by Bishop Cunibert, about 663. Whilst he was celebrating the Divine Mysteries in the Church of the Virgins, a white dove was seen, and it vanished at a spot where Cunibert dug and found bones, which he at once concluded were those of one of the virgins.

The next was the "invention" of a vast number by the Abbot Gerlach of Deutz and his factotum Theodoric, the porter of the monastery. In 1105 the Emperor Henry IV, when flying from his revolted sons, was received into Cologne, and then the citizens, anticipating a siege, set to work to extend their walls, and carried the foundations near the Church of the Virgins. Whilst the workmen were thus engaged, some of them pretended that they had seen a vision, in which two females appeared and informed them that the bodies of the Eleven Thousand Virgins lay there, and that their work must be carried on leisurely and carefully; they further announced that along with the bodies of the Virgins lay that of a bishop who had accompanied them. We have only the word of a consummate scoundrel for this

[1] Veith, *Das römische Köln*, Bonn, 1881.

[2] Illustrated by Dünzer in *Jahrbücher d. Vereins v. Alterthümsfreunden dem Rheinland*, 1867. See also Stein, *Die heilige Ursula*. Stein was Rector of S. Ursula at the time, and was present during the excavations in 1866.

apparition, that of Theodoricus Ædituus; and it is more than probable that he invented it to account for the numbers of bones that were turned up during the excavations, and with which he saw his way to doing a profitable business. Then a priest of the Church of S. Cunibert took up some of the bones thrown up by the workmen, and saw that by night they emitted a phosphorescent light. It was now reported that the diggers had struck on a perfect treasury of relics; all the skulls and bones turned up were accepted as those of martyrs, although actually they were none other than the remains of the former inhabitants of Cologne, who for centuries had been in the habit of burying their dead outside the sacred walls of the Church of the Martyrs.

But it was not till 1155 that the Abbot Gerlach of Deutz took the matter up, and employed the monastery porter, Theodoric, to superintend and manage the discovery of relics.

And now inscriptions began to turn up with extraordinary frequency, and these we have in record from Theodoric himself; all, with the one exception of an inscription to Ætherius, were deliberate forgeries. For it was found that relics alone, without names attaching to them, were in small request.

The Bollandist De Buck labours to exculpate Gerlach, and to throw all the blame on Theodoric. But it is not possible to disallow that Gerlach was the source and mainspring of the whole bit of rascality.

Criticism was not wanting even in those topsy-turvy days, and people doubted and laughed over the vast amount of bones and skulls turned up, and proclaimed to be miracle-working relics. Possibly they may have thought also that the tumulary inscriptions had a suspicious look of freshness about them. It was necessary to take steps to silence these doubters.

Gerlach had recourse to an hysterical nun called Elizabeth, who lived in Schönau. Gerlach invoked to his aid Egbert, Abbot of S. Florian, and brother of Elizabeth, and they endeavoured to induce her to see visions and have revelations connected with the relics. At first she declined to have anything to do with this unsavoury transaction ("me multum renitentem compulerunt"). But her brother plied her with entreaties, and her scruples gave way, when Gerlach sent as a present to her convent the bones of one of the saints exhumed, along with its stone coffin lid that bore the inscription, "Sancta Verena, Virgo et Martyr." Then she yielded. Her vanity was flattered, and thenceforth she had revelations as often and as full as was desired. No sooner had Gerlach and Theodoric manufactured an inscription, than they appealed to her to authenticate it by a vision. Not content with testifying to the genuineness of these forgeries, she went on to giving

information relative to the adventures, relationships, social position, and mode of martyrdom of these saints, and her brother Egbert, who was alone allowed to be present during her ecstasies, wrote all down in Latin.

According to her, the vast multitude of damsels was attended by a vast number of bishops, a Foilan of Lucca, a Pantalus of Basle, etc., and many other men. The Pope Cyriacus had been so edified by their virtues, that he abandoned the chair of S. Peter, and, attended by several cardinals, careered after them over the Alps; and on account of this escapade was struck out of the list of the Popes. The only genuine inscription shown to Elizabeth was one of Ætherius, a youth, surmounted by the early Christian monogram. She was too ignorant to understand this, and she interpreted it as REX and denoted that Ætherius was a king, and then by revelation she learned that he was the bridegroom-elect of Ursula. She declared that the martyrdom had taken place under Maximus (Thrax), consequently in 237 or 238, and that the executioners were the Huns, under their king, Julius.

For seven years the excavations and "inventions" went on. Elizabeth died in the odour of sanctity, and was taken up into the Roman Martyrology and accorded the title of "Saint." Scarcely was she dead before fresh discoveries in the old cemetery reopened the scandal that was first caused by the finding of such big *tibiæ* as could only have belonged to males, and which she had allayed by her revelation concerning the pope, the bishops, and cardinals attending the pilgrim virgins and suffering martyrdom with them.

A considerable number of children's bones were exhumed; some belonged to infants of but a few months old. This was awkward, seriously compromising to the memories of the Pope, Cardinals, and Bishops as well as of the Virgins. Elizabeth was dead, what was to be done?

Gerlach looked about him and discovered a monk of Premontré who would serve his purpose. This was the Blessed Herman Joseph. He broached the matter to him, and Herman Joseph expressed his readiness to come to his aid. He engaged the assistance of one Richard, an Englishman, to act as amanuensis, and then continued the work of the deceased Elizabeth. A more stupendous self-revelation of ignorance, stupidity, and dishonesty, hardly exists. Being keenly alive to the scandal caused by the discovery of infant skulls and bones, he had visions that might serve to vindicate the characters that were affected. He declared that the Eleven Thousand had excited such enthusiasm in the native land of Ursula, which was Brittany (Britannia Minor), not Britain, that relations and friends of both sexes joined the

virginal crew, taking with them their children of all ages, and that all together had received the crown of martyrdom. Kings, princes, and princesses from Norway, Sweden, Ireland, Flanders, Normandy, Brabant, Friesland, Denmark—in a word, from all lands in the north with which a monk of mean capacity and limited knowledge, in the twelfth century, might be supposed to be acquainted—had joined the expedition, in their desire to testify to the chastity and piety of Ursula and her companions.

There were in the train five English bishops ("episcopi de Anglia"), named William Michael, son of William, Columbanus, son of the Duchess Alexandria, Iwan, Eleutherius, Lothair. The intended husband of Ursula was named Holophernes as well as Ætherius. Among the kings was Oliver, engaged to Olive, daughter of King Cleopater, one of Ursula's virgins, Chrophorus, with his wife Cleopatra, Lucius, Clovis, Canute, and King Pipin, Adulph, and Avitus. Among interesting items divinely revealed was this, that none of the babes on the journey desired the breast, but contented themselves with sucking their fingers; also, "Nunquam in eodem itinere ut parvulorum mos est et natura, sordebant se madefacientes."

The amanuensis seems occasionally to have been staggered at these revelations, and had to be encouraged to proceed with his work, with the assurance that they were true disclosures of what had taken place.

The excavations begun by Gerlach were continued by his successor Hartbern, and Theodoric has recorded the results. He gives all the forged inscriptions to the number of a hundred and eighty-one, and the one of Ætherius which was genuine. Among these lapidary inscriptions is one to the apocryphal Pope Cyriacus; one to Simplicius, Archbishop of Ravenna; others to Marinus, Bishop of Milan; Marculus, a Greek bishop; Foilan, Bishop of Lucca; Pantulus, Bishop of Basle; Jovinus, Bishop of York; Maronius, Bishop of Novara; John, Patriarch of Jerusalem; Macharius, Archbishop of Constantinople; Nonnus, Bishop of Antioch; Aquilinus, Bishop of Aquileja; Notus, King of the Scots; Picmenius, King of England; Papuntius, King of Ireland; and so on.

However credulous men might be in the Middle Ages, we cannot suppose that such as had an elementary knowledge of history could have swallowed all this rubbish. Even Jacques de Voragine, who wrote the *Legenda Aurea*, and was by no means squeamish, was startled at the anachronism of Constantinople being represented as having a bishop before it was founded by Constantine. But the Revelations were not handled with any freedom of criticism till 1418, by Gobelinus Persona, in his *Cosmodromium*, who pointed out the anachronism of making a

Kingdom of England in the third century, and of bringing the Huns to the Rhine long before they had appeared in Europe. The nun Elizabeth was the first to mention Attila in connexion with the massacre, and to fix its date as in the days of the Emperors Maximus and Africanus. Maximus was Emperor 235–8, and in 236 Africanus was associated with him in the Consulship. How Elizabeth got hold of this fact, which she mis-stated, making Africanus an Emperor instead of Consul, it is hard to say, but probably from some Acts of Martyrs under Maximus, that she found in the convent library, and Maximus under the erroneous form of Maximian had been employed by Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Again another "invention" took place in 1238, and that of Cordula. Ingebrand von Rurke, a Knight Hospitaller at Cologne, dreamed that he was visited by a beautiful girl, who requested him to dig her up.

Next morning Ingebrand told the prior of his vision. The prior bade him await a further revelation. Next night she revisited him and reproached him with some asperity for not having fulfilled her request. "You did not tell me where to dig," replied Ingebrand. "You will find me," said the apparition, "in the orchard of the priory, under the filbert tree."

When the prior heard this he was delighted. "But," said he, "you must first ascertain her name."

Next night the maiden reappeared with moody brow, and rated the knight soundly for his lack of gallantry in not attending to the request of a lady, though twice repeated.

Sir Ingebrand apologized, and said that he only waited to know her name. Thereupon the virgin bade him look her in the face. He did so, and read on her brow in gold letters, "Cordula, virgo, regina." He thereupon jumped out of bed, ran to the prior and told him, "Her name is Cordula. And a very appropriate name too." "We must unearth her to-morrow," said the prior.

Accordingly on the following day they dug under the filberts and found bones, which have since received veneration as relics.

On account of the vision of Helintrudis and that of the Knight Ingebrand, this purely apocryphal saint, as one of the Ursuline company, has been taken into the Roman Martyrology.[1]

Another of the party was S. Cunera. The authority for her story is the lections in the Breviary of Rhenen. According to them, "There is a certain part of Europe called the Orcades, consisting of thirty-three islands, which were governed by a King of Orkney, but now by the King of England, on which land is a great royal city, anciently called Orcada, but now Jork."

[1] *Acta SS. Boll.*, Oct., ix, pp. 580–6.

In this city reigned King Aurelius, who marched at the head of his armies against the Saracens, but was taken captive, and was carried before the Soldan of Babylon, and imprisoned. But the Soldan's daughter loved the pale-faced captive, was converted by him and baptized, and they eloped together to Orkney, and in the capital, Jork, their daughter Cunera was born.

Ursula being about to sail along with the eleven thousand virgins, Cunera joined her. When the party was being massacred by the Huns, Radbod, King of the Frisians, being present at Cologne at the time, was so struck with her beauty, that he concealed her under his cloak, and carried her with him to Rhenen, in the diocese of Utrecht. But the wife of Radbod did not relish the introduction of this good-looking wench into the household, and she induced her attendants to strangle Cunera and bury her in the stable.[1]

There are other of the companions of Ursula culted in various parts, and with stories hardly less ridiculous.

The Bollandists give us 1,083 names of virgins and other martyrs of that company whose relics have enriched various churches. Thus, out of three or four nameless virgins there grew first three, then six, next eleven, all named, and finally over a thousand all labelled with their names and their titles, and with the particulars of the lives of most known.

Few visitors to Cologne have failed to look at the interior of the Church of S. Ursula. A more ghastly sight hardly exists in Christendom. The walls are covered with boxes containing the skulls and bones of the supposed martyrs. The church more resembles a temple of Shiva than a Christian place of worship. It would be well were an Archbishop of Cologne to order the burial of these relics of humanity, not one of which belongs to a martyr;[2] and for the Holy See to expunge the name of Ursula from the Martyrology and retain only a commemoration of the Virgins to whom Clematius rebuilt a basilica.

SS. Ursula and her Companions were culted, but not extensively, in Wales, particularly in Cardiganshire. Theophilus Evans, writing in the early part of the eighteenth century, says, "There is a church in Ceredigion called Llangwyryfon[3] (the Church of the Virgins), which was so named in memory of them at its consecration," and adds that their festival, October 21, was known as "Gwyl Santesau," "the Festival of

[1] *Acta SS. Boll.*, Jun., ii, pp. 563–7.

[2] Some of the skulls have been transfixed with arrows. This was part, doubtless, of the trickery of Theodoric or Gerlach.

[3] It also occurs as Llanygwryddon (*Peniarth MS.* 147), and Llanygweryddon (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 744), but is locally pronounced Llangwrddon.

the Saintesses."[1] According to him they were the maidens sent out at Conan's request. Edward Lhuyd in his notes (1699) on the parish of Llanwenog, also in Cardiganshire, says, "There is a Chappel hard by Essen fort (Castell S^t^ Essen), called Capel S^t^ Essen: because it is dedicated to y^e^ 10,000 (*sic*) vergins marthyrd." He means, of course, the now extinct Capel Santesau.[2]

One of the great fairs in the neighbouring parish of Llanybyther, held on October 21, O.S., and still on November 1 and its eve, is called "Ffair y Santesau," and is so entered in the Calendar in *Llanstephan MS.* 181 (*c.* 1556). The festival occurs in most of the Welsh Calendars, and is usually entered simply as "Gwyl y Gweryddon," or "Gwyl yr un fil ar ddeg Gweryddon." The South Wales Calendar in *Cwrtmawr MS.* 44 (sixteenth century) has on October 21, "Gwvl Lvr forwvn" and "Gwvl Vrw forwvn," i.e. the Festivals of Llyr and Urw (?), Virgins.[3] They were probably Ursuline virgins, as was also the Lleuci,[4] i.e. Lucia or Lucy, of Bettws Leiki, Llanwnen, and Abernant, all in much the same corner of South Wales.

There is a Welsh Life of Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins, *Buchedd Wrsla* or *Ystoria Gweryddon yr Almaen* ("the History of the Virgins of Germany"), in *Peniarth MS.* 182 (*c.* 1514), which is a translation from the Latin by Sir Hugh Pennant.

The authorities for the Ursula legend are as follows:—

1. The Clematian Inscription. Krauss (F. X.), *Die alt Christlichen Inschriften d. Rheinlande*, Freiburg i. B., 1890, i, pp. 143–7; and Plate xx, 2. Floss (H. J.), *Die Clematische Inschrift in S. Ursula*, Köln, 1874.
2. The "Sermo in Natali." *Acta SS. Boll.*, Oct. ix, pp. 154–5. Klinkenberg, *Studien zur Geschichte der Kölner Märterinnen*, in *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, lxxxix, Bonn, 1890; Kessel, *S. Ursula*, Köln, 1863.
3. The "Officium Proprium." *Acta SS. Boll., ibid.*, pp. 284–5.
4. The Legend "In tempore pervetusto," in *Analecta Bollandiana*, iii (1884), pp. 1–20.
5. The Legend "Regnante Domino." *Acta SS. Boll., ibid.*, pp. 157–63. Both legends dealt with by Klinkenberg, *op. cit.*, and also in Wetzer u. Welte, *Kirchonlexikon*, s.v. *S. Ursula*, 1901.
6. Geoffrey of Monmouth's version of the tale, *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, v, cc. 15, 16; ed. Giles in *Acta SS. Boll., ibid.*, pp. 207–9; ed. San Marte, Halle, 1854, pp. 66–73.
7. "Liber Revelationum S. Elisabethæ Schonaugiensis." *Acta SS. Boll., ibid.*, pp. 163–73.
8. "Revelationes seu Imaginationes B. Hermanni Josephi." *Ibid.*, pp. 173–201.
9. "Thioderici Æditui Revelationes titulorum vel nominum ss. martyrum." *Ibid.*, pp. 243–6. Holder-Egger in Pertz, *Mon. Script.*, xiv, pp. 569–70; Lecomblet in *Archiv f. d. Geschichte d. Niederrheins*, v (1865), pp. 292–9.

We have given no references to Crombach's *Ursula vindicata*, 1647, as it is an utterly uncritical work, and all that is of value in it has been republished, and is accessible in the works above given. Books and articles that may be consulted, in addition to those already named, are Lecomblet, *Urkundenbuch des Niederrheins*, and Tout (Mrs. T. F.), *The Legend of S. Ursula* in *Historical Essays by Members of the Owens College, Manchester*, London, 1902, pp. 17–56.

[1] *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*, i, c. 2.
[2] *Parochialia*, iii, p. 89, suppl. to *Arch. Camb.*, 1911.
[3] For them see iii, pp. 215, 386.
[4] iii, pp. 367–8.

S. UST, Confessor

In the *Myvyrian Archaiology*[1] occurs this entry, "Ust and Dyfnig, the saints at Llanwrin, in Cyfeiliog, who came to this Island with Cadfan," from Armorica. They were the original founders, it would appear, of the Church of Llanwrin, Montgomeryshire, which was some time later rededicated to S. Gwrin, a descendant of Gildas. Close to the village is a field called Cae y Tri Sant, the Three Saints' Field. The extinct chapel of Llanust, near Fishguard, was probably also dedicated to him.

Ust is the Latin Justus. The name occurs in Laneast and S. Just, in Cornwall, and in the Saint-Just, of Ille et Vilaine and Pleuc (Langourlay), in Brittany.

The wake at Llanwrin was held on May 1, but Gwrin's day is said to be November 1.[2]

[1] P. 431. No doubt the "ys da Dyfnig" of the Ode to King Henry VII in the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 314, should have been printed "Ysd (= Ust) a Dyfnig." All the MS. copies of the poem that we have seen are here corrupt. Ust occurs in the place-name Bodust, in the parish of Bettws, Carmarthenshire.
[2] Willis, *Bangor*, p. 361.

S. USTIG, Confessor

USTIG was the son of Geraint ab Carannog, of the line of Cadell Deyrnllwg, and brother of S. Eldad, or Aldate, Bishop of Gloucester. "Ustig and Dyfrig were S. Garmon's confessors (*periglorion*) in Côr Garmon,"[1] at Llancarfan.

An Ustig is given as one of the children of Caw, and is esteemed to be a saint.[2] He is the son of Caw who occurs as Iustic in the tale of *Culhwch and Olwen*.[3]

S. USYLLT, Confessor

USYLLT is nowhere entered as a saint in the Welsh Saintly Pedigrees, only as the father of S. Teilo. In these his name is given under a great variety of forms—Ensych, Eussyllt, Hensych (*Peniarth MSS.* 16, 45, 27, respectively), Enoc (*Hafod MS.* 16), Kusych and Hensych (*Cardiff MS.* 25, pp. 24, 112), Enllech and Eisyllt (*Iolo MSS.*, pp. 110, 124), not to mention the *Myvyrian* (p. 430) and other readings. Of these, the only document that gives it correctly is *Peniarth MS.* 45, which has Eussyllt (for Eusyll). The name is regularly derived from the Latin Auxilius. Usyllt's father was Hydwn (Hidwn, Hedwn) or Hyddwn Dwn, the son of Ceredig ab Cunedda Wledig. According to the *Iolo MSS.*, he was a King in Ireland.

From the Life of S. Oudoceus[4] (where he is called Ensic) we learn that Usyllt's wife was Guenhaf, daughter of Liuonui, by whom he was the father of Teilo, and Anauved, the wife of Prince Budic and mother of SS. Oudoceus, Ismael, and Tyfai. S. Mabon is also given as his son.

Usyllt is associated entirely with Pembrokeshire. It was there, at Eccluis Gunniau (Guiniau), apparently Penally, near Tenby, that Teilo was born,[5] and Usyllt is patron of the neighbouring church of S. Issell's, in Welsh Llan or Eglwys Usyllt, which was one of the "Seven Bishop-houses in Dyfed," mentioned in the Demetian Code of the Laws of Hywel Dda.[6] It is there stated that "Llann Geneu and Llann Vsyllt are free from ebediws, because there is no Church land belonging to

[1] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 131. The name is a derivative of Justus.
[2] *Cardiff MS.* 5 (1527), p. 119 (Vsdic); *Iolo MSS*, p. 143.
[3] *Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 107.
[4] *Book of Llan Dâv.* p. 130. [5] *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 255.
[6] *Welsh Laws*, ed. Aneurin Owen, p. 273; cf. p. 839. Lewis Dwnn, *Heraldic Visitations*, 1846, i, p. 123, calls S. Issell's "Plwyf Saint Tisels."

them." In the *Taxatio* of 1291 the church is called "Ecclesia de Sancto Ussello," and in the *Liber Communis* of S. David's Cathedral "Eccl̃a S^ti Ussuldi" (1490–1557).[1] William of Worcester,[2] in the fifteenth century, says of S. Usyllt, "S. Ussoldus confessor, Anglice Seynt Ussille, plures ecclesiæ in Wallia"; but we know of only one, possibly two, churches dedicated to him.

The dedication of Haroldston S. Issell's, also in Pembrokeshire, is doubtful, whether to S. Usyllt or to S. Ismael,[3] as Issell here may be a corruption of Ismel = Ismael, the brother of S. Oudoceus, and nephew of S. Teilo. Browne Willis[4] ascribes both churches to S. Ismael. Tre Usyllt, in Granston parish, is, no doubt, named after the saint.

S. VEEP, Bishop, Confessor

BISHOP STAPELDON, 1308, Bishop Grandisson, 1349 and 1361, and Stafford, 1400 and 1414, give the Church of S. Veep, in Cornwall, as "Ecclesia S^ti Vepi." So also the *Taxatio* of 1291.

Only when Grandisson rededicated the Church to SS. Cyriacus and Julitta in 1336 did he enter it as "Ecclesia S^tæ Vepæ." Brantyngham did the same, but in 1394 called the church that "S^ti Vepi."

The balance is in favour of the saint being a male.

Veep is probably a corruption of Fiacc or Feock.

The Festival of S. Veep is on the Wednesday before Midsummer Day. See S. FEOCK.

S. VORCH, Virgin

LANLIVERY Church, Cornwall, according to Tonkin, is dedicated to S. Vorch, and the name Lanlivery is Lan-le-Vorch.

Ecton, in his *Thesaurus Rer. Eccl.*, ed. Browne Willis (3rd ed., 1763), gives S. Brevita as the patroness.

The Feast at Lanlivery is on the first Sunday after the first Tuesday in May.

[1] Basil Jones and Freeman, *S. David's*, 1856, pp. 377–83. It gives other forms, among them Oswald (p. 386). [2] *Itin.*, ed. Nasmith, 1778, p. 163.
[3] Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, i, pp. 296, 308, 412; ii, p. 344.
[4] *Paroch. Anglic.*, pp. 178–9.

S. VORTIMER, see S. GWRTHEFYR

S. WARNAC, Bishop, Confessor

A BAY in Scilly bears the name of S. Warnac, contracted now into Warne. Troutbeck, in his *Isles of Scilly*, says that it is related traditionally that Warnac was an Irish Saint, who came over in a wicker-boat covered with raw hides. His Holy Well is now choked. Possibly he is S. Brynach, *which see.*

S. WENEPPA, Virgin

THIS would be the Latin form of Gwenabwy. She founded the Church of Gwennap in Cornwall.

She was a daughter of Caw, and sister of Cywyllog, who married Modred. Gwennap Feast is on Whitsunday.

See further under S. GWENABWY.

S. WENDRON

THE patroness of Wendron, in Cornwall, appears in the Exeter Episcopal Registers as Wendrona.

The local tradition relative to Wendron is, or was, that she was an Irishwoman. It is impossible to identify her. The name in Irish would be Findbron, White Breast. No such a saint occurs in the calendars. The nearest approach is Bronfinn, sister of S. Ibar of Begerry. Mella, also called Bronfinn, married to Cenfinnan, was mother of S. Abban and S. Lithgean (Ludgvan). Stithians, the almost adjoining parish to Wendron, has for foundress S. Etain, a disciple of S. Ibar, Bronfinn's sister.

There was a chapel at Tresulla dedicated to the saint, as well as the parish church.

If Wendron be Bronfinn, which is pure conjecture, and *if* she be the mother of the S. Lithgean of Ludgvan, then it is probable that the statue

of a female saint at the latter place, representing her holding a flowering stalk, may have been intended for her. The statue is now in the Rectory garden.

Wendron Feast is on the nearest Sunday to October 28.

Capel Gwenfron was the name of a chapel, now extinct, in Nevern, Pembrokeshire,[1] but nothing is known of Gwenfron.

S. WENN, see S. GWEN

S. WETHENOC, Abbot, Confessor

IN the Bodmin Calendar a saint of this name is commemorated on November 7.

According to Bishop Stafford's Register, 1415, S. Wetheney had a chapel dedicated to him at Padstow.

Whether he can be equated with Gwinedoc, whose church is on the opposite side of the estuary, is doubtful.

Wethenoc is Gwethenoc in a later form, and in Breton has become Goueznou, the Welsh *dd* and Cornish *th* becoming *z* in Breton.

For his Life see S. GWETHENOC, brother of S. Winwaloe.

S. WILLOW, Hermit, Martyr

THE name of the patron Saint of Lanteglos by Fowey, Cornwall. It is so given in an Assize roll for 1284.

William of Worcester, who calls him Vylloc or Wyllow, says that he was of Irish origin, that he lived as a hermit, and was murdered by a kinsman, Mellyn.

After that his head was cut off, he rose and carried it from the Bridge of S. Willow to the church.

The cave in which S. Willow lived is shown on S. Willow's Hill, by Lanteglos.

[1] iii, p. 196.

According to William of Worcester, his feast was observed at Lanteglos on the Thursday before Pentecost.

Nicolas Roscarrock gives as his day June 3.

He is unknown to the Irish Martyrologists.

S. WINEFRED, see S. GWENFREWI

S. WINNOW, Abbot, Confessor

S. WINNOW is titular saint of a church in Cornwall. It has been supposed that this is Winoc, brother or nephew of Juthael, Prince of Domnonia; a saint who was educated from infancy at Sithieu, planted Bergues-Saint-Winnoc in French Flanders, and died in 717. But this saint had nothing to do with Cornwall.

In the Life of S. Padarn we read of his having with him a disciple called Guinnius,[1] who is there associated with S. Samson.

Padarn seems to have settled early in East Cornwall, and perhaps had Guinnius with him, and he formed an ecclesiastical establishment at Lewannick, not far from S. Padarn's region. When S. Samson arrived in Padstow Harbour, he was sent as the most learned of the monks of the district to meet Samson and ask his intentions in coming there. For this we refer the reader to the Life of S. Samson.

As we find S. Winnow's Church near Samson's settlement at Golant on the Fowey, it may be supposed that he associated himself with that great saint.

Whether he ever crossed into Brittany is uncertain, but probable, for in the marshes of Dol is a Saint Guinou, and there is a lake, in which, according to legend, a great city lies engulfed.[2] This seems to be a transference to Dol of the story of Gwyddno and the overflowing of Cantre'r Gwaelod.

S. Guinou is Guehinocus in a charter of 1249, and Guicenous in the fourteenth century.

The Patronal Feast is observed on October 25.

In the department of Morbihan, in the Canton of Cleguérec, is a S. Ignaw or Iniau, where the name takes the form of Juniavus, given in one of the Lives of S. Samson;[3] and it is significant that S. Samson is honoured in the same canton.[4]

[1] *Cambro British Saints*, p. 191. See *supra*, p. 45, and iii, p. 247.
[2] *Bulletin de la Soc. Arch. de Finistère*, iii (1874–5), p. 104.
[3] Loth (J.), *Chrestomathie Bretonne*, pp. 215, 143.
[4] Duine (F.), *Les Saints de Dol* p. 44.

It is, accordingly, probable that Winiau or Winnow accompanied Samson to Brittany. It is also remarkable that the name of Winnian, perhaps a misreading for Winniau, should be given in the *Vita 2da* of S. Samson as the name of the port where Samson landed when he crossed to Armorica.[1]

In Bishop Bronescombe's Register S. Winnow, in Cornwall, is entitled, in 1269, S^tus^ Wynnocus. In those of Bishop Stapeldon, 1313, of Grandisson, 1335, 1348, 1367, and of Stafford, 1404, S^tus^ Winnocus. In the *Taxatio* of 1291 (p. 145) it is called "Ecclesia de Sancto Winnoco." The Feast at S. Winnow is on June 17.[2]

It is much to be regretted that we have no details as to the life of this man, who must have been learned, and was associated with two of the most remarkable men of his age, Padarn and Samson.

Mr. Phillimore is disposed to think that S. Twinell's, in Pembrokeshire, is a dedication to S. Winnoc or Winnow.[3]

S. WINWALOE, Abbot, Confessor

THE authorities for the Life of this remarkable saint are:—

1. A *Vita* by Wurdistan, monk, and afterwards abbot, of Landevennec in the middle of the ninth century, published by De Smedt in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, vii, 1888, pp. 167–264. Again in the *Cartulaire de Landevennec*, by A. de la Borderie, Rennes, 1889, pp. 7–102.
2. A *Vita Metrica*, *Anal. Boll.*, vii, pp. 250–61, and *Cart. Land.*, pp. 103–11.
3. A Life in Surius, *De Prob. SS. Historiis*, Mart. iii, pp. 38–41.
4. A Life by John of Tynemouth, in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*.
5. A Life by an anonymous author, *Acta SS. Boll.*, Mart. i, pp. 250–4.
6. Another Life in the same collection, pp. 254–5.

The last four are of no value; they are mere summaries of that by Wurdistan, and this latter is actually the sole source from which all subsequent Lives have been derived.

7. A MS. Life in the British Museum, *Cotton MS. Tiberius*, E. i,

[1] *Vita 2da S. Samsonis*, ed. Plaine, p. 42.
[2] S. Winnoc of Bergues-Saint-Winnoc has his commemoration on Nov 6, and Sept. 18, the Translation of his relics.
[3] Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, i, pp. 292, 321. See what has been said iii, pp. 179–80, 233. There are two places in Cornwall called Trewinnow.

beginning " Fuit in Britannia vir quidam," and ending, " floruit autem circa annum Domini quadragintesimum quinquagesimum nonum." This formed the basis of John of Tynemouth's Life.

8. In *Bodleian MS.* 240, *C.C.C. Cambridge MSS.* 5, 6, 7, and *Lambeth MSS.* 10, 11, 12, is a Life of S. Winwaloe longer than that of John of Tynemouth in Capgrave. This has been printed in the new edition of Capgrave.[1]

9. A MS. Brit. Museum Otto D. VIII supposed to be the original that formed the basis of that by Wurdistan. M. Latouche (R.) *Mélanges d'histoire de Cornouaille,* Paris, 1911.

Winwaloe was son of Fracan, cousin of Cado, Duke of Cornwall (see S. FRACAN). Fracan resolved on migrating to Armorica, and he took with him his wife Gwen " of the Three Breasts," and his two sons Gwethenoc and James, and a small retinue (see S. GWEN TEIRBRON).[2]

They disembarked at Brahec, and ascended the stream of the Gouet, the Bloody River, why so called we do not know, for it is limpid, flowing through a ravine cleft in the granite, and golden with broom and gorse.

Fracan settled at Ploufragan. Then the little colony set to work to clear the ground of trees, and to construct wattled cabins.

They had not been there long before another party of emigrants arrived from South Wales, a fleet of vessels full of colonists, under the direction of Righuel or Rhiwal. This party advanced up the stream, and occupied the country on the right bank and that about the Anse d'Iffignac.

Gwen the Three Breasted shortly after gave birth to a son, whom she and her husband named Winwaloe. Some fifty different spellings occur in all of his name.

In course of time they heard that a British saint of the name of Budoc had a school at Lavret, one of the islands of the Bréhat archipelago, and they sent their three sons to him to be educated.

With Budoc Winwaloe remained a good many years, and when he considered himself accomplished in all the learning of the school, at the age of one and twenty he left.

It is said that one day, whilst he was in Lavret, he heard of the work achieved by S. Patrick in Ireland, and was filled with a burning desire to go to him and assist in the mission field in Ireland. This is not at all unlikely. Adjoining Ploufragan, Winwaloe's home, is La Méaugon

[1] Duffus Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue,* 1862, i, p. 104. Capgrave, ed. Horstmann, 1902, pp. 558–73.

[2] " Inter hæc autem (fuit) vir quidam illustris, spes prolis beatæ, nomine Fracanus, Catouii regis Britannici, viri secundum seculum famosissimi consobrinus." *Vita* in *Cart. Land.*, p. 9. In the *Bodl. MS.*, " erat in insula Britannica vir . . . nomine F(r)acanus, Caton regis Britannici," etc.

(Lan-Meugan), a monastic college of Maucan or Mancen, founded for the furnishing of missioners for the harvest-field of Erin. Budoc, moreover, had been brought up either in Ireland or by Irish monks, and he was certain to speak in glowing terms of the great apostle.

But we cannot conclude from this, as have some Breton historians, that this apparition—for Winwaloe is said to have seen S. Patrick in vision—furnishes an approximate date for Winwaloe's residence on Lavret. We do not know whether he ever had this dream, and if he had, whether it was as related by Wurdistan. All we can say with any confidence is, that when a lad he was fired with ambition to join in the work of the Irish mission, but thought better of it and did not go.[1]

Whilst he was at home, a gander flew at Winwaloe's little sister, Creirwe, and would have pecked out her eye had not Winwaloe interposed. In after years, Creirwe was wont to say that she owed her eye to Winwaloe, and this was magnified into something miraculous, and it was gravely told that the gander had actually swallowed the eyeball, that Winwaloe had replaced it in its socket, and that the girl suffered no ill effects from it. A writer who could so manipulate a simple incident is not to be trusted implicitly when dealing with a dream.[2]

Winwaloe resolved on leaving Lavret and starting a monastic establishment in his own native land; his enthusiasm for work in Ireland having cooled down as rapidly as it had kindled.

He induced eleven companions to accompany him, and this swarm crossed the mainland.

Local tradition has it that he halted in youth for awhile at Plouguin, near Ploudalmezeau, and this is probable enough. His mother had a *plebs* there, and his father another not far off. At Plouguin are pointed out some mounds of ruin where he is said to have had an oratory and cell.

In the chapel of Lesguen or Lesven, a château in the parish, on the grounds of which are the ruins of S. Winwaloe's cell, is an altar painting representing Fracan in armour presenting his son Winwaloe, Three-Breasted Gwen, above an inscription " Mamelle d'or," and S. Corentine investing Winwaloe with the abbacy of Landevennec. At the feet of Gwen is De Nobletz, a famous missioner (1577–1654).

From Plouguin Winwaloe and his party moved south, and on their delighted eyes burst the wondrous harbour of Brest, gleaming like silver. The Atlantic surged against the headland of Croson, and rolled in at the Goulet, about two thousand yards across and five miles long, lost all the force it had and spread out into a wide expanse of unruffled

[1] *Vita* in *Cart. Land.*, p. 46. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

water, broken into numerous creeks. Before them was the spur of Plougastel, with its granite rocks starting up like natural castles. The Rade now covered with vessels, and where the ironclads lie basking, was then still and lifeless.

Winwaloe and his monks built themselves a boat, and started to explore this inland sea. They skirted the rocky headland of Plougastel, and ran up the arm into which many streams pour from the North and East, at the head of which rushes in the Aulne. Here they found an islet called then Thopepigia, now Tibidy, and resolved on settling upon it.

They landed, erected their cells, and made a garden.

But the soil was scanty, and the winds from the Atlantic howled and tore over the bare surface of the isle. Nevertheless, the little community clung to it for three years. However, the conviction was forming in the mind of Winwaloe that the site was undesirable and that he would be forced to quit it.

Then, one day, occurred a striking incident.

Winwaloe, who was still young, was wont to sit on a stony height, with his young disciples round him, where he and they could be sheltered from the sea-winds, consequently with the East and South before him—the mainland rich with woods and pleasant pastures, and with here and there the blue smoke stealing up and then drifting away from some little farm.

And as he thought he looked, and saw that it was neap tide. Then on a sudden what had long been simmering in his mind took form, and broke into resolution. He started up, and bade his pupils follow him in chain, each holding the hand of another, and one with his right hand in his own. So Winwaloe, holding his staff in his right, and with the left conducting this living chain, descended to the beach, and led the way through the shallow water to the mainland.

In the Life this has been converted into a miracle, but the miraculous element is unnecessary here.[1]

Having reached the mainland, Winwaloe proceeded to select a suitable habitation, and chose a spot well sheltered, on which he reared what was afterwards the famous monastery of Landevennec, where the tortuous Aulne falls into the Brest harbour. "It is a mild and pleasant spot," says the biographer of Winwaloe, "where every year the first flowers open, and where the leaves are last to fall. A place sheltered from every wind save that from the East, a natural garden, enamelled with flowers of every hue."[2]

[1] *Vita* in *Cart. Land.*, p. 62.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 65–6.

The whole region is favoured. It now lives on the London market, supplying the earliest peas, cauliflowers, strawberries; and where those who are not gardeners are fishermen. But when Winwaloe settled in a pleasant nook, with his back to the rough west winds and his face to the rising sun, inhabitants were sparse. The original population, short, sallow, with beady eyes, and dark hair, kept aloof, suspicious, steeped in paganism, and shunning the invading Britons and Irish who enserfed them.

At Rumengol above the Faou creek they assembled at a red stone, if tradition may be trusted, to offer sacrifice of human blood. Fiacc of Sletty had already planted some Irish monks at Lanveoc and Ninidh at Lagona. But the colonists from the Emerald Isle were only occasional, and the colonies were not constantly replenished; whereas a tide strong, and showing no signs of slackening or ebbing, began to ripple over the land from Britain, to submerge the ancient population, and to absorb the Irish colonies.

Grallo was King of Cornugallia, a rough and cruel man with but a smattering of Christianity; but Winwaloe obtained great influence over him, and succeeded in somewhat softening his natural coarseness and savagery.

The country was covered with timber, and, where the bare downs rose above the foliage, they were thick strewn with the memorials of the prehistoric dead, gaunt tall stones, standing up as sentinels, singly or in rows or in circles, in which the dead had been burned, and the ancient people had met for their consultations.

Winwaloe and his young monks constructed their church of felled trees, and with the branches wattled their huts, and plastered them with the ooze from the river bed.

Grallo would have given Winwaloe land in many places, for land was not worth much in a country so thinly populated, and monkish colonies would do a great deal towards the civilization of the natives, and help to prevent them from combining against the immigrants. But the abbot declined the grants till Landevennec was thoroughly established, and his pupils properly disciplined. Eventually, when he had filled his monastery, and had many docile monks, chief among whom was the faithful and apostolic-minded Tudy, he gladly accepted grants and planted *lanns* in all directions. Later, long after his time, the monks forged a series of donations to entitle them to hold land wherever they liked.

We are not informed of S. Winwaloe having gone to Cornwall, but it is very probable that he did so, or that he sent disciples there to establish daughter monasteries, where recruits might be gathered for the

parent house. Indeed, so sparse was the population in Brittany, that he must necessarily have looked to Britain to supply him with disciples.

His biographer describes him as a man of moderate height, with a bright and smiling countenance. He was very patient and gentle in his dealings with men. He always wore a habit of goatskin. He would never sit down in church, but ever stand, kneel, or prostrate himself. He slept on birch-bark fibre, and ate girdle cakes baked in ashes, or dumplings with vegetables, and a little cheese or fish, but no meat, and his drink was cider. In Lent he took but two good meals in the week.[1]

He was so simple-minded that he was easily deceived. His disciple Rioc came to him one day with a long face to tell him that he had received tidings that his mother was dying—perhaps by this time dead—and to entreat leave of absence that he might visit her and close her eyes. Winwaloe at once gave the desired permission, and Rioc departed. After a suitable holiday Rioc returned, and Winwaloe sympathetically inquired after the old lady. Then Rioc informed him that when he had arrived at home she was already dead, but he had prayed, and invoked the merits of his dear master, and his mother had recovered. Winwaloe actually believed the story.[2]

Perhaps another tale told by Wurdistan shows us a further instance of his simplicity. One night, Tethgo, a monk who had his cell nearest to that of the abbot—and these cells were separate huts—heard a great hubbub in the abbot's wattled hut, and went to see what was the matter. He found Winwaloe, in the presence of a hideous being, praying, crossing himself, bidding it depart and not molest him; and the creature, after having prolonged the scene sufficiently, quietly withdrew. If this be not an invention of the biographer, it is an account of one of the more frolicsome young pupils dressing up like a devil to frighten his old master. If so, he certainly completely imposed on him.[3] Something of the same sort of thing occurs in the Life of S. Martin, but there it was the pagan natives who dressed themselves up like Duses or demons, and as heathen gods and goddesses, so as to terrify him. Mercury was a sharp, shrewd wag, and bothered the saint greatly, as he admitted to Sulpicius, but Jupiter was a "stupid sot." At midwinter it was a common practice for young people to disguise themselves and go a "mumming," and these practical jokes played on the saints, when in a state of spiritual exaltation, were easily transformed by the credulous into actual apparitions of evil spirits.

Wurdistan gives a pleasant picture of the monastery like a hive of

[1] *Vita* in *Cart. Land.*, pp. 73–4.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 84–5. Wurdistan, of course, tells the story as if the woman had actually been resuscitated.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 69–71.

bees, all engaged orderly in their several tasks, and all under the direction of the "king bee," who was the abbot.[1]

One day Winwaloe was visiting King Grallo, and he passed a number of boys at play. One of these, on seeing him, left his game, and ran to the abbot, knelt at his feet and begged to be admitted into his community. Winwaloe looked into his fresh face, blessed him, and bade him return to his companions and to his sports. But the lad would not be put off. When Winwaloe went on his way, he saw that the boy followed at a distance. He turned and said, "My son, go home. My way is long and arduous and rough."

"Then I will tread in your footprints," promptly answered the lad. As his parents raised no objection, Winwaloe took the young aspirant after monastic perfection with him to Landevennec, on his return from visiting Grallo.[2]

The boy's name was Wenael, or in its later form Gwenael, the son of British settlers called Romelius and Lætitia. He became one of the most attached disciples of Winwaloe, and remained with him for forty-three years, till the death of the abbot.

Winwaloe died on March 3, on Wednesday in the first week in Lent, after having celebrated the Holy Mysteries, and sung the Psalms of the Office, supported on right and left by two monks.[3]

The question of the date of the death of Winwaloe has been already discussed, under S. GWENAEL,[4] his successor, and 532 has been taken as the year in which he died.

We are not informed as to the age of Winwaloe when he passed from his labours to his reward. He is spoken of as "full of days."

We are further informed that he abandoned the eating of meat when aged twenty-one, and never again touched it.

That he spent some little time in Léon, on the estate or tribal land of his mother Gwen, near Ploudalmezeau, is not stated in the Life, but rests on local tradition, that points out the site of his cell and shows his holy well. Nor is it at all unlikely that he should go first of all to lands where his father and mother exercised jurisdiction and authority, and do what he was able there to further the spiritual welfare of the tribe in that part.

Rhiwal is said to have extended his rule over Domnonia in the reign of

[1] *Vita* in *Cart. Land.*, p. 66.
[2] *Vie de S. Guenael*, in Le Grand, from lections in the Breviaries of Quimper, Vannes, and Landevennec. Also a *Vita* in Menardus, in his Martyrology, 1629.
[3] "Sanctus ergo Wingualoeus, senex venerabilis . . . plenus dierum . . . quinto nonas Martias quarta feria in prima quadragesimæ hebdomada . . . obiit." *Vita* in *Cart. Land.*, pp. 101–2.
[4] iii, pp. 177–9.

Clothair, but he must have arrived with his fleet many years previous, and it would be only after some stay in the country that he was able to establish himself as prince over it. He is, moreover, spoken of as being in the neighbourhood of the Champ de Rouvre, and established there, as a man of some authority when Fracan and Gwen arrived.

If we assume that Winwaloe died at the age of 76, then the date of his birth was 457, and Rhiwal had settled in Domnonia some few years previously.

The approximate chronology of the Life of Winwaloe will be this :—

The saint was born on the arrival of his mother in Brittany . .	457
He was sent to Budoc to be trained at about the age of 10 . .	467
At the age of one and twenty he abjures the use of meat . .	478
Leaves Budoc at about the age of twenty-three for Léon . .	480
Remains at Lesguen for about four years, and moves to Tibidy .	484
Removes to Landevennec, visits Grallo, and obtains his consent .	487
Takes Gwenael as a disciple.	489
Winwaloe dies " full of days "	532

The saint was at first buried in his cell, or *locus penitentiæ*, but the body was transferred later, on April 28, to the church of the monastery. His relics were carried off when the monks of Landevennec fled from the Northmen in the tenth century, for the abbey was destroyed by them in 913 or 914.

When Mathuedoi, Count of Poher, fled to Athelstan, with a number of Bretons, the abbot and monks of Landevennec, or some of them, were with him, as appears from a charter in the Cartulary of that abbey.[1] Alan Barbetorte recalled them, about 937.

What became of the body of S. Winwaloe is uncertain. It is probable that it was conveyed to Château-du-Loire, in Maine, for he is there venerated as patron.

Winwaloe (in Breton and French Guénolé) has March 3 for his day in almost all the Brittany Calendars, but April 28 in the Quimper Breviary of 1835, the day of his translation, and November 3 in the Vannes Breviary of 1660. He is not entered in the Welsh Calendars.

In the eastern counties of England there is a couplet still current relating to the festivals at the beginning of March :—

> " First comes David, then comes Chad,
> Then comes Winwell (Winnol) as if he were mad."

Or " roaring mad." The reference is to the stormy weather (" Whinwall storms ") at this season of the year. There is a great fair on his

[1] *Cart. Land.*, p. 156.

day at Downham Market, and the saying in the district is, " There is always a tempest on Downham fair-day."

Winwaloe is patron of Wonastow, near Monmouth. The church is called in the *Book of Llan Dâv* [1] Lann Gunguarui, later Llanwarw, which embodies one of the many forms of the saint's name. The extinct chapels of Llandevenny, near Magor, and Llanwynny, also in Monmouthshire, are said to have been dedicated to him.[2]

In Devon he is patron of Portlemouth. Bishop Brantyngham, in his Register, October 18, 1372, gives, " Ecclesia Sancti Wonewalai de Portlemouth." In the Inquisition, " Sancti Wynwolay." The saint is represented on the very fine screen.

In Cornwall, dedications to S. Winwaloe are : The Parish Church of Landewednack (Bronescombe's Register, 1279 ; Grandisson's, 1310, 1314). The Chapel of Gunwalloe. Here is his Holy Well, which, being on the beach and within reach of high tides, has become choked with sand. It was customary to clear it out previous to the Feast. The Parish Church of Tremaine. The Church of Towednack. The Church of Tresmere. A chapel at Cradock in S. Cleer (Stafford's Register, 1417).

There was once a church dedicated to him at Norwich, situated near S. Catherine's Plain, and also a priory at Wareham, near Stoke Ferry in Norfolk, founded towards the end of the twelfth century. Wenlock in Salop, is most probably not dedicated to him.

The Feast at Landewednack is on June 20, but the celebration begins on the nearest Sunday to that date. The Feast at Gunwalloe is on the last Sunday in April, in reference to the day of his translation. The Feast at Towednack is on April 28. The reason for transfer from March 3 to the end of April is to avoid keeping the feast in Lent. His feast was observed in the Isle of Tibidy anciently on the first Sunday in June.[3]

In Brittany he is patron, not only of Landevennec, but also of Concarneau, Loquénolé or Locunolé, and the Ile de Seine, and of Le Croisic and Batz, in Loire Inférieure.

[1] P. 201 ; on p. 320, Wonewarestow. On the name see what has been said, iii, p. 164. The *Taxatio* of 1254 gives for it " Eccl. Sancti Wengel," and " Vicar de Sancto Wingelo." The original form of the saint's name occurs in *Cart. Land.*, p. 103, as Guingualoeus, which is the Welsh Gunguarui, with one lingual substituted for the other. A cleric named Guingual appears in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 169. The familiar form To-win-oc or To-guen-oc is that found in Lan-devennec and Lan-dewednack. In modern Welsh this would be Tywynog, and is found in the Lann Tiuinauc of the *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 275, believed by Mr. Phillimore to be Gannerew, near Monmouth (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, p. 301), which bears the Welsh form of his original name.

[2] *Cambro-British Saints*. p. 606.

[3] *Cart. Land.*, p. 173.

The Church of Loquénolé, near Morlaix, is a very rude and early architectural monument, containing some of the oldest early Norman work in Brittany. The number of chapels in which Guénolé is honoured is very great.

He is invoked in the early Litanies (tenth century) published by Mabillon and Warren, in that of S. Vougai, and in the eleventh century Litany published by D'Arbois de Jubainville.[1]

He is represented at Plougastel as an old man in monastic habit and hood, with a staff in one hand, an open book in the other. This is a statue of the sixteenth century. A better and earlier statue is in the Château of Kernuz, near Pont l'Abbé.

S. WULVELLA, Virgin, Abbess

ONE of the sisters of S. Sativola or Sidwell, and of S. Jutwara or Aude.

If the Sativola of Exeter be the Sicofolia of the Life of S. Paul of Léon, then she was also his sister.

She is the patron of Gulval, in Cornwall, on Mount's Bay, which Bishop Grandisson's Register gives as "Ecclesia Stæ Welvelæ de Lanystly," 1328, and in the same year as "Vicaria Sanctæ Welvelæ de Lanistly." In Bishop Stafford's Register, 1413, "Ecclesia Parochialis Sanctæ Gulvelæ *alias* Wolvelæ de Lanestly."

The Will of William Bachyler, September 14, 1410, contains a bequest to the Church "Sanctæ Golvelæ."[2] Ecton, in his *Thesaurus Rerum Eccl.*, calls Laneast the church of S. Gulwell. But Laneast is dedicated to the two sisters S. Sativola and S. Gulvella.

Gulval has been supposed by some to be dedicated to S. Gudwal, Bishop, but this is inadmissible in face of the notices in the Episcopal Registers. The Church of S. Paul, brother of S. Wulvella, if we allow the relationship, is separated from Gulval only by a portion of Madron parish.

In the Life of S. Paul we are told that he went to visit his sister, at the extremity of Britain on the coast, and that he remained there as her guest till his vessel was ready to carry him over to Armorica.[3] Whilst

[1] *Revue Celtique*, xi (1890), p. 136.
[2] Bishop Stafford's Register, ed. H. Randolph, p. 396.
[3] "Tandem suæ germanæ sororis in eodem opere nomine descriptæ, quæ in illius patriæ extremis finibus, id est, in littore maris Britannici degebat, domum



S. WINWALOE (GUÉNOLÉ).
From statue at Kernuz, Pont l'Abbé.

with her she complained to him of the encroachment of the sea, and he banked it out for her.[1] At Gulval was her community of religious women; they would need clerics near them to minister to them in holy things; and we may suppose that Paul made his foundation hard by for this purpose, and left some of his disciples there, but for good reasons did not put his community of young men too near to the house for women.

Bosuval, a farm in the parish, was probably, judging from the name, Wulvella's original settlement (Both-Wulvell).

As already intimated, Wulvella is also patroness of Laneast, along with her sister Sativola. In a window at Laneast she is represented, in fifteenth century glass, as an aged abbess, crowned, and with staff and veil.

Gulval Holy Well was at one time greatly resorted to.[2] There is also a Holy Well at Laneast in good condition. Likewise there are a Holy Well and Cross of S. Gulval at Ashburton, on the confines of the parish of Staverton, the church of which is dedicated to S. Paul, now supposed to be the Apostle, possibly formerly of Paul of Léon. Ashburton Fair is on the Tuesday or Thursday nearest to November 12, which is the day of S. Gulval's feast at Gulval on Mount's Bay, now observed on the Sunday nearest to that day.

The day of S. Gudwal, Bishop, is on June 6.

Wulvella is apparently the female saint on the Berry-Pomeroy screen, represented as holding a lantern, having been confounded with S. Gudula; and at Kenn, beside her sister Sidwell; and also at Wolborough, where she occurs, as a crowned abbess, along with her sister; and at Torbryan.

S. YNYR GWENT, Prince, Confessor

Ynyr is usually given as the son of Dyfnwal Hên, and great-grandson of Maxen Wledig and Elen.[3] He was Prince of Gwent, and his seat of

prospero cursu pervenit. Ibique cum eadem jam tunc temporis sacrosancta virgine Deo dicata, quousque omnia quæ ad usum navigandi necessaria esse videbantur, præparata fuerant, hospes honorabilis hospitatus est." *Vita S. Pauli*, ed. Plaine, *Analecta Boll.*, i (1882). The only sister named before was Sicofolia; so we must suppose that she was with Wulvella there at the time.

[1] *Supra*, p. 78.

[2] Lysons' *Cornwall*, p. ccii; Gilbert's *History of Cornwall*, iii, p. 121.

[3] His descent is not given in the usual saintly pedigrees. According to the Life

principality was at Caerwent. His wife was Madrun, daughter of Gwrthefyr Fendigaid, and grand-daughter of the infamous Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu, or Vortigern. By her he had three sons and a daughter.[1] The sons were Iddon, Ceidio, and Cynheiddon, and the daughter Tegiwg, all counted as saints. He was succeeded by Iddon.

He is mentioned in the Life of S. Beuno. That saint was sent by his parents to be instructed by Tangusius, or Tangwn, who succeeded Tathan as abbot at Caerwent. He was well received by the good king Ynyr, who "gave him a gold ring and a crown; also he became a disciple and monk to S. Beuno, and gave him three estates in Euas"[2] (Ewyas). Thereon Beuno founded Llanveyno.

Ynyr is said to have founded the churches of Abergavenny and Machen,[3] in Monmouthshire, but neither of them is to-day dedicated to him.

Very little is known of him by Welsh historians. But he may possibly be the Enéour who was a founder on a large scale in Léon, in Brittany.[4] If our supposition be correct, he there founded three *plous*, which reveals the fact that he must have passed the seas at the head of a large body of British emigrants. It is more probable that this took place on the occasion of the breaking out of the Yellow Plague, in 547, than that he should have fled so late as 577, when came the Saxon invasion of the basin of the Severn. His three *plous* are Plounéour-Trez, or the *plebs* of Ynyr on the Shore, Plounéour-Menez, his *plebs* on the Mountain, and Plounéour Lanvern, his *plebs* near his *Lan* in the Alder-grove, where the civil settlement was beside the ecclesiastical colony.

It is traditionally held in Brittany that his sister, who is called Ste Thuméte, accompanied him. In the tenth or early eleventh century Litany in the Missal of S. Vougai, he is invoked as Eneure.[5] In the *Cartulary of Landevennec* Plounéour is called Plueu Eneuur.[6] In the twelfth century Life of S. Goulven it is "parochia Enemori."[7]

of S. Tathan his father was Caradog, King of Gwent; see Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, p. 285. The name Ynyr, in Breton Ener, is derived from the Latin Honorius. A S. Ynyr is entered in the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 141, as a son of Seithenin, but he is clearly confounded with Cynyr of Caer Gawch, S. David's grandfather, whose name continually occurs in late documents as Gynyr and Ynyr.

[1] It would appear that he had another daughter, Morfydd, who became the wife of King Gwaithfoed (Dr. J. G. Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, ii, pp. 350, 352).

[2] *Llyvyr Agkyr Ll.*, pp. 119–20.

[3] *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 148, 221. According to the Life of S. Tathan it was Caradog that founded the college at Caerwent, and not Ynyr; see *supra*, pp. 212–3.

[4] Stéphan, *l'Eglise de Plounéour-Trez*, Landerneau, 1903, pp. 9, 94.

[5] *Revue Celtique*, xi (1890), p. 136.

[6] *Cart. Land.*, ed. De la Borderie, p. 167.

[7] *Saint Goulwen*, by De la Borderie, Rennes, 1892, p. 223.

There is no certainty that Enéour is Ynyr Gwent, but there are certain reasons that lead to the supposition that they are the same. That he was a man of very considerable importance cannot be doubted when he was able to found three *plebes* with those he brought over with him; and he came to Léon, which was colonized from Gwent.

That he was one of those who accompanied Paul of Léon is hardly possible. Ynyr, Prince of Gwent, was a man of too much importance to have remained unnoticed among the disciples of Paul, of whom the biographer records the names of fourteen. It is far more probable that he headed an independent migration at the time of the Yellow Plague, when, as we know from the Life of S. Teilo, there was a rush out of South Wales across the sea to Brittany.

Ynyr, if the identification be allowed, landed on the broad sandy *traeth* of Plounéour, where stands now the huge menhir of Pontusval, standing over 30 feet high, now surmounted by a cross. Thence he moved to Guerlesquin, where he was regarded as patron and called S. Iner, or Saint Tiner.[1] He has, however, been displaced to make way for S. Tenenan, but his statue remains in the church.

His second *plou* was on the Monts d'Arrez, Plounéour-Menez, where also he has been thrust from being patron to be supplanted by a saint of whom more is known, and who figures in the Roman Martyrology.

His third *plou* was that near his ecclesiastical settlement of Lanvern. This is in a different part of the country, in Cornouaille, and not far from Pont l'Abbé, in the Bigauden district. His reputed sister Thuméte is venerated at Kerity Penmarch near by. In the same neighbourhood is Ploneis, of which Church S. Enéour was also patron. At Plounéour-Trez is his Holy Well in the garden of the presbytère. He is represented by a statue in the church as a hermit, and is there called by the inhabitants Guyneour. But at Plounéour-Menez is a statue of him habited as a mitred abbot with pastoral staff. The patronage of Plounéour-Trez has been transferred to S. Peter. The church has been rebuilt, in passably respectable flamboyant, and the windows have been fitted with modern French glass of the usual tawdry style, representing various epochs in the ecclesiastical history of Brittany.

In the peninsula of Gower, and in the Deanery of West Gower, is a benefice which is officially described as "Llanrhidian with Llanyrnewydd (or Penclawdd)." The chapelry, given under this curiously

[1] Joanne, *Géographie du Finistère*. "S. Enéour, émigré breton, venu du pays de Gwent ou de la Cambrie, vers la fin du v^e^ siècle ou le commencement du vi^e^," etc. Stéphan, *l'Eglise de Plounéour-Trez*, 1903, p. 9.

corrupted form Llanyrnewydd, occurs in the list of parishes in *Peniarth MS.* 147 (*c.* 1566) as Llanininewyr, on Speed's map (1610) as Llannyenwere, and in Browne Willis's *Parochiale Anglicanum* (1733)[1] as Llangweynowr. Willis gives the dedication of the chapel to S. Gweynowr, with festival on November 10; but no saint of that name is commemorated in the Welsh Calendars. The initial letter of Willis's spelling we owe to his imagination, and there can hardly be a doubt that the saint implied is Enéour.

Enéour's name does not occur in any of the ancient Breton Calendars, but the *fête* is celebrated at Plounéour on the first Sunday in May, and the second of September. Garaby has inserted S. Enéour on May 4, and calls him Enémour. He has been followed by De la Borderie, Kerviler, and Gautier du Mottay; but Garaby does not seem to have had any authority for May 4; he placed the feast on that day solely because the Pardon at Plounéour-Trez was kept on the first Sunday in May.

The Thuméte regarded as sister of Enéour may possibly be Tegiwg, the daughter, actually, of Ynyr. As it did not comport with what was thought in later ages correct, that the hermit or abbot should have a daughter, she was made out to be his sister.

The name, under the form Eneuiri, is perhaps found on an inscribed stone now in the chapel at Goodrich Court, Herefordshire.[2]

S. YLCHED

YLCHED or Ulched is regarded as the patron saint of the parish of Llechylched, "Ylched's Stone," in Anglesey, but the Welsh genealogies have nothing to say of a saint of the name. Whether a male or female we do not know.

The calendar in the Grammar of John Edwards of Chirk, 1481, gives May 9 as "Gwyl Ylchett," but Browne Willis and others[3] give January 6.

[1] P. 191. [2] Rhys, *Welsh Philology*, p. 401.
[3] *Bangor*, 1721, p. 279; N. Owen, *Hist. of Anglesey*, 1775, p. 56; Angharad Llwyd, *Hist. of Anglesey*, 1833, p. 303. For the parish-name compare that of Llechgynfarwy, also in Anglesey, the Lech-names indexed in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 409, etc.

S. YSGWN, Confessor

YSGWN was the son of Cystennin Gorneu,[1] and the brother of Digain and Erbin. In another document,[2] under the form Ysgin, he is made to have been son of Erbin ab Cystennin Gorneu, and so brother of Geraint.

Another Ysgwn is once enumerated among the Saints,[3] the son of Llywarch Hên and father of S. Buan. In the copies of the old *Bonedd y Saint* in *Peniarth MSS.* 16 and 45, however, he is not entered as a saint, only as the father of S. Buan.

S. YSTINAN, see S. JUSTINIAN

S. YSTYFFAN, Confessor

YSTYFFAN, or Styphan, i.e. Stephen, was the son of Mawan or Mawn ab Cyngen ab Cadell Ddyrnllug, prince of Powys.[4] In late documents he is often given the epithet "Teilo's Bard," which owes its origin to a misreading.[5]

Ystyffan is the patron of Llanstephan, in Carmarthenshire, and Llanstephan, in Radnorshire, both of which have parishes adjoining them with S. Teilo as patron, viz. Llandilo Abercowin and Llandilo Graban, testifying to the close friendship that is traditionally believed to have existed between these two saints. Ffynnon Styffan, his holy well, is near the church in the village of the Carmarthenshire parish under his invocation. It is walled over, and has always a plentiful supply of good water, to which tradition ascribes healing properties.

He is probably the Ystyffan intended by the second of the eight "Bishops of Glamorgan *alias* Kenffig," or Margam, in a catalogue given by Iolo Morganwg,[6] but which is unauthenticated.

Ystyffan is credited with having composed the stanzas entitled "Englynion Cain Cynnwyre";[7] but the authorship is impossible.

[1] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 137. [2] *Myv. Arch.*, p. 431.
[3] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 128. His name is occasionally spelt Ysgwyn, as in *Peniarth MS.* 12, and *Myv. Arch.*, p. 418.
[4] *Peniarth MSS.* 16, 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Cardiff MS.* 27 (p .117); *Myv. Arch.*, p. 430; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 105, 130. The proto-martyr is usually called in Mediæval Welsh Ystyphan Ferthyr.
[5] See *supra*, p. 242. [6] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 361; *Liber Landavensis*, p. 625.
[7] *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 835–6. Another poem, on p. 758, of a proverbial character, is doubtfully ascribed to him.

The poem is of an adagial or moral character, and consists of thirty triplets, each commencing with the catch-words "Cain cynnwyre" ("Beauteous early-rising"), which, however, have nothing to do with what follows so far as the subject matter is concerned. They are of the same type as the "Eiry Mynydd" and "Gorwynion" stanzas.

One of the "Sayings of the Wise" triplets runs [1]:—

Hast thou heard the saying of Ystyffan,
Teilo's bard, of quick answer?
"Man desires, God confers"
(Dyn a chwennych, Duw a ran).

One of the seven questions said to have been proposed by Catwg the Wise to seven wise men of his college at Llanfeithin, or Llancarfan, was the following to Ystyffan—"What is the greatest folly in man?" to which he replied, "To wish evil to another without the power of inflicting it." [2] But the text is quite late.

[1] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 252. [2] *Myv. Arch.*, p. 776.

APPENDIX

GENEALOGIES OF THE WELSH SAINTS

A. BONHED Y SEINT

From *Peniarth MS.* 16 (early thirteenth century), fo. 53.

Dewi . m . ſant . m . kedic . m . keredic . m . cuneda wledic . o nonn verch kenẏr o gaer gawch ẏ mẏnẏw ẏ mam.

Docuael . m . ithael . m . keredic . m . kuneda wledic.

Tẏſſul . m . co2un . m . ke . m . ku . wledic.

Pedẏr . m . co2un . m . ke . m . ku . wledic.

Teilẏaw . m . enſych . m . hẏdwn . m . ke . m . ku . wledic.

Auan buellt . m . kedic . m . ke . m . kune . wledic. A thecued verch tegit voel o benllẏn ẏ mam.

Gwinlleu . m . kẏngar . m . garthaȝc . m . ke . m . ku . wledic.

Kẏnuelyn . m . bleidud . m . meirẏaȝn . m . tibẏaȝn . m . ku . wledic.

Einnẏaȝn vrenhin ẏn lleẏn. A ſeirẏoel ym pēnmon. A meirẏaȝn ẏnẏ cantref.

Edern . m . beli . m . Run . m . maelgwn . m . catwallawn llaȝhir . m . Einẏaȝn ẏrth . m . cuneda wledic.

Catwaladẏr vendigeit . m . ẏago . m . beli . m . bel run . m . maelgwn . m . catwallawn llaȝhir . m . einẏaȝn ẏrth . m . cu . wledic.

Deinẏoel . m . dunaȝt . vwrr . m . pabo . poſt . p2ẏdein. A dwywei verch leennaȝc ẏ vam.[1]

Aſſa . m . ſawẏl bēnuchel . m . pabo poſt p2ẏdein. A gȝennaſſeth verch riein . o rieinwc ẏ mam.

Kẏndeẏrn garthwẏſ . m . ewein . m . vrẏen. A denw verch llu lewdwn lluẏd o dinaſ eidẏn ẏnẏ gogled y vam.

Go2wſt . m . gȝeith hengaer . m . elfin . m . vrẏen. Ac euronwy verch klẏdno eidẏn y vam.

Cadell . m . vryen.

Buan . m . ẏſgw[n] . m . llẏwarch hen.

lleudat ẏn enlli. A baglat ẏg coet alun ac eleri ym pennant gwẏtherin ẏn rẏwẏnnẏaȝc. A thegwẏ A thẏuriaȝc. ẏg keredigẏaȝn iſ coet . meibẏon dẏngat

[1] The mothers of Deinioel and Assa are transposed in the original, but rectified in a later hand, and so printed here.

. m . nud hael . m . ſenẏllt . m . kedic . m . dẏuẏnẏeual hen . m . ẏdnẏuet . m . maxen wledic. A thenoi verch lewdwn lluẏdaȣc o dinas eidẏn ẏnẏ gogled eu mam.

Catuan ſant ẏn enlli . m . eneaſ ledewic olydaȣ. A gȣēn teir b2on merch emẏr llẏdaȣ ẏ vam.

Henwẏn . m . gȣẏndaſ hen o lydaȣ . periglaȣr catuan. Ar ſeint a vu ẏn enlli ẏn vn oeſ ac wẏnt.

Kẏnan a dochdwẏ. A mael a ſulẏen. A thanwc. Ac eithraſ. A llyvab. A thegwẏn. A doethant ẏ gẏt achatuan ẏr enẏſ hon.

Padarn . m . petrwn . m . emhẏr llydaȣ keuēd'w ẏ catuan.

Tẏdecho . m . annvn du . m . emẏr llẏdaȣ keuend'w ẏ catuan.

Trunẏaȣ . m . dẏvwng . m . emhẏr llẏdaȣ keuend'w ẏ gatuan.

maelrẏs . m . gwẏdno . m . emhẏr llẏdaȣ keuend'w ẏ gatuan.

Tẏgei ẏ maeſ llan glaſſaȣc. A therillo ẏn dineirth ẏn roſ. meibẏon . ithael hael o lẏdaȣ. A llechit ẏn arllechwed chȣaer udunt.

Kẏbẏ . m . ſelẏf . m . Gereint . m . erbin . m . cuſtennẏn go2neu . m .

Yeſtin . m . Gereint . m . erbin . m . cuſtennẏn go2neu.

Pad2ic . m . Alurẏt . m . Go2onwẏ . o waredaȣc yn arvon.

Catuarch ſant ẏn aberech ẏn lleẏn. A thangwn ẏn llangoet ẏmon. A maethlu ẏg carnedaȣı ẏ mon . meibẏon caradaȣc vreichuraſ . m . llẏr marini.

Beuno . m . hengi . m . gwẏnlliw . m . gliwiſ . m . tegit . m . cadell. A pherferen verch lewdwn lluẏdaȣc ẏnẏ gogled ẏ vam.

Kemmeu ſant . m . gȣẏnlliw . m . gliwiſ . m . tegit . m . cadell.

Cadwc ſant . m . gwẏnlliw . m . gliwiſ . m . tegit . m . cadell . o lann gadwc ẏg went.

Tẏſilẏaȣ . m . b2ochuael yſgithraȣc . m . kyngen . m . cadell . dẏrnlluc. Ac ardun verch pabo poſt p2ẏdein ẏ vam.

llẏwelẏn o2 trallȣ̄g . m . tegonwẏ . m . teon . m . gȣineu deu vreudwẏt .

gȣrnerth ſant . m . llẏwelẏn . o2 trallwng.

Melhaẏarn ẏg kegitua ẏm powẏſ . allwchaẏarn ẏg ketewẏng. A chynhaẏarn ẏn eidonẏd . meibẏon hẏgaruael . m . kẏnd2wẏn o lẏſtin wẏnnan ẏg kereinẏaȣn.

Gwẏthvarch ẏ meiuot . m . amalaruſ tẏwẏſſaȣc ẏ pwẏl.

Stẏphan . m . . mawan . m . kẏngen . m . cadell . dẏrnlluc.

Ped2aȣc . m . clem̄ſ tẏwẏſſaȣc o gernẏw.

Tutclẏt. A Gwẏnnoedẏl. A merin. A thudno . ẏg kẏngredaȣdẏr. A ſennenẏr meibẏon ſeithennin vrenhin o vaeſ gwẏdno. A o2eſgẏnnwẏſ mo2 eutir.

Periſ ſant cardinal o Ruein.

Bodo a Gwẏmin. A b2othen ſant . meibẏon Glannaȣc . m . helic voel . odẏno helic . gȣẏr heuẏt a o2eſgẏnnwẏſ mo2 eu tir.

Tẏvrẏdaȣc ẏmon. A dẏeuer ẏ motẏuarru ẏn tegeingẏl. A theẏrnaȣc ẏn dẏffrẏn clwẏt. A thudẏr ẏn dar ewein . ẏg keueilẏaȣc b2odẏr oedẏnt . meibẏon hawẏſtẏl gloff. A marchell eu chȣaer. A thywanȣed verch amlawt wledic eu mam.

keidaȣ . m . enẏr gȣent . mad-2un merch wertheuẏr vrenhin ‖ *end.*

B. BONHED SEINT KYMRY

From *Peniarth MS.* 45 (late thirteenth century), p. 286.

Dewi mab ſant . mab kedic . m . keredic . m . cuneda wledic. A non uerch kynyr o caer gaȣch yuam.

Dochuael . m . ithael . m . keredic . m . cuneda wledic.

Teilaȣ . m . euſſyllt . m . hidȣn dȣn . m . keredic . m . cuneda wledic.

Auan buellt . m . keredic . m . cuneda wledic. A thecued uerch tegit uoel o pĕllyn yuam.

Gwynlleu . m . kyngar . m . garthaȣc . m . keredic . m . cuneda wledic.

Kynuelyn . m . bleidud . m . meiraȣn . m . tybiaȣn . m . cuneda wledic.

Einaȣn urenhin yn lleyn. A ſeiryol ym pĕn mon. Ameiryaȣn yny cantref . meibon ywein danwyn . m . einaȣn yrth . m . cuneda wledic.

Edern . m . beli . m . run . m . maelgȣn . m . catwallaȣn llaȣhir . m . einaȣn yrth . m . cuneda wledic.

Catwaladyr uendigeit . m . catuan . m . Iago . m . beli . m . run . m . maelgȣn . m . catwall' . llaȣhir . m . einaȣn yrth . m . cuneda wledic.

Deinyol . m . dunaȣt uȣrr . m . pabo poſt prydein. Adȣywei uerch leennaȣc yuam.

Aſſa . m . ſawyl pĕn uchel . m . pabo poſt prydein . Agwenſſaeth uerch rein . orieinȣc yuam.

kyndeyrn garthwys . m . ywein . m . vryen. Adenyȣ uerch leȣdȣn luydaȣc Odinaſ eidyn yny gogled y uam.

Go2uſt . m . gweith hengaer . m . uryen. Ac euronȣy uerch clydno eidyn y uam.

Cadell . m . vryen.

Buan . m . yſgȣn . m . llywarch hen.

lleudaf yn enlli. Abaglaȣ yg coet alun. Ac eleri ym pennant. Athegȣy. Atheuriaȣc yg kredigyaȣn is coet . meibon dingat . m . nud hael . m . fenyllt . m . kedic . m . dyuuynwal hen . m . idnyfet . m . maxen wledic. Athenoi uerch leȣdȣn luydaȣc odinaſ eidyn yny gogled yuam.

Catuan ſant yn enlli . m . eneaſ ledewic olydaȣ Agwĕn teir b2on uerch emyr llydaȣ yuam.

Henwyn . m . gwyndaf hen olydaȣ periglaȣ2 catuan.

Ar ſeint auu yn enlli yn un oes ac wynt kynan adochwy. Amael.

Aſulyen. A thanȣc. Ac ethriaſ. Allywen. Allyuab adoethant gyt Achatuan yr ynyſ hon.

Padern .m. petrȣn .m. emyr llydaȣ keuynderȣ y catuan.

Tedecho .m. annun du .m. emyr llydaȣ. keuynderȣ y catuan.

Trunyaȣ .m. diȣng .m. emyr llydaȣ. keuynderȣ y catuan.

maeleris .m. gȣydno .m. emyr llydaȣ. keuynderȣ y catuan.

Tegei glaſſaȣc y maeſ llan. Atherillo yn ro .meibyon ithael olydaȣ. Allechit yn arllechwed chwaer udunt.

Kybi .m. ſelyf .m. gereint .m. erbin .m. cuſtenin cc2neu.

Padric .m. aluryt .m. gc2cnȣy owaredaȣc yn aruon.

Catuarch ſant yn aberech yn lleyn. Athangȣn yn llan goet ym mon. Amaethlu yg carnedaȣ2 ym mcn. meibon caradaȣc ureichuras .m. llyr marini.

Cadȣc ſant .m. gwynlliȣ .m. gliȣys .m. tegit .m. cadell. olan cadȣc yg gwent.

Teſſilyaȣ .m. b2ochuael yſgithraȣc .m. kyngen .m. cadell dyrnllȣch. O ardun uerch pabo poſt p2ydein y uam.

llywelyn o2 trallȣng .m. tegonȣy .m. teon .m. gwineu deu ureudȣyt.

Gȣ2nerth ſant .m. llywelyn o2 trallȣng.

Elhayarn yg kegitua ym powys. A llȣchhayarn yg kedewein. Achynhayarn yn eidonyd. meibon hygaruael .m. kyndrȣyn olyſtinwynnan yg. kereinaȣn.

Gȣyduarch ym meiuot. malarus tywyſſaȣc y pȣyl.

Styphan .m. mawan .m. kyngen .m. cadell dyrnllȣch.

Tutclyt agynodyl. A meirin. Athutno. A ſeneuyr meibon ſeitheninn urenhĩ o uaef gȣydno ao2eſgyn⁹ mo2 eu tir.

Tyurydaȣc ymon. Ateyrnaȣc yn dyffryn clȣyt. Athudur yn darywein yg keueilaȣc b2odyr oedynt. meibon awyſtyl gloff. A marcell eu chwaer. athywanwed merch amlaȣt wledic eu mam.

Keidaȣ .m. ynyr gwent a madrun merch wertheuyr uendigeit y uam.

Elen keinyat .m. alltu redegaȣc .m. cardudwys .m. kyngu .m. yſpȣys .m. catdraȣt calchuynyd. athecnaȣ uerch teȣdȣ2 maȣ2 y uam.

Elaeth uren'. m. meuruc .m. idno. Ac Omen grec uerch wallaȣc .m. lleennaȣc y uam.

Dyunaȣc ſant .m. medraȣt .m. caȣ2daf .m. caradaȣc ureichuraſ.

Nidan y mon .m. . . gȣ2uyȣ .m. paſken .m. uryen.

Eurgein uerch uaelgȣn gȣyned .m. catwallaȣn llawir .m. einaȣn yrth .m. cuneda wledic.

Llonyaȣ llaȣhir .m. alan fyrgan .m. emyr llydaȣ.

Gwynyaȣc. Anoethon meibon gildaſ .m. caȣ.

Gȣ2hei .m. caȣ openyſtryweit yn arȣyſtli.

Garmon .m. ridicus. Ac yn oeſ gȣrtheyrn gȣrtheneu y doeth yr ynyſ hon. Ac O ffreinc pan hanoed.

Dona y mon .m. ſelyf .m. kynan garwyn .m. b2ochuael yſgithraȣc .m. kyngen .m. cadell dyrnllȣch .m. brutus .m. ruduedel urych.

eurdeyrn .m. gȣrtheyrn gȣrtheneu. . . .

Peblic ſant yny caer yn aruon .m. maxen wledic amheraȣdyr ruuein. Ac helen uerch eudaf y uam.

yma y teruyna bonhed ſeint kymry.

S. ASAPH

The prologue to the imperfect Life in the *Red Book of S. Asaph*, in the Episcopal Library, p. 42.

VITA SANCTI ASSAPH.

Gloriosissimi Confessoris et Pontificis Assaph paṫni nr̄ī vitam p̄ loca diversa, monast⁹ia Cathedrales et Baptismales Eccās diligenti affeccoe quæsivi. Cū igitur Assaveñ Ecca p̄ beatū Kentigernū sit fundata ædificata et solempnit⁹ consecrata admiratione dignū quare non Kentigernens: sed Assavens: p̄fata intitulatur Ecca, hinc est q^d de p̄d sedis fundacoe et fundatoris munificentiâ fabricacois et consecracois honorificentiâ quæ in vitâ ꝺ̄i Kentigerni stilo traduntur latiori in p̄sensti opusculo dictamine comp̄hendunt⁹ breviori. Demū de Eleccoe et Creacoe St^i Assaph, comp̄macoe et consecracoe et conversacois ip̄ius dulcedine de corpis uniformitate viribus et decore, cordis virtutibus ac sanctitate, ac miraculor̄ illustracoe ad populi devocoem et aliqualem Cleri instructionem, familiaris affeccois aliqua licet pauca intendo p̄are. Cū dictator se ad loquendum p̄parat sub quantæ cautelæ studio loquatur attendat ne si obscurè ad loquendū rapitur erroris vuln⁹e audientium corda feriant⁹, et cum fortasse sapientē se videri desiderat, virtutis compaginem insipient⁹ absidat [abscindat], sæpe etenim dictatoris virtus amittitur cum ap^d audientiū corda obscuritas quærat⁹. Qui enī ea dictant quæ audientium corda intelligere nequeant, non auditor̄ utilitatem sed sui ostentationē faciunt. Hoc igit⁹ opusculū ex uno libro Latino et diu⁹sis codicib⁹ nro vulgari conscriptis Storiographor̄ Wallensiū narracoibꝫ simplici dictamine tanquā penes poplm duxi compaginand moderacois sicut penes temperiem, ut simplicioribus sit appetibile, nec aliis nimis inutile vl contemptibile ħeat⁹.

S. BEUNO.

There are two distinct lists of the persons whom Beuno is said to have raised from the dead. One gives seven, and the other six.

(1) *Harleian MS.* 3,325 (sixteenth century), fo. 145*b*; apparently the older version.

Llyma henwav y sevthnyn/A gyfododd bevno o veirw yn/tyw nid amgen/Gwenvrewy Ael hayarn/Tegiwg/y glas/Dyngad vardd/ Dinial a voddes/Llorkan wyddel.

(2) *Additional MS.* 31,055 (1594–6), fo. 21*b*. (Also in *Peniarth MS.* 75, sixteenth century, fo. 21.)

Llyma henwae y rhai a gyfodes Bevno o veirw yn vyw/llorcan wyddel / Aelhayarn / Deinioel vab. Deinioel varch dv o Bowys / Gwenvrewy/a Thegiwc vz ynyr Gwent.

a vynno help i vyw n hir
i berechwon [1] ve bwrir
gorav nawdddir ar dir da
llenn ag ardal llann Gawrda
gorav or holl gaürav yr hawg
yw kaer wydr mab karadawg
düw a roddes dir yddaw
Daniel aü [2] wyr dan i law
mae jesu yny kymisiwn
mae gair y tair Mair at hwnn
llyna blwyf llawen i blaid
lle brainiol llv barwniaid
Gythyn [3] ny wna n erbyn neb
tir kawrda twr kywirdeb
teg yw anreg ty y gwr
wrth ddangos wrthav vngwr
bwrw a wnaf ir ffyrfaven
bwrw arch air ir [4] borch wenn
troi enaid vn ir trwn [5] da
twr y deml i troid yma
llawen yw nef wenn i vod
awdür [6] vndüw ar drindod
llwyddodd a vynnodd y vo
llwyddiant ir tenant dano
lle da byth rag llid a bar
llaw ddüw dros i holl ddaear
Howel ap Rainallt
ai kant [*Flor. c.* 1460–90].

S. CAWRDAF

CYWYDD CAWRDA SANT

From *Llyvyr Hir Llywarch Reynolds* (early seventeenth century), p. 112[1]; collated in the more important readings with *Llanstephan MS.* 47 (*c.* 1630), p. 303.

Mab a roed mwya brawdwr
i Degav gynt ag yw gwr
korff hir kywir offeren
kawrda kyff karadog hen
ny wnaeth hwnn anoethineb
wyr Einon vrth orn i neb
awdür kynheddfaledig [2]
hyd y nef vry a düw n vrig
penn raith ag or [3] saithwyr
pennaf or saint pan vo r [4] syrr
glan i roed golaini r hain
glaw a thravael gwlith ryvain
dwr a ddaüth dros diroedd ar
dyddiav gweddiav daear
y dailwng broffwydoliaeth
or dwfr oer ar Gawrda vaeth [5]
tri chrair a wnair ar i nod
a thri henw athro hynod
kawrda penn gorseddfa r saint
kadfarch a chynfarch unfaint
gwilia i ddelw a goelian
gwiliwch i lyfr ai gloch lan
gwelwch bawb och amgeledd
a chwyr byth ewch ar y bedd
mae mann i gamv mwnai
i bawb ar hwnn i bob rai
gwelais hydd mewn glwysydd hir
maen mawrda y min mordir
gwelwch y vronn yny [6] gylch vry
ywch [7] grwndwal ef ach [8] gwrendy
pob kymro a glywo r gloch
o ddavty a ddaw atoch

[1] We are indebted to Mr. Llywarch Reynolds for a transcript of this poem.
[2] Kynedd fawl edig. [3] ar (*for* ac) vn. [4] vy'r.
[5] Gawrdaf aeth. [6] vro ny. [7] ynych. [8] woch (*for* ef ach).

S. COLLEN

BUCHEDD COLLEN

From *Hafod MS.* 19 (1536), p. 141.

Llyma ystoria kollen ai vvchedd kollen ap gwynoc ap kydeboc ap Kowrda ap Kyriadoc vyraich vyras Kyriadoc vyreichvyras a vyriwodd i vyraich yn gwnevthvr Addvc ac or byriw hwnw y bv vwy i vyraich nor llall ac am hyny y kelwid ef vyreich vyras ap llyr vyrenin hwnw a vv yn priod a margred verch iarll Rydychen Mam gollen sant oedd Ethinen wyddeles verch vathylwch arglwydd yn y werddon yr arglwyddieth hono a elwir yrowan Rwngkwc ar ethinen hono a gad o vn o law vorrynion y wraic briod ef ac anfoned ir ynys hon yw magv Arnos y kad kollen Ef a welai i vam Dyrwy i hvn glomen yny hedec tvac ati hi ac yni byrathv hi dan ben i bron ac yn Tynv i chalon allan ac yny hedec a hi tvar nef ac or lle yr aeth a hi yn dyvod a hi ac yni hyroddv i mewn ir lle y dynasai ac yn i gosod yny lle dynasai gida gerogle tec ac yna y glomen aeth oi golwc hi Ar kollen hwnw ir yn vab seithymylwydd a vv yn dysgv gwysynevthv duw ar arglwyddes vair y bv Ef heb orffowys ac yni vabolaeth ef aeth i orlians a ffyraink i ddysgv ac yno ybv gollen chwemis ac yn yr amser hwnw yr roedd svlan ap postat yn Ryvelv gida gwyr gri[illegible] a mynych rryvel oedd ar wyr Rvfain ar rryved ryvel oedd rryngthvnt ar kristynogion a lladd

[1] be echwen. [2] Deiniol ai.
[3] tyddyn. [4] aur i. [5] twrn. [6] adur.

llawer or kristynogion ac yni gyrv i ffo yn vynych o amserr ac yn yr amser hwnw y doeth gwr a elwid byras a dywedud y kymerai ef ari law ymladd yn enw y ffydd a hwynt yp pykanied ar roe yr vn gwr i ymladd ar vn gwr aroe y kristynogion ac yna kytvno a wnaeth y pab ar beri erbyn dydd byr vn gwr i ymladd yn enw ffydd grist ac addyvod y pegan pa vn bynac a gaer gore kyredv or ddwy bylaid i hwnw ac yw ffydd ar hyny yr aeth y pab i ostegv i wyr ai nekav a naeth pawb Ef a thyrwm a thyrist yr aeth ar y pab hyny a myned a naeth lle yr oedd ddelw yr arglwydd Jessu grist ar y groes a dywedud val hyn o tyti y gwir dduw mae dy gyngor ac ar hyny y doeth llef vwch i ben yn erchi iddo vo vyned i borth hantwn ar kynta agarvvydde aoc ef mai hwnw oedd val y mynai dduw yw Roi drosto i ymladd a myned anaeth y pab ar dyraws y mor a thir hyd yno y porth A ffan ddoeth yno ef a welai wr addwyn ar gwr hwnw oedd gollen am mynegi anaeth y pab iddo i ddamvniad iddo a chyroesawy a anaeth kollen neges yn anrryddvs a dyw wedud duw adyvod gida gef hyd ymaes a osodesid ar gwr a elwid byras a ddoeth yno ai bylaid yni gylch ac am i ben basyned ac y yng horvn y vasyned yr oedd eli gwyrthyvawr Ac erchi i anaeth i gollen ddyvod nes i ymladd ac ef A chollen a gymerth i gledde ynoeth ac a roes yvengil ir groes y kyledde ac yna y tyrowsant i gyt ac yna y byriowodd ychyd dic arr law kollen gantho vo yr hwn a elwit byras ac yna y keisiodd y pygan gan gollen ym Roi a chyredv yw dduw ef ac ef ai gwnai ef yn Jach or byriw yn yr awr hono ar eli gwyrthyvawr oedd gidag ef ac yna y tynodd byras y bylwch ar eli ac ai roes yn llaw gollen A chymervd peth or eli anaeth kollen ai rroi ar y byriw ac Jach vv yr awr hono Ac yna kymervd y bylwch ar eli ai davylv yn yr Avon Rac kael or vn ohonvnt or lles oddiwrtho Ac yna y tyrowsan ynghyd yr ail waith ac y tyrewis kollen ef dan i gesel oni welit i av ai ystgyvent ac yntef aeth ir llawr Ac yna y dyvod byras kollen dy nawdd na chai myn dail heb kollen ac yna y dyvod byras wrth gollen oni chaf vi myvi ath vilia di gar byron duw y gorvchaf dduw yr hwn y kyredi di iddo ac y kyredaf vinef yr awr hon dy voti yn gwnevthvr kam am vyvi a mi a vynaf vymeddyddio pellach val y gallwyvi gael Ran or llywenydd ysydd ym yradwys nef gida thydi ar geirie hyn a ovynodd kollen yn vawr ac yna yroes kollen nawdd iddo ac yna y bedyddiodd y pab ef ac yna y kyredodd holl gennedyl y grix ac y bedyddyiwyd hwynt oll Ac yna Achwedi kael y gore o gollen ef a gymerth iganiad igan y pap ar pab ai rroddes ac a roddes Grair iddo nid amgen nor lili a vylodevodd garbyron ypekanied pan ddyvod vn o honvnt nat oedd wirach eni mab ir vorwyn no bod y y lili kyrinion ysydd yny pot akw à bylodav tec arnvnt Ac yna y bylodevodd y lili hwnw ar lili hwnw a roes y pab i gollen

Ac yna y dvc kollen ef ir ynys hon ac yvo a ddywedir Mai ynghaer ivyrangon y mae y lili hwnw eto ac yna ydoeth kollen i geirniw i dir ac oddyna y doeth i vynachyloc glansymbyri ac y gwnaethbwyd ef yny kyrevydd ac ni bv yno ondyri mis oni ddeffoled ef yn abad Ac yna y kymerth ef ganad i bylwyf i ddwyn bvchedd a vai drymach a chaledach no bod yn Abad ac yna yraeth ef i byregethv ac i edyrech perygler ffydd gytholic ymysg y bobyl Ac y bv ef yn pyregethv geirie duw ar ffydd gytholic ymysg y bobyl a hyny dair bylynedd ac y doeth ef hyt yr vn lle ir vynachyloc ac yno y bv ef bvm mylynedd yn dyrigo ac yna y llidiodd ef wrth wyr i wlad am i kamav ac a roes i velldith vddvn Ac yna yr aeth i vynydd glassymbyri ac anaeth yno gvddigyl dan ebach kareg mewn lle dirgel oddiar y ffordd Ac val yr oedd ef ddiwyrnod yni gvddigyl ef a glowai ddav ddyn yn siarad am Wyn ap ynvdd ac yn dywedvd Mai hwnw oedd vyrenin anwn ac estyn anaeth kollen i ben allan oi gvddigl a dywedvd tewch yn vvan ni does or hai hyny ond kythyrelied taw di heb yr hwyntav ti a gai yn wir ymliw a thi gan hwnw A chav y dyrws anaeth kollen Ac yn lleiges ef a gylowai kyn igori drws kvddigyl vn yn govyn a oedd y gwr o vewn yna ydyvod kollen ydwyf pwy ai govyn myvi sy ganad i Wyn ap nvdd brenin Anwn i erchi iti ddyvod i mddiȣan ac ef i ben y byryn erbyn haner dydd yvory Achollen nid aeth Athyranoeth llymar vn ganad athyrwsiad ar naill haner yn goch ar llall yn las amdano yn erchi i gollen ddyvod i ymddiȣan ar brenin i bryn erbyn haner dydd dyranoeth A chollen nit aeth llyma yr vn ganad yn dyvod y dyrydedd waith yn erchi i gollen ddyvod imddiȣan ar brenin haner dydd ac oni ddoi kollen ti a vyddi waeth A chollen yn ovynoc yna a godes i vynv ac anaeth ddwr bendiged ac ai roes mewn pisser ar i glvn ac aeth i ben y byryn Affan ddaeth yno ef a welai y kastell teka ar a welsai irioed a meirch a bechin yni marchogeth ar i kevyne a gore pwynt i meirch ac ef a welai wr addywyn ar vn van y gaer ac yn erchi iddo ddyvod i mewn a dywedud vod y brenin yn i aros am i ginio A dyvod anaeth kollen i vewn y kastell affan ddoeth yr oedd y brenin yn eiste mewn kader o avr A chyroesawv kollen a wnaeth y brenin yn anrrydeddvs ac erchi iddo vyned i vwyta ir bwrdd ac yna y dyvod kollen wrth y brenin ni vwytaf vi ddail y koed heb kollen heb y brenin A welaisti wyr gwell i tyrwsiad no rain yma heb y brenin o goch a glas heb kollen da ddigon yw i trwsiad ynhw or rryw drwsiad ac ydiw heb kollen par y ryw trwsiad yw hwnw heb y brenin ac yna y dyvod kollen koch y sy or naill dv arwyddokav i llosgi ar tv glas y sy yn arwyddokav mai oerni yw Ac ar hyny y tynodd kollen isiobo allan ac a vwriodd y dwr bendiged am i pene ac ar hyny yr aethant ymaith oi olwc ef hyd nad oedd yno

yr vn na chastell na dim ond y twmp pathe gleision Arr noson hono y doeth adref yw gvddigyl ac y gweddiodd ar dduw am gael lle i barseddv Dra vai vyw Ar noson hono i kavas ef rrybvdd oddiwrth dduw i erchi iddo godi y bore dyranoeth a cherdded oni gyvarvydde ac ef varch ac yna marchogeth hwnw a chimynt ac a varchoge yn gwmpas yny dydd hwnw a dywedud mai hyny vydde i noddyva ai bylwy ef hyt dydd byrawd Ac velly y kyvarve ac ef y march yn y lle a elwir rrysva Maes kad varch ac ai Marchogess ef yn gwmpas i bylwy ac ynghanol y noddyva hono y gwnaeth ef gvddigyl ac yn y kvddigyl hwnw y bv gollen tra vv vyw ac yn y kvddigl hwnw y kyla-ddwyd kollen ac yr aeth i enaid ir llywenydd Tyragwyddol ac y mae yn sant ynyn ef yn gwnevthvr gwyrthiav yny yr awr hon Affan oedd ef ar y ddaiar hon yn dwyn kic a chynawd yr oedd yn gwnevthvr gwyrthief mawr o achos i ffydd Ac velly y tervyna bvchedd gollen.

S. CURIG

Appended to *Büched Ciric*—a Life of SS. Cyriacus and Julitta—in *Llanstephan MS.* 34 (end of sixteenth century), p. 301.

Cydnabyḍed paụb y moḍ y cafas Ciric Sant y anrhydeḍü yng Hymry a gogoniant ac anrhydeḍ o blegid i ụerthiaü Y mae tref [1] yng Hymry ynghyphinyḍ tair gụlad a elụir Ḷañ Giric. Nid amgen y tair gụlad noc Aruystli, a Melienyḍ a Charedigion . ac yny dref honno yr oeḍ eụythyr y Giric a elụid Maelgụn a manach oeḍ ef. A danfon a ụnaeth i ụeission y gynnüḷ y ymborth y Geredigion a phañ yttoeḍynt yn dyfod ai meirch ai pynnaü tü a thref y kyfarfü ac hụynt helụyr Maelgụn Gụyneḍ ac a roḍassant y dụylaụ ar vedyr torri y phettaneü a dụyn y bụyd. Ac yno y trigaụḍ y dụylaụ ụrth y phettaneü ac y ḷüsgụyd hụynt hyd ynghüḍigyl Maelgụn y manach ac yno o fraiḍ y gaḷoḍ y Sant y giḷụng truy ụeḍiaü ac yno y cyrchyssant at Vaelgụn Gụyneḍ dan lefain am y damụain hụnnụ. Ac yno Maelgụn Gụyneḍ a falchioḍ yndo ehün heb feḍylio an ofn Düụ a gyrrü a ụnaeth laụer o voneḍigion y gyrchü Maelgụn y manach attaụ. A phan ḍoeth y gụyr hynny ḷe y gụelsynt dy Vaelgụn y colyssant leüfer y ḷygaid. A hynny a glybü Maelgụn Gụyneḍ ac yno y meḍyliaụḍ yntaü ḍinystyr y Sant ac yno y colaụḍ yntaü y lygaid ef ai hoḷ ụyr ac y gorfü arnaụ ḍyfod at y Sant y erchi trügareḍ iḍaụ. Ac yna y gụeḍiaụḍ Maelgụn y manach ar Giric ac y cafas Maelgụn Gụyneḍ y oḷục ef ai ụyr. Ac yno y rhoḍes

[1] Margin, in later hand, *plwyf*.

Maelgụn Gụyneḍ diroeḍ maụr praph y Vaelgụn y manach a Chiric yn dragyụyḍaụl yn rhyḍ heb rent na gụestva y vrenhin nac y Escob yn dragyụyḍaụl yr hụnn y syḍ y henụaeü ai phinniaü fal hynn. Or ḷe a elụir Aber Pergant hyd y ḷe a elụir Aber Büdüo ac or ḷe hụnnụ hyd yngholḷ Byḍüo. Ac o golḷ Byḍüo hyd yn rhyd y myneich ac o ḍyno hyd yn rhos Batti ac y ros Nather ac hyd yn neüaḍ Maelgụn ac o ḍyno hyd yn rhyd Visụail ac o ḍyno hyd y Marchan ac o ḍyno hyd y Galedryd ac oḍyno hyd y Rhithrant a Galam ac o ḍyno hyd yn Aber Pergant.

A hefyd yn yr amser hụnnụ Düc Melienyḍ a roḍes ir dyụededic Sant ynn gardod yr hụnn a elụid Mael Düc Melienyḍ hụnn a roḍes y tir o Aber Pergant hyd yn rhyd Egelan ac o ḍyno hyd Geilgụm ac o ḍyno hyd ynglascụm ac o ḍyno hyd ynglañ Gụy ac o ḍyno hyd yn Aber Geügant.

Rhoḍion y Tyụyssaục a elụid Caredic nid amgen Caredigion yn yr vn amser i Giric Sant or Dervol hyd y'mlaen y Gerḍinen ac o ḍyno hyd y mlaen nant Eneinnaục ac o ḍyno hyd y mlaen nant Elain ac o ḍyno hyd y mlaen y nant Ḍü ac o ḍyno hyd y Bigeḷ ac o ḍyno hyd yn eisteḍfa Giric ac o ḍyno yn vniaụn dros y mynyḍ y lañ Gụy. ac o ystlys Gụy hyd y Deruaụl. Y rhai a roḍes y rhoḍion hynn bendith Ḍüụ a Chiric a gousant yn dragụyḍaụl ar neb a ụresgynno yngham ar y tir hụnn meḷdith Ḍüụ a Chiric agayph yn oes oesoeḍ. Amen.

S. CYBI

VITA S. KEBII

From *Cotton MS. Vespasian* A. xiv, fo. 94*b*.

Incipit Vita Sancti Kebii episcopi. vi. Idus Nov'.

1. Igitur beatus Kebius unus ex bonis seruis uranici patris ex regione Cornubiorum illustrium natalium oriundus : cuius natiuitatis fundus infra duo flumina que Tamar nuncupantur atque limar extitit. Cuius genitor Salomon uocatur filius Erbin filius Gereonti filius Lud. olim princeps milicie. Ueruntamen in primis pueritie annis in literarum gimnasiis fuit educatus. 2. Beatus uero Kebius septennis erat quando literis cepit informari. deinceps autem. xx^{ti} annis in sui deguit natiuitatis regione. 3. Deinde quippe ierosolimam peregre profectus est : dominicum adoraturus sepulchrum. Exin uero petiit sanctum Hilarium Pictauensem episcopum. quo fere quinquaginta annis

deguit necnon illo quidem cecos illuminauit . leprosos mundauit . paraliticos curauit . mutorum linguas absoluit . uesanos sanauit . ab inerguminis sancti spiritus uirtute cacodemones eiecit. 4. Postea a beatissimo Hylario presule pictauensi : in gradum pontificis gratanter promouetur . conmonitusque est ab angelo domini quatinus repatriaret [1] . quod et faciens : ibique paruum temporis stetit. 5. Qua tempestate postulatus admodum ut et super gentem cornubiorum regnaret : ceterum prorsus seculi presentis accipere potestatem renuit. Deinceps igitur ad patriam rediens deinde comitatus discipulis quorum nomina subiciuntur. Meliauc scilicet . Libiau . Paulin . Kengar . cum reliquis. 6. Denique sanctus Kebius peruenit ad regionem Ethelicіaun Ethelico Rege tunc temporis superstite. Descendit itaque sanctus Kebius in medio prati premissi regis . illucque tentorium suum tetendit : qua de re direxit ille uirum perscrutari qui essent homines qui sine nutu ipsius descendere in eiusdem prato presumpserunt. Qui reuertens ad eundem Regem : dixit. Monachi sunt. 7. Et statim surrexit Ethelicus Rex cum omni familia sua quo de feudo suo Monachos eicerent : at protinus in uia de sompnipede cecidit . equusque mox exspirauit . rege nichilominus eodem cum omni domu sua confestim excecato. Qua propter idem basileo in facie prostrato . beato Kebio ueniam sibi suisque enixius supplicauit : deo nec non et eodem uiro corpus et animam suam commendauit. Ilico nempe per orationem eiusdem sancti memoratus Ethelich cum omnibus satellitibus suis unacum equo sospitati [2] restitutus est. 8. De cetero Rex itidem duas ecclesias sancto Kebio perpetuo donauit . quorum una Lankebi . alia uero Landeuer Guir uocatur . in qua paruam ac uariam nolam suam dimisit. Tunc agius Kebius benedicens Ethelic Regi : perrexit Meneuiam ciuitatem sancti Dauid . ibique tribus diebus totidemque noctibus commoratus est. 9. Inde autem transfretauit hiberniam ad insulam Arvin : in qua plane iiii^{or} annis sedit . et in honore omnipotentis ecclesiam construxit. Consobrinus itaque ipsius uocabulo Kengar erat senex . cui prescriptus uir dei emit uaccam cum uitulo quoniam nullum solidum cibum pre senectute commedere quiuerat. Ergo almi Kebii discipuli fortiter ibidem tellurem coluerunt. 10. Quadam nempe die contigit quod quidam auditor prenotati sancti uiri cui nomen Melauc exiit . qui terram coram ostium cubiculi cuiusdam homunctionis nomine Crubthirfintam foderet. Idem autem uir id prospiciens admodum iratus : quantocius prohibuit eum dicens. Noli solum ante ianuam habitaculi mei fodere. Quo circa agius Kebius et prelibatus Crubthirfinta pariter abbatem insule Arvin Enna

[1] Originally written *repatriauit*, corrected by same hand.
[2] Altered from *sospiti*.

uocatum uti pacificarentur petierunt. Quod et factum est. Nam pacificati adinuicem : recesserunt. Denique quodam die contigit quo uitulus Kengari [1] depasceretur messem prefati Crubthirfinte quod eiusdem clientes conspicando tenuerunt vitulum . necnon ad arborem magnam innexuerunt. 11. Sanctus itaque Kebius quendam ex discipulis suis ad Crubthirfintam uti solueret uitulum transmisit ; at ille renuens . in sua iracundia perseuerauit. Agius uero Kebius exorauit dominum quatinus idem uitulus ad matrem suam remearet . quoniam quidem Kengarus senex inedia lactis uexabatur . bos enim illa nil lactis absente uitulo prebebat. 12. Igitur exaudiuit deus deprecationem illius . et mirabiliter eundem uitulum ad matrem cum arbore radicitus auulsa cui uinciebatur direxit. Tunc Crubthirfinta deprecatus dominum ut fugaret deleretue de insula Aruin almum Kebium . quia deus amator ipsius extiterat. Qua de re uenit angelus domini ad eum : dicens. Discede hinc : ad orientalem plagam. Cui sanctus Kebius respondens : inquit. Deleat deus Crubthirfintam ex hac insula. Dixitque ei angelus. Sic erit. 13. Inde profectus est ad australem partem regionis Mide : ibique . xl. diebus cum totidem noctibus commoratus est. Construxit etiam inibi ecclesiam que huc usque ecclesia magna Macop : nuncupatur. Uerum enimuero sepedictus Crubthirfinta percipiens quod uir dei eo maneret : uenit ad eum dicens. Vade alias . adhuc enim ista terra mei iuris est. Tunc beatus Kebius ternis ieiuniis continuans diebus . obnixius omnipotentem flagitans : quatinus eidem ostenderet quid agendum foret. Angelus autem domini affatus est illum prosequens. Perge ad orientem. Fecitque iussa : progrediens in campum qui uocatur Bregh : ac sedit illic septenis diebus. Audiens autem eiusdem sancti prescriptus aduersarius almum Kebium ibi manere : uenit ad eum dicens Ad alium locum progredere. Tunc beatus uir : taliter ora resoluit. Exoro deum omnipotentem . quo mihi quid agam manifestet. Cui angelus domini. Transi hinc : ad dextralem prouinciam. Fecitque ita. 14. Profectusque est ad regionem Uobiun : atque eo loci bis senis commoratus est diebus. Necdum Crubthirfinta destitit eum persequi : ceterum illum prosecutus ait. Recede hinc : et transfreta. Tunc agius uir nimis iratus : ait illi. Omnes ecclesie tue in tantum sint deserte ut nunquam tres inueniantur in hibernie insula. 15. Tunc sanctus Kebius direxit discipulos suos ad siluam ut materiam fabricandi lembum inciderent. Qua precisa : statim lembum construxerunt. Prememoratus autem Crubthirfinta properius adueniens : ait illis. Intrate in lembo sine corio . salumque traicite : si uere die serui consistitis. Quem sanctus Kebius prophetico responso affatus

[1] Altered from *Kenegari*.

inquiens. Mirabilis deus in sanctis suis . deus israel ipse dabit uirtutem et fortitudinem plebis sue benedictus deus. Ast agius Kebius auditoribus suis inquid. Ponite lembum in ponto. At illi confestim inposuerunt. Almus igitur uir cum discipulis suis lembum corio carente ingressus est. Ilico namque tempestas ualida surrexit . discipulos suos oppido perturbando perterruit. Dominus uero sanctum prelibatum se enixius orantem exaudiens : enormem scopulum in duas partes diduxit . miroque modo lembus sursum diuino nutu prosiliens inter duos scopulos adhesit . demumque monie insule applicuerunt. Agius itaque Kebius rupem quendam baculo percussit : et actutum latex emanauit. 16. Inde uenit ad locum qui dicitur Cunab[1] : eoque aliquandiu commoratus est. Quodam uero die precepit caffo cuidam discipulo suo ut ignem afferret. At ille preceptori suo parens : ad domum cuiuslibet fabri nomine Magurnus progreditur . a quo unde uenisset interrogatus respondit. A magistro meo Kebio. At ille quid uellet sciscitans : ignem inquid habere uellem. Cui Magurnus. Focum tibi non dabo : nisi in sinu tuo gestaberis. Responditque Caffo. Depone ignem in sinu meo. At ille deposuit. Ilico uero reuersus est Caffo ad Kebium didascalum suum : depromitque ei focum in sinu eius reprositum[2] . nec saltim est conbustum fimbria de coccula eius . quo quippe genere uestimenti in hibernia potitur. 17. Namque tunc temporis : Mailgun Rex omnes Guenodotie prouincias . que Anglice Snaudune nuncupatur moderabatur. Quodam die contigit quod ad montana siue promunctoria uenandi gratia graderetur capreamque conspiciens : umbrem seu molosum suum instigauit ut eam comprehenderet. At illa uite consulens : mox causa refugii ad casulam beati Kebii confugit. 18. Qua propter confestim rex Mailgunnus insequens : capram habitaculum agii Kebii petiit . illamque uerbis comminacibus ab eo exegit : dicens. Dimitte capream. At ille respondit. Nequamquam[3] dimittam : nisi dederis ei uite refugium. E contra rex. Si minus dimiseris : expellam te de loco isto. Et prosequitur uir dei. Non est in tua potestate me repellere de terra ista : ceterum diuine potentie est facere . de me quicquid sibi sederit. Ueruntamen ea conditione tibimet istam capream dimittam : ut deo omnipotenti michique tribuas totam terram quam ipsa cane uestro post eam instigato[4] girabit. Ad hec rex. Libenter inquid exhibebo. Dimisit itaque beatus Kebius capream . quam continuo per totum promunctorium

[1] The 3rd letter (originally *n*) has a dot below and a curved line above, thus *Cuṇab*.
[2] Sic, *repſ̄itū*. [3] Sic, *Nequāquā*.
[4] Altered to *instigante* (?) or *instigando* (?).

eam prelibato cane persequente fugiens : demum ad prenotati uiri dei tugurium girato haut minimo soli denuo rediit intersticio. 19. Denique rursus altercationis conflictus inter regem Mailgun et almum Kebium ortus est : ceterum nullatenus famulo dei resistere ualuit. Iccirco basileus castellum suum deo omnipotenti fidelique suo clienti Kebio in perpetuam elemosinam pro salute anime sue contulit . quo iam Silicernus finem mortalis et transitorie uite mansit ibidemque dierum suorum feliciter cursum consummato : 20. vi. Idus Nouembris obdormiuit in domino . per quem mortem perdidit et uitam sempiternam inuenit . ubi iugiter in celesti regno cum deo deorum et rege cunctorum regum tripudiat . et exultet perfruens eterna gloria quam preparauit a constitucione mundi deus sibi . et diligentibus se : ubi est dies sine nocte . tranquillitas sine metu . gaudiam sine mesticia. uita sine morte : iuuentus sine senectute . pax sine dissensione . lux sine tenebris . sanitas sine dolore . regnum sine commutatione . ubi deus erit omnia in omnibus . uictus uestis et cetera que uelle potest mens pia. Qui uiuit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum amen.

S. CYBI

TEULU CYBI SANT AND Y SAITH GEFNDER SANT

From *Llyvyr John Brooke o Vowddwy* (*c.* 1600), p. 451. (See **Dr. J. G. Evans**, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, ii, pp. 346, 359.)

Teulu Cybi Sant

Da oedd Gybi a'r deuddeg | morwyr
Daniel Mwrog haeldeg.
Cenau, Cyngar, ar garreg
Cynvarwy, Adwarwy deg.

Padern, ac Edern, Maelog windeg | cyff
Capho vab vn ofeg.
Llibio, Peulan angwaneg,
Trwy awr dda yw'r tri ar ddeg.

Cybi ai deulu oedd y xiij.

Y saith gefnder Sant a grybwyllir ynghywydd Cowrda Sant.

Dewi, a Chybi achubant | beunydd
dwyn Beuno yn warant
Dingad, Cynfarch a barchant,
a Deinioel a Seirioel Sant.

Llyna'r saith eurfaith arfer | gan feudwy
gwynfydig bob amser
A fu'n y maen graen grender
a'r saith a weles y sêr.

Y Saith hyn (si credis) a aethant i Rufain i weddio am law, lle ni buasai ddim er ys tair blynedd, a'r defnyn cyntaf a ddisgynnodd ar lyfr Cadfarch, ac y dywawd yntef, Bid cof gennych wyrda, mai ar fy llyfr i y disgynnodd y defnyn Cyntaf, ac y dywedasant hwythau Co-wrda . ac felly yr aeth arno dri henw, Cynfarth, Cadfarch, Cowrda.[1]

S. CYNDEYRN OR KENTIGERN

GRANTS MADE TO HIM BY MAELGWN GWYNEDD

From the *Red Book of S. Asaph*, p. 117.

Hæc experientia inventa p̄ qūdā Enianū Epm̄ Assapheñ in q°dam libro antiquo Londonijs de Lib̄tatib9, Privilegijs, Donaconib9 traditis, concessis et confirmatis S^co^ Kentigerno suisq; successoribus eorūq; teneñ & libere teneñ. Anno Dn̄i M.C.C.L.° VI.°

Notum fiet q^d^ in tempore cujusd̄ regis Dyganwy noie Malgini et cujusd̄ regis Powysie, noie Maye quidā vir venit ex la℔ orientali noie Kentigernus ad quandā Civitatem noie LlanElwy et cum eo turba multa Clericorū, militū et ministr̄, numero Trecen℔, quē q℔dē Kentigernū Rex Maye constituit & ordinavit in toto suo Dn̄o quia tunc suū Dominū Epalis gubernacois offa esset destitutū et plenarie exhaustū, et tunc Malginus Rex dedit illi Sco Kentigerno illā scam̄ civitatem Llanelwy ad libamina et sacrificia faciend̄, necnon ad cetera diā offia celebrand̄, sine aliq° Dn̄o vel reditu regali imp̄petuum. Et cū hoc p̄dcus Rex Malgin9 dedit et concessit eid̄ Sco Kentigerno alias villas annex ad succurend̄ servient̄ illi civitati Llanelwy p̄sustencoe p̄d̄ Kentigerni suor̄ successorū sine aliq° Dn̄o vel reditu regali imp̄petuū ut p̄dic℔ est quarū villarū noia sunt hæc Altemeliden, Llanhassaph, Bryngwyn, Disserth, Kilowain, Llansañan, Bodeugan, Henllan, Llanuvyth [Llan]gernyw, [Bra]nan, [Bod]gynwch, [Mar]chaled, Meriadog, Movionog, Hendre Newydd, Pennant, Llanarthu, Havenwen juxta Llanyvyth, Bodnod, Malodyr, Bodvalleg, ac Ardney y menllyn, et alias villas, ac q^m^ plures alias villulas Dn̄us Rex Malgin9 dedit p̄fato Kentigerno suisq; successorib9 sine aliq° tributo vel reditu regali imp̄petuum. Et quicunq; fuerit transgressor alien9 p̄d̄ lib̄tatum donacionum id p̄d̄ villis vel villulis ab oib9 tribubus anathema et maledictus fiat in infinita secula seculorū. Amen.

[1] *Teulu Cybi Sant* is in *Mostyn MS.* 110, p. 189, attributed to Hywel Rheinallt (*flor. c.* 1460–90).

Ut originał camt^r^, et quicunq; p̄d̄ auditor et defensor contra rebell unta verb vel signo cont^a^ infringeñ humoi lib̄tat' et donaces concess̄ eid̄ sco Kentigerno suisq; successorib9 questiones transgress̄: controvers̄ excitand̄ a tribus p̄sonis, Pr̄e, Filio & Spū S^co^, ac ab omni choro ecclesiastic̄ benedictionib9 repleat^r^ p̄ infinita secula seculorū.

Et ad illud tempus quedā discordia orta et mota fuit in℔ duos milites in cur' Malgini et Kedicū Draws seu de ludes. Et Kendicus p̄cussit filiū Malgini regis cum cornu bibali [1] sup̄ caput suum usq; ad sanguinis effusionē, qua de cā Kedicus fugit et venit ad civitatem munitā Llanelwy, in q^a^ quidē civitate Kentigernus erat p̄ imunitate securitate, & defensione illi Kedic a dic̄is sco et civitate hend̄. Et tunc p̄d̄us Malginus misit buragianū et alios plures ministros cum eo ad querend̄ Kedicum p̄d̄ et p^t^q^a^m inven9t illū Kedicum ad metas et limites illius sce civitatis LlanElwy, oes equi eorum ceci facti sunt. Et tunc statim illi equites converterunt se ad Malginū regē et narraverunt Regi illa ardua et imp̄spa quæ conting9ant illis, hac fabula declarata, seu his rumorib9 declaratis, tunc ille solus Malginus venit cum illis ad metam et limites illius civitatis et illico ille rex cecus ℔cus est et descendit desuper equum suum et tunc sui milites adduxerunt illum regem cecum corā Sco Kentegerno. Et ille rex procūbens oravit eund̄ Kentegernū pro venia sibi impetranda, deinde incessanter postulabat dcm̄ scm̄ ut oculos suos creatos signo crucis signaret, quib9 signo crucis p̄ eund̄ scm̄ signatis, statim rex oculos aṗuit et vidit, laudes Deo et Sco reddens, intuens illū Kedicū facie ad faciem secum sedeñ. Et tunc ait illi, Es tu ibi? Et ille respondit, Sum hic imunitate et defensione venerabilis sci. Et illo die Rex Malguinus p̄ restitucoe aie et invencoe luminis oculorū dedit illi Sco Epo illius civitatis Llanelwy spaciū imunitatis et defensionis septē annorū et septem mensium & septem dierū et unius diei prim̄. Et cum illo spacio postea imunicoe et defensioe imp̄petuum. Et propter illa mysteria a Deo & dco sco collat' dcus Rex Malginus augmentavit diversas donacoes vz^t^ plures villas ad servient̄ Deo & Sco Kentigerno in dco cultu sine aliquo Dn̄io vel reditu regali imp̄petuum. Quarū villarū noia sunt hæc: Berryng, Dolwynan, Bodlyman. Et dedit plures alias villas cum illis et iste donacoes facte p̄ Malginum Regem extendunt metas et limites Epatus Sci Kentigerni ejusq; success̄: ab urbe Conway usq; ad riuū latus Glatiri jux^a^ Dinas Basing. Et dcūs Malginus ista vltia sibi dedit ob restitucoe occulorū suorū, et ad ista p̄da fidel℔ observanda ab oib9 fidelib9 & custodienda p̄dcus Malginus Rex testes idoneos tam Clicos quam Laicos ad ista noavit vocavit Clicos Scum̄ Danielem quondā Epum̄ Bangoren̄s et Patronū, Scm̄ Terillum et Scm̄ Grwst.

[1] " Bibulo " written above it, and " a drinking-horn " in margin.

Laicos, Malginum Regem, Rwyn filiū ejus et Gwrgnan senescallū ejus. Meta et limites p̄re īmunitatis scæ civitatis LlanElwy, existunt in longitudiē o Adwy Lleweni usq; locum vocatum Penissaf i Gell Escob usq; locum vocatum Pont yr wddar, viz^t spacium . . . miliaris in longitudiē et unius miliaris in latitudiē. Et si quis violaverit p̄dca īmunitatē (q^d absit) seu ad hoc consilium auxiliū vel favorē dederit aut fecerit occulte vel expresse, excoīcatus est ab oī choro ecclesiastico et etiā indignacoem ompis Dei, btæ Mariæ Virginis, Scorumq; Assaph & Kentigerni, 373 Scorū & Scarū se noverint incursuros. Et quicunq; p̄dcam īmunitatē non servaverit Dijs officijs ibm celebratis et celebrand destituitur et Dei maledicone repleat. Amen p infinita secula seculorum.

S. CYNHAFAL

CYWYDD CYNHAFAL SANT

From *Additional MS.* 31,055 (1594–6), fo. 40*a*.

Y Ceidwad rhag gwaew adwyth
i glaf a lvdh glwyfae lwyth
cûrio bvm rhag gwaew or byd
Cynhaval cwyno hevyd
Cwynais haint nyd cynnes hwyl
claf a gwŷn clwyf ag anwyl
vn o drychlam yn drachloph
wyf a glyw 'n glaf i glvn gloph
arogl awyr a glywaf
or glvn gloph ir galon glaf
Gelyn a dhaeth yr glvn dhig
gwaew anianol gwenwynig
deûryw adwyth draw ydoedh
dyfr a gwaed hyd y vrig oedh
cainc o nych accw'n y cnawd
cynn v'elor yn cnoi vaelawd
cennad a wnai cnawd yn iach
Cynhaval rhag gwaew'n hyfach
d'wrthiæ draw diwarth a drig
dy ras a dynh waew ysig
adhef yt y wedhi vaû
a yrh gwewyr or giaû
yth vyw'n deg yth vendigwyd
accw er lhadh y Cawr lhwyd
Enlhi gawr ai'n lhew gorwylht
ath waew'n ei gorph a than gwylht
briwedic obru ydoedh
briw gwaew a than bregeth oedh
y oeri losg ar y lvn
y phoe'r diawl y phrwd Alvn
o cheisiodh och yw asen
Eli yn holh Alvn hen
Aeth deirgwaith wedy argoedh
yn dir sych vn diras oedh
Ar lann a chwrh Alvn chwyrn
y lhosges ei holh esgyrn
y lhe hwnn olh a henwir
alwan yn hesb Alvn hir
gwnavt y dhûw gynt wedhiaû
gelyn y Cawr or Glynn caû
dyn a wnaeth daioni'n ol
dibech oedhyd buchedhol
ymwaredwr mawr ydwyd
a mach dyn am iechyd wyd

y dodhi nych dydh a nos
y daeth iechyd oth achos
ffynnon taû [1] hoph ennaint oedh
ffrwd nod a phardwn ydoedh
Aml yn hon ymlaen henaint
ydoedh help y dodhi haint
v'enaid yw vy niod win
vrig y phrwd vawr gyphredin
cûl wyf a dyn claf ei dal
cynn ei hyfed Cynhaval
gwann adyn gann waew ydwyf
gwedhiwr yt gweidhi'r wyf
edrych hyn ar drych anhvn
a golch glwyf o gylch y glvn
ag or aelod gyrr eilwaith
archollwaew mawr [2] erchyll maith [3]
o dervyn oer dyro vi'n iach
ar gwaew ymaith or gomach
dod dhaû bwnc dedwydh eu bod
dwy arch ym drwy iach amod
iechyd ym om nychwaew dwys
am rhoi wedy 'mharadwys.

Gruff. ap Jeuñ ap lhn vychan
(*Flor c.* 1470–1530).

S. DEINIOL

THE LIFE OF S. DEINIOL

From *Peniarth MS.* 225 (1602), p. 155.[4]

LEGENDA 9 LECTIONŨ DE SC̃TO DANIELE EPŌ BANGORIẼSI.

Lectio I.

Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis, et gloriosus in maiestate volens sanctos suos â Chrī fidelibus gloriosos reputari, et dignè ac laudabiliter venerari, ipẽ mirabiliter innumeris nõ desistit decorare miraculis, inter quos beatissi^m danielem episcopũ et confessorẽ, sanctitatis grã decoratũ, dñs noster multimodis miraculis insignitũ, eccl̃iæ suæ sanctæ præelegit in pastorem, et oīa miraculum quæ idem Saluator meritis prædicti sancti danielis opari dignatus est, nequaq; ufficim9 enarrare, aliqua tamẽ ex illis devotioni vestræ duxim9 intimanda. Tû autẽ dn̄e miserere nr̄i.

Lectio secūda.

Beatus itaq; daniel ex nobili prosapia Brytonũ oriũdus, cũ eet adultæ ætatis relictis parẽtib9 et solo natali, heremiticã et solitariã cupiens ducere vitam, cui optima ps p̄mittitur, adeoq; nõ auferetur, ad quẽdã montẽ qui nũc mons danielis nũcupatur iuxta penbrochiam menevẽsis dicœcesis p̄venit, cõsiderans quia illũ locũ a tumultû hominũ

[1] *Al.* y ti (in MS.). [2] *Al.* oer. [3] *Al.* waith.
[4] We have to thank Sir Edward Anwŷl for the copy of this Life, which occurs in this MS. only.

segregatū carpendis divinæ cōtẽplationis fructib9 vtilem et idoneū, statuit in mōte si deus ꝑmiserit, ibidem morā trahere, suo ꝑpetuo dño serviturus. Tu autē, etc.

Lectio tertia.

Quẽ dñs loci benignè suscipiens, de solo suo tantū sibi cōcessit, quātū ad victum quotidianū sibi necessariū fore existimaret, vna cū aīalib9 et ministris vtilibus ad Agriculturā cōstructo in domū tugurio in loco vbi nūc eccl̄ia miræ pulchritudinis et magnitudinis in ipīus sancti honore et noīe fabricata ẽ, in ieiunijs, in orationib9 ac alijs oꝑib9 pietatis, Deo oīpotēti Creatori devotissimè seruiebat. Tu autē dñe miserere nrī.

Lectio 4ta.

Procedēte tꝑe, eccl̄ia cathedrali Bāgoriēsi ꝑ mortē pontificis sui vacāte, illis ad quos in eadē eccl̄ia pōtificis electio seu ꝓvisio ꝑtinebat in vnū cōgregatis, invocata spūs sancti grā, divinitus revelatū est, q̄d ad ꝑtes penbrochiæ quātocius mitterēt, et quēdam heremitam supꝑ mōtem ex ꝑte australi penbrochiæ cōmorantem, sibi ecclesiæ suæ eligerent in episcopū et pastorem, adiectūqꝫ est quod daniel vocaretur. Tû autē dñe miserere nrī.

Lectio quinta.

Qui statim nūcios miserūt ad ꝑtes prædictas. Veniētes nūcij ibidem ipūm heremitam in loco quẽ prædixim9 invenerūt, nūcijqꝫ salutatiōe præmissa, interrogāt eū quale nomē habes. Jlle vero humiliter respōdit, ego daniel nūcupatus sum, sed nō ꝓpheta. Tūc nūcij gavisi gaudio magno, itineris sui & advētus causam seriatim expresserūt. Jlle vero vltra quā credi potest admirans ait, qualiter hoc fieri potest vt me asseritis in episcopū electū, cū sim vix omnīo illiteratus, nec aliquā sciētiā literatoriam cognovi. Cui respōdentes dixerunt, volūtas dei est vt ita fiat. Jlle vero devictus eorū instantia & divinæ vocationi obtempare volens, relictis oīibus quæ possidebat, sequutus est eos in noīe saluatoris, vsqꝫ dum venirēt ad ingressū civitatis Bangoriēsis. Tu autem dñe, &c.

Lectio sexta.

Statimqꝫ oēs Campanæ civitatis absqꝫ manu hominis sūt pulsatæ; Audiētes autē . .[1] qui in civitate fuerūt, sonitū campanarū, ingressi eccl̄iam, nullum pulsantē campanas inveniētes, dixerūt adinvicē quod miraculū est quod domin9 oꝑatus est, & statim ecce nūcij cū daniele

[1] A short word occurs here which it is difficult to read. Perhaps ii.

ad valûas eccl̄iæ iam steterūt. Tūc clerici eiusdem eccl̄iæ ipūm danielem ad summū eccl̄iæ altare deducētes, et. Te Deū laudam9 devotissimè cātantes, Saluatoris laudantes clemētiā Et cū ab oratiōe Sanctus Daniel surrexisset, oīum literarū scientia ecclesiastica ita repletus est, qꝫ nullus in Brytania illi tūc similis videbatur in scientia et literatura. Tu autē, &c.

Lectio vij.

Debitis postmodū tempis interstitijs ad oēs minores & maiores ordines ritè ꝓmot9, in episcopū laudabiliter consecratur, et inthronizatur cū maxīa & populi iucūditate. Pōtificali igitur infula decoratus, deo et oīb9 hominib9 amabilē se exhibuit, miracula vero quæ dñs ipīus meritis, tam in eius vita, quā post trāsitū eiusdem oꝑari dignatus est, ꝓlixū nimis foret enarrare; erāt enī multa valde. Quadam nocte cū vir ille sanctus in mōte penbrochiæ morabatur, venerūt duo malevoli hoiēs illuc, vt boves ad terrā suā arandam sc̄to viro cōmodatos fura-rētur, & cōprehendētes boves eos abducere ceperūt. Audiens vero vir sc̄tus in hospiciolo suo, strepitum hoīum & aīalū, vidit ꝑ fenestrā fures, abducētes boves, & exiens clamavit, expectate, expectate modicū in noīe dnī. At ipsi vocē ipsius audiētes velocius cucurrerūt; Sanctoqꝫ Daniele signū Crucis faciente erga boves ne ipē qui eos accōmodaūatꝑ facto suo laudabili, damnū reportaret & statim fures versi sūt in duos lapides in eodē loco, ad instar hoīum stantes vsqꝫ in hodiernū diē. Aīalia autē ad pascua cōsueta cōūtuntur. Tu autē dñe, &c.

Lectio octava.

Alio autē tꝑe cū vir sc̄tus nō inveniret aīalia cū quib9 terrā suā araret, ecce venerūt de sylua pencoet quæ ꝑpe erat, duo cerui magni ad locū vbi terra aranda extiterat, & colla sua iugo submittētes, tanqꝫ bestiæ mansuetæ tota die aratrū traxerūt & oꝑe diei cōpleto, ad syluā predictā reuersi sunt. Tu autem dñe miserere nrī.

Lectio nona.

Quodā autē tꝑe vir sc̄tus hierusalē causa devotæ ꝑegrinatiōis ꝑgebat. Plustratis locis nativitatis & passiōis dn̄icæ, visitatoqꝫ sepulchro in quo corp9 requieuit Saluatoris. Venit ad flumē Jordanis Chr̄i baptismate cōsecratū, et quādā phialam ex aqua illa impleuit, & eandem secū detulit vsqꝫ ad cacumē mōtis iuxta penbrochiā supꝑ quē cōstructū erat eius habitaculū vbi nō modica extitit aquæ penuria. Jnvocato Chr̄i noīe baculū fixit, et aquā illā quā de terra sc̄ta portauit, fundebat in terrā, & statim baculus creuit in arborē pulcherrimā, & fons aquæ

dulcissimæ ibidē emanauit, ægritudinum diversa⁊ si in potū sumpta fuerit, curativa.

Quædā etiā mulier de ꝑtib⁹ Caerwy Menevēsis diecesis vltra modū extitit inflata, ita quod nullo potuit cōsilio medico⁊ liberari. Tandē ad eccl̄iam sancti danielis, & postea ad fontē predictū accedens, oransq; sc̄ti adiutoriū, ex aqua illa potauit causa recuꝑandæ sanitatis, & ante ipsius recessū, in ostiū eccl̄iæ veniebat, & ex ore suo eiecit, multis astātib⁹ & videntib⁹ tres vermes horribiles cū quatuor pedib⁹ in singulis, & salua facta est mulier ex illa hora. Preterea vxor cuiusdā viri de ꝑtib⁹ oxoniis diutissīe cæca, admonita in somnis ꝑ sanctū danielē imo verius ꝑ revelatiōem divinam ad dictā eccl̄iam sancti danielis adducta, in oratiōib⁹ devotis ibidē cū quodā Capellano cæco et alijs m̄ltis ꝑnoctauit, et vterq; eo⁊ visū recēpit eadē nocte meritis ipsius Cōfessoris, prestāte dn̄o n̄ro Jesu Chr̄o, qui cū deo p̄re & sp̄u sancto viuit et regnat Deus ꝑ oī̄a secula seculo⁊ Amen.
Tu autē dn̄e miserere n̄ri.

Or̄o de eodem.

Deus qui beatū danielē antistitē, eccl̄ie tuæ pastorē esse voluisti, cōcede ꝑpetuis vt qui eius beneficijs innitimur æternæ beatitudinis gloriā suis precib⁹ mereamur ꝑ dn̄ū n̄rum Jesū Chrūm, &c.

Ex libro manuscripto antiq̄. 1602.

TRANSLATION OF THE SAME.

THE LEGEND IN NINE LESSONS OF S. DANIEL, BISHOP OF BANGOR.

Lesson i.

God, wonderful in His saints, and glorious in majesty, desiring His saints to be accounted glorious by the faithful of Christ, and to be venerated in a worthy and laudable manner, continues to adorn them wonderfully Himself with unnumbered miracles. Among them, our Lord preferred to be pastor of His Holy Church the most blessed Daniel, Bishop and Confessor, adorned with the grace of holiness, and distinguished for many kinds of miracles. We could not relate all the miracles which the Saviour has thought good to work by the merits of the aforesaid S. Daniel, but we have thought that we must commend some of them to the notice of your devotion.

But do Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Lesson ii.

The blessed Daniel, then, sprung from a noble race of the Britons, when he came to man's estate, having left his parents and his native country, and wishing to lead the life of an eremite and a solitary (to whom the better part is given, and shall, moreover, not be taken away) came to a certain mountain, which is now called Daniel's Mount, near Pembroke, in the Diocese of Menevia, thinking that that

place, removed from the noise of men, was suitable and fit for enjoying the fruits of Divine contemplation, and resolved, if God permitted, to remain in that same mountain to serve his eternal Lord.

But do Thou, O Lord, etc.

Lesson iii.

The lord of the place received him kindly, and gave him as much of his own land as he thought necessary for his daily sustenance, together with animals and servants suitable for agriculture, a cottage being constructed for his dwelling on the spot where now is a church of wondrous beauty and size, built in honour and in the name of the same saint; and in fastings, in prayers, and other works of piety, he most devoutly served the Almighty God, his Creator.

But do Thou, O Lord, etc.

Lesson iv.

In course of time, the Cathedral Church of Bangor becoming vacant through the death of its Bishop, those to whom the election or provision of a Bishop in that Church pertained met; the grace of the Holy Spirit was invoked, and it was revealed from heaven that they should send without delay into Pembroke, and choose a certain eremite dwelling on a mountain in the southern part of Pembroke, to be Bishop and pastor of their Church, and it was added that he was named Daniel.

But do Thou, O Lord, etc.

Lesson v.

They at once sent messengers to the aforesaid part. The messengers, coming there, found the eremite in the place we named before, and, having first greeted him, ask him, "What is thy name?" He humbly replied, "I am called Daniel, but am no prophet." Then the messengers rejoiced with great joy, and told him in detail the object of their journey and arrival there. But he, being incredibly astonished, says, "How can this be, that you claim me as Bishop-elect, since I have hardly the elements of learning nor any knowledge of letters?" In reply they said, "It is the will of God that it should be so." And he, being overcome by their insistence, and wishing to obey the Divine call, left all that he had, and followed them in the name of the Saviour, until they arrived at the entrance of the city of Bangor.

But do Thou, O Lord, etc.

Lesson vi.

And at once all the bells of the city were rung without the hand of man. But when the people who were in the city heard the sound of the bells they went into the Church, and, finding no one ringing the bells, said to one another that it was a miracle which the Lord had wrought; and immediately, lo, the messengers with Daniel now stood at the Church doors. Then the clergy of that Church, conducting Daniel to the High Altar of the Church, and singing with the utmost fervour the *Te Deum laudamus*, praised the Saviour's mercy. And when S. Daniel arose from prayer he was so endowed with all ecclesiastical knowledge that no one in Britain seemed then like him in knowledge and letters.

But do Thou, O Lord, etc.

Lesson vii.

After the due intervals of time, being duly promoted to all the lesser and greater Orders, he is consecrated Bishop with great honour, and enthroned, to the exceeding joy even of the people. And so, attired in the pontifical chasuble, he showed himself loving to God and to all men. But it would be too long a

task to enumerate the miracles which the Lord thought good to work through his merits, both during his lifetime and after he had passed hence; for they were very many. One night, whilst the holy man dwelt on the mountain in Pembroke, two evilly disposed men came thither to steal the oxen which had been given to the holy man to plough his land, and, taking the oxen, began to lead them away. But the holy man in his dwelling, hearing the noise of the men and animals, saw through his window the thieves taking the oxen away, and went out, and shouted, "Wait, wait a moment, in the name of the Lord." But they, hearing his voice, ran the faster, and S. Daniel, making the sign of the Cross towards the oxen, lest he who had given them should suffer loss for his praiseworthy deed, immediately the thieves were turned into two stones on the spot, standing like men, unto this day. But the animals returned to their accustomed pastures.

But do Thou, O Lord, etc.

Lesson viii.

Another time, when the holy man could not find animals with which he might plough his land, behold, there came out of Pencoed wood, which was nigh, two great stags to the place where the land was to be ploughed, and, submitting their necks to the yoke, like tame beasts, drew the plough all day, and, when the day's work was ended, returned to the said wood.

But do Thou, O Lord, etc.

Lesson ix.

Once the holy man went on a religious pilgrimage to Jerusalem. When he had gone over the places of the Nativity and Passion of the Lord, and had visited the Sepulchre in which the body of the Saviour rested, he came to the river Jordan, hallowed by the Baptism of Christ, and filled a vial of the water, and took it away with him to the top of the mountain near Pembroke, on which his dwelling had been built, where there was no little dearth of water. Having called upon the name of Christ, he drove in his staff, and poured out the water which he had brought from the Holy Land upon the ground, and immediately the staff grew into a most beautiful tree, and a fountain of the sweetest water sprang up on the spot, capable of healing diverse diseases, if taken as a drink.

A certain woman from near Caerwy, in the Diocese of Menevia, was so extraordinarily swollen that she could get no relief through any advice of the physicians. At last she came to the Church of S. Daniel, and afterwards to the aforesaid fountain, and, praying for the help of the saint, drank of that water to recover her health, and, before going away, came to the Church door, and cast forth from her mouth, in sight of many bystanders, three horrible worms with four feet each; and the woman was made whole from that hour. Moreover, the wife of a certain man from near Oxford, who was for a very long time blind, being warned in dreams by S. Daniel, or rather, by Divine revelation being brought to the said Church of S. Daniel, passed the night there in devout prayers, in company with a certain blind chaplain, and many others, and each of them received his sight the same night through the merits of the self-same Confessor, with the help of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who with God the Father and the Holy Spirit liveth and reigneth God for ever and ever. Amen.

But do Thou, O Lord, etc.

Prayer concerning the same.

O God, Who didst will the blessed Bishop Daniel to be a pastor of Thy Church, Grant perpetually that we who do lean on his benefits may, by his prayers, attain the glory of everlasting felicity, through our Lord Jesus Christ, etc.

From an ancient MS., 1602.

S. DEINIOL

CYWYDD I DDEINIEL BANGOR

From *Cardiff MS.* 7 (1564–5), p. 687.

LLYMA GOWYDD I DDEINIEL BANGOR A WNAED PEN YDEILADWYD YR YSGOBTY YN OEDRAN KRISD 1527.

Mae y mangor dryssor a drig
yn gadarn fyndigedig
ag vn or saith gefnder gwyn
santeiddia saith saint oeddyn
deiniel ni wnaeth odineb
fo fynnai na nai neb
mevdwy ydoedd medwydy
pen fv ar fraich penfro fry
duw iesv ai dewissodd
yn dad i fil daedifodd
ag ni wyddiad yn tad ta
ladiniaith o bvd yna
ni a dwaenai garai oi gob
oni wisgwyd e yn esgob
dwad kanv ti dewm
i gaerav krisd ar gwr krwm
gwr mvl a gae rymadeg
bigail duw yn dwyn bagal deg
mae n falsomwm ne flas mel
son dynion am sain deiniel
amyl iewn yn fymlaen i
wrthiav hwn wrth i henwi
ychen gwar i gyfarwr
lladron ai dvgon or dwr
deiniel yn lle reidionav
a roes y keirw ir iav
rroir lladron brychion i brig
akkw i orwedd fal kerrig
a bvn gwedi chwyddo i bol
gan wenwyn drwg gwenwynol
o ras y sant pen roes hon
yn i ffen ddwr oi ffynon
afrifed bryfed heb wres
beiriog oi chorff a boeres
galwn bawb rrag yn gelyn
deiniel sant dy ras yn.

[*The remainder not relevant*]

Syr dauid Trefor ꝑson llanallgo yn y kyfamser ai kant.

S. DOGED

OWDL S. DOGET

From *Jesus College MS.* 15 = cxl (early seventeenth century), p. 497.

OWDL S^{T} DOGET FRENIN A MERTHYRWR FAL Y GWELAIS EF YN SGRYFENEDIG YN Y LLYFR GWYN Y RYDERCH

a fynno gweirio gwared, yn ddidranc
y ddwy droed y gerdded
aed ar hynt a da i rhed
oed dydd agos at ddoged

gweled gan ddoged ddigon, o wrthie
y ddiwarthu dynion
aur a gae fru gar y fron
aer a ffennaeth yr ffynnon

Y mae ffynnon loñ o lin, y dugied
hwn ywr doged frenin
a dwr gwell no dau or gwin
a wna gwared yn gwerin

gwerin a glubu guriaw, fyngolwg
om lled wg am llidiaw
gwirion a fynnai gweiriaw
gwared gan ddoged y ddaw

Ef a ddaw oi law lewych, ymgolwg
ymgeledd os chwenych
af adref ef a edrych
afal y drem fal y drych

Edryched doged hygar, fanwylud
fy nolur am karchar
a dyged on ym digar
eli o nef ai lawn war

yn wared ny ddaw enwiredd y nēb
ani bech y fuchedd
ony ddel yn ddialedd
y fyñu bod o fewn bedd

lle rhinwedd yw bedd gwybydded y fañ
a fynno kael gwared
llyma r gro llu mawr gred
llawr tegwch lle rhoed teged

y weled ddoged gar y ddeigain, sant
pen saint ynus brydain
yn y deml wen oi damwain
ym olwg gloyw mal y glain

gleiniau oi wrthiau wrthym, y delom
ond y dylwyth ydym
gwr a gynnail gair genym
gwir i daw a gwared ym

yroedd ynn y gil oerwuddenmig
am aur a rifwyd mawr o ryfig
o neidio ir awyr naid yr ewig
oi fodd ym bwriodd fal ar big, dy ddrain
ai flaen ai ddeu flaen yn ddieflig

o ddyno y deythym yn adwythig
am ysgwydd yn don om bron ym brig
yn wtw lwys awdur yn loesededig
yn keisio mudo rwymedig, i klwyf
ym plwyf lle ddydwyf yn llyddedig

y llygad ny ad yn enwedig
ym gysgu ar blu awr heb lewig
am breichiau llodau o wall a dig
y sudd yn vswudd ag yn yssig

a glain goriadau egluredig
y gwr oedd ddi dwyll ag vrddedig
yn fyw bu gadarn fab y gedig
aur agoriadau wyr garedig

orwyr gynedda boen dal wfedig [1]
aur a gloyw assur gwr eglwysig
a roir ar y draed ar aur a drig
a gwisgadoed aur gwisgedig
enwau ar fennau ar fenig gwynion
oreuro y ddwyfron a ffon a ffig

Y gwyr a messur y gor miwsig
assod [2] aberth y su debig
a gwyr gwlad tomas S^{t} emig, ne noñ
wen o gaer garon yn gwir girig

[1] *Peniarth MS.* 225, loewdal Wledic. [2] *Ibid.*, y osod.

aml koffa yddaw mil keffig
aml kanu yw ddelw mal cyn-ddylig
aml iawn bwyll iniawn gan bellennig lloñ
y dawr aur oi fron hud ar y fru [1]

o friger aurer arno ai nerthan [2]
vn wrthie a beuno
a yrr oi fardd er a fo
oi boen fanwyl ban fynno

Jevan llwyd brydudd ai kant [*Flor. c.* 1460–90].

Y farch ai taflassau at berth ddreiniog ai lygad a flodd ar y rudd, heb allu o neb ryw feddig ymwared yddo, a duw ar sant ai gwnaeth yn holl iach er y fod yn llawn yssig a briwie, y dduw bor diolch amē.

S. DWYNWEN

CYWYDD I DDWYNWEN

From *Peniarth MS.* 112 (1610), p. 368; collated with *Cardiff MS.* 7 (1564–5), p. 278.

Y verch wenn o Vrecheinoc
ar chwarael [3] avr ar i chloc
Merch annwyl y mraych ynys
morwyn yn Llanddwyn ai llys
Merch ni ad amarch i ni
Dwynwen mam pob daioni
Merch Vrychan gloyw arian glych
arglwyddwaed [4] eryr gwleddwych
Santes y mynwes Menai
ai thir ai heglwys ai thai
Pennrhynn lle aml dyn da
Llanddwyn mewn gorlliw hindda
Rhandir a welir i wenn
dinas a nawdddir Dwynwen
ffynhonniav gwrthiav dan go
oer yw r dyn ni red yno
Teml dec ty aml dyn
minteioedd y min towyn
Merched o amrafael wledydd
meibion vil vyrddion a vydd

Kleifion rhwng i ffynhoniav
Krvplaid a gweiniaid yn gwav
Bronnydd val llvoedd brenin
pobl or wlad pawb ar i lin
Taprav kwyr pabwyr er pwyll
pibav gwin pawb ai ganwyll
Kryssav yn llawn brychav gar bronn
miragl wrth godi meirwonn
Pob neges gan santes wenn
a gaiff dyn wrth gyff Dwynwen
Jechyd a golvd a gaid
synwyr a hawshav enaid
Vo roed oi bric glenhigion
vo roed avr tec ar draed honn
Bottymav a gleiniav glân
ar i phais a orffwyssan
Chwevgeiniav yn drolav a dric
noble i gadw n blygiedic
Gwryfav a rydd gwyr iefainck

[1] *Ibid.*, ar ei vric. [2] *Ibid.*, nerthau.
[3] chwarel. [4] argewyddwaed.

grottiav rhyd ffrydiav o ffrainck
Ar saethe dan greirie [1] r grwyn
a vwrid draw ir vorwyn
A gad ar dir gida r donn
parth a phenn porth y ffynnon
Da lle bo dan bwyll a bai
kyhoeddvs [2] i kyhvddai
A lleidr ni all adel
mwnai na dim mann i del
Ysbys y dengys i dwyll
a chenioc bach a chanwyll
Wrth edrych yn entrych nef
i roi nod ir eneidief

Mae n dda galw yn ddwy golon
Jessv ar ferch o sir Vôn
Awn i Landdwyn at Ddwynwen
a chwyr garllaw Nvwbwrch wenn
Awn atti an gweddi yn gv
awn a thvs i nith Jessv
Awn i ynnill ynn vnion
nef o law merch lana y Môn
Awn atti ar yn glinief
awn dan nawdd Dwynwen i nef.

Sr Dafydd Trefor ai Kant.
(*Flor.* early sixteenth century.)

S. DYFNOG

CYWYDD I DDYFNOG

From *Llanstephan MS.* 167 (end of seventeenth century), p. 331.

Dyfnog wr dwfn a garaf
am a dal f'oes mi ai dy-laf
dof ith eglwys ddwys yn Ddôl
Llanrhaidr mewn lle rheiol
dy ddelw di addolwn
dy liw yn wir dy lûn a wnn
yn y nef ith gartrefwyd
da gida Duw geidwad wyd
dy wrthiau am diwarthawdd
yn y man hwnn ym yn hawdd
Pistill o waith hapusteg
a roed it wr radau teg
mawr ei glod miragl ydyw
ffrwd groiwdeg or garreg yw
ffynnon or eigion a red
ragorawl i roi gwared
triagl heb swnd or grwndwal
ni wyr dŷn yn aur a dal
Rhaidr gras i bob nasiwn
er rhad a hap y rhoed hwnn
dwfr rhagorol feistrolaeth
presen ni wyr pris a wnaeth
prif afon seion y sydd
berw llawn a bair llawenydd
arwydd enwog Jorddonen
gradd a ffons oi gwraidd ai phen
gwneuthur yn eglur a wna
uwch ei deml iechyd yma
golchi clwyf o gylch cleifion
a bwrw eu haint a bair honn
erioed gwneuthur yr ydoedd
y claf yn iach coelfaen oedd
Dyfnog hael da ofyn ced
breua gŵr a bair gwared
attad y rhed y gwledydd
wrthit sâl o wrthiau sydd
pob cûl afiach pob clefyd
pob gwann o bedwar bann byd

[1] greigie.

[2] kywheddvs.

pob efrydd rhwym afrwydd rhus
pob nifer pob anafus
ebrwydd fydd yn rhydd ir rhain
mawredd oth wrthiau mirain
pob dall gweled ni allai
glod dy nerth gweled a wnai
pob byddar cynnar eu ced
yn glaiar gwnai i glywed
dy ras aml a droes yma
pob mud i ddwedyd yn dda
gwewyr oerion gair irad
ar frech wenwynig oer frad
ith bistill ced cyrched cant
gwych feddwl ag iach fyddant
oth fraint lle mynnaist oth fro
bennadur sant benydio
oerni y dŵr arnad oedd
garw gadarn or garreg ydoedd

hynn a droes fawr einioes fri
einioes yn iechyd ini
tra fuost difost ofeg
urddwr dysg ar y ddaiar deg
rhodres byd nai wrhydri
mewn ystad nis mynnaist di
gwrthod yr holl bechodau
cordio'n fraisg caru Duw'n frau
gwisgo Crist a gwasgu'r croen
rhawn dewbais nid rhan diboen
a haiarn cadarn yn cau
fu ith gylch o faith gylchau
ni fynnaist nerth aberthwr
yn dy bryd ond bara a dŵr
er ynnill gwlad y tad hên
berffaith heb drangc na gorffen.

Incerti authoris.

S. GWENFREWI or WINEFRED

BUCHEDD GWENFREWI

From *Llanstephan MS.* 34 (end of sixteenth century), p. 189.

LYMA VŨCHEḌ Y ṾYRY VENDIGEDIC GṾEN VREṾY Y SANTES ṾYRTHUAṾR A GAFAS GAN ḌŨṾ RAS A GṾYRTHIAÜ YNY BYD HṈN AC YNY NEF.

Yngorleuin ynys Brydain y mae gulad a eluir Cymry ac or nail dü ídi y mae terfynaü Loegyr ac or tü aral eigiaun mor yny gogylchynü a Saint gynt yni chyfanheḍü ac er hynny hyd heḍiu yny theckaü o uyrthiaü cyfulch. Ac o rif y Saint hynny yḍ oeḍ ur da santaiḍ arderchauc cyfulch Beüno oeḍ y enu a hydyr ymhob liossogruyḍ saint oeḍ ef. Ac uedy tremygü o honau dref y dat a gogoniant y byd ac ymurthod o honau ay argyuedüs edylder er ymoglyd ef, [ef] a unaethpuyd yn Vanach ac ar fyrder yn ur perphaith yng Christ. O ḍyna guedi adeilad o honau egluyssaü yn amrafaelion leoeḍ a gossod brodyr ynḍünt y uassanaethü düu ef a ḍysguyd o ḍuyfaul ueledigaeth i fyned ymaith y geisiau y le a uelai ḍüu y fod yn da iḍau y bressuyliau.

A chan ḍeuyssaụ or yspryd glan a cherḍed o honaụ er les i laụer, ef a ḍoeth i lys gụr da cyfoethaục. Tybyt oeḍ y enụ, a mab y bennadür goraü oi ụlad oeḍ ac ni oḍefai gamfraint or byd arnaụ nac ar y rieni: onid kynnal bonheḍ y genedyl a ụnai o ḍefodaü da, ac ymḍangos yn rhagorüs ymhob camp. ac ụedy dyfod y gụr da hụnn Beüno at y gụr a dyụetpụyd vchod ef a ḍerbynniụyd yn arbennedic[1] ac yn anrhydeḍüs, ac ni bü hir yny ḍangosses y sant a oeḍ yny veḍụl. Galụ y gụr da attaụ a oruc a manegi iḍaụ achaụs i ḍyfodiad fal hynn Argluyḍ heb ef o nefaụl rybyḍ ym hanfoned attad ti. Canys gụedy kyvanheḍü o honof yn laụer o leoeḍ a chael o honof bressuylíay[2] gụeḍüs gan fy mryd am euylys ni alaụḍ vy yspryd i hagen orphouys yn vn le. namyn duyfaul ysbryd Angel yn dysgü ym gofuyaụ y le araḷ. Ac o ḍyna gụedy cael o honof i laụer o bressuylfae a ryngynt boḍ ym y doethym i attat ti heb ụybod paham ym hanfones duyfaụl lyụodraeth yma. Canys ni thebygaf i ḍamụeiniaụ hynny heb achos rhyụ yspryd.[3] Canys duyfaụl lüniaeth a gụplaa arfaeth dyn ymhob peth ac ụrth hynny os ti a vfyḍhaa ym damünedaü y perthyn y gụneüthür. Vy nyfodiad i yụ y lafüriaụ iechyd y ti ac (am hynny) ystyria ụrth fy archaeü yn amyneḍüs a meḍylia y deaḷüs honaụt yn graph. Ụrth hynny mi ath ụeḍiaf di yny gyniattaych di oth dref tadaụl ḍylyed gyfrann y ḍuụ ac y minhaü y adailad egluys o honaf i yno y ụassanaethü Düụ ynḍi ac yụ ụeḍiaụ beünyḍ o hynny alañ dros dy iechyd. Sef a orüc yntay Dybyt ụedy meḍyliaụ o honaụ ụneüthyr y euylys. Canys barnai y fod yn ụr teilug o glod ac anrhyḍeḍ. Ac yna atteb a ụnaeth or geiriaü hynn. Jaụn yụ y mi roḍi rhañ y Ḍüụ or hụnn a roḍes yntaü y mi a diolch iḍaụ y roḍion or moḍ y gaḷem. A thithaü y syḍ yn cael daụn arnaf i o fod yn laụen gennyf y roḍi ytti yr hụnn yḍ ụyd yn y erchi ac a ụnn i vod ynn les ym. Ac ụrth hynny rhyḍolynga om plegid i am hetifeḍion o heḍiụ alañ y ụassanaethü düụ. achaụs vn ferch yssyḍ ym diḍanụch bydaụl dec[4] heb vn gobaith etiveḍ yn ol honno. mi ai gorchymynnaf hi y ti: ac ath ụeḍiaf yny eiriolych ar dy argluyḍ lüniaethü y chyfarchuel ụrth i foḍ ef a drychafel fy laụenyḍ innaü o honi hi. Ac ụedy dyụedüd hynny rhoḍi y plas hụnnụ ir gụr da gụynvydedic i adailad egluys ynḍaụ ac y ḍodi gueission yụ gụassanaethü ac yntaü a symüḍaụḍ yr eiḍaụ ef o ḍyno y le araḷ gyferbyn a hynny val y gaḷai ụeled cyfanneḍ y Sant bob aụr or dyḍ. Ve rygausei y Sant y gariad ef ai feḍụl yn gymeint ac yḍ oeḍ ḍigrif ganthaụ edrych ar y le yḍ oeḍ y Sant ynḍaụ achaus aghenrhaid a barai vḍünt na chaent gyd ymḍiḍan yn ụastad. Ac val yḍ oeḍ y Sant ynn rhoḍi y ụaith yr egluys yntaü a ḍodei y ḍuylaụ y hün ar y gụaith ay dreülai

[1] *Margin,* rhybuchedic. [2] *Margin,* ụae, *for* -iay. [3] *Margin,* rhinụeḍ ysbys. [4] *Margin,* ac.

y hün yn ehalaeth ac oy lafür ac oi drausgluyḍ. Ar gụr da sant yn canü opherennaü yn fynych ac yntaü ai ụraic ai ferch (henụ y verch oeḍ Gụenfreuy) a ḍeüynt y ụarandaụ. A phañ oeḍ y gụr da sant yn pregethü geiriaü Düụ yr bobyl y doe y voruyn i ụarandaụ ar ụas Düụ. ac ef a ḍysgai iḍi ystyriaụ yn gaḷ ac yn graph yny chalonn bob peth ar a ḍyụettai. Yr hụnn ni adai Ḍüụ iḍi yn ofer cyn gụyḍai beth vyḍai rhac laụ. Canys y voruyn ụyryf a oeḍ Demyl y Ḍüụ a gymerai o chụannaục ḍamüned yr hynn a glyụai yn graph gofiadür a meḍyliaụ a ụnai ar ḍangos yn baraụd o ụeithredoeḍ yr hyñ a güḍiai yni meḍụl ehün. Ac yn vynych y kymerai gennad gañ y rhieni y vyned at ụas Düụ ac oi sychedic vroñ ef hi a gymerai ac a yfai bob peth a ḍyụedai ef oi velys enaü. A chynn bai annụyl hi a charedic gan y rhieni a hi ynn vn etifeḍ heb obaith mụy da oeḍ ganthünt fynychü o honi at y gụr da sant y gymryd dysc y ymoglyd rhac gorderchiad yụ chaḍụ yn lan a hitheü gan y hannoc o ụarder düụ yn tyfü beünyḍ ụeḷ ụeḷ o bryd a doethineb yn gyflaụn or yspryd glan na fynnai ụr fyth namyn ymgaḍu ụrth Ḍüụ ehün, a ḍyụedai fod yn iachach iḍi ymruymaụ a düụ or dechraü a hi yn gụybod vod ymryd y rhieni y rhoḍi y ụr deḍfaụl y gynnal tref tad a hi a gredai fod yn oreü iḍi ymroḍi i Grist Ac yn yr amser hụnnụ y tynnụyd meḍụl y ụyryf nid amgen or naiḷ dü ofn i rhieni rhac yḍyn y galụ drychefyn o ḍiụrth y meḍụl da y briodi: or tü araḷ cariad Düụ ynny chymeḷ y berpheithiaụ ar vrys yr hynn a gymerassai yny meḍụl. Ai hathro a ḍysgassai yḍi garü Düụ ac ymadaụ ai thad ai mam a chanlyn Crist. | Y hoedran hagen eiḍil ac anaḍfed oeḍ yny lesteiriaụ. Ac oni alai amgen cuplaü y harfaeth hi druy y gur da sant y rhieni a gytünai a hi a thañ lafüriaụ o rad Düụ peri vḍünt gytünaụ a hi am hynny. | A dyfod a orüc hi attaụ ef yny le yḍ oeḍ yn gueḍio mal y cynattai a gostụng o honi gar i fronn ac yn hy mynegi iḍaụ y meḍụl a ḍyụedüd. | Rhadaü duyfaụl eiriaü a haeoḍ dy enaü di ynof i. | Myfi a ḍeuissais heb hi ụrthod hoḷ eḍylder y byd o hynn alann y gadụ vyngueryddaụd er anrhyḍeḍ y Ḍüụ. | A phañ glyụas y sant hynny cyphroi oi ụarder a lyụenyḍ o ụeled duyfaụl had yn eginaụ ynḍi a ḍyụedüd y parai yụ rhieni ḍyfod y gyd ynghyd ac y laḍüriaü ore y gaḷe y ụneüthür yr hynn oeḍ yny adoluc. A hefyd meḍai ef dylyed oeḍ iḍaụ ef gaphael hynny. canys daroeḍ yụ rhieni hi ḍarostụng yụ adoluyn ef y ụneüthyr pob peth ar a fynnai. | Ac o achos rhylenụi y meḍyliaü o rad ac vḍünt erchi i bob ḍyn annoc y merch y garü Düụ. | Ac ụedy adnabod o honünt gan y gụr da sant ḍamüned y merch golung y ḍagraü a ụnaethant a bendigaụ Düụ a chanhiadü yụ rhybüchedic[1] yr huñ yr oeḍ yn y erchi vḍünt,

[1] *Margin, added in later hand,* ddamvned. *Peniarth MS.* 225 *reads* yn rybuchedic yr . . .

ac erchi y Dṻṻ fod yn nerth idi. Ar daoed maur a oedynt [1] a uasgarassant y anghenogion a nerthü y sant a gueission Düu. | A phañ uelson y merch yn mynnü cadu priodas urth vab Düu pob da ar a gynülyssynt ar rheidiaü y gynesgaedü guassanaeth duyfaul ac yn y garü druy brüdder maur a ymruymassant y düu gan gerded yn vniaun phord y guirioned. | Sef a orüc y foruyn pañ gafas y damüned lauenhaü yn vaur ac o chuant yr yspryd glan eiste a unaeth dan draed y sant guynvydedic heb gael dogyn o uarandau ar y geiriaü a draethei ef ae enaü o ogoniant Düu. | Ac uedy canhiadü idi y heuylys o hyñ rhedec a unai o galonn hyfryd ar hyd y phord yngorchmynnaü Düu gan edrych a fai idi rhac lau ac val y douaid y Prophuyd. Lauen oed genthi bressuyliau yn hy Düu beünyd oy chuedyl.[2] Ac yna nid arhoe hi dyfodiad y rhieni yr egluys namyn bryssiau or blaen . ueithiaü erail y guiliae yn yr egluys y nos ac yn vynych annoc a unai hi yr sant bregethü a thraethü moesaü a büched y gur puys. Ac or hol amyned y lauenhae pan glyuai datgan y ragoraü ai deguch ai alü. | A digrifach oed genthi hynny no hol olüd y dayar. A chyd bai hi tyner o oedrañ perphaith ac aren o galoñ a moesaü a phob camp da ar a uedai ar dyn, a oed amyl arni hi, heb chuenychü kam i neb, namyn duyfaul rad [oed] yn gyflaun yndi. Nid oed vychan gan Düu amdani canys tec o unebpryd a hüaudl o ymadrod a gueḋus o gorph yn gubul . ac or achos hynny y cyfodes defnyd ydi y ymrysson a gelyn kenedyl dyn. Canys pan uelas y kythrel hi yn lafüriau yn yr hynn a berthynai oi hiechyd ai vod yntaü yn coli lauer oy hachaus hi, ac yn guanhaü yny.ulad honno, dechraü a orüc yn gubul gyfodi ynny herbyn ac ni pheidiaud oni debygaud darfod idau y gorchfygü hi val na alai argyuedü arnau o hynny alañ ac ynny mod hunn y dechreüaud.

Guedi gorphen o Veüno uaith y egluys druy nerth Düu ai chyssegrü i Düu, y rhai agos a doent idi yn vynych. A pheünyd hayach y doent rhieni y uyry yno i uarando geiriaü Düu. Ac yn hynny Düusülguaith y damchuai naud [3] yu rhieni hi fyned yr egluys y uarando opheren ar voruyn y merch ar ryu achos angen a gymheluyd y drigau gartref. Ac ar hynny dyma Garadauc ab Alauog frenin yn dyfod y meun ar foruyn ehün yn eiste urth y tan. A phan adnabü hi vab y brenhin kyfodi a orüc hi yn vfyd a gofyn beth a vynnai. Yntau a ofynnaud idi pa düed yd aethoed y thad hi ac a douad fod idau lauer o amdidanaü a hi. Ar voruyn a attebaud. Vynhad i heb hi a aeth yr egluys ac o byd neges yt ac ef aro ychydic ac ef a dau yn ehegyr. Ny thebygai hi vod na thuyl na brad ganthau tü ac atti hi. Y ynni ef ai euylys oed yu gorderchü ac or achos hunnu yn myned oy buyl.

[1] *Ibid.*, a oedh vdhvnt. [2] *Ibid.*, hoedl. [3] *Ibid.*, damweiniawdh.

A phan douad y voruyn fod yn rhaid idau aros y thad yr atteboḋ y guas ieüanc Kydsynnia di a myfi a guybyd vymod yn vab y vrenhin ac y galaf i dy diualü di o olüd ac o anrhydeḋ os ti a gydsynnia a mi : a hynny yr uyf i ynn i adoluyn yt. Sef a orüc hi pan uybü y vod ef yn traythü am orderchiad dügochi i huyneb a chymryd arni vod yn druc genthi y gordiues ynn anghouair heb uisgau amdani a dyuedüd urthau. Dioer heb hi canys mab y vrenhin uyd druy nerth düu os tydi am priotta diogel yu ym gaphel kyflaunder o gyfoeth bydol : eissioes aro yny del vynhad i ac ynghyfrung hynny mi a af yr ystauel y ymgueiriau ac a deüaf drachefen yn ehegyr. Sef achos y dyuedai hi hynny y geissiau kilio o i urthau ennyd aur a gueled ydoed hithaü y dyn trüan uedy ennyñü oi chariad hi. A hi a uydiad y bydai hyfach y gelyn arni yn absen i rhieni . urth hynny y keisiai hi ymdiangc oy lau ac yny diued y caniadoḋ ef idi fyned yu ystafel. Kan tebic oed ganthau y doe drachefen yn gyueiriach heb olyd. A hithaü a aeth alan y drus dieithyr a rhedec rhyngthi ar egluys. Ar guas a uybü y pho hi yny le, a chyndarogi o lid a orüc ac ysglyfü y gledyf yn füan ai hymlid ac ef ai gordiuedauḋ yn hauḋ a dyuedüd urthi yn hygar fal hynn. Kyñ no hynn y kerais i dy di, ac y damünais ymuasgü a thi a thithaü yn pho rhagof : ar aur honn yn le guir guybyd di oni bydi di vn a mi oth vod y ledir dy benn ar cledyf hunn. A throi a orüc y voruyn tü a drus yr egluys ac edrych yn ofalüs a uelai neb yn dyfod yu nerthü. Ac uedy na uelai neb yn dyfod ymhoelyd at y guas a dyuedüd. A mab y brenhin tragyuyd a braudur yr hol dynion ym prioded i ac ef, ac ni alaf i gymryd aral ac ni thuylaf i dydi ny fynnaf i neb cnid efe ac ni alaf i dy fynnü di yn disyrhaed idau ef. Ac am hynny tyñ dy gledyf a guna a vynnych o achos ny vynnaf neb onid ef. A phañ glybü yr ysgymmün uas hunnu i dirmygü vely tynnü y gledyf a orüc a lad y phenn ac yna y diguydauḋ penn y voruyn yr laur yn yr vn le y tardauḋ phynnon loyuaf a thecaf y syd yn lithrau yn uastad er hynny hyd hediu ac yn rhodi iechyd i lauer o gleifion o uyrthyaü y uynvydedic foruyn uyry. |

Ac yn emyl yr egluys y las i phenn hi y penn a dreiglauḋ o diyno yr egluys ar corph alan . canys gouayred ysyd or le y las hi yr egluys. A phañ uelas y nifer y penn yn dyfod dan y traed rhyfedü a unaethant yn vaur a meltigiau y neb a unaethoed y ueithred honno. Yna y doeth y thad ai mam a gueled y merch yn varu a diguydau a unaethant dan guynau ac uylau a dolüriau a gueidi yn vchel. A chynnurf dirfaur a gyfodes yn yr egluys gañ baub yn kuyno coli y voruyn a phaub yn tostürio urth y dolür. Y sant a glybü y kynnurf a thebygü mae kyrch a oed yn dyfod ambeñ y nifer. Ar nifer oed yn sevyl a gueled y voruyn a daroed idau i chyssegrü y düu uedy y lad yn greülon

Dolüriau a unaeth ef yn drüan ar gur ay ladassai yn sevyl yn greülon lidioc yn emyl y corph ac yn sychü y gledyf guaedlyd ynguyd paub. Ac o achos y vod yn vab y vrenhin ni thebygai fod arnau dial or byd er y gyflavan honno ny bü arnau yntaü ofyn dyn er guneüthyr hynny. A lidioc vü gan y sant ueled y valched ay vostiach yn guneüthür y gyflafan honno a dynessaü a orüc attau a phenn y voruyn rhung y dulau ac edrych yn uyneb y guas a dyuedüd urthau fal hynn. Yscymünedic iaun heb ef y halogaist darpar dy deguch ath ieüengtid a theilyngdaud dy voned or gyflafan hoñ. A phaham drüan na byd adifar gennyd y ueithred honn? Ti a gynhyruaist y dangneued ac a halogaist yr egluys ath escymmün var gennyd. Yrth hynny cañ nad arbedaist yr egluys ac nad arbedaist bechü Düu Sül. Minnaü a archaf ym hargluyd düu dalü y ti yn dianfod y ueithred anheilung a unaethost. Ar aur y dyuad ef hynny y lynckaud y dayar ef a myned y enaid ay gorph y vphern.[1] A phaub ar a uelas hynny a ofnhaod yn vaur o ueled y guyrthiaü disyfyd hynny. A chüssanü y penn a orüc y sant ac uylau a guasgü y penn urth y corph val y büassai gynt a buru y vantel ar y hyd a chuythü ynn y phroenaü ai rhieni heb adü y dyhüdau yn kuynau y merch ac yntaü a erchis vdünt deui; ac a nessaod tü ar alor y ganü opheren a phaub ai hymdired ar düu ac yn gobeithau ac yna pregethü a orüc yr bobyl o ymadraud tyuyl a dyuedüd ymhlith pethaü erail a oruc ryrodi gofüned y Düu or voruyn uenfydedic a therfynü arni o angaü kyn kael amser o honi y daly y Düu i hadeuid. Ac ef a dyly paub ostung ar daleü y gliniaü y uediau düu am y chyfodi yn vyu gan uybod o honünt y kephynt lauer o les yn ol oy hachos. A hynny a unaethant gan dostüriau goli y voruyn yn anamser. Ac uedy guediau yn hir y gur da sant a gyfodes y dulau tü ar nef a guediau fal hynn.

[2] Argluyd Jessü Grist dros dy gariad ti yr ymurthodes y uyry honn a phethaü dayarau ac y chuenychaud bethaü duyfaul a rhai nefaul: ninnaü a alun arnat yn darostyngedic a guarandau ni yn drigaroc a chyd guyppon ni vod yn uyryf honn a diodefaud er dy gariad ti yn lauenyd nef ac nad oes arni eisiaü yn help ni. Guarando di hagen drigarockaf dad dy veibion yssyd ith uediau yn vfyd a chydsynnia an guedi, par dangos dy fod yn vrenhin ac yn argluyd corphoroed ac eneidiaü, dyro y henaid yndi drachefyn yn drigaroc fal y galo glodfori dy enu di. Ac uedy hir ysbaid druy gyfarch uel daf a chanmaul ymchuelyd attad tithaü düu hol gyfoythauc y Tad ar mab ar yspryd glan druy vyuyd a gogoniant yn oes oesoed ac yna y dyuad paub Amen.

[1] Llynn tawdd ai llynkawdd ir llawr (*Tudur Aled*).
[2] *Margin*, Guedi Beüno

Y voruyn a gyfodes o gysgü a sychü y dom ar chuys o dar y huyneb ar nifer a oed yny chylch yn gyflaun o lauenyd ac anrhyded. Ac yna guedy cyssyldü o düu y penn ar y corph yn y mod goraü ac y büassai er i oed y trigod byth tra fü byu a chraith büruen ar lün edaü gyfroded ynghylch y munugyl phord y torrassid y ardangos y guyrthyaü a unaethoed Düu erdi. A phobyl y ulad honno a dyuad mae Breuy [1] oed i henu hi yna ac o achaus yr edaü uenn oed ynghylch y mynugyl y gelud hi o hynny alan Guenn Vreuy. Ac ef a dyuaid rhai hefyd uedy y myned hi or byd hunn uedy hynny nad ymdangosses hi y dyn er ioed na uelai yr aruyd guynn hunnu ynghylch y mynugyl. A hynny a dengys bod yn rhangaud bod idi uneüthür moliant yr diodefaint hunnu pan dangossei hi hynny yn amluc y gynifer guaith yr ymdangosses. Y le hagen y gordiuedyd [2] y guaed hi yndau a eluid kynn no hynny Sychnant [3] ac uedy diguydo penn y uyryf val y dyuetpuyd vchod y tardaud phynnon deckaf a gloyuaf ar a fü ac y syd yn berui er hynny hyd hediu ac yn rhodi guared y dynion ac anifeiliaid o bob clefyd Ac oi henu hi y cafas y le hunn y enu nid amgen Phynnoñ Gueñ Vreuy. Ac y mae i guaed hi yny phynnon kyñ ired mal y guyl paub ae mynno ar main guedy rheui y guaed arnünt heb fyned byth er dufr or byd o d'arnünt a hefyd y myssogyl y syd ar y kerric yn arrogylfaur megis ystor.[4] Hynod hefyd yntaü gan baub or ulad honno fod y phynnon ar kerric guaedlüd fal y dyuedassan ni vchod yn parhaü yn yr vn ansaud er dangos y guyrthiaü ac yn aruyd galü o honi gynhorthuyau y neb ai guedia hi. Pobyl y ulad honno rhai o honünt nid aduaenünt Düu nai gyfiaunder kyñ no hynny. Pan uelsant gyfodigaeth y uyryf ar guyrthiaü amluc am y phynnon ar guaed, diguydau dan draed Beüno uynfydedic sant a orügant ar erchi y bedydio ac yntaü ai bedydiaud huynt yn rhybüchedic ac ai bregeth ai cadarnhaod ynguassanaeth Duyfaul.

Pa phürüf uedi y chyfodi a pha diued fü yr eidi ni a dyuedun yn ol.

[1] *Margin, in later hand,* Breuy oed i henu hi . o achaus yr ede uen oed ynghylch i munugyl y gelud hi o hyñü alan guenfryuy. *Tudur Aled, however,*

Nôd o amgylch nid ymgudd
Nôd yr arf yn edav rudd.

[2] *Margin,* nefuyd. *Peniarth MS.* 225, gordhineüwyt
[3] *Margin, in later hand,* Sychnant y gelwid y le y kyfodod ffynnon Gwenvrevy.
[4] Main gwiw arogl mewn gweryd
Mwsg o ban yn mysgv byd
Mann pêr ar bob maen purwyn
Main ag ôl gwaed mwnwgl gwyn
Beth ydiw r ôl byth a drig
Bond i gwaed bendigedig
Daigrav val kawad egroes
Dafnav Krist ar vannav kroes (*Tudur Aled*)

Guedy kyfodi ono yntaü [1] y uyryf o feiru mal y dyuedassam ni vchod eiste a orüc y hi yn hyd y dyd dan draed y sant a guediau yn uedüs a gurando y bregeth ar dysc a bregethaü ydi tü ac at Düu. Ac uedy hynny ymafael a orüc ai draed ac erchi idau yn ostyngedic guisgau y dalaith am y pheñ. Canys fy rhieni heb hi a ganhiadaud hynny ymi a thithaü a aduaenost vy medul i a bod yn ysgeülys genyf bob drythyluch bydaul er cariad düu y hün : ac ni dylir na orphenner fynghyssegrü fal y damünaf ac ni alaf fyned o diurthyd yny rodych ym abid rheol y crefyd y dangos fy mod yn lauvoruyn y Düu : urth hynny gyssegredic dad nac anfod uneithür fy namüned ond guna yr hynn yd uyf yny adoluyn it yn di anfod. Ac yna galu a unaethant ar rieni y uyry a manegi vdünt y medul ae harfaeth a dyuedüd rygaphael o honi rad ysprydaul gan düu a bod yn da ganthau yntaü uneüthür y heuylys hi. Ac huyntaü a ganniadassant hynny yn lauen rybüchedic ac yn digrif ganthynt ueled ditheuyd y merch tü ac at Düu. A Beüno a vendigaud y guisc ai thalaith ynn rheoleü y crefyd yn dogyn. A hithaü yñ lauen uedy cael y damüned hi a gafas ar fyrder gyfaruydyd a pherphaithruyd yr hol vrdas gan y gadu. Ac o dyna beünyd y sant yn lauenhaü fuyfuy rhac maint y santeidruyd hi. Ac ef a eluis attau rieni y uyryf ac a dyuad urthünt yr ymadrod hunn. Chuchui heb ef am herbynnaud i yma gyntaf ac a rodassoch ym bob peth ac a adolygais yuch. O dyna chui a rodassoch y mi y le hunn y uassanaethü düu ac a lafüriassoch y gupplaü yn ystic achaus duyfaul daun a phruythaud a nefaul oleüni ynoch ac yn ych merch, ystyriuch yn garedic y rhad a gausoch a gueluch a phryderuch gerded phord yr iechyd ar a dangossed yuch or blaen Ac yr aur honn y hepkoruch chui fynghyfyrgolder i Düu y syd ym galu y le aral a bydych chuithaü urth dysc a chynghoraü a anghreiphiuyd yn [2] auch merch a guybyduch yn le diaü nad y chui ych hünain y dyry hi gred iechyd namyn ir bobyl yn gubyl rhac lau. A throi at y voruyn. Düu yssyd heb ef yn gorchymyn y ti gyfanhedü y le hunn ai bressuyliau a dysgü erail heb orphouys fod y vüched fal y dysgaist dithaü genyf fi. Canys ti a brynaist füdügoliaeth a Düu a dyn a uelas dysgü lauer oth gariad ti yny byd hunn o anghreipht dy füdugoliaeth. Ac o hynn alan tydi biaü cyfanhedü y le hunn a guerydon gyd a thi yn guassanaethü Düu. A guybyd di nad yma y byd dy huedel [3] Canys uedy y bych di yma saith mlyned ymhoen dy gorph yn guassanaüthü Düu rhaid yu yt gan dysgü yn duyfaul gofuy le aral druy dy anfon o Düu y oleühaü tyuyluc kalonnaü lauer. A chopha hynny a diaü y byd anrhydedüs

[1] *Margin,* Bevno.
[2] *Margin,* y.
[3] *Peniarth MS.* 225, y bydh diwedh dy hoedl di.

dy gof yny byd hunn ac y gobruyi ar düu gaphael o lauer uared oi gofidion druot ti. Ac yna uylau a thristaü yn faur a orüc y uynvydedic uyryf pan oed Beüno yn myned.

Ac yna Beüno ai kymerth hi erbyn i lau ay duyn i lann y phynnon ai dodi ar vn or main a oed yno ac y syd etto yngofer y phynnon a hunnu a eluir maen Beüno. A ueli di yma etto ol dy diodefaint lyma y maen yn bürgoch oth uaed er dangos dy vyrthyrü di er Düu. Ar guaed a fyd fyth yn ir er anrhyded tragyuyd i ti ac yn dysc i lauer. Ac urth hynn copha fynghynghoraü i a datgan i erail yn anrhydedüs ac huy a deüant rhac lau yñ les i lauer.

Tri pheth a rodes Düu yt ac yr neb ath anrhydedo yñ ol. Y cyntaf yu nad oes neb ryu dyn nar dufyr y syd yn rhedec drostyn na neb hagen a alo golchi y guaed o di ar y main namyn bod fyth yn uaedlyd y dangos galü Düu ai ogoniant ath diuairded dithai.

Yr ail pa ofid bynnac or byd a fo ar y neb ath uedio ac a geisio guared gennyd ef ai caiph y uaith gyntaf ne yr ail neü yr drydyd beth bynnac à archo ar a fo kyfiaun ef ay cayph yma ac yny nef.

Y trydyd yu pañ eluyfi ymaith mi a gerdaf gan lau y mor yr le a uelo Düu [yn da] ym yu gyfanhedü a chyd boed pel rhofi a thi düu a orchymynnaud yti fynghophaü oth rodion bob bluydyn. A phañ fo paraud gennyd yr anrhec a anfonych ym dyro ynn y phynnon a gad ido uneüthür a fynno ac ef a dau druy nerth Düu ar hyd y mor yn di lugur sych hyd attaf.

Ar tri pheth hynny a gefaist gan düu a datgan lauer dyn rhac lau er cophaü dy glod fyth. Ac uedy darfod idau duedüd hynny ef ai düc hi drachefen yr egluys ac a dyuad urthi fal hynn. Lyma heb ef y Demyl a adeilais i a lauer ath rieni di hefyd a adauafi yti o dyna kynnül di ath Dad lauer o uerydon y uassanaethü Crist a chynnal dy reol ath vrdas yn di dramguyd a dysc y füchedockaü fal y dysgais innaü dy di. A guybyd di y dengys Düu y uyrthiaü ai nerth er les y lauer yny le hunn ac y adnabod ac eñil y neb a bressuylio ymaf ef a gaiph dynion ac anifeiliaid uared yny le hunn. A byd dithaü phüryf ac exampyl iechyd i baub ar ath uelo A mi a af o dyma y le aral ath gof a vyd ym kalonn.

Ac uedy dyuedüd hynny kymryd y fagyl a dechraü kychuyn a hol dodrefn y dy a phob peth a rodassai phydlonnion idau er düu ac a adeuis ef y le hunnu yr uyryf vendigedic ac yu chydymdeithesse ac yna guedy gorchymyn paub y Düu ai gado yn iach kerded a orüc ef ac vn ysgolhaic y gyd ac ef ac edrych drachefyn ar Venn Vreuy ac uylo a orüc rhac dihired ganthau y gado. A hithaü o achos y eiriaü ef ai fynediad ymaith yn uylau ac yn tristaü yn vaur ac yn dyuedüd y gadau heb gyngor heb geiduadaeth ymhlith drygaü ac yn diphaith

genthi heb ymgeled y thadmaeth a lauer yn profi y disteui. A hitheü ay kyfhebryngaud ef heb lau yr egluys ac yn didanuch maur genthi hynny. Ac ni alai neb attal ar y phord y huylau rhac tosted ganthünt ueled y drych hi. Ar Sant o vaur uarder yn golung y dagreü. Ac eissioes terfynü a fynnaud ar y guynfan honno a rhedec ymaith o i urthi a drychafel y lau ai chroesi ai ganlyn a unaeth y uyryf tre i guelas. Ac o dyna y troassant adre ac ni alai deui ai huylau rhac dihired oed genthi am y hathro. Ac uedy lithrau ychydic o amser cophaü a orüc y uyryf fendigedic y hymchueledigaeth ai moliant ai diodefaint a phregethaü Beüno y hathro kymryd a unaeth uastadruyd guraul yndi ac ym urthlad a thristuch ac ymrodi y uasanaethü Crist y gur a gofiassai gadu y diuairdeb hi idau ef tra fai fyu. O dyna kyñül atti ferched bonedigion a dysgü vdünt garü diueirdeb a dirmygü edylder y byd a gostung dan ued Crist a thruy reol y crefyd guassanaethü Düu. A phan uelas rhai eglürder y chyfarchuyl hi ai hynaus brüdder ai hysprydaul rad y dechreuassant y guisgau ynn vynachessaü ar ol y crefyd. A hithaü ai gunaeth ac a fü vigail da yn dysgü vdynt gadarnhaü [yn] yr Euengil a dysc y Saint rhac brad y kythraül: ac annoc vdynt garü Düu yny calonnaü ac ni pheidiaü yn uastad a dysgü vdünt uassanaethu Düu a bod o honi hi yn uassanaethgar vdünt. Ac ar ychydic o amser hi a doeth ar orüchelder nerthoed mal y dangossai hi fod Crist a doethineb Düu ai nerth yny chalonn. Canys or nail barth y gunai urthiaü amluc mynych or parth aral y dangossai hi dysc ac iechyd a genaü gloiu yn phruythlaun ac y tyfoed y chofent o nerthoed gan beri o honi hi vdünt huy y hadnabod hi ac adnabod Düu. A lauen oed yntaü gan y genfaint lan honno o fod y cyfriu famaeth a honno yny blaen a gueled campaü da yn amyl arni ac adnabod a uneynt fod nefaul [rad] yn tyuynnü arni yn phruythlaun achos yd oed hi yn uastad yn lafüriau dangos büched nefaul y baub a charü Düu. Huyntaü a dechreüassont fod yn deilung. Hi a ostyngai galonnaü dynion düyfaul yn vfyd idi a dynion phydloñ ai hanrhydedai ac yn digrif gan baub fod yn agos atti o achos i daioni ai dysc ai gurthiaü yn gloyuhaü y ulad oi hachaus ar guerydon a oed gyd a hi yn gueled hynny yn digrifo ar les fuy fuy ac yn myned uel. Ac fal yd oed hi fely yn lafüriau gueithredoed da a nefaul oleüni ynghylch ogylch oi hachaus kophaü a orüc hi eiriaü y hathro ar danfon idau y rhyu dlus a hynny a gyñhelis yny bryd a lafürio hi ai morynnion a guneüthyr Capsül[1] uedüs y uas Düu. A phan doeth y dyd y dylyai danfon yr anrhec sef oed hynny Düu calan Mai hi a doeth a lauer or guerydon gyd a hi hyd y phynnon [yr le] y gorchymynnassai Veüno dodi yr anrhec a chymryd y gapsül a orüc hi ai phlygü meun

[1] *Ibid.*, Cassul.

touel guynn ai furu yny phynnon a pheth rhyfed ni uelid y dufyr ynn gulychü dim ar y liain vchaf namyn rhedec yn sych ar hyd y phrud yr afon faur ac yr mor ac a doeth gan donnaü erbyn y pylgain hyd y traeth le yr oed y Sant yn kyfanhedü. A phan oed Beüno y bore ar lañ y mor yn dyfod or egluys y rodio, lyma ryfedod ar y dufyr ac ef a adeuis y tonnaü ar y traeth ryu syppyñ guynn. A nessaü a orüc y edrych beth oed. A phañ edrychaud ef a gafas gapsül neuyd heb ulychi dim arni. A medyliau a unaeth ef am y defaud a rhyfedü y gueled hi yn sych yny mor. Ac efe doeth cof idau yno Venn Vreuy y garedic uyryf am anfon y tlus idau bop bluydyn ai vuru yny phynnon ac yr adnabü druy yr yspryd glan mae hi ai danfonassai idau ac mae angylion ai haruenaud dros for idau hyd yno . ai chymryd a unaeth a diolch i düu ai dodi yn yr egluys y arfer o honi a lauen fü ganthau y gophaü or uyryf a bod y chlod ai heglürder yn goleühaü y ulad. Ac erchi a unaeth y Düu rodi rhad a nerth idi y drossi kyduybod erail ar duyuolder. O dyna bob Düu calan Mai bop bluydyn y danfonai hi anrhec yu hathro tra fü fyu yny mod y dyuedassom ni vchod. A chyd bai lauer rhyngthünt ynghylch dec mildir a deügain neü fuy ef a dauai yn oed vn nos ar uyneb y mor hyd ymhorthua y hathro. Ac am hynny y gelud ef Beüno gasül sych am dyfod y gasül ar uyneb y mor yn sych attau. Ac yn hynny pann oed Veüno yn gyflaun o uyrthiaü a champaü da ac yn gadau y byd hunn a myned y deyrnas nef y gurthiaü ar anrhyfedodaü a unaeth yn fyu ac uedy y faru yd ys yn y dangos ac yn bendiadnod ef a dyuedir uneüthür o honau muy o urythiaü yn faru noc yn fyu. A phañ doeth at Venn Vreuy y varuolaeth ef hi ai kyfhebryngaud ef a dagreü lauer a guediaü a dyuedüd a orüc hi nad oed didanuch dyniaul uedy hynny a biin vü genthi gyfanhedü y le yd oed yndau uedy hynny. Ac ymhen ychydic o amser guedy maru y rhann fuyaf oi chydymdeithesseü cophaü y le yr oed yndo a dyfod cof idi y hathro ai eiriaü y bydai raid idi gofuyau le aral ymhenn y saith mlyned ac ysgaylüssau y hadailiadaü ac anod fü genthi orpheñ yno y fluydyn honno ac o achaus bod y thynn ar le aral ni alai orphouys tra fai yno. Ac uedi myned yr amser heibiau a hitheü yn baraud y fyned ymaith drychafel y duylau ar Düu a orüc ai hol galonn ac erchi idau y throssi yr le y bai da gantho ef ac y bai les y erail a bendigau y le y büassei yndau ac erchi y Düu puy bynnac a delai yr egluys hoño y uediau ac y geissiau guared er y chariad hi y rodi vdynt. Ar uedi honno a glybü Düu megis y tystia lauer o genedloed a gafas guared yno o amryu heiniaü a dangossir guedi datgan yr ystoriae. A gofalü a orüc Guenn Vreuy am gyuaruydyd idi tü ai hynt ai harfaeth. Ac val y bydai nosuaith yn cysgü nychaf lef yn dyfod atti fal hynn. Cymer vn voruyn gyd a thi a dos hyd at uas

Düụ y syḍ ym Hotfarri a chymer gyngor pa le yḍ elych y bressụylio. Ar Sant hụnnụ gụr maụr oeḍ gar bronn düụ ac yn cerḍed druy orchymynnaü düụ ai gyfiaụnder yn ḍidic. Ac efe a ḍyụedir ụneüthür o Ḍüụ ụyrthiaü tec nid amgen kyfọdi o honaụ phynnoñ or ḍaiar a drychafel y laụ ai bendigaụ ac erchi y Ḍüụ pụy bynnac o ḍyn claf a ymdrochei ynny phynnon honno y vyned adref yn iach. Ac vely y bü megis y tystiaụḍ laụer a gafas iechyd yno . a laụer o ụyrthiaü a ụnaeth ụedy i farụ.

A laḍroñ gynt a aethant hyḍ y mynụent Ḍier y Sant a ḍyụetpụyḍ vchod ac a gaụssant ḍeü farch yno ac ai dügant. Ar gụyr y bioeḍ y meirch a ḍoethant y geissiaụ y meirch yny le y gadaụssent . ac ụedy nas caụsant hụynt y gụybüant y dụyn yn ledrad a myned adref a orügant a dụyn canhụyle ganthün a chyrchü yr egluys a dodi y kanhụyle ar yr alor ac ụedy nad oeḍ oleüad ynḍynt na than yụ goleüo. Gụeḍiaụ a ụnaethant ar roḍi o ḍüụ ar Sant oleüad vḍünt. Ar sant a ụarandeụis y gụeḍi a goleüo y canhụyle gar y bronn ac yna mụy fü y deissif gar bronn y Sant a gobeithaụ cael y da drachefen a ḍygessid ar gam ac nis tụyluyḍ y meḍụl canys ụedy darfod yr laḍron ai dygasynt hụy adaụ y ụlad ai dianck edrych a ụnaethant pa hyḍ y ḍathoeḍynt. A phan edrychyssant yḍ oeḍent yn troi ynghylch y fynụent. Ac yna ofyñ maụr a aeth arnünt rhac y cael yno a gụybod na byḍai ḍi boen vḍynt o delid. Troi ar draụs phorḍ araḷ ac ni bü ụannach yna nerth Düụ no chynt canys pañ oeḍ ḍiaü ganthynt y myned ymheḷ ar dyḍ yn goleühaü yr oeḍynt ụedy dyfod yr vn le ac yn disgynnü yn y fynụent ar aụenaü am y dụylaụ. Ar gụyr a golassai y meirch nid aethant or le hụnnụ onid aros yn yr egluys a gueḍiaụ Düụ ar Sant a gobeithiaụ cael nerth yn ebrụyḍ. A phañ ḍoeth y bore hụynt a ḍoethant or egluys ac a ụelsant y meirch ar gụyr ai dygassai yny dala ar y porth. A bendigaụ Düụ a diolch ir Sant a ụnaethant a chymryd y meirch a giḷụng y laḍroñ ymaith yn ḍi boen. Am hynny yntaü y geḷir dyalt fod yn faụr gan Ḍüụ gobrụy y Sant yḍ anfoned Gụenn Vreụy attaụ fal y dyụedassom vchod. Y gyssegredickaf ụyryf a orchymynnaụḍ y Ḍüụ y le ai chydymdeithion a chymryd vn foruyn gyd a hi a chyrchü ymaith ac ụyth miḷdir oeḍ hyḍ y le yḍ oeḍ y Sant Dier oeḍ y enụ a hi a ḍoeth hyḍ yno ac ef ai derbynniaụḍ yn anrhydeḍüs ganmoledic a gistụng i ụeḍiaụ yn gyntaf a orügant ac yna eiste eiḷ daü a mynegi or ụyryf achos y dyfodiad iḍaụ yn gụbyl. Ar gụr da sant a atteboḍ iḍi fal hynn. Dioer heb ef ni ụnn i etto ḍim o i ụrth y kyngor hụnn namyn tric heno gyḍ a mi y edrych beth a fo da gan Ḍüụ y fynegi ynni. A laụen fü genthi hithaü hynny Canys gụyḍiad hithaü yr atteb nefaụl a ḍathoeḍ atti y dysgai y sant idi beth a ḍylyai y ụneüthür. Ac fal y byḍai y sant hụnnụ yn gụeḍiaụ y nos mal y gnottai nychaf lef

or nef yn dyfod ac yn dyụedüd ụrthaụ. Arch di ym caredickaf verch i Gụenn Vreụy santes fyned hyḍ at Saḍụrn sant hyḍ yn Henlañ a hi a glyụ ganthaụ ef beth a ḍylyo y ụneüthür neü pa le y terfyno y chụedel. A thrannoeth y bore galụ a orüc Dier y ụyryf attaụ ac ni chelaụḍ rhagḍi ar a glyụsai yn ḍụyfaụl a dangos iḍi y phorḍ at y sant hụnnụ a dyụedüd mae gan hụnnụ y kae ysbyssrụyḍ ar y hynt. A Gụenn Vreụy a fü laụen o fod yn ḍiaü genthi gael hysbyssrụyḍ gan Ḍier fod i hargluyḍ yn ymgleḍü am dani a chymryd kennad y sant a chyrchü hi ai chymdeithas tü ac at Saḍụrn. A phan ḍoeth hi laụen fü ef ụrthi : ac ef a erchis iḍi drigo y nos honno gyḍ ac ef. A thrannoeth ef a fanegei iḍi y neges. A hynny a ụnaeth hi. A hi a dyụad mae o orchymyñ Düụ y doethoeḍ attaụ ef y ḍysgü iḍi pa dü y kyrchai. A thrannoeth y bore Saḍụrn sant a ḍyụad ụrthi fal hynn. Y mae le heb ef a eluir Gụytherin yn laụn Saint depholedic gan Ḍüụ ac yñ anrhydeḍüs gan y bobyl y le hụnnụ y crchymyn y ofụy ai bressụylfa yno tra fych fyụ y ḍysgü eraiḷ. Yno y mae gụr maụr y gampaü ai nerthoeḍ yn Abad Eleri yụ y enụ. Gụr oeḍ ef gụastad y ụeḍi a düụiol o i ụrth bethaü bydaụl ai ynni o gụbụl ymhethau nefaụl. Ac at hụnnụ yr erchis Düụ ym beri yt fryssiaụ. A thi a gephi fynegi yt a ụnelych tra fych di fyụ. Canys yno y mae gụerydon ụedy i kyssegrü ac ụedy rhoḍi y proses [1] i Ḍüụ ac oi mebyd yn cadụ y diụeirdeb hụynt a fyḍant ụeḷ ụeḷ oth ḍysc di ac o anghyriphtiaü Düụ. A chyd boed cyflaụn geiḍụad yny cadụ hụy ynguassanaeth Crist, hụynt a fyḍant ystigach oth ḍyfodiad ti. Ac ef a fyḍ mụy golaü ḍụyfaụl yn tyụynnü arnaḍynt. A phan glybü hi ennụi y gụerydon laụen a fü a dyụedüd mae gyd ar rhai hynny yḍ oeḍ ḍa genthi drigaụ . ac erchi peri kyfrụyḍyd yn gyntaf ac i geḷid iḍi tü ar le hụnnụ. A Saḍụrn sant a anfones y Diagon gyd a hi hyḍ at Eleri. Ac yntaü ehün ai hebryngaụḍ dalm. Ac ụedy ymḍiḍan laụer o naḍynt am y le yḍ oeḍ hi yn myned iḍaụ ac am bob peth a berthynai am hynny ymhoelüd a orüc y sant ac erchi y bendith. A hi a erchis i ḍüụ roḍi laụer o ḍaioni iḍaụ ef. Ac ar hynny yḍ ymadeụis y Sant a hi. Ar Sant a ḍoeth adref drachefen. A hithaü a nessaaụḍ yr le yḍ oeḍ y harfeḍyd. Ar gụr da Sant a ḍyụetpụyḍ vchod nid amgen Eleri a ụybü druy yr yspryḍ glan y bod hi yn dyfod parth ac yno. Ac ef a gerḍaụḍ yny herbyn yn ebrụyḍ ac a fü laụen ụrthi mal y ḍylyai ac ef ai derbynniaụḍ hi yn anrhydeḍüs megis y gụeḍai yr phydlonaf voruyn ḍüụ. Ar Diagon a ḍathoeḍ o ḍi ụrth Saḍụrn sant gyḍ a hi hyḍ yno a fynegis yr gụr da sant hụnn mal y dangossai Ḍüụ yḍy athro ef o ḍụyfaụl ụeledigaeth bob peth ar a fụassai ac ar a ḍylyai fod rhac laụ. Ac vely yr anfoned hithaü attaụ ef yr le hụnnụ o orchymyn Düụ. Ac ụedy y chresaụy hi or sant yn gyntaf yn anrhydeḍüs

[1] *Ibid.*, profes.

ef ai düc hi yr egluys y uediau ac uedy terfynü y uedi ef a erchis idi fod yn hyfryd lauen ac o dyna ef ai geluis attau y ymdidan yn gyfrinachol a hi a gofyn idi beth oed yny medul y uneüthür. Kyn guypuyf vi phüryf dy vüched di oi dechraü ac megis y dechreüaist di gaphel rhinuedaü da ac megis y las dy benn ac mal y mae dy uaed yn dangos aruydion dy faruolaeth da oed gennyf dyued o honaut dy hün ath enaü pa achos y lafüriaist dyfod yr hynt honn. Ar uyryf a attebaud idau fal hynn. Y neb a fynegis ytti yr hynn a fanegaist di ymi yr aur honn mi a debygaf fanegi o honau yt yr hynn yssyd ym bryd a pha ham y doethym yma urth hynny. Canys Düu am hanfones i attad ti. Derbynn dithaü fi a luniaetha fyngorchuyl o hyñ alañ megis y rhydangossed yt o nefaul ueledigaeth. Ar gur da sant hunnu a gafas yny gyngor uediau y nos honno y geissiau guybodaeth gan Düu am y neges hunnu ai guedi. A guediau oni hithaü yn vfyd am fanegi am hynny. Ac val y byd y sant yn guediau a Guenn Vreuy hefyd yn guediau ac yn guiliau, vo dangossod yr yspryd glan hyspyssuy dam y neges hunnu y Eleri Conphessor cyssegredic ac ef yn gorphouys pan ydoed y dyd ar nos yn guahanü ; a lauenhaü yn faur a orüc ef a dyfod y bore le yd oed Venn Vreuy ai guasgü attau a dyuedüd idi fod diofaluch a diogeluch o hynny alan idi byth ai chymryd erbyn y lau ai duyn y gofent y guerydon a oed yny le hunnu fal y dyuedassom ni vchod . a thraethü a orüc urthynt yr ymadrodion hynn. Bydych iauen hyfryd hygaraf ferched canys maur urthiauc yu in faint y goleüni a fynnaud duyfaul drigared düu y dyuynnü arnauch chui. Lyma heb ef y diauyuys uyry honn [1] attauch y drigau ac y vüchedockaü gyd a chui megis y boch diuidiach yn guassaethü Düu ai bücheḍ hi ai help ac y capho hithaü dâl gan Düu am ych dysgü: Lyma heb ef Venn Vreuy y voruyn a glyusoch lauer o i urthi a dirmygaud gynt am hed a byguth y neb a fynnassei y gorderchü ac yny diued er cadu y diueirdeb a deuissaud dorri i phenn. A lyma y uyry y mae aruydion büdügoliaeth yn ymdyuenygü yr egluys ac yr ulad honn. A honn ehun a uyr y cayph gan Düu palym merthyroliaeth a büdygoliaeth Conphessor y gyd a hi y douad y drigau yma gyd a chui ac y aros y diuarnod. Ac y hi a geisiaud y nef oi gobruyon ac y mae y le hi ynghadu ymhlith guynfydigion ferthyri . urth hynny bydych lauen am y dyfodiad ac anrhydedych yr y sult nefaul hunn y syd yn auch plith a dysguch yn astüd y gueithredoed a dysgybluch urthi. Canys y gorvchaf ai hanfones hi yma y dysgü o honauch urthi y gaphael gobruy o honauch gyd a hi yn y nef a bod y le hunn tra byrhapho y byd yn glodforüs oi hachaus hithaü. Ac uedi y geiriaü hynny troi

[1] *Margin, in later hand,* Di-awyddus. *Peniarth MS.* 225, y dhihewyt dyûot y wyry honn.

a orüc ar vn or argluydessaü a oed vam idau ehün a phrelades ar y lail oed lianod. Y ti heb ef garedickaf vam y gorchmynnaf i geiduadaeth y uyry honn yssyd garedic gan düu yn uanredaul calyn di y hi a disgybla urthi a phrydera ymhob peth ar a berthyno idi a dilyn y bod ymhob peth yn gal a guybyd di a guybyded paub o hanauch mae o duyfaul ueledigaeth y danfoned hi yma attauch chui. A hefyd ba muyaf a vo ych amgeled chui am dani hi muyaf fyd pryder düu ai gaiduadaeth ynghylch y le hunn. Ac uedy darfod idau dyuedüd hynny yd aeth ef ymaith ac y trigaud hithau Guenn Vreuy gyd a lauvorynnion Crist o hynny alan ac yna hi a dangosses gorüchelder crefyd a champaü ydy chydymdeithessaü val y douad or blaen y Sant bendigedic o uastadruyd a glendid ac iechyd yn vn phünyd a phe i bai yna yn dechraü myned ynghrefyd guastadaul ymarbed ac ymardel a cheiduadaeth dayoni ac uedy guastad santeidruyd ac vfyd gyfaruel oed yndi, ar guerydon erail yn kymryd taduys anrhyded ac vfüddaud genthi hi ac yny guneüthyr ynn rhac vlaenuraic vdünt ymhob iechyd a phob adfuynder ac yny hanrhydedü ynn faur ar brelades a oed arnünt nid amgen no mam Eleri. Theon oed y henu a oed yn cadu o diuid amgeled ac yn guneüthür pob peth oi chyngor yn fuy noc o gyngor yr hol uerydon rhac guastatted yd oed yn guiliau ac yn ymarbed ac yn traythü o damyneḍaü gulad nef gan olung dagraü phruythlaun o bob vn o honünt. A Theon yn argluydes vaur y haudürdaud a gorüchel y chrefyd ac ystic ymhob gueithred da ac er daed genthi bob vn or guerydon muy oed genthi hi Venn Vreuy nac Eleri ai frodyr hefyd. A phaub or ulad a deuynt y edrych arni fal y torryssid i pheñ dros gariad Crist. A dyuedüd y guneüthür o Düu hi yn fyu. A phuy bynnac a uelai y graith ar y mynugyl ny elynt attal y huylau am y merthyroliaeth. A dydguaith yd aeth Eleri y glostyr y mynachessaü y ofuy Guenn Vreuy ac i draethü geiriaü Düu urthi ac uedy ymdidanü onadünt y Sant yr hunn oed yny fryd. Lauen heb ef yu gennyf dy dyfod yr le hunn urth fynghladü am cophaü uedy buy faru. A mi a erchais i Düu yn fynych anfon yr le hunn nebün oi ueision neü oi forynnion urth fynghladü ac y anrhydedü y le hunn yn fy ol i. Nid fely debygaf i heb y Guenn Vreuy y byd noc in liniaethaud Düu rhaid yu itti fod yn ol y gladü f'argluydes i dy vam di: ac o dyna ymhenn ychydic o flynydoed y cledi [1] fynghorph innaü a gorphen dy vücheḍ dithaü druy dangnefeḍ y fyned at Düu nef y gymryd a rodaist yu gadu.

Ar Sant pañ glyuas hynny a aeth ymaith ac ef a doeth yn ehegyr y phrophuydoliaeth hi. Canys yn ebruyd uedy hynny y clyfychod

[1] *Corrected in margin,* gladü,

Theon ac y guahanauḍ y henaid ai chorph. Ac yna y hadnabü hi yḍ ai o ḍi urth y chofent ac yna kuynauṿ yn faur a unaethant ac uylauṿ am goli y mam ai golchassai huy oi pechod ac ai magassai ynguassanaeth Düu ai didanü huynt a orüc hi a dyuedüd na dylent guynauṿ dyfod büched ḍa yn ol vn druc. Canys gyd a Düu y mae digrifuch a solas ar lyuenyḍ ac yma y mae y tristuch ar dolür ar kuynfan. Ac erchi vdünt fod yn lauen o achauṿ y bod hi ynn myned or le yḍ oeḍ y le oeḍ uel a chuitheü a dyleuch yn amynedüs odef fy mynediad a chui yn caphel y uynfydedic Gueñ Vreuy gyd a chui yr honn a dysc yuch bob peth a berthyno ar iechyd . edrychuch arni hi a dysgybluch urthi a guybyḍuch y byḍ Düu nerth yuch ymhob peth o byḍuch urth i chyngor. Ac uedy y geiriaü hynny cymryd gan Eleri Conphessor gymün o gorph Crist ai uaed ac ymdif vannü or byd [1] a thalü i henaid i Ḍüu a hi a gladuyd yn anrhydeḍüs.

Ar gur da sant a orchmyñoeḍ y Venn Vreuy gaduedigaeth y gueryḍon erail. A chyd keisiai hi urthod hynny ar dalm rhac ofyñ Düu hi a gymerth y baych hunnu arni. O hynny alan nid oeḍ a alai ḍatcanü y hystigruyḍ hi a maint yḍ oeḍ yn poeni y chorph a maint y chariad ai heglürder tü a phauṿ . namyn pauṿ ai carai o beḷ ac agos fal y dylynt. Ar guynfydedic Eleri ar saint pennaf a oeḍ yn trigauṿ yng Hymrü a ḍarostyngynt ydi ac ai hanrhydeḍynt hi a goreügüyr y ulad yn damünauṿ i phorthi a phauṿ o blegid y phregeth a droed at Ḍüu. A ladron ar defeisuyr [2] pan glyuynt y phregeth a gymerynt adifairuch yny calonnaü ac a arafheynt ac a gymerynt benyd ar fyrder nid oeḍ neb yny ulad ni chaphai les oi hachos ac ni elid dyuedüd maint lyuenyḍ Eleri am hynny a phregethü a unae yn fynych yr bobyl oi hachauṿ a dyuedüd y hanfon o düu y oleühaü pobyl phydloñ y ulad honno. Canys anneirif o gleifion a gafas iechyd oi guyrthiaü hi pan uañ [3] bynnac a ḍelai atti hi ef a ai yn iach hyfryd adref a ḍelai yn drist ef ai adref yn hyfryd lauen.

Ac yna y damchueinauḍ ar uynfydedic uyryf yn guassanaethü Düu orüchel frenhin lyma yr argluyḍ Jessü yn mynnü duyn y lau voruyn o gaethiued y byd hunn y orphuyssua dragyuyḍaul yn hysbyssü idi yn y egluys a hi yn gueḍiauṿ bod yñ agos i therfyñ yn dyfod A phan uelas hi y galu ac adnabod bod düu yn y gobruyauṿ, dechreü ymbaratoi a orüc hi y gyrchü lyuenyḍ teyrnas ḍüu ac yna gueḍiauṿ a unai hi beünyḍ o hyd nos yn yr egluys a heb adü dim y dyḍ heb uneüthyr ar a dylyai a mynegi yr gueryḍon a oeḍ gyd a hi bod y dyḍ yn agos. Vylauṿ a orügant a thristaü a hithaü yn profi y didanü a dyuedüd na

[1] *Peniarth MS.* 225, divlannv or byt hwñ.
[2] *Ibid.*, ay threiswr. [3] *Ibid.*, pa wann.

dylyent dristaü er i myned hi o ansauḍ lygredic yr ansauḍ ni elir y lygrü ac o drüeni yr lyuenyḍ a dyuedüd y dylyent lauenhaü am y bòd yn myned at y hargluyḍ le y galai eiriol drostynt ac annoc arnünt ymoglyd rhac ystriu y kythreül ai duyl a discybly urthi hi megis y caphent foḍ Düu.

Ac uedy dyuedüd hynny y Eleri dolüriauṿ a orüc amdani a damünauṿ a unai y chyphessü a thre fai yn aldüdeḍ y byd can guydiad y bod o rad yr yspryd glan a chyd elai hi o dralauḍ y byd hunn y lyuenyḍ tragyuyḍ aniodefüs oeḍ ganthauṿ goli y didanuch ai dauṿn ynghynurys y byd.[1] Ac yntaü o huyl bügail da yn dyfod yu gofuy ac yn ymdidan a hi ac y beri idi bob peth ar a uypai y fod yn les ydi. Ac yn hynny y dechreüauḍ y uyryf lesmeiriauṿ o ueuyr yn y chorph a guanhaü beünyḍ fuy fuy . hi a adnabü y bod yn darfod a drychafel y düylauṿ ar Ḍüu bod yn geiduad ac yn escob yu henaid ac nas gattai yn ysgafaeth y kythreül a galu Eleri Conphessor a chymryd y chyñiyn a unaeth. A phan uelas y gueryḍon hi yn guanhaü dolüriauṿ a unaethant. Ac yna y dyuad hi eiriaü didanüs fal hynn. Na thristeuch chui fy merched yn ormod er gadauṿ o honofi y gyfarchuel hunn a myned y drügareḍ Düu ar aur honn y mae yn lauen genyfi urthod gur dayarol a hoḷ drythyluch y byd dros gariad düu Ac urth hynny guybyḍuch chui fy mod yn myned at y gur a ḍeuisais y mlaen yr hoḷ fyd . a mi a uelaf yñ oes oesoeḍ y gur y tremygais i fy hün a hoḷ drythyluch fynghynauḍ er i gariad a chuithaü a dylyuch garü y rhyu argluyḍ a hunnu ai ḍamünaü ai geisiauṿ ymlaen pauṿ a chadu yr ammod ar gred ar diuidruyḍ a aḍausoch a chui a eluch oi nerth ef aros ych dyḍ yn ḍi bryder a moglyd brad ych gelyn y gael tragyuyḍaul dangneḍef. Ac edrychuch mae peth amherhaüs ysgafn yu yr hunn a ueluch ach lygaid cnauḍaul ac ny dylyuch rodi bryd ar yr hunn yssyḍ heḍiu ac a diflanna y fory ; na ḍeuissuch beth tranghedic ymlaen y da ny ḍerfyḍ byth yny le y mae tangneḍef a diogelruyḍ a lyuenyḍ tragyuyḍ. Ac uedy y ueḍi honno erchi y Ḍüu argluyḍ gymryd y henaid rhug i duylauṿ. Ac yna y trydyḍ dyḍ o vis calan gayaf a hi yn gueḍiauṿ y talauḍ y henaid yn lauṿ y Creauḍyr ynghydymdeithas Engylion a phauṿ ar oeḍ yny le yn gueled hynny yn ymolung o ḍagreü a chuynfan. A phauṿ yny chuynauṿ ar gueryḍon a oeḍ yny chyd oesi o ḍirfaur guynfañ am y hargluydes ac athro i iechyd. A phauṿ yn kuynauṿ y mynediad. Ac yna y doeth Eleri yu dyhüḍauṿ ac erchi vdynt deui. Ac uedy gorchymmyn y henaid y Ḍüu dechreü paratoi pob peth ar a berthynai tü ac at aruylynt y uyryf fendigedic a pheri duyn y chorph yr egluys yu gyueiriauṿ fal y dylent ai dodi yny gueryd yny le yr archassai y hün a chuynfann a gridfañ gan bauṿ gyd a hi Yn yr vn vynuent honno y

[1] *Ibid.*, ae adaw ynghynwrf y byt.

mae corphoroed lauer o Saint gurthvaur yn gorphouys A hynottaf rhai y syd yno Cybi a Sevan [1] y nail y syd yn gorued yuch y phenn ar lal yny phyryf ar ilyn [2] y mae hithaü a hynny y gopha erail etto y bod yn uyr maur a mynychü onadünt y le hunnu o achaus y Saint a oed yno ac etto yny guledyd hynny y mae egluyssaü yny cophaü ac yn dangos y guyrthiaü gar bronn Düu a dynion yn amluc. Or tü aral idi y mae Theon a dyuetpuyd vchod yn gorphouys. Nid oes a uypo rhif o Saint a gladuyd yno onid Düu. A chyd a rhai hynny y mae y vynfydedic Venn Vreuy yn aruydokaü y le hunn o nerthoed ac yn yni dyuynygü o añeirif uyrthiaü. Ac uedy y meiru y maent yn guneüthür guyrthiaü ar baub a delai yu guediau yr le hunnu. ar cleifion yn cael guared o heintiaü ai dolüriaü.

Ac ymhenn lauer o vlynydoed y Guynfydedic Eleri yn orüchel o vendith a dirfaur berpheithruyd a aeth or vüched honn at yr argluyd yn gyflaun o bob santeidruyd ac adfuynder a chrefyd ac a gladuyd yny egluys ehün ac y mae yn guneüthyr guyrthiaü er hynny hyd hediu ac oi uyrthiaü yn goleühaü y le hunnu yn faur gan anrhyded a theilyngdaud. Yny le kyntaf y bu gyfarchuel Guenn Vreuy yndau y mae phydlonnion yn mynychü idau yu anrhydedü ac yno y byd anrhyfedodaü mynych or rhiaul uyrthiaü y uynfydedic uyryf a thorfoed o bobloed phydlaun yn rhedec yno yn gadae heruyd adnabod caphael guared oi gofydion a elai yr phynnon eglür a gyfodes or le y diguydaud y phenn pan las ac a edrychai y main ynguaelod yr afon yn uaedlüd y ardangos y merthyroliaeth heb alu y dileü.

Gof a oed yny ulad honno a merch oed idau yn dales er penn y ganyssid a chlybod a unaeth fod lauer yn caphel guared gan Venn Vreuy . ar ferch beünyd yn erchi y duyn yr phynnon. A hi a dugpuyd. Ac uedy y duyn a golchi y phenn yny phynnon yn gyntaf ac yna dyfod yr egluys y uediau heb gysgü dim . ar bore erchi a unaeth y gadü y gysgü ychydic a chyueiriau le idi y orphouys a chysgü ychydic. Ac yna dephroi a dyuedüd y guelai yn da. Ac edrych a orüc y thad arni a mynegi y baub a unaeth düu a Guenn Vreuy erdi a chyphroi paub y foli y Santes. Ac ef aeth adref ef ai verch ac o achaus y guyrthiaü hunnu paub ynn pregethü gurthiaü y uryf a phaub a delai yno y geisio guared a aent drychefyn gan gaphel y gofünedaü. A hynny a dangossid druy yr anghreipht y syd yno.

Ef a damchueinaud fod gynt cofodi kyñuryf yny guledyd hynny ac anfon or gur bonedickaf a chyfoethockaf rybyd yu gymydogion ai kydymdeithion y ymoglyd huynt ai da. Ef a doeth ladroñ ac a ymlidiassant y gennad ac yntaü a phoes y egluys Guenn Vreuy y

[1] *Ibid.*, Senan. [2] *Ibid.*, yn y phurv ar eûlûn.

gymryd y naud ai elynnion ai holrheaud ac yntaü a disgynnaud ac a ruymaud y farch urth y drus a phañ ueles y elynnion yn agos attau ef a phoes hyd att yr alor Ac vn ar ladron oed greülonach nor lail a doeth ir fynuent heb ofn Düu nar Santes a chymryd y march a neidio arno a myned ymaith ac ef heb gophaü gobruyaü Guenn Vreuy. Y gur y bioed y march pañ doeth alan ny chafas y varch yny le y gadausai a dyfod drychefen yr egluys a chuynau urth Düu ar Santes y syrhaed a gausai ac na chaphai heduch yny hegluys ac erchi i Venn Vreuy gophaü y syrhaed ai thremig a dial yn ebruyd ar y gur a doeth yu hegluys yn bedestyr ac a aeth alan yn farchur. Ac ymhenn ychydic o amser y dangosses Guenn Vreuy dyfod cof idi y hamarch a unaethyd yny phlas canys y gur a dygassai y march o di urth y drus a doeth dolür yndau dygnaf or byd ar dolür a lithraud oi gorph yn gubul yr braych dehaü idau a chymin fü dolür y dyn trüan hunnu ac y mynnai y faru rhac y boen vely . nychaf y dolür yn tyfü fuy fuy hyd nad oed neb ryu fedyginiaeth a alai y glaearü ac ni pheidiaud yn y dreuod y fraych a diguydau yn gubul o di urth y gorph . ac ni chaphai y dyn trüan orphouys gan dolür yni boeni oni doeth ydy hegluys hi Guenn Vreuy a chyfadef y chuedyl ac erchi madeüaint. Ac yna o drügared y uyryf fo a ostegaud ychydic oi dolür arnau a thrigau yno o honau y dysgü puyl y erail ac yn dychryn yr neb a damünai ysbeilio erail ac yn dysc y baub nad amharchai gyssegyr am yr hyder ar kam ryfic a unaethoed o foliant Guenn Vreuy ac [fal] y erchynt y thrügared yn vfyd ar dyn a aethoed ar march yn kymryd penyd yn vfyd ac yn gyhoydoc a mynegi y fyned yn amharchüs yu phlas ac ydy hegluys a drychafel y lau yny herbyn a guard paub na unelynt y kyfryu. Ar bobyl a oed yn gadaü o bob parth yn rhedec y edrych y rhyfedaud ac yn guneüthür moliant yr uyryf.

A rhyfed aral nid oed lai a unaeth Gueñ Vreuy. Ladron gynt a gausant füuch ar dir y hegluys a heb perchi y uynfydedic y duyn yn ladrad ac ofn fü ganthynt eissioes y hymlid or neb a oed agos yno urth ol y füuch a dyfod degarhügain dan vbain ar füuch yn myned yny dayar hyd y daülin. A phañ uelas y ladroñ hynny troi y phord aral a oed galed a charegauc a unaethant yny le thebygynt gael y hol nar füuch . ac eissioes nid oes gyngor, nid oes ystryu na nerth yn erbyn düu Canys guedy kyrchü o honünt y phord garregauc yny le y tebygynt oraü alü ymgüdiau yno y dechreüod y henuired ymdangos ac yna y trauai y füuch y thraed yny dayar ar bob cam hyd y gliniaü hyd pañ oed amluc y hol yny dayar ar kerric ar y phord sych ac huynt yn tybiaid y bod yn kerded phord dirgel amlyckaf y dangossai düu a guyrthiaü y uyryf oi kerdediad huynt. A phan uybü y neb y bioed y füuch y duyn yn ledrad huynt ai hymlidiassant huy a nifer maur

gyd ac hụynt ac yn cael ol y füụch yny tir caled ar kerric a dilyn ol y füụch a galụ ar Ỿenn Vreụy ac erchi y nerth a gụeled y gụrthieü yn amlục a galụ ar redec y holrhain. A phañ glybü y ḷadroñ drụst y nifer a oeḍ yny hymlid ofnhaü a ụnaethant y ḍala a throi y füụch o i ar y phorḍ ac ni elụnt ymgüḍio. Canys y nifer a oeḍ yny hymlid a gephynt y hol ar y kerric ar tir kalettaf a hụyntaü yn gadarn y meḍụl or gụrthiaü . ac yny diụeḍ pan ụeles y ḷadron nad oed phorḍ vḍynt y ḍiangk gadaụ y füụch a ụnaethant meụn lụyn a pho ac ymgüḍio. Ar gụyr a goḷassai y füụch ai cafas ehün ụedy pho y ḷadron ai dygassei a chymryd y füụch ac ymhoelüd drachefen ac edrych a drigai ol y ḷadron ar y kerric ac nid oeḍ dim. Ac yna y gụybüant mae gụrthie Gụenn Vreụy a ụnaethoeḍ hynny a rhoi y füụch yr neb y pioeḍ. A ḷaụer dyn a ḍoeth y edrych yr ol ar gụyrthie. A pheñ ụelas y ḷadron hynny ofnhaü a ụnaethant a dyfod yr egluys a dyụedüd ar gyhoeḍ mae ynt hụy ai gụnaethoeḍ rhac ofyñ y poeni (fal y dyn am y fraych) A phan ụelas paụb hynny ofynhaü gụneüthür drục ar dir Gụeñ Vreụy a ụnaethant.

A ḷeidyr araḷ a ḍoeth gynt o hyd nos y dir Gụeñ Vreụy a dụyn cyfrụy yn ḷedrad A phan ụybü y gụyr y bioeḍ y dụyn dyfod a orüc gar bronn aḷor Gụeñ Vreụy ac ymadroḍ gụynfanüs dan ụylaụ a dyụedüd mae drục y caḍụei hi yr eiḍaụ ef ac oni ḍanfoni di y kyfrụy yn ebrụyḍ y mi, mi a beidiaf a thy di ac a af ar Sant araḷ a ymarḍeḷụo am kụyn i. Yna drụy y ụynfydedic ụyryf efe a glyụas y gorüchaf fraụḍụr. A dial dụyfaụl a ḍangosses düụ a Gụenn Vreụy ar y ḷeidyr yn amlục. Canys diaflic a ḍoeth ynḍaụ yn ehegyr ai anrheithiaụ o loyfer y lygaid ac yna y düc y rieni ef y egluys Gụeñ Vreụy ac ef a gymheḷụyd arnaụ gyfaḍe y chụedel ynguyḍ paụb ai fod ynghüḍ ac ny aḷaụḍ ymhoylyd ar y hen ansaụḍ ony fanegaụḍ y ḷe yḍ oeḍ y kyfrụy yr perchennaục a oeḍ yn eiriol ar y Santes drostaụ drụy y ụeḍi am faḍaü iḍaụ y chụaen honno. Ac ụedy hynny ef a gafas y ansaụḍ drachefen ac ni feiḍioḍ neb o hynny aḷan ụneüthür argyụeḍ y ḍim ar a berthinai yr Santes a gyrrü a ụnai ef ḍychryn ac arrynnaic ar y traisụyr ar ḷadroñ or angreipht arüthyr a gyfarfoeḍ ac efo.

Ac ef a ḍatgennir pethaü rhyfeḍ gan y gadarnhaü o ḍynion gụirion am y phynnaụn a ḍyụedassom ni vchod y thardü or ḍayar yny ḷe y diguyḍaụḍ penn y ụyryf pañ dorred. Pan vụrier meibion bychain ynḍi a fo clefyd or byd ar y kyrph ond y bụrụ ymherfeḍ y phynnaụn oi mamaü neü y kyfneseifieid eraiḷ a ant yụ derbyn hụynt y ụared yn iach hyfryd. A honnaid a chyhoeḍaục yụ gan hoḷ Gymrü puy bynnac y bo cryd arnaụ neü ụayụ yny aylod bụried y dụfyr arnaụ neü ynteü kymred y kerric gụaedlud a gayph yny phrụd a gụasged ụrthaụ ac yfed y dyfụr o i amdanünt ac ef a gayph iechyd. Rhai

hefyd a ḍysgir yn ḍụyfaụl y fyned yr ḷe hụnnụ ac yn fynych y daụant yno ḷaụer gan y hannoc or vnrhyụ ụyryf y nos drụy y hün ac hụy a ymhoelant drachefen gan gaphel y damüned.

Ar ofer y phynnaụn ynteü y mae melin oraü or byd yn freiniaụl ụrth dir y Santes ni lestair arni falü byth nac er gormod o ụlybụr glaụ neü eira, nac er gormod sychdụr rheụ neü des. Ac ụedy dyfod ḷadron iḍi a dụyn y hayarn hụynt ai gossodassant myụn melin araḷ. Beth ụedy hynny ? Tra fü yr hayarn yno na throi or felin na chaphel ḷes yny byd ni eḷid A phañ ụelas y melinyḍion hụy yñ coḷi hụynt a dynyssant ymaith yr hayarn a gymersynt gan y ḷadron ac ai bụriassant aḷañ ar aụr honno troi or felin yn gystal ac y büassei oreü er ioed. Ac yna kymryd or ḷadron yr hayarn ai ḍodi myụn melinaü eraiḷ ac ni ụnaent y neb ḍim ḷes yny ḷe bydynt. Ac yna y gụybüant mae düụ oeḍ yn peri hynny ac o adifairụch y dụyn adre y felin y phynnon Ỿenn Vreụy ac erchi maḍeüaint yr Santes . ac am hynny ai gyfriụ y mae pøbyl y ụlad yn moli düụ ar Santes ar neb a chụenychai ysbeiliaụ eraiḷ yno ny lyvassai rhac y hofynn hi. Ac fal y dyụedassam ni vchod y ḷe bü gyntaf gyfarchụel Gụenn Vreụy a gafas yr anrhydeḍ mụyaf y ụneüthür gụrthiaü golaü a rhoḍi gụared yụ gelynnion ac y ḍamünedaü yr neb ai harchai drụy obrụyon y ụynfydedic ụyryf megis y prophụydoḍ Beuno . a megis y gụeḍiaụḍ ar Ḍüụ vendigaụ y ḷe hụnnụ ai oleühaü o nefaụl ofụy. Val hynny y mae amlục ryụrandaụ o Ḍüụ y gụeḍi hi heruyḍ y gụrthiaü a ḍoeth ynn ol . a mụy o laụer yụ y gụyrthiaü yno noc yn y ḷe y mae y corph yn gorphouys. Canys tebic yụ fod yn fụyaf gan ḍüụ y ḷe y dechreüaụḍ drossi attaụ ac y mae amlục aruydion y merthyroliaeth bob amser eissioes . ymhob vn or ḍeü y mae dụyfaụl nerth yn ḷafüriaụ gụared pob clefyd drụy ụeḍi y ụyryf yn rhoḍi gụeled yr deilion a chloued yr bydair, a cherḍed yr crüpled. A phaụb a ḍel yno a gaphant y gụrthie yr hụnn a archant er clod ein hargluyḍ ni Jessü Grist an Düụ hoḷ gyfoethaục yr hụnn a fü a uledycha gyd ar Tad ar Yspryd glan heb dranck heb orphen Amen.

Gụedy myned y ụynfydedic Ỿenn Vreụy or byd hụnn yr nefolion dyrnassoeḍ a gụneüthür anneirif ụrthiaü o honi gụedy ḷithraụ ḷaụer o flynyḍoeḍ a Wiliam Bastart yn vrenhin y kyntaf or normaniaid ac a uladychaụḍ yn Ḷoegyr y dechreüaụḍ Rosser iarḷ (gụr aḍfuyn o ḍefodaü a chrefyḍ) adeilad mynachloc yny Mụythic ar y gost ehün ac o ḍyna gossod ynḍi Abad a Chofent y ụassanaethü Düụ. A chyn penn talm o amser (o drügareḍ Düụ) kynyḍü y ḷe hụnnụ ar les iechyd i laụer ac yn aḍfuynder dụyfaụl arogleü yr neb a gyfanheḍo y ụlad honno. Ac ụedy kynyḍü or brodür hynny ar nerthoeḍ keisiaụ a orügant yr hynn a berthynaü vḍynt y geisiaụ. Cụynaụ yn fynych bod arnünt eissiaü gụediḷion y Saint y ụneüthür creiriaü o naḍünt

y deckaü y mynachloc. Canys yng Hymrü y clyusent fod lauer o gorphoroed Saint yn gorued ac nad oed y kyfryu yny gula'd ynhuy. Medyliau a unaethant o bob phord pa phüryf y gelynt gaphel vn o honünt. Ac uedy hynny guybod mae y Sant yr ymardelynt huy o honau ac a anrhydedynt yny byd hun ac ai hardeluai huyntaü ac ai cadarnhae gar bronn düu. Lauer oed yn Gonphessoriod rhageglür kyfulch yno ac huyntaü yn damüno kaphel yr hunn a anrhydedynt yn bennaf. Ac ef a damchueinaud clefychü vn or menych kyñ orthrymmed ac na chae y brodyr erail lonyd [1] rhac maint y dolür. A guediau Düu a unaethant yn vfyd darostyngedic er dyfod guared idau. Ac erchi yn fynych yr egluyssaü agos attün uediau drostau. Ac uedy clyued o Venych Caer aflonyduch y braud gostung a orügant ar eü gliniaü y erchi y Düu rodi guared yr braud. Ac uedy hynny kanü saith psalym adifairuch. Vn o honynt a Randulph oed y enu a Supprior oed a gur mül y vedul a hunnu a gysgaud ac ef a uelai druy y hün y voruyn deckaf a fü er ioed yn sefyl gar y fronn ac ynn dyuedüd urtho yn fonedigaid lednais fal hynn. Paham neü dros buy y guediuch i ynych kuyn ? | Ar manach a attebaud. Braud heb ef kydymaith ymi yssyd glaf yn orthrum ac yd ym ni yn guediau düu drostau. | Mi a unn heb hi nad ydiu y braud hunnu urth fod y fryd ac o damünuch iechyd idau aed vn o honauch y phynnon Guenn Vreuy a chaned opheren yn yr egluys y syd yno a chofio Guenn Vreuy ac ef a gayph uared heb olyd. Ac uedy dyuedüd hynny diflannü. Ar manach a vedyliod yr hynn a uelsai ac nis datganaud ef y ueledigaeth rhac ofyñ y uatuar oi gydymdeithion a dyuedüd mae elylgerd a uelsai. Ac ymheñ y deügeinfed dyd hayach ar braud yn orthrum glaf yn gorued ef a doeth y chuedel at Venych Caer fod y braud yn myned uaeth uaeth y ansaud. | Ac uedy ymdidan lauer amdanau a thostüriau y fod fely. Y manach a uelsai y ueledigaeth a gymerth hyder yndau a datgan ar ostec y freüduyd. a phaub ai credaud Canys clyusid guyrthiaü y uyryf urth hynny y credassant. Ac huynt a anfonassant daü vanach y dref y phynnon y ganü opheren ynyr egluys dros iechyd y manach claf. Ac yn yr aur y canuyd yr opherenn yno efe gafas y braud claf yny muythic y iechyd ac a fü lauen y gydymdeithion am hynny. Ac ymhenn ychydic o amser y braud a füassei glaf a dücpuyd yr le hunnu y diolch y Düu a Guenn Vreuy rodi iechyd idau, ac uedy guediau o honau yn yr egluys ac yfed dufyr y phynnon a guneüthür pob peth ar a berthynai idau. Ef a ymhoelaud drachefyn yu Vynachloc yn hol iach achos y vendigedic uyryf a drigaud ynghalonneü y brodyr ac yn deduyd ganthynt pei gelynt gaphel ychydic oi chyssegredic

[1] *Margin, in later hand,* lonyduch.

gorph hi. A chyd bai anod hynny a chyd tebygynt nas gelynt huynt a gausant yny kyngor y brofi, ac ni elid dim yn erbyn euylys Düu : Guediau a unaethant ar fod düu yn drügaroc ganhorthuy vdynt y gur oed diogel y galai orfod ar beth dyrys anaud | Ac yn yr amser hunnu yd oed Henri vrenhin y gur maur tangnefedüs yn guladychü ac yn hedychü dibrydder yr hol ynys oi audürdaud a phaub yn galü cerded yn dilestair dangnefedüs phord y mynnynt. Ac yna y danfones y Cofeint a dyuetpuyd vchod gennadaü mynych y Gymrü dañ ofyñ pa le yd oed y Saint kyfylchaf yn gorphouys, ac y geisiau guybod pa dü yd oed bed Gueñ Vreuy. Ac uedy cael dyfyny ar y le yd oed y hesgyrn yn gorphouys lauenhaü yñ faur a unaethant. Ac o dyna kyrchü at Esgob Bangor a oed brelad yno a chyd syñniau ac huynt ac adau y nerthü o honau A huynt a unaethant benadüriaid y ulad yn vn a huynt ai bonedigion. | Vedy hynny hyfryd füant am ueled bod yn rhuyd rhacdünt y negessaü y gael symüdau esgyrn y Santes. Ac ar hynny y bü farv Henri frenhin ac y bü gynnuryf maur ynyr ynys ac a lesteiriuyd arglуydiaethaü. | Stephan vrenhin guedi hedychü pob le ay uastataü, Herberin Abad y Muythic [1] a gafas yny gyngor anfon hyd at Robert y Brior ef hyd yng Hymrü ar tad Ricart manach or ty gyd ac ef. | Y Prior hunnu a füassei fuy y lafür no neb or lail yn anfon lethyraü a chennadeü yr ulad honno y geisio y neges hunnu. Ac ef a attebuyd idau. Os ef y hün a delai dyuedüd y caphai y neges yn lauen. Ac yntaü y Prior a gyrchaud yn gyntaf at Esgob Bangor ac odyno at Dyuyssoc y ulad ac efe füuyd lauen urthau. Ac uedy mynegi o honau achaus y dyfodiad ai hynt Efe dyuad yr esgob urthau y geiriaü hynn. | Ni thebygafi heb ef gymryd o honot ti y lafür hunn heb gennad düu ac egluys y uynfydedic uyryf o gatfyd am na uyl hi y rhai eidi y hün yny hanrhydedü fal y dylyai y mae yn mynnü y duyn y le aral yu hanrhydedü o estronion. Canys y rhai eidi y hün yny haüsgaülüssau. Ac urth hynny da gennyf i yr hynn y syd da genthi hitheü ac vn a fydaf i a chui rhac y hanfod hi. | A chyd bydun ni halog o bob aflendid mi aun yn hy hyd y bed ac a rodun yr esgyrn kyssegredic y chui oni bai rhaid ym gyttünau a chyphredin y ulad. Canys ych lafür chui a gueledigaethaü y syd yn dangos fod yn da genthi hi hynny . urth hynny om kennad am haudürdaud euch i yr le y mae y uyryf fendigedic yn gorphouys a mi a debygaf y byd rhai amhorth yuch neges ac er hynny gobeithuch chui yn da . Canys y voruyn a beris y chui y lafür hunn ach nertha. A minaü a anfonaf gennadaü at y gur y mae corph y uyryf yn gorphouys yn href y dad y fynegi idau fy euylys i ac y dangnefedü y neb a fo amhorth yuch.

[1] *Margin, added later,* yn amser Styphan frenin.

Ac yna y golụng ar nauḍ düụ O ḍyna y kerḍassant ar hyḍ y phorḍ yn y ḍoethant yr le yḍ oeḍ gorph yr anrhydeḍüs Venn Vreụy yḍ oeḍynt yno seithụyr i gyḍ . nid amgen y Prior a ḍyụetpụyḍ vchod a chyḍ ac ef gụr anrhydeḍüs Prior Caer [Leon] Vlmar oeḍ y enụ ac opheiriad santaiḍ a elụid Jḍon a hanoeḍ or genedyl honno, a brauḍ or vynachloc a ḍygassai gyḍ ac ef a thryụyr erail Ac fal y byḍynt vely yn cerḍed ynghyḍ ac yn ymḍiḍan am y neges . nychaf ụr bonheḍic or ụlad yn cyfarfod ac hụynt ac yn gofyn pụy oeḍ y Prior ac ụedy mynegi iḍo pa vn oeḍ . ef a ḍyụad fal hynn ụrth y prior. | Dyred ti yma a mi a fynegaf yt eụylys gụyr Gụytherin. Yno y mae esgyrn Gụenn Vreụy Santes ac adnebyḍ di y bod yn kyphroi ynn orthrụm anfoḍ yth erbyñ am dy ḍyfod y geisio dụyn corphoroeḍ y Saint ar a gymmünụyd gyḍ ac hụynt. | Ac yn le gụir nad er ofni tyụyssaục nac er byguth argluḍi, nac er chụant golüḍ y cephi di gydsynnio a thi yno am hynny. Ac ụedy darfod iḍo ḍyụedüḍ hynny myned ymaith.

Ar Prior ai gydymdeithion a dristassant yn faụr o achaụs y geiriaü hynny heb ụybod beth a ụnaent na pha dü y trossynt. Ac eissioes troi a orügant ar Ḍüụ a dissyf arnaụ anfon ysprydaụl nerth vḍünt ac erchi yr gụr a dangnefeḍoeḍ tymestl y mor dangnefeḍü y rhai oeḍ yny herbyn ai kytünaụ a hụynt a chan ymḍired yn yr yspryḍ glan kerḍed rhacḍünt yn hyfryḍ ac ụedy y dyfod yn agos yr le yḍ oeḍ esgyrn y Santes y Prior a gafas yny gyngor anfon daü oi gydymdeithon gyḍ a Phrior Caer ac opheiriad a aḍụaeniad y ụlad a thrigaụ y nos honno ar y maes glas alañ. A gofal maụr a oeḍ arnaụ o achos y geñaḍụri a glyụsai. A lyma ụedy darfod Pylgein a Lauḍs y gụelai ef eülün gụraic anrhydeḍüs aḍfụyn yn dyụedüḍ ụrthaụ. | Kyfod y fynü yn gyntaf ac y gelych ac arch yth argluḍ beidiaụ a gofalü ac ai dristaü a gobeithied ụrth Düụ y cayph lyụenyḍ maụr kyñ el o ḍyma. Canys y neb y doeth ef yr ụlad honn oi gariad ai anrhydeḍ a bair iḍaụ y eụylys ai damüned. Ac agos yụ iḍaụ y gael ac ef a ymchụel adref yn laụen.

Ar Prior y hün a ụelas ụeledigaeth aral yr vn nos honno. Ef a ụelai nebün ụr crefydüs a füassei Abad arnaụ gynt yny Mụythic ac ef a füassei varụ ynn gyflaụn o henaint. Gotphre oeḍ y henụ ac ef a ḍoe attaụ ac erchi iḍaụ beidiaụ ai ofalü a dyụedüḍ ụrthaụ. Na fyḍ lafür,[1] bid da dy obaith a ni a orfyḍụnn ar yñ gelynnion druy nerth Düụ a ni a gaụn yn ehegyr yr hynn yḍ ym yny ḍamünaụ . ac ar hynny y difannaụḍ o ḍi ụrthaụ ymaith.

Ac val y byḍynt y boreü glas ḍyḍ yn ymḍiḍan am hynny ac yn ḍigrif gan y neb ai gụarandaụai nychaf gennad yn dyfod attynt yụ hyfrytaü ac yn erchi vḍynt ḍyfod yny hol a thruy nerth Düụ hụynt

[1] *Written later,* lwfr.

a gephynt y neges. A phañ doethant gyñtaf gụeḍiaụ Düụ a galụ attaụ yr opheiriad yn hygar ai ụeḍiaụ Düụ am y borth. | Ar opheiriad a attebaụḍ fal hyñ. Ef a elir heb ef fy nụyn i yn vn a chụi yn haụḍ Canys mi a adnabüym eụylys Düụ ar ụyryf a mynegi fal y guelsai druy y hün [gan ḍyụedüḍ] Val yḍ oeḍụñ i nos Basc yn yr egluys honn yn gụeḍiaụ o hyḍ nos yn aros dyụedüḍ Pylgain, ac ụedy dyụedüḍ fy lasụyr ac yn gogụyḍo y orphoụys ychydic . mi a ụelais freüḍụyḍ am hofnes yn faụr am bygythio o byḍụn yn erbyn dim o hynny. | A mi a debyguñ nad oeḍụn yn kysgü yn drụm ond hepian nychaf y gụelụn ụas ieüanc günaf a theckaf a ụelsai ḍyn er i oed ac osgeḍ angel arnaụ ac yn dyfod attaf ac yn dyụedüḍ ụrthyf kyfod y fynyḍ. Sef a ụneüthüm i tebygü mae erchi ym ḍyụedüḍ pylgain. Atteb iḍo . na chyfodaf nid amser dechraü gụassanaeth. | Ac yna y kiliụys ef o i ụrthyf i ac y kysgais yno nychaf yr vn gụas yn dyfod attaf o neụyḍ ac yn hyrḍü yn phestach ac yn dyụedüḍ cyfod . cyfod. A minnaü a dyụedais yr vn ymadroḍ a dodi fy manteḷ am fymhenn ac ymroḍi y gysgü . ac ymhenn talym nychaf y gụas ieüanc yn dyfod a dodi y laụ ar fy manteḷ ac yny thynnü i am fymhenn ac yn dyụedüḍ ụrthyf y dryḍeḍ ụaith. Cyfod, cyfod, cyfod a dyred ym hol. | Ac yna y kyfodais i debygụñ ar frys ac a doethym yny ol hyḍ ar feḍ Gụenn Vreụy ai ḍangos ym ai fys. Edrych di heb ef y le hụnn a chopha ynn graph y geiriaü a dyụettụyf yt. Os daụ neb yma yn y fluyḍyn honn neü amser araḷ a fynno dyrchafel y corph kyssegredic rhackụ mogel rhac y ụrafyn ac o myñ furụ y priḍ gad iḍo ac o myñ ḍuyn yr esgyrn na lüḍ yn namyn nertha ef ymhob peth. Ac o thremygy neü o guelygy fy ymadroḍion i a arched yn ḍuyfaụl ytty gụneüthür ef a derfynir dy hoedyl druy hir nychḍod.

Ac ụedy dyụedüḍ hynny diflannü ymaith a mi a debygaf mae angyliaụl lef ụeledigaeth oeḍ. Ac ụrth hynny gụybyḍuch i y kyḍ lafüriaf a chụi y geisio ych neges a phaụb y mae vḍünt drigfa yny dref hoñ a baraf vḍynt uneüthyr ych eụylys chụi A dyụeḍuch ụrthynt yr hynn a fynnoch ac hụynt ach gụrandaụant druy nerth Düụ. | Ac yna y dyụad y Prior achaụs y ḍyfodiad a dyụedüḍ y gụeledigaetheü ar damchụeinaü a ḍaroeḍ vḍynt ac mae o ḍysc y Santes ai hannoc y gụnaethynt y lafür hụnnụ. Ac ef a ḍüc y nifer yn vn ac ef hayach. Ac yna y kyfodes gụr dieflic a dyụedyd yny herbyn nad oeḍ iaụn duyn kyrph y Saint or le yr hanoeḍynt y ụlad araḷ. A dyụedüḍ yny herbyn yn greülon ac eraiḷ yn keisiaụ y ostegü. Yno yr archụyd vḍynt fyned ynn i kyngor ac yna y dücpụyd y gụr yn vn ac hụynt. | Ac yna o gyḍ gyngor y kenaḍụyd y neges vḍynt. A diolch a orüc y Prior ai gydymdeithion y düụ ac vḍynt hụyntaü ac erchi dangos y le meụn mynụent le mae kyrph y Saint yn gorphoụys ac ny chleḍir neb yno namyn y

Saint. | A chymint yu y le hunnu gan bobyl y ulad ac nad af neb oi feun onid y uedio. | Ac yny canol nid amgen o vuch benn Guenn Vreuy y mae cappel prenn a phobloed yny hanrhydedü ynn fynych ac yno y kyrch paub ar a fo haint a dolür arnünt y geisiau guared ac ny bydynt yn hir ony gephynt uared Ac nid oes anifail a lyfasso pori yny fyñuent honno vuch benn y Saint canys yr aur y porant huynt a fydant faru | O dyna ef a datgenir y ur o dyno duy flyned kynn dyfod y brodyr hynny yno gunaythür o honau güranay o gruyn amrud sef yd oed deruen hyduf yn tyfü y mynuent y Saint ac yny chadu yn gyfañ er muyn y Saint er yn oes oesoed ar gur hunnu a gafas yny gyngor dynny rhisc y prenn y gypheithiau y cyranay. A phañ dreuis y prenn ef a lynaud y fuyal yny prenn ai freichiaü a uyuaud ac a lynaud urth y mynybr ac yn gueidi ac yn lefain a lauer o dynion yn uylau a phaub yn tostüriau urthau ac yn gofyn paham y gunai hynny. Ac yntaü a fanegis y cubul or damuain a phaub a erchis idau gymryd adifeiruch a chyphessü yr amarch a unaethoed yr Saint ac erchi madeüaint vdynt. Ac yntaü yn dianfod ai gunaeth ai rieni a doethant ar fed Guenn Vreuy a guediau arni am fadeüaint am a unaeth Ac val yd oedynt yn guediau ar gur yr oed y gofid arnau yn erchi trugared y Venn Vreuy y golynguyd yn rhyd y freichiaü idau yn iach. A diolch y düu a unaethant a Guenn Vreuy gan y hanrhydedü ac y mae y deruen ar dyrnod arni etto y dangos y gurthiaü. Ac uedy dyfod y brodyr a dyuetpuyd vchod yr fonuent y Prior a gerdod or blaen heb neb yn dangos idau yny doeth ar fed Guenn Vreuy ac a fedraud arnau o dysc Düu a sefyl o orüc vuch benn y bed a dyuedüd o duyfaul darogan mai hunnu oed y bed hi. Ac yna gyrrü y lygion o diurthynt a dyuedüd or menych ar yscolheigion a oed yno y salmae Daü or menych nid amgen Prior Caer a manach aral a doeth or vynachloc gyd ar prior a gladassant [1] y dayar ac uedy vdynt dyphygiau hayach a chussü o dra lafür huynt a doethant hyd esgyrn y uynfydedic a phañ a y causant huynt a diolchassant y Düu yn darostyngedic vfyd a thynnü yr esgyrn or prid ai rhuymau myun touelaü a myned ar esgyrn gurthvaur tü ac adref yn lauen a damünau gueled gurthiaü gan yr esgyrn. A Düu a dangosses vdynt y heuylys am hynny. Canys pañ doeth nos huynt a gymersant letty ac yna huynt a glyuynt dyn claf yn y gongyl yn ochain . a gofün a unaeth y Prior pa beth a darroed idau. Dioer heb huynt nychü y mae ac alüssen maur yr neb a unelai les idau. Ac yna bendigau dyfur a unaeth y prior a dodi peth or prid o bengloc y uyryf yndo ac erchi yr claf y yfed. Ac uedy y yfed ef a erchis gyueiriau idau le y gysgü a chysgü talym a unaeth a phan dephroes diolch i Düu ar uyryf y fod yn iach ac am y gurthie hunnu

[1] *Written later,* gloddiasant.

y credaud y cennadaü yn gadarnach ac y büant lauenach ac anrhydedü y Santes am uarandau ar i guediaü.

Ac ymhenn y saithved dyd or pan doethant yr muythic y danfonassant gennadaü yr vynachloc y fynegi gael o honynt y neges A phañ glousant hynny lauenhaü a unaethant yn faur ac ymgynghori a dodi y creirieü hynny yn egluys Sant Silin a oed ym horth y Gaer a dyuedüd na dylid y duyn yr vynachloc sult kymin a hunnu heb audürdaud esgob ai fendith a dyfod or hol bobyl yny herbyn. | Ar ymadrod hunnu a ryngod bod y baub. Ar prior ail uaith a anfoned at yr Esgob y gymryd y gyngor ef pa phüryf y gunaent am yr hyñ a geñadassai düu vdynt a chyda hynny y gossoded menych y dyuedüd guassanaeth nos a dyd ger bronn corph y uyryf fendigedic yn vfyd anrhydedüs ac yn guiliau y creiriaü yñ graph ai cadu A phobloed phydloñ oi cylch yn dyfod y uiliau ac y uediau ar y santes. Ac yd oed yn yr vn dref honno neb vn uas ieuanc yn nychü er ys lauer dyd uedy coli phruyth y hol aelodaü hyd na alai godi y benn. | A phañ glyuas ef y chuedyl a dyfodiad y uyryf yno : gorchymyn a orüc gyueiriau march idau a myned arno ai gymdeithion yny gylch yny gynnal yr egluys le yr oed esgyrn y santes ac yno y bü ef y nos honno yn guiliau ac ynghylch hanner nos ef a glyuai bob cyssult ar y helu yn dolüriau. A thrannoeth ar y dyd gorphouys ychydic a orüc ar opheiriad yn dechraü y opheren ef a gryfhaod ychydic a phaub yn annobeithiau urthau. Ac uedy yr Euengil cyfodi a orüc a myned y ophrum yr alaur a diolch y Düu ac yr santes i iechyd a chyrchü adref ar y draed ac ef uedy dyfod yno ar freichiaü. | Ar gurthiaü hunnu a gyhoeded ar hyd y ulad ac a gyphroes paub yu hanrhydedü. Ac yna paub a ofynnai pa bryd y bydai Dranslasion Sef yu hynny dyd drychafedigaeth. Ar Prior a doeth o i urth yr esgob ac a ossodes dyd y hynny yn derfynnedic. | Ac yscolheigion a lygion a doethant yr guys hunnu. Ac val yd oedynt yn aruain y corph kyssegredic ar menych yn duyn croessaü a physt kuyr or blaen a phaub ar dal i gliniaü yn adoli y dangosses düu yno urthiaü maur tec. | Val yd oed y menych ar guisgoed teckaf ar creiriaü ar lyfraü ganthünt yny procesion ef a doeth kauod vaur o lau o bob tü vdynt heb dim yn kuympo arnynt huy . ar nifer yn gueled y dyfur yn defnynnaü crogedic vuch y pennaü heb syrthiau ar y creiriaü nac ar y guisgoed vn dafyñ or glau a nefaul nerth yny kynnal onid aethant hyd yr egluys ai gossod ar yr alor a gyssegruyd er anryded y Bedyr a Phaul yny le y rhodir iechyd y gleifion druy anrhyded yr uyryf vendigedic ar glod a moliant y Düu yr huñ y mae anrhyded a moliant a daioni yn oes oesoed Amen

Ac vely y tervyna büched Guenn Vreuy Santes.[1]

[1] Mr. Timothy Lewis kindly copied the latter part of this Life for us.

S. GWYNDAF HÊN

HIS "SAYINGS"

From *Additional MS.* 31,055 (1594–6), fo. 156*b*; collated with copy in *Llanover Iolo MS.* 11, p. 159.

LHYMA EIRIÆ GWYNDA HEN.

Hyn a vynnech ei wneuthur, cais yn hir, a phraw, a gwedy hynny gwna.

Hynn a vynnech y dhywedyt, medhylia beth a dhel oi dhywedyt, Ac os da dyweit, ac onyd e taw.

Gwelh yw dyn a odhefo na gwr cryf, A phwy bynac a vo arglwydh ar ei vedhwl, hwnnw a orvydh.

Po vchaf vo dy stat bydh vfûdhaf oth weithret ath vedhwl.

Na chais ryngv bodh y nep onyd y dhew.

Pawb ar a litio ei varnwr vrowdwr neûr dharvû ei varnv.

Mal y mâc y dhaear y gronyn a haeer, velhy y mâc y cnawt bras y pechawt.

Gwelh yw bot yn vvûdh gyda rhai duwiol dielw, na rhannv yspail y rhai tlodion gyda rhai beilch.

Na chais vot yn vrowdwr, ony elhi di orvot ar enwiredh y bobul.

Bychan yw y tan a dhiphodho er anadl dyn, Ac velhy mae bychan y cariat a orphwys yr gair.

Gelyniaeth gan dhew yw medhyliæ cam.

Cymer di vy nysc i, ac nyd vy arian.

Rhai a rodhant rann oi da, a vydhant cywaethawc, a rhai a dreisiant erailh a vydhant tlawt.

Meileindra gan dhûw yw chwedleû celwydh.

Cas yw gan gywaethawc dyn tlawt yn gymydawc ydhaw.

Y nep a garo gwin a bwydæ melys, ny bydh cywaethoc vyth.

Cerdhet pop ieuanc y briffordh, a phan vo hên nac aet iarni.

Gwrando yr hwn ath greawdh, ac er ei vot yn hen, na thremygaf ef.

Pop cypydh a vynnai vot yn hir ei vûchedh.

Pwybynac a wrandawai y gaû enwir a vydh ei wasanaeth.

S. IEUAN GWAS PADRIG

BÜCHEḌ JEÜAN GṺAS BADRIC

From *Llanstephan MS.* 34 (end of sixteenth century), p. 306.

Jeüan ap Tüdr ap Elidan ap Ouain vychan ap Ouain ap Eduin vrenhin a aned yny luyn ynghefen meirch ac a unaeth Düu erdau uyrthiaü yn oedrañ deüdegmluyd. Cyntaf guyrthiaü myned a unaeth y edrych ar uyr yn disbydü a chanfod neidyr yn ymcanü brathü vn or guyr a chymryd or mab bendigedic Jeüan ap Tudr drup yny lau ac ymdiphin rhac y pryf meldigedic y creadür o dyn nid amgen no rhoi y lestyr rhung y dyn ar neidyr ar neidyr yn ceisio brathü y dyn efo a holes y pryf y lestyr yn daü hanner. Ac yno y rhoes y mab bendigedic y uedi ar yr argluyd Jessu Grist ar na bai neidyr yny tir hunnu hyd dyd braud. Ac fely y cafas ac ni bü etto yr vn yny tir, a phuy bynnac a fo ophrymol yr guynfydedic Jeñn ni una pryf guenuynic y niued idau. Hefyd yn yr vn rhyu dir Yng Heinmeirch yr oed brain ac adar yn difa lafüriaü y bobyl ac yn fuya lafür Tüdyr ap Elidin tad y bendigedic Jeñn. A phan glybü Jeüan y dad yn kuynfañ rhac maint gormes y brain ar adar efo aeth y guynfydedic vab Jeüan ap Tüdyr yr maes ac yrroed y brain ar adar oi flaen y ysgübor y dad. A phan uelas Tüdyr y vab yn cael gan yr argluyd Jessü y cyfryu rod a honno ef a erchis ydy vab fyned y dysgü guediau Düu. Ac yna y kymerth Jeüan vendith y dad ac yr aeth hyd at Badric Sant yr hunn oed Archesgob y Myniu yny kyfamser hunnu. Ac yno Jeüan disgybyl y Badric Sant hyd yny doeth yr angel ac erchi y Badric vyned y Yuerdon y uedio Düu ac y doe yno fab yny le ni enid hyd ymhenn dec mlyned arhugein yn ol hynny. Ac yna yn aeth Padric y drigau ac Jeüan ap Tüdyr y disgybyl a lauer o disgyblon gyd ac huynt y Yuerdon. A diuarnod ar ol hynny efo aeth Padric Archescob y dyuedüd opheren ac a erchis ydy disgybyl Jeüan uas Padric vyned ynol tan ac yr aeth ac yr erchis ir Cog roi tan attau ac a dreuis y coc o chuare ysgymer a oed yny lau yny maruar ac a godes y tan ar y ysgymer ac a erchis yr bendigedic Jeüan uas Padric gymeryd y tan hunnu. Ac yntaü ai cymerth yny arphed ac a aeth at Badric. A phan furiod y tan ir laur nid argyuedassei dim ar i dilad. A phan uelas Padric y disgybyl yn guneüthür gurthiaü oi flaen ehün yno ef a erchis Padric ido fyned ydy ulad e hün y uneüthyr gurthiaü a help ydy genedlaeth y hün. Ac yna y cymerth y guynfydedic Jeüan y gennad gan y athro ac y doeth y lann y mor ac ni uelai ef dim help idau y dyfod dros y mor. Ac yny man hunnu y rhoes Jeüan y daü lin yn noethion ar y laur y adoluc ydy argluyd help a chymorth y dyfod dros y mor. A

phan ydoeḍ yn niụeḍ i ụeḍi ef a ụelai lech las yn nofio ar ụyneb y mor ac yn dyfod yn vnion yr lann ḷe yr ydoeḍ ac yna y guybü mae honno yr oeḍ yr argluyḍ yny ganhiadü idaụ y ḍyfod yr mor ac yụ furụ yr ynys honn. Ac yna y doeth ef ar y ḷech o garrec ac a nofioḍ y garrec dano oni ḍoeth y dir Mon yr lañ. A phan ḍoeth ir tir yr oeḍ arno syched ac efo a adolygoḍ yḍy argluyḍ help i gaphel diod. Ac yno y treụis y gụynfydedic Jeüan ụas Padric bic i phonn yny ḍayar ac yno y codes phynnoñ dec, ar yr yfoḍ Jeüan ḍiod. Ac yny fañ honno y mae phynnon i ụas Padric heḍiụ a heno . ac o ḍyno y doeth ir ḷuyn yng Heinmeirch yḍy dref tad y hün ac yr amcanoḍ ụneüthyr küḍigyl yno i ụeḍiaụ düụ ac y mae idaụ yny ḷuyn yng Heinmeirch dair phynnon ar ḍec. Gụedy hynny ef a ḍanfones y tad or nef y Angel at y gụyn-fydedic Jeüan ụas Padric y ḍyụedüd idaụ na yr argluyḍ Jessu Grist ụneüthyr o hono ef y güḍigyl yny fann honno namyn cerḍed o hono ai ụyneb yny Dehaü hyd pan ụelai iụrch yn cyfodi ac yny ḷe y cotte yr iụrch pan i gụelai yn cyfodi gụneüthyr y gyḍigyl ac feḷy y gụnaeth ac y doeth hyd y ḷe a eluir kerric y drydion ac yno yr adeiloḍ y güḍigyl yny ḷe i mai egluys i Jeüan ụas Padric a Mair Vagdaleñ.

Ac veḷy y terfyna bücheḍ Jeüan ụas Padric.

S. LLAWDDOG or LLEUDDAD

BÜCHEḌ ḶEỤḌOC ST.[1]

From *Llanstephan MS.* 34 (end of sixteenth century), p. 309.

Brenhin oeḍ gynt yn yr Assụ a eluid Dingad [2] ap Nüḍ hael ap Senyḷ [3] ap Dyfnụal ap Ednyued ap Antoni ap Maxen ap Ḷyr yr hụnn a laḍoḍ Erian amherodyr. Y Dingad hụnnụ a dyrnassoḍ ac a fü vrenhin Bryñ Büga ac a briodes ụraic a eluid Jevoi verch Leüdün o Ḍinas Eyḍyn yny gogleḍ a deüḍec o blant oeḍ iḍo ac ynguassanaeth Düụ bob vn o honynt, ac vn a eluid Ḷoụḍoc ac a ụrthodes teyrnas y dad ai rioluch ac eụyḷys y byd eithr kymryd gyd a Baglan y fraụd henaf iḍo le i ụassanaethü Düụ yn vfyḍ. Ḷeụḍoc ai beünyḍ y le dirgel y ụeḍiaụ Düụ. Ai frodyr yntaü ai goganoḍ o ụrageḍ, ac yntaü yn gụassanaethü Düụ. Yno yr erchis Baglañ i Henụyn gymryd cloch y ụassaneüthü ac edrych pa le yr oeḍ Leụḍoc yn myned. Ac yno y tiriod ef y Ynys y Saint. Yno y gofynnoḍ Cadfann beth a geisiai ef

[1] *Margin, in later hand,* Lleudad: medd arall. [2] Tyngadr.
[3] Seissyllt ap Cedic ap Dyfnwal hên, ap Ḧen ap Maxen Wledig.

yno ac oni thrigai yno erchi iḍo fyned y phorḍ ymaith. Sef a ụnaeth Ḷeụḍoc ymroḍi yr crefyḍ yr hụnn a eluid crefyḍ Aụstin ac yn dair rhann i rhanneü ef y nos. Vn rhañ ynguassanaeth y vrodyr yr ail rhañ i orphoụys ar drydyḍ i ụassanaethü Düụ. Yno y gorchmyñoḍ Cadfann yr ụerin gymryd Ḷeụḍoc yn Abad arnyn yny ol ef Claḍü Cadfann a orüc Ḷeụḍoc ai venych, a chụedy hynny Abad fü Ḷeụḍoc Yno y kenfigennoḍ Escobiaid Cymry ụrtho ef. Am hynny yr iassoeḍ y bagleü yn vn fagyl yn y ḷe a eluir yr aụr honn brynn y bagleü. Yno y doeth Ḷeụḍoc ai ganonụyr ai gloch yny laụ ac y croesses hụynt ac yno yr aethant yn rhyḍ. O ḍyno y doeth ḷe yr oeḍ phynnon ac y Ḷymeroḍ phioled o laeth ac y burrioḍ ir phynnon ac yno y dosbarthoḍ ceụḍoc y ḷaeth o ḍi ụrth y ḍụfyr yn rhyḍ ac y phaeloḍ ar y ḷeiḷ y ḍosbarth. Yno y credoḍ yr escobiaid y fod ef yn ụeḷ noc hụynt ac y rhoessant bob vn o honynt idaụ randir oi tir hụynt. Ac yno tra fü fyụ ef y bü yn cụplaü saith ụeithred y drügareḍ a gụneithyr gụr-thiaü fal vn or Apostolion nid amgen deiḷon i ụeled crüpled y gerḍed, müdion y ḍyụedüd, bydeir y glyụed. Ac ymhenn ennyd ef a ḍoeth Angel or nef atto ac a ḍyụad ụrtho. O Ḷeụḍoc amser yụ ytti vyned or byd hụnn a myned at Grist argluyḍ. Yno y cyfodes Ḷeụḍoc y ụyneb at Jessü ac y ḍyụad. Diolch yḍ ụyf y Ḍüụ a greoḍ nef a ḍayar ytti ụarando arnaf i. Yno y ḍyụad yr Angel ụrth Leụḍoc. Kymer a fynnych oth venych gyd a thi. Ac yna y geluis ef y ganonụyr gar y fronn ac y ḍyụad ụrthyn hụy . y saụl a fynno ḍyfod gyd a mi ef a gayph ḍyfod. Yno y ḍyụedassant hụynteü ni a ḍoụn y gyd, gyd a thi. Nac ef heb yr Ḷeụḍoc. ni ḍaụ gyd a mi ond yr henaf y ḷaiḷ triged yma yn gụassanaethü Düụ. Tri arch a erchis Ḷeụḍoc yr Angel. Vn yụ na bai farụ y ganhonụyr ond o henaf y gilyḍ tra geḍụynt orch-mynnaü Düụ. Yr ail yụ y dyn a glader o feụn yr ynys honno nad el y enaid y vphern ac a gatụo braint yr ynys honno. Ac ar yr ymḍidan hụnnụ y dyụad yr argluyḍ fiat, fiat. Ac yno pañ ḍarfü idaụ ụrandaụ opheren y kymerth y argeụyḍ atto. A phañ oeḍ ef yny ụely y gụelai ef y nef yn agored ac engylion yn dyfod or nef yr ḷaụr ac [yn myned] or ḷaụr yr nef ac y gụelai y drindod Sef yụ hynny y Tad ar mab ar Ysbryd glan . a phedyr a Phaụl a choronaü aür ar y pennaü ar pro-phụydi ar Padriairch ar merthyri, ar perigluyr ar gụerydon oḷ a hoḷ angylion yny dyrfa honno yḍ oeḍ peḍụar Angel yn gụassanaethü Düụ . ac eistedfa vrenhiniol gar bronn ụyneb y gorüchel Dad. Ac mi a ụelụn hoḷ raḍeü nef yn canü caneüaü nefol. Bendigedic a fo y neb a gymeraist di ac a ḍeụissaist. Ac yna y clyụynt lafar y gorüchaf Düụ yny ụahaụḍ ac yn dyụedüd amser yụ ytti ḍyfod yr uleḍ gyd ath vrodyr Ḷeụḍoc ir ḷe yḍ ys ith ụahaụḍ.

Ynys y syḍ yny mor a eluir Enli ac idi y doeth daü vanach or Dehaü

y henṵaü Düṵ ai gṵyr . ynn nessaf ir rheini y bü Malysgeḍ ac Gynaid a Lüṵsianṵs a Ciprianṵs pereriniaid yn gṵneüthyr gṵrthiaü. Ar Gynaid hṵnṵ myṵn gogof y bü yn dṵyn y voṵyd ai ymborth ef oeḍ ḍeigyr o ḍyfṵr yṵ yfed yr hṵnn y syḍ gṵedy hynny yn iachaü cleifion Ac am hynny gyntaf y gelṵir hi ynys y Saint. Yno y bü ṵr a elṵid Blaiḍnerth vraṵd ac a ṵnaeth aberth gyntaf yno ac a gafas yntaü deyrnas gṵlad nef. Poed gwir fo. Amen y ninnaü y chaphel.

Ac vely y terfyna bücheḍ Leṵḍoc.

S. LLAWDDOG or LLEUDDAD

CYWYDD I LOWDDOG

From *Additional MS.* 14,871 (1617), fo. 276*b*.

Vn sant ac a enwais i
ytyw vnllythr ty Enlli
Mab brenhin ym mhob brynar
bryn buga oedd bren byw gwâr
Llowddog fy llw a oddef
lleuddad ap Dingad yw ef
Nefoedd y sy'n ei afael
a'i rinwedd hwnt wyr Nudd hael
Llowddog heb fâr na lludded
ei wyrth grym a nerthai gred
Efo a wnai fwy o nerth
i bawb lle bai ei aberth
Cenfigennu y buant
preladiaid esgobiaid gant
A'i baglau oll o bob gwlad
yn wylau a welad
Llowddog niferog o'i fodd
yn lle Duw a'i neillduodd
Gwnaeth llowddog eurog yn gall
wrth ei werin wyrth arall
Bwriwyd hwnt fegis berw tonn
o lethr ffin laeth i'r ffynnon
dattodes deutu ydiw
y dwr a'r llaeth wedi'r lliw.
Gyrrodd ef o'r gwraidd afiach
gleifion wyr o glwyfeu'n iach
Gwrthodes a gwyrth ydoedd
dyrnas ei dad erns Duw oedd
At Faglan ei frawd anwyl
llowddog aeth gwell oedd eu gwȳl
Henwyn a'i gloch weñ yn glau
hyd tir saint a'i troes yntau.
yno'dd oedd drwy r hên ddeuddeg
yn lle Duw yn Enlli deg
. . rian [1] a'i gwnaeth yn Sianawn [2]
i Awstin wrth eistau'n iawn
Tair arch yn y Fonwent draw
a dueddodd Duw iddaw
Meirw ei Sianons [3] o ffons ffydd
an gwyl o hyna i gilydd
I'r ia nid a'r vn do
yr enaid a roer yno
Mae'n bryd i gyd yn vn gwȳn

[1] *So in MS.* Some Pope probably. *No doubt an Adrian or Hadrian.*
[2] Canonicus.
[3] I.e. Chanons.

ar lowddog wrol addwyn
Ni âd ef er vn na dau
raib o lef ar ei blwyfau
Yn galed yn y gwely
oi lys fraith a weles fry
Gweles nef eglwys weñ oedd
yn egored yn gaeroedd.
Y wlad ei choed a'i hadyd
llowddog oll a'i llwyddo i gyd.
Llowddog a roddo llwyddiant
ar ei blwyf a'i wyr a'i blant
Ar bob ôg ac ar bob iau
ac ar erydr gororeu
Ar bob rhych ac ar bob bryñ
ar bob grwn ar bob gronyn.
Llowddog yw vn allwydd gwar
allwydd yw i'r holl ddaiar
Llowddog, bum well o'i addef,
lle'dd awn oll, yw allwydd nef
Lewys Glynn Kothi a'i K.

[*Flor. c.* 1450–86.]

S. LLONIO

OWDL LLONIO SANT

From *Llanstephan MS.* 53 (*c.* 1647), p. 166.

Yma mro llonio llvniwn ogoniant
yn gynar meddyliwn
y pryd oer i pryderwn
i bo bridd i bawb i rwnn

Y pryd hwnn galwn er gwiliaid llawnwedd
llonio yw blwyfoliaid
penn rano r penn ar enaid
penaf yw r help pann fo rhaid

penn fo r farn gadarn i gydio vthraidd
ai weithred yn pwyso
del in barn dial ni bo
wrth y llinyn wyrth llonio

daeth lle i pyrth graddwyrth er gwreiddiad llydan
yn lladin mae r traethiad
draw e wreiddiodd drwy roddiad
lonio deg alan i dad

yw dad fo llonio fel llynn bv gynyll
beganiaid yw erbyn
a lladd hwnt y llvoedd hynn
a wnae rym yn i rwymyn

grymiad egoriad gwiwradd fv lonio
folianwr nefolradd
a henw r gwr hwnn ar gwiwradd
fv waed y llv wedi lladd

gwedi rhoi i geli i galon oi barch
bv gonffesor kyfion
e ddoer gwr oedd ar goron
o lydaw hyd y wlad honn

Daliai nghyd rhywfyd rhywfas yma gof
am gael nef yn dyrnas
am y kof ymai kafas
hoiw frynn o lann hafren las

o dai draw gwrai drygarog hoiwrym
lle kyredd llais keiliog
dwyn yn glav dan yn i glog
a wnae ddinam yn ddoniog

gwardd i blas o gas a geisynt llonio
llyna beth nis gellynt
boddair gwr bv ddvr gerynt
mal i gwnn gas maelgwyn gynt

Pob rhodd gwnn ddevfodd gann ddvw a geisiodd
ei rhoddodd yr hoiwddvw
e roe i weddi ar wiwddvw
i was ai farch isoi fyw

Maelgwyn hir rhoes dir isoi dy iawn barch
ni by ryfedd hyny
yn vn fraint o wna n fry
i yml aber miwl obry

Mal noddfa yma emyn odidog
i dodai r holl derfyn
ond a weddai yn dyddyn
a roesai i wrai rac wynn

Down yma gida gwawdwaith galon oll
gael i nawdd drwy deiriaith
Jesv n gwbl sy vn gobaith
syr sion a wyr siars yn iaith

gwyddiad Ddvw gwiwdad oi odiaeth lonio
laned i ddwyfoliaeth
gweled yw nodded a wnaeth
baedd i gael byddygoliaeth

byddygoliaeth ffraeth a ffrwythawdd yma
amod hir i trigawdd
alw ynn o nef lonio nawdd
moes ynn oll maes enillawdd

Pair i gref nawdd ef yn i ddydd llonio
pair bann i myno pei ar benn mynydd
Da fv n llawawenv vn llonydd lonio
da wr fv lonio i daer aflonydd
er bod draw lydaw yn wledydd llonio
dyma ef lonio dymai filienydd

Moli blwyf iddwyf yn i ddydd llonio
ai dy e llonio da yw llywenydd
trevlent nad ofnent defnydd ffawd aeddfed
wrth win drwy yfed werth naw o drefydd

gwnaethon rhoent roddion rhent rydd i weiniaid
a gwnevthvr gweiniaid ei gwnaeth ar gynydd
bygylen treisien trasydd fyngylwr
ni bv bygylwr neb heb i gilydd

Mae mistad keidwad koedydd a glynav
a chida glynav iechyd a glenydd
a llanerch rhyw serch a rhosydd a bronn
a moesav mwynion, a maes a mynydd

ag eos gyfnos a gwydd a llwyn klyd
llysiav a hadyd a llais hedydd
nid kysdal hyd ial had o wydd gwaedffrwyth
breiniav mwyn dylwyth brynn a min dolydd

bid fy mro tra fo trefydd a serch

a thyrfa llanerch a thref llywenydd
bid warant ffyniant y ffydd gymhenddoeth

A menn drwy gowoeth yma n dragowydd.

Hvw Arwystl
[*Flor. c.* 1540–70.]

S. LLWCHAIARN

CYWYDD LLWCHAIARN

From *Peniarth MS.* 100 (sixteenth century), p. 347; collated with copy in *Llanstephan MS.* 167 (early seventeenth century), p. 222.

K. LLWCHAYARN FILWR A SANT: O LAMEREWIG.

Ond o'r [1] fonwent ar faenawr
vchod y mae iechyd mawr
Gair aeth draw gwrthiav a drig
lle mawr yw llam yr ewig
Llawer aed dyn [2] lle r ydwyd
llwch hayarn wynn llew chwyrn [3] wyd
Mewn y pall mae wyneb hael
mae hap kanfod mab kynfael
Ach or [4] vnfraych arianfryd
da iawn yw kael dyn oi [5] kyd
kefnder ith rodder a thrig
bevno dwyfawl bendefig
Ditheu yn wr Dvw ath wnaeth
do wisg abid [6] esgobaeth
Doethost di dan weddiaw [7]
iso i frynn dros hafren draw
klowech yno klych vnwaith
yn kanv gynt kynn y gwaith
krys a wnaid kei [8] ras ynol
yn rhawn a oedd [9] rhinweddol
Naw mis naw nos daethost di
a naw dydd yn dy weddi

Ath ddevlin hwnt ith lanhav
ar faen glasoer fv n gleissiav
Akw eilwaith i koeliynt
yn wir ywch gael naw arch gynt
Vn o dair oedd yn dy raid
gadech honn i gadw ych enaid
Ail gwrthod pob pechod pvr
ag anoethed i gwneythvr
Kedwaist orchmynav n keidwad
keraist di dwyn krist dy dad
Llyna dair oll yn dy rann
aeth filoedd oth o falan [10]
Ola tir [11] a welid ti
a ddaw yn̄ o ddaioni
Dynion a da danad oedd
iach yn wrthych ach nerthoedd
Nawfed rann fod yr enaid
nefoedd ir hwnn a fydd rhaid
Nertha ni wrth y naw arch
dy nawdd i bob dyn oedd barch
Ymwaredwr mawr ydych
milwr sant mal Jorys wych
Tra ffryder [12] tri ffry ydoedd
tri a fv n lladd trefn well oedd
Mae vn a dim mwy nid el

[1] Kad ar. [2] ir. [3] llawchyrn. [4] arch ar.
[5] yw. [6] da wysc abad. [7] er gweddiaw.
[8] ku. [9] yn rhawn oedd yn.
[10] aeth ifil oedd ath folan. [11] tair. [12] Troffyrder.

yn drwch [1] yngod archangel
Gobrwy ladd gwiber o law
Jorys oedd ai ras iddaw
Llywiech ewig llwchayarn
neitiodd i bwll hyd dydd barn
Ni chaid einioes ich dynion
heb roi kwmp ir ewig honn
Dy fagl fab di fygwl fodd
dy firagl ai difyrodd
Doed ras dvw byth dros dy benn
d'wrthiav hyfryd wrth hafren
Dy firagl oedd hyd for [2] glas
draw a ddyblwyd ir ddevblas
Lle da well well dwy allawr
a ffarhav mae offrwm mawr
Seintwar yw dy ddayar di
sant ywr ystys hwnt trosti
Jacha darn vwch y dyrnas
enlli draw nid llai dy ras
E gair gwann ai gwyr genych
firagloedd gant farglwydd gwych
Gwirion difai gwrando i farn
gwellaech evog llwch hayarn
Ath nerth [3] vddyn wrth [4] weddi
am iawn a cham a wnaeth i
Oed am vn y [5] damvnodd
a saif ar Rys yw fwy rodd
Gwelwyf oll gael fy wllys
gwna wrthiav rhawg nerthv Rhys.

Sion Keri ai kant.

[*Flor. c.* 1500–30.]

S. MECHELL (MALO)

CYWYDD I FECHELL SANT [6]

From *Llanstephan MS.* 125 (*c.* 1640), p. 206.

Deillion efryddion ar frys
Mechyll ller wyd am owchys
oi gofid ai dic afiach
ag yn vn awr y gwnai'n iach
fab gwyn go hoyw fab gloyw glân
o Lûdaw walch gwlad lydan
Brenhinoedd yw di achoedd di
paladr corff Lludd ap Peli
ar holl Gred ni aned neb
oth ddoniav ath ddoethineb
pe degoes fai d'einioes di
ail dawn oedd ar ol d'eni
nith glowed yn dywedyd
ond enwav Crist yn y cryd
wrth ffynnv dy ddysgv'n dda
bv'r vn Duw a Sain Brenda
yn y dysc ni chaed [7] ysgol
o ben dyn na bai yn d'ol
a dywerdyd nid rhaid oedi
o ddechrav dy wrthiav di
ar for trwm garw fy'r tremynt
di blyc fv dy gyscv gynt
ar Jessv deg a roes dir
danad nid oeddyd enwir
a ffan ith weled tranoeth
yn galw ar dduw eglvr ddoeth
gweddio ddoeth Gymro ith gad
a mor donnav mawr danad

[1] dwrch. [2] yd fro. [3] waith. [4] ath. [5] ai.
[6] This poem was taken from an imperfect copy. It is given here as it stands in the MS. Two lines are missing at the end.
[7] *v* written above the *e*.

pob amser troi llawer llv
ith oes at gyfraith Jessv
dan y nef dwyn yn vfudd
Jddeon ffolion ir ffydd
troi rhag cethern vffernol
ymeirw oth wyrth mawr ith ol
. . . wrth raid Byganiaid gynt
. . . . . wedi diffoddynt
cyfodi cawr oi fawr fedd
yn hor erw yn hir orwedd
ai enaid oedd bob vnawr
bygan mewn vfferndan mawr
myned ar cawr ir bedydd
troi galon yn ffynon ffydd
a throi'n ddwys a tharo'n ddig
ladron geirwon yn gerig
milgwn a gwyr Maelgwn gynt
a leddaist mor ffol oeddynt
Arglwydd y dilwydd devlu
oth wg heb olwg i bv
er dwyn ei olwg ar daith
Yr olwg a roir eilwaith
tir rhvdd i ti i rodded
ar gwyr grym gorav o Gred
llawen fv rhag ofn llias
gadw r plwy i gyd ar plas
y gras a roes Duw ar Grog
fowrnerth ith ysgyfarnog
y tir i bv rediad hon
doniog sy rydd ir dynion
y tân a roed attad ti
di lesc ar dyb dy losci
tân grym ni chlowid vn gwres
a fv enyd yw fynwes
er rhoi dwr ar bob rhyw dan
o led pob aylwyd lydan
Jessv gwyn a roes ganwyll
olav i ti i weled twyll
gwared llei rwyd yn gorwedd
a roi yn bawb or vn bedd
pob claf a ffob anafys
a roen 'n rhvdd heb arwain rŷs
ni sai yn yr Ynys hon
awr dywyllwg ir deillion
nid grym cyn myned tan grwys
vn treigl ond at yr Eglwys
Pradwys yw dy eglwys di
addwyn ddawn nef sydd ynddi
ir cor pan droist or moroedd
Y Manaw deg mayn dŷ oedd
oth orav gwyrth ith avr gob
ith wiscwyd yn ddoeth escob
ystyrio yn llwyr dystoria
a dyn gwyr o dân ag iâ
dy fawr wyrth a byrth y byd
vchel a droes yn iechyd

. . . . . .
. . . . . .

S. MORDEYRN

CYWYDD I FORDEYRN

From *Cardiff MS.* 23 (*c.* 1674), p. 252, collated with the fragmentary copy in *Hafod MS.* 10 (*c.* 1620), fo. 34*b*.

COWYDD MOLIANT I VORDEYRN SANT ANRHYDEDD YN NANTGLYN.

Y sant nefol addolwn
ystyr help ystor yw hwn
Mordeyrn aur durn dad [1]
Barwn hendir Brenhindad
Ŵyr wyt frŷ euraid dy frig

[1] Mordevrn evr devrn dad.

wladwr Cynedda wledig
or vn waed o ran ydoedd
Dewi a thi da waith oedd
Vn or tair Llin Brenhinol
teyrn wyt tau air hwy'nol
dy waith ydoedd wasneuthu
Duw er yn fab dy ran fu
pennaeth llawer oth geraint
ganmol swydd vgein mil Saint
Trwy r mor heb gelu r helynt
yn llv gwir i enlli gynt
Cof ydyw y cyfodes
sarn oi blaen siwrnai bu les
gwedi cau cyngau fal cynt
mor oi hol mawr o helynt
daethost ni buost bwl
duw fo wyddiad dy feddwl
ar dy farch euraid ei fwng
da ei wyllys fu dy ollwng
Benrhaith at dy gymdeithion
rhyd brig y dwfr dilwfr don
cloch wyd ni wnaeth gwlychu
carn dy farch er crynned fu
da fab yn arwydd dy fod
y mae r henw or mor hynod
buost ban ddaethost ieuthydd
blaenor a Chonffessor ffydd
da fu dy gof ofeg[1]
ymblith dawn o Enlli deg
ith gartre dan y nefoedd
ac i ddyffryn Nantglyn oedd
lle maenol anianol nerth
ty gwiw gwbwl teg aberth
ath fedd yn lle ith ddiweddwyd
ac wrth fur o gwrthfawr wyd
ath lun ni bu waith lanach
o glwyf a wnai glaf yn iach
Mordeyrn hil Edeyrn lwyd
ymwaredwr mawr ydwyd
dyn a ddelo dan ddolur
ith dy o fewn gwaith dy fur
pob efrydd claf ac afiach
o druan wedd a dry'n[2] iach
gwr wyd i roi gwared rhydd
torri gwewyr tragowydd
byddair ni chlyw air na chlod
gloyw bur a wnayd i glybod
Rhoi'r dall olwg ni phallai
rhoi'n ei bwyll yr hwn ni bai
Rhodd nid bychan ychwaneg
rhoi'r mud yn doydyd yn deg
mawr rasol ith ganmolwyd
meddig bendigedig wyd
A ddel o blegid ei dda
ith demel ath dy yma
ni ddwg haint da fraint yw fro
flwyddyn anifail iddo
llu a redant lle'r ydwyd
llawn ddawn ei llawenydd wyd
llawer rhodd fellu 'r heuddi
o gŵyr teg ac aur iti
mur gwlad ai muragl yd wyd
Mowrdeyrn nerth Mordeyrn wyd
Cadw dy blwyf rhag clwyfau
cyfion a rhentolion tau
pan elom ni ddygom dda
bid amod or byd yma
dwg ni oll diogan wr
i dy dduw dy weddiwr

Dafydd ap Ŧln ap Madog ai cant. [*Flor.* fifteenth century.]

[1] gof ath ofeg.
[2] droi n.

S. MWROG

CYWYDD I FWRROG SANT

From *Llanstephan MS.* 167 (*c.* 1692), p. 334.

Mawr iw dy wrthiau 'r awron
Mwrrog sant mawr rowiog sôn
Bugail y Côr baglog cwyn
benn rhaith ail Beuno Rhuthyn
Duw a roes on da yr aeth
ywch ragor wych rowiogaeth
gwrthiau mawr eu gywerthydd
yn dy feddiant sant y sydd
pob claf a phob dyn afiach
heb fost a wnaethost yn iach
y deilliaid ger bronn d'allor
yn dy gylch o fewn dy gôr
gwnaethost iddynt yn unawr
gweled mil goleuad mawr
a gwneuthur mi ai gwnn wythwaith
i rai ni cherddai y chwaith
redeg ar dy waredydd
heb un ffonn Mwrrog benn ffydd
dôf ith orsedd fucheddol
dyn wyf ai neges yn ol
clyw o Wynedd fyngweddi
clwyfus ofalus wy fi
gwyr fyngalon or fronn fry
gwaiw hiraeth gwae ai hery
nid hiraeth meibion maeth medd
am gyrr i farw om gorwedd
o chuddiwyd gwyr gwych addwyn
cant o rianedd au cwyn
meibion Jfan mae'm obaith
Fychan y deuan or daith
am Jthel mi a euthum
medde bawb or modd i bûm
gwae fi bryderi dyrys
gwyr fy mron gwewyr am Rys
er gallel o ddichellwyr
roi llenn gêl ar Jeirll îw gwyr
Mwrrog gwna 'm ymwared
am ddau o benn creiriau cred
gwyddost lle mae dau flaenor
mewn castell ym machell môr
cyfod dy fagl yn draglew
Cûr y tŵr ar cerrig tew
tynn er dy fendith Jthael
or tyrau hwnt wr tra hael
pâr unwaith help ir ynys
J wlad yr haf weled Rhys
minne a wnaf mynn y nef
yn ddinidr pann ddôn adref
roddi dau lûn ar dy law
ag aur er i gywiraw
cei fendithion uwch Conwy
ag ym Môn ti gei mwy
cei lawer o badreuau
cei glod am ddyfod ar ddau.

Jncerti authoris.

THE TWENTY THOUSAND SAINTS OF BARDSEY

CYWYDD I'R UGAIN MIL SAINT

From *Llyvyr Hir Llywarch Reynolds* (early seventeenth century), p. 105.[1]

Mi af i lvnaw [2] vy medd
ir ynys oddiar wynedd
tir gwnaid [3] i gael enaid glan
Troea megis tir jaüan
Enlli dir yn lle i dad
hoew wynn gwr hen i gariad
dav nid aeth koviaeth kovaint
aü [4] sel ir jgainmil saint
aüthon dros vawrdon vordwy
hynn o saint oi [5] hynys hwy
a gyrrv hawl or gwyr hynn
gennad at lewdad lwydwyn
a phob vn o hanvn hwy
oedd vüd ond y ddav vaudwy
gweddiyson gwiw ddasaint [6]
i lles [7] oll y llv o saint
i odro [8] ir hain wedy r hawl
bywch yddynt wyr bücheddawl
ywch benn y ffynnon honno
yn llaeth ir aeth ar i llo
bwyd y ddav [9] vnwedd [10] o dda
lawer val Galelia
baglav yr hain bv glaer hynny
oedd ar vrynn y ddaear vry
tyvysant val tw voesen
o anian pridd yn vn prenn
pob vn yn llwyn yn dwyn dail
o gywoeth a [11] ryw gwiail

a wyllys düw oedd velly
i roi yntwy nyr vn ty
gwedy yddynt gyd addaw
gorffen i treth gyrff hynt draw
gweniaith lydan gwnaeth lewdad
gweddio düw gwiw ddüw dad
a phawb a gavas i ffonn
draw i rwyvo drwy r avon
pabav a roes pawb ar [12] vn
pürdan nawdd pardwn yddvn
el i nef yn lan yvydd
aent draw lle mae enaid rydd
aed vn ir vedrod yno
angof vydd j angav vo
nida r ail vrawd na diawl vrys
ar enaid korff or [13] ynys
oes vn lle ynys Enlli
oll yny hyd well na hi
kyvailles yw kavell saint
i ddaear y [14] maddaüaint
rwymo ny ad travad [15] trwm
brytaen erw [16] brytaen wrwm
[17] brynarwyd a hewyd honn
brynar i beri rynion [18]
ag esgyrn ni aü gwisgwn
saint a roe sy yny trwn [19]
trwn delwav tirion dalwrn
talbwrdd saint tal byrddav swrn

[1] We have to thank Mr. Llywarch Reynolds for a copy of this and the following poem. The copy has been collated with those in (1) *Llanstephan MS.* 47 (*c.* 1630), p. 288, and (2) *Llanover MS.* B. 1, fo. 65 *a*. The important variant readings only are given.

[2] lvniaw (1). [3] gnaid (1); gwniad (2). [4] i (1), (2).
[5] yw (1), (2). [6] ddausaint (1). [7] yw llys (1). [8] ordro (1), (2).
[9] dda (2). [10] vnwyd (1), (2). [11] o (1), (2). [12] yn (1); ir (2).
[13] yr (1), (2). [14] ne i ddaear (1); i ddaear nêf (2). [15] tra vâd (2).
[16] bryd tan airw (1). [17] This couplet is transposed in (1), and (2).
[18] rinion (1), (2).
[19] saint ai rad sy ny tir hwnn (1); saint a roed sy ny tir hwn (2).

glan yw r ddol glain aür [1] ddolef
gardd a wnaeth y gwirddüw nef
mae n llawr honn main allor haf
medrodav mel mydrodaf
os gwelir megis gwiwlain [2]
esgyrn mewn ysgrinav main
minnav af a cherdd davawd
atyn vry yw ty yn vrawd
at jevan abad dwyvol
o ganon nef gwnawn ny ol [3]
mae brodorion ywch konwy
o jgain mil ag vn mwy
brytwn yw brawd Dewi ner
brawd Dyrdan bwriad dewrder

di anael chwech [4] Daniel chwyrn
y mrawd yw y mro deyrn
baeno mab da i benwn
Derfel ap Howel heb [5] hwnn
gwyr vn waed gwerin [6] ydynt
gwyr vn dad gwerin düw ynt
eithr od aeth alaeth olwg
ethrod draw am waithred [7] drwg
paren a daisyven saint
ym ddiwedd a maddaüaint.

Howel ap davydd ap jeuñ ap
rys ai kant.

[*Flor. c.* 1450–80.]

CYWYDD ARALL I'R UGAIN MIL SAINT.

From *Llyvyr Hir Llywarch Reynolds*, p. 107.[8]

Awn i En ri yn rod [9]
o nwyf [10] bür i nef [11] barod
down ir ardd dyna r vrddas
ar draws goror glwysor [12] glas
ir ynys bob ryw vnawr
ag wrthi mae gwrthav mawr
jgain mil a ganmolwn
o saint draw a sy ny trwn [13]
yno i rof vy nigovaint
er llesav [14] ir llv o saint
ar sieklav golav gwiwlan
ar pvmp ffenestr gloew restr [15]
glan
ymhenn bach am hwyneb j
yn wr hen ynyr haini

an gwyr oll yny gaer wenn
an gwirddüw yny gardden
lle trig esgyrn bendigaid
noddfa ny phlyga i phlaid
pedwar di alar dolef
patrwn yw heb poetri nef
llewdad daünawlad [16] jn oedd
a Phadarn gwr hoff ydoedd
Dewi ennill dewiniaith
Dyrdan ny rann yn benn raith
ar graig honn [17] er gyrrv ko
a gaid vendigaid jago
ar borthwen ar aberthwyr
a bro saint lle brysav [18] wyr
ar abad val glaisad glan

[1] yr (1); ar (2).
[2] gwylain (1), (2). [3] o ganon o gwnawn yw ol (1). [4] chwêg (2).
[5] yw (2). [6] gwirion (1), (2). [7] mewn gwaithred (1), (2).
[8] Collated with the copies in (1) *Llanstephan MS.* 47, p. 291, and (2) *Llanover MS.* B. 1, fo. 66*b*.
[9] Awn i enlli rri yn rrod (1). [10] nwyn (1), (2) [11] nenn (1), (2).
[12] glwysfor (1). [13] draw sy yny trwn (1), (2). [14] lliawsav (1), (2).
[15] lestr (1), (2). [16] daunaw gwlad (2) [17] hen (1). [18] brysiav (1).

aür i wenllaw or winllan
ar prior ywch y mor maith
da i ladin a di lediaith
dav o lin nef dav lan [1] od
a dav angel düw yngod
gweddiais [2] gweddvs oedd
rag marw yn rwygo moroedd
hoenwyn [3] yw r braisgwyn geyr bronn
ar dir yn aber daron
mvdais i borth y maüdwy
i aber mawr heb roi [4] mwy
ar donn oer i adenydd
ymwarchad ar bad i bydd
ar hwylwynt ar mor heli
ar bob tynn yny herbyn hi
och ir donn aigion agwrdd
o [5] myntai deg maint i dwrdd
mor gesig Saesnig heb son
mil o elltydd moel wyllton

ag or wybr yn gaer obry
gwal gae o ddwr gwilgi ddü
troes ynghefn trais anghyfnerth
tir [6] mor yn vn tra mawr nerth
mor Groeg y mrig yr agwn
a mor tawch yma r hyd hwnn
mor Mondfil bvm yw ddilyd
mewn dan haül Mondwin [7] i hyd
gyrrwyd vi hyd ar goryn
ir dwr dan nawdd Dürdan wynn
ymrwyllais or mor allan
mal glaisad at lewdad [8] lan
a genais ag a ganwyf
ir pennaig a wyr py nwyf
ny chaiswn or trwn nid raid
am hynn ond nef ym henaid

Thomas kelli
ai kant

[*Flor. c.* 1480.]

[1] lin (1). [2] gweddiais j (1). [3] hoewyn (1). [4] rai (1).
[5] a (1). [6] tri (1). [7] Mowndin (1). [8] Laiddad (1).

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

VOL. I.

P. 36, l. 29, *for* Prydynn *read* Prydyn.
P. 37, l. 5, *for* Llywel *read* Hywel.
P. 41, l. 3, *for* Zozimus *read* Zosimus.
P. 42, n. 12, *for* Fernandes *read* Jornandes.
P. 64, l. 24, *for* Protessus *read* Protasius.
P. 77, l. 9, *for* MS. is *read* MS. was once; *and after* but it *add* is now in the Bodleian, and
P. 78, l. 28, *for* Eley *read* Eleigh.
,, l. 36, *for* Dickenson *read* Dickinson.
P. 84, last l., *for* is certainly considerably later *read* was added to later.
P. 87, l. 36, *for* 1650 *read* 1550.
P. 88, l. 14, *for* Eley *read* Eleigh.
P. 117. S. AIDAN. Since the publication of Vols. I and II and the printing of Vol. III the valuable *Vitæ Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, by the Rev. C. Plummer, Oxford, 1910, has taken place. He gives in I, pp. 34–45, a *Vita Sti Edani sive Moedhog ep. de Ferna*, from the MS. in Bishop Marsh's Library, Dublin. The recension printed by Colgan and by the Bollandists were taken from this. Another Life is that printed by Rees in his *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*. "This edition, however, is so inaccurate, and the recension is of such great interest," says Mr. Plummer, "that I have printed it entire in an appendix" (II, pp. 295–311). There are other MS. Lives, for which see Mr. Plummer's Introduction, I, pp. lxxvi–lxxvii.

"The chronological setting of the Life is, on the whole, consistent. Maedoc himself died in 626. The other Saints with whom he is brought into relations are Molaisse of Devenish (d. 564 or 571); Ita (d. 570 or 577); Columba (d. 597); David (d. 601, traditional date); Molua of Clonfert Mulloe (d. 609); Munnu of Taghmon (d. 635). Of the secular princes who come into the story Ainmire died in 569 or 576, Aed, son of Ainmire, in 598, Brandub of Leinster in 605. In the case of Guaire Aidhne, the free-handed King of Connaught, there is a difficulty. Maedoc's visit to him is said to have been thirty years before the king's death. But Guaire did not die till 663 or 666; and taking even the earlier of these two dates the visit would fall after Maedoc's death." But the apparent anachronism is got over by the understanding that there were two Bishops of Ferns of the same name, one dying in 624 or 626, and the other in 656.

The two Lives are quite independent of each other. In that from Bp. Marsh's Library there is no mention of the saint's being in Wales and with S. David.

P. 128, l. 8, *for* lement *read* element.
,, S. AILBE. In Plummer's *Vitæ SS. Hibern.*, I, pp. 46–64, is a *Vita Sti Albei* from a copy in the Library at Trinity College, Dublin, collated with one in Bishop Marsh's Library. These, and a MS. in the Rawlinson Collection in the Bodleian, and that in the Salamanca Codex "all clearly go back to a common original. S. is certainly nearest to that original. . . . M. and T. omit many interesting points in S., and both of the latter recensions show a tendency to tone down or omit points in their original which were likely to give offence or not to be understood."

P. 132, ll. 1, 9, *for* sons of Guill *read* sons of Goll.

P. 142, 3rd paragraph, ll. 2–5. But it is doubtful if it did stand there. It is not an interpolation . . . Constantius, as it is not found in the texts of S. Corneille de Compiègne and S. Germain des Pres.

P. 145. We find that there is no foundation for the statement that the parish church of Christ Church was formerly dedicated to S. Alban; but he had at one time a chapel within the parish dedicated to him, on Mount S. Alban. Coxe, in his *Historical Tour through Monmouthshire*, published in 1801 (ed. 1904, pp. 103–4), mentions it as situated "on an eminence to the east of Caerleon, overlooking the Usk." It had then disappeared, but its site was well marked. Christ Church was also known as that of the Holy Trinity, as early as the twelfth century and as late as the *Valor* of 1535.

P. 152, middle of p., extract from Geoffrey; *for* lib. ix *read* lib. xi; *for* Trucidavit, trucidavit; *for* quarumdum, quorundum; *for* afficit, affecit.

P. 155, n. 3, and elsewhere. The "Amwn Ddu Brenin Grawec (yn Llydaw)" of the *Iolo MSS.* is an error derived from the "Annhun (du) rex Grecorum" of the *Cognatio de Brychan* and the *Harleian MS.* 3859 pedigrees, and "Annwn du vrenhin groec" of *Jesus College MS.* 20, by whom is meant Mark Antony, who, in the partition, had the eastern or Greek half of the Empire. Grawec, therefore, does not stand for Bro Werec'h, or the Vannetais.

P. 159, n. 2. The name Aneurin, more correctly, Aneirin, is derived from the Latin Honorinus. See *Y Cymmrodor*, xxi. (1908), p. 82.

P. 165. It may be mentioned that there was a S. Anno, Archbishop of Cologne, in the eleventh century, who is commemorated on December 4; but he was not the sort of man likely to receive a cult in Wales. See Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints*, xv, pp. 29–48.

P. 176, l. 9. Lancaut represents Lann Ceuid, and not Lann Coit. See ii, p. 116.

P. 178, l. 12, *for* at an earlier period *read* at a much later period.

P. 184. In spite of the statement of Bp. Forbes and others it is highly improbable that the names Asheg and Tobar Asheg (with others) have any relationship at all with the personal name Asaph. See *Celtic Review*, iii, p. 288. The Gaelic *aiseag* (pronounced *ashig*) means a ferry or crossing.

P. 187, l. 24. Penn-Ohen, or Penychen, was a *cantref* of East Glamorgan.

P. 193. The extract from Edward Lhuyd was given from a copy in Gwallter Mechain's handwriting. Since the appearance of the vol., part iii of Lhuyd's *Parochialia* has been published, as supplement to *Arch. Camb.* for 1911, where the extract may be found, with a few variations, on pp. 27 and 29.

P. 196. S. Barruc. In the Chantries Certificates of 1548, in the Record Office, it is stated under the parish of Wenvoe, in Glamorgan, "There is wthin the same p'ishe one acre of Meddow callid saynt Barrowgis acre gyven to fynde light before saynt Barrowg," i.e., an image of him, apparently in Wenvoe.

P. 204. S. Belyau. The name became Beilio, then Bilo (cf. the name Teilo). In Llanvillo are Ffynnon Filo, and Allt Filo, an eminence to the west of the church. The parish feast was on the first Monday in March (Theo. Jones, *Breconshire*, ed. 1898, p. 445).

P. 210, n. 4, *for* Llanymynch *read* Llanymynech; and *dele* S. *before* Bennion's.

P. 219. Add, with reference to Gwyddelwern, the following note from Lhuyd's *Parochialia*, ii, p. 49, "They were formerly us'd to besprinkle Cattle with an ew bough and the water of fynnon Beuno."

P. 222, l. 20, *for* Cholirs *read* Choirs; and next l., *for* Beiddan *read* Bleiddan.

P. 261. To the list of Lives of S. Brendan add: *Vita S^{ti} Brendani* in Plummer's *Vitæ SS. Hib.*; I, pp. 98–151, printed for the first time from a MS. in the Rawlinson Collection in the Bodleian. On this Life see Plummer's article in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, V, pp. 124 ff.; also in the *Vitæ SS. Hib.*, I, pp. xxxvi–xi. A second *Vita Brendani* is from a MS. in the Bodleian, formerly in the Abbey of Valle Crucis in Denbighshire. It is given in the Appendix to II, pp. 270–92; introduction to it, I, pp. xlii–xliii.

P. 262, l. 10, *after* Brendan is *read* commemorated in the diptychs; and, in n. 3, *dele* 238.

P. 271, l. 28, *for* Mell *read* Mel.

P. 304, l. 4, *for* 1650 *read* 1550.

VOL. II.

P. 1, l. 1, *for* gedigrees *read* pedigrees.

P. 6, l. 32, *for* Codfan *read* Cadfan.

P. 17, l. 25, *for* eregi *read* erigi.

Pp. 33–6. With what has been said relative to the identification of Beneventum, cf. *Arch. Camb.*, 1909, pp. 239–40.

P. 45, l. 11. It is more probable that Llangadwaladr, now Bishton, was named after S. Cadoc's disciple, noticed on the next page. The place was granted to Llancarfan in the time of Bp. Berthguin. See *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 93, and cf. *Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 180–3.

P. 56, l. 9. S. Kennox much more probably stands for S. Cynog's. See ii, p. 271, n. 4.

P. 72, l. 2, *for* Gwyddllew *read* Gwyddlew.

P. 77, l. 31, *for* Newgate *read* Newgale.

P. 81. Add to last paragraph: Singularly enough, the whole neighbourhood round about Crantock Church, and far beyond the limits of the churchyard, is filled with human skeletons orderly buried, and often in stone graves, not coffins. Wherever any digging is done in meadows, roadway, or round existing cottages, such skeletons are found. Seven were turned out in a row a year or two since, when an old malt house was altered into cottages.

P. 102. S. Celer. To the first paragraph add the following from Edward Lhuyd (1699), *Parochialia*, iii (1911), p. 76. His festival was observed at Llangeler on June 21. "Not far from the Church at y^{e} bottom of a steep hill issueth a fountain. Over y^{e} fall thereof a little Chapel is erected. Hither every summer infirm people make a frequent resort but particularly from y^{e} 21 of June to y^{e} feast of S^{t} Peter there will be such a concourse of people that no fair in Wales can equall it in multitude out of an opinion y^{t} y^{e} Saint endued it with such a vertue as will cure all infirmities. . . . In y^{e} Churchyard there is a place w^{ch} I may properly call a Cæmitery (in Welsh it is call'd Lhech) where after bathing the infirm must lie down to sleep w^{ch} as many as doe are perswaded will recover, otherwise not. This saint's sepulcher is by tradition s^{d} to be near y^{e} door on y^{e} south side of y^{e} Church."

P. 106, l. 10. Llangeneu Fawr and Fach are places situated in a depression on the slope of the Frenni Fach, in N. Pembrokeshire.

P. 114. Add to the last paragraph—His skull, at any rate, was kept as a relic in Llangennith Church in the second half of the fifteenth century, and used for swearing upon. In an indenture of 1472 two men are bound to abide by the award of an umpire, who adjudged that "the seyde John (Mauncell) shall swer to the seyde Hugh (Owen) in the chirche of Langenytt upon Seint Kenythis hedde, and ye seyde Hugh to brynge fourth the relicke bytwyne 9 at bell in ye mornynge and 3 at afternown a sonday the 21st day of March next," etc. (Birch, *Descript. Catal. of Penrice and Margam Abbey MSS.*, 1904, 4th ser., pt. ii, p. 114).

P. 116, last paragraph. As confirming the suggested dedication of Kewstoke, in N. Somerset, to S. Cewydd, and an indication of his presence still further South, we may mention that this year (1913) an inscribed stone, of the

Romano-British period, was discovered at Parracombe, in N. Devon, with the name *Cavudi*, which may very well commemorate Cewydd. There can be no doubt as to the dedication of Steynton Church to him. In Dugdale, *Monast.*, 1825, iv, p. 503, is a Royal grant (inspeximus), of 25 Edward i, to Pylle Priory, which includes "ecclesiam Sancti Kewit de Steintona." Another Cil Cewydd is a township of Forden parish, Montgomeryshire.

P. 119. S. CIARAN. To the authorities add: Plummer, *Vitæ SS. Hib.*, I, pp. 217–33, from the Life in Bishop Marsh's Library, Dublin. See also Introduction, I, pp. li–liv. There are three Irish Lives of Ciaran of Saighir, one at Brussels among the O'Clery MSS., a second among the Stow MSS. in the Royal Irish Academy Library. The Life printed by O'Grady in his *Silva Gadelica* "is a mere 18th century translation of the M. text, and is of no independent value whatever."

P. 213, last paragraph, which we derived from a MS. of Gwallter Mechain, differs in several respects from Lhuyd's version in *Paroch.*, iii, p. 88. "Ffynon weñ is a spring in y^e^ parish to y^e^ West tradic'only said to be very medicinal & effectual to cure distempers. Y^e^ times of repairing to it is Ascension Eve: they wash in y^e^ spring: & y^n^ repaire to a stone hard by called Llech gyby: w^ch^ is supported by other stones: & by y^e^ stone y^e^ sick person lyes all y^t^ night after his washing in y^e^ spring." But see *ibid.*, p. 68.

P. 269, n. 1, l. 2. *for* Jares *read* Jones.

P. 276, l. 25. "Gwyl Gynwil" is entered on January 8 in the Calendar in *Additional MS.* 14,886 (1643–4).

P. 285, l. 15, *for* invoked in the Litany *read* commemorated in the diptychs.

P. 308, n. 2, l. 2, *for* three *read* four.

P. 326, l. 2, *for* 226 *read* 225.

P. 400, n. 2, last l., *for* 1893 *read* 1895.

P. 412, l. 1. That Edren was a female saint is shown by the *Liber Communis* of S. David's Cathedral, where the church of S. Edrens is called "Ecclã Stæ Edrinæ" (1490–1565); Jones and Freeman, *S. David's*, 1856, pp. 375, 378, 383, 386, 388.

P. 422, end of S. EILIWEDD. But the De Bohnns, Lords of Brecon, lived in the fourteenth century in their Castle of Plepy, near Walden, and many of them were buried in Walden Abbey. They carried her veneration to Essex.

P. 443, l. 1, *for* 1820 *read* April, 1818.

P. 446, l. 9 (heading), *for* GODDSGORFAWR *read* GOSGORDDFAWR.

P. 448, l. 19, *for* Thesu *read* Ihesu.

P. 463, l. 28, *for* invoked in the Litany *read* commemorated in the diptychs.

P. 473, l. 32, *for* invoked in the Litany *read* commemorated in the diptychs.

P. 474, add to n. 3—"Eurgain ferch Faelgwn Gwynedd a roes y gannwyll wrth yr adar gwylltion, ac ni thoriasant i ddangos lle buasai llewyrch y gannwyll i'w chariad a welsai ef fwy na dwy filltir o ffordd oddiwrtho" (*Llanover Iolo MS.* 59, p. 116).

VOL. III.

P. 20. S. FINBAR. The Life of S. Barr or Finbar from Bishop Marsh's Library has been published by Plummer, *Vitæ SS. Hib.*, I, pp. 65–74. Another Life is in the Rawlinson MSS., in the Bodleian. There is one Irish Life in the *Book of Fermoy*, but it is imperfect; also in the Stowe MSS., and in Brussels. See Introduction, I, pp. xxxi–xxxii.

P. 49, head-line, *for* Gaerint *read* Geraint.

P. 141, l. 1, for *miniti* read *minihi*.

P. 204. For a local legend respecting the foundation of Capel Gwladys, in which she is represented to have eloped with a youth of Monmouth (*sic*),

and to have been married, ultimately with her father's consent, on the spot where now stands the Chapel, and in commemoration of which ceremony it was built, see *Llen Gwerin Blaenau Rhymni*, Pengam, 1912, pp. 24–6.

P. 237, l. 40, *for* Tatham *read* Tathan.

P. 325. To the list of Authorities for S. Itha add the *Vita Sctæ Itæ Virginis* from the MS. in Bishop Marsh's Library, Dublin, published by Plummer, *Vitæ SS. Hib.*, II, pp. 116–30; the Introduction, I, pp. lxxii–lxxiv. There is another Latin Life of Itha in Rawlinson's Collection, and in Fleming's *Collectanea Sacra*, Louvain, 1677.

Mr. Plummer says, "M. & R. cover much the same ground, though R. is shorter and certainly less original. M. itself may be an abbreviation of a longer Life"; there are passages in it which indicate this. One curious and noticeable point is that, on mention of a miracle performed on a certain Feargus, who was suffering from inflammation of the eyes, the biographer casually remarks, "cujus filius adhuc vivit." The Life as we have it most certainly does not belong to the second generation after the Saint, but this appears to point out to what we do possess being a redaction at a much later date of an earlier Life. That it is a composite production is shown by its twice recording the same incident, § xvii and § xxxiv.

The *Vita* gives an account of a great battle fought by the Huy Conaill in which victory was obtained by the intervention of S. Itha by her prayers. This battle was fought in 552.

In the Life published by Mr. Plummer there is no mention of Itha having suffered from cancer, or the *daol*. In it she is said to have died of extreme old age. Her death was almost coincident with that of Aengus of Clonmacnois, for which the *Annals of Ulster* give two alternative dates, 570 and 577.

P. 393, n. 1, last l., *for* Mackraith *read* Machraith.

P. 405, end of last paragraph, add—B. Willis, *Paroch. Angl.*, pp. 180, 188, gives the festival at the Llandyfaelog in Breconshire, and at that in Carmarthenshire, as on March 1. The festival of Tyfaelog occurs on February 26 in the Calendars in *Peniarth MS.* 219, the Prymers of 1546, 1618, and 1633, and in *Allwydd Paradwys*.

P. 460, l. 22, *for* Maglorious *read* Maglorius.

,, l. 30, *for* mer known as *read* erly known as.

P. 472, l. 12, *for* Maglorious *read* Maglorius.

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