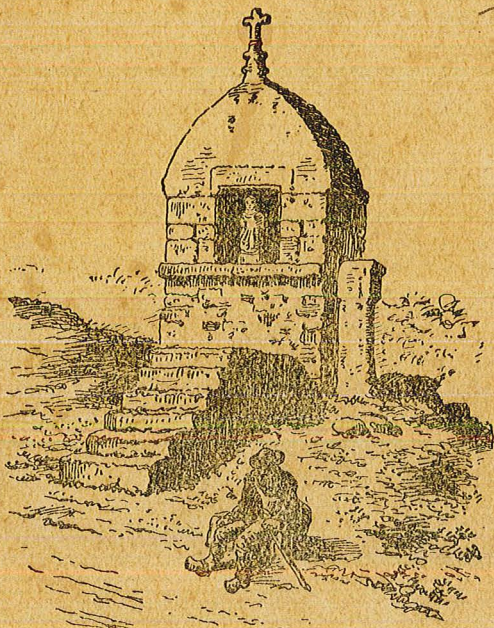


Monsieur le chanoine Pérennes,
Hommage respectueux de l'auteur,
SAINT PERRAN, SAINT KEVERNE,
& SAINT KERRIAN *G. H. Doble.*

21 Dec., 1931.



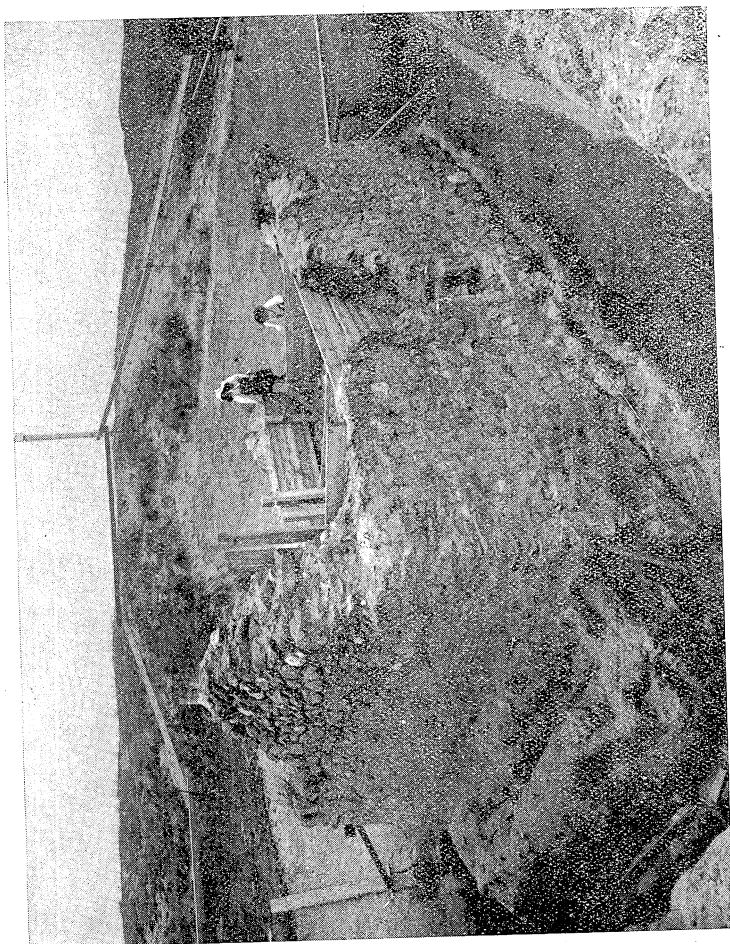
Oratoire de Saint-Péran, en Trégat.

The Oratory of Saint-Péran in Brittany
(from a sketch by M. Le Guennec.)

BY THE

Rev. GILBERT H. DOBLE, M.A.,
Honorary Canon of Truro Cathedral and Vicar of Wendron.

With an ESSAY on *The Cult of S. Pieran or Perran and S. Keverne in Cornwall*,
by **CHARLES HENDERSON, M.A.,** Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.



THE ORATORY AT PERRAN-ZABULO AFTER ITS EXCAVATION IN 1910.

"CORNISH SAINTS" SERIES. No. 29.

Saint Perran, Saint Keverne, and Saint Kerrian,

BY THE

Rev. GILBERT H. DOBLE, M.A.,

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

Author of

*'S. Marwes,' 'S. Euny,' 'S. Budoc,' 'S. Winwaloë,'
'S. Coentin,' 'S. Melaine,' 'S. Carantoc,' 'S. Gwinear,'
'S. German,' 'SS. Mewan & Austol' 'S. Feock,'
'S. Petrock,' 'SS. Dooco & Kew,' 'S. Melor,' 'S. Nonna,'
'S. Brioc,' 'SS. Sithney & Elwin,' 'S. Senan,' 'Four
Saints of the Fal,' 'S. Neot,' 'S. Selevan,' 'S. Tudy,' 'S.
Clether,' 'S. Cuby,' 'A John Wesley of Armorican,
Cornwall,' 'SS. Nectan & Keyne and the children of
Brychan in Cornwall,' 'S. Constantine & S. Merryn,'
'S. Symphorian,' 'Two Cornish Parishes in the
Eighteenth Century,' 'S. Decuman,' 'Breage in the
Eighteenth Century,' etc.*

With an Essay on *The Cult of S. Pieran or Perran and
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SAINT PERRAN, SAINT KEVERNE,

AND

SAINT KERRIAN.

By The Rev. Canon G. H. DOBLE, M.A.

Of all the Celtic saints of Cornwall there are few who interest us more than S. Perran. He is patron of three different Cornish parishes, and his cult is found in Wales and Brittany, and above all there still remains at Perran-zabulo the greater part of a little church of stone which must have been built by the Celtic monks of the monastery founded there by S. Perran, that bore his name (Lanpiran) and contained his relics. We have more information as to the cult paid to S. Perran at Perran-zabulo before the Reformation than about the cult of any other Cornish saint, and standing at the lonely "oratory" amid the sand hills, or the great stone cross close by, we feel, more than anywhere else in the county, that we are treading in the footsteps of one of those makers of Christian Cornwall whose names remind us of the strange and picturesque Celtic Church which flourished here long before English Christianity existed. Everywhere in Cornwall we find the names of the Celtic saints who founded our churches, but here we see, undisturbed by later associations of Gothic churches and modern houses, the spot where one of them lived, still to some extent as it was in his time and in the ages which immediately followed. Our imagination can easily picture the veneration paid there in the Middle Ages to those relics described for us in such vivid detail in documents of the 13th century, and we know that probably under our feet lie somewhere buried the bones of the founder of this ancient Christian settlement and of his companions and successors.

But who was the S. Perran who was honoured here?



Église catholique
en Finistère

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We are all familiar with the answer which Cornish tradition gives, *viz.* that he was an Irish saint who came over here at a very early period and died in the monastery which he built on the northern coast of Cornwall. This tradition owes its vitality to an old Latin *Life of S. Piran*, which forms part of a well-known collection of *Lives* of saints usually called Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Anglie*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1516.¹

Unfortunately however this *Life* proves, on examination, to be a "pirated edition" of the Latin *Life* of S. Ciaran of Saigir, the founder of a celebrated abbey in Ireland, who was believed to have been a contemporary of S. Patrick. It has been adapted for Cornish readers (or hearers) by the name being changed throughout from *Kyaranus* to *Piranus*, by excising the passages which speak of his burial at Saigir, and adding a chapter describing his journey to Cornwall and death at Perran-zabulo.

I propose to compare the two *Lives*, the Irish and the Cornish, which I will call I and C respectively, by giving an analysis of each in turn, but first I wish to make a preliminary examination of the *Life* in Capgrave, which is the one which really concerns us most for our present purpose, in order to try and see if we can find out under what conditions it was composed.

The majority of the *Lives* in *Nova Legenda Anglie* were written, or rather compiled, in the 14th century, by a scholarly monk of S. Alban's called John of Tynemouth. His method was to visit the libraries of Abbeys and Cathedrals, to read any *Lives* of saints he found there, and to copy them, omitting most of the names of persons and places which they contained, and generally abridging and summarizing them.

Where did we find the *Life of S. Piran*?

The *Life* was clearly written by someone who knew Perran-zabulo, but did not live there, as the last sentence, which describes its position on the sea between Padstow and Mousehole, would be quite unnecessary for natives of the place. A large number of the *Lives* of saints copied by John of Tynemouth

¹ All other written accounts of S. Piran (*e.g.*, that in Whytford) derive their information from Capgrave. For oral traditions of the Saint see p. 32.

were written by the monks of important monasteries on whose lands were the shrines of the saints in question. This I have shown was the case with the *Life* of S. Keyne, written at Margam Abbey, which owned Llangeinor, and that of S. Neot, and perhaps that of S. Petroc.¹ (In the same way, as I have shown in *Four Saints of the Fal*, the *Life of S. Kea* must have been written by the canons of Glasney, to whom the church of Kea belonged). Now the Collegiate church of Lanpiran, which we find in the 11th century had taken the place of the ancient Celtic monastery there, was confiscated by the greedy Count of Mortain about 1085, and Henry I. gave the church and its endowments to Exeter cathedral. It seems to me, then, that probability points to the cathedral library at Exeter as the place where John of Tynemouth found the *Life of S. Piran*, and to some learned canon of Exeter as its author. The fact that there was in Exeter a church of S. Kerrian, who must have been very early in the Middle Ages identified with S. Ciaran, should also be borne in mind, as the cult of S. Ciaran must in this way have been familiar to the clerks of Exeter.² Moreover, in the 13th

¹ It may be noted that S. Piran and S. Petroc are the only Cornish saints in *Nova Legenda Anglie* whose *Lives* cannot have been found by John of Tynemouth outside the diocese of Exeter.

² C tells us that Piran "is by some called Keran" (see p. 16). Now in Bishop Grandisson's Ordinale (1337) the Kalendar, under 5th March, has the words "Sancti Kerani. Exonie IX lecciones." In the Sanctorale we find under the same date "SANCTI KERANI, episcopi et confessoris, Exonie IX lecciones fiant. Cetera omnia de Comuni unius confessoris et pontificis." (*Ordinale Exon.*, Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. XXXVII, 1909, p. 216). Later, on p. 344, we find in the Proprium de Sanctis, Ad Missam, under 5th March, "Sancti Pirani vel Kierani episcopi et confessoris, si fiat de eo, omnia secundum ordinacionem cantoris vel succentoris fiant, sicut de uno episcopo et confessore." The Martyrologium (p. 386) has "In Cornubia sancti Pyrani episcopi et confessoris." A chantry altar bearing the names of S. John the Baptist and SS. Pyran and Blaise stood in the nave of Exeter cathedral in the 13th century, as in 1271 Bishop Bronescombe appropriated the church of Up-Ottery to the Dean and Chapter "for the support of three chaplains for the souls of the venerable fathers William Bruer and Richard Blund our predecessors, Bishops of Exeter, and of all the faithful departed, ministering at the altar dedicated in honour of Blessed John Baptist, Blasius and Pyranus in the nave of the said Church of Exeter and assigned for this purpose." (Oliver's *Lives of the*

century the Church of Exeter had close connections with the diocese of Ossory, in which Saighir is situated. Andrew of Kilkenny was

Bishops of Exeter, p. 423). The cathedral also possessed an arm of S. Piran, as the words "brachium sci. pyrani conf," have been added to a list of relics compiled between 1175 and 1190. (Chapter MSS. 2861, Roll of Relics). "Sancte Kyerane" is in an Exeter litany of the last quarter of the 12th century (Harl. MS. 863).

A calendar in the British Museum (Vesp. A. XIV) apparently written for Llandaff (it contains the names of SS. Teilo, Dubricius, Decuman, Nonna, Brendon, and three feasts of S. Paternus), has KIERAN, Bishop and Confessor, under 5 March.

It is interesting to find the cult of S. Piran as far away as the diocese of Hereford. The Hereford Missal (ed. W. G. Henderson, 1874) and Breviary (H.B.S., vol. XXVI, 1903) both contain the name of *Saint Pieran, Bishop and Confessor* on 5th March, also the 14th century Ordinale. The name occurs in both the 13th century and 15th century Manuscript Breviaries, and in the printed Breviary of 1505. Frere and Langton Brown add in a note (*Hereford Breviary*, H.B.S., iii. 255) that in a Hereford Psalter of the 15th century belonging to University College, Oxford, now in the Bodleian, "a later hand adds *IX lections* to *Pieranus*, and, perhaps as a further correction, inserts 'Sancti Keriani epi. IX lectiones' in previous line."

The collect in the Hereford Breviary is "Deus, qui beatum pyranum confessorum tuum atque pontificem virtutum titulis et miraculorum decorasti insigniis; concede propicius, ita nos eius meritis adiuvari, ut ei in eterna beatitudine mereamur associari. Per."

The introduction of S. Pieran into the Use of Hereford may be due to the influence of the Exeter liturgical books, though it is remarkable that the latter do *not* contain this form of the saint's name, and there is little evidence of intercourse between Hereford and Exeter. The Hereford collect may be identical with that used at Exeter (the Exeter Ordinale says "cum propria oracione de die. Cetera omnia de Communi," showing that special lessons from the saint's *Life* were not read in the cathedral). There are remarkably few Celtic saints in the Hereford Calendar, and not one (if you except S. Alban) in the Litany, so there cannot have been any *Welsh* influence in Hereford Use.

William of Worcester in 1478 found SANCTUS PIERANUS EPISCOPUS in the Calendar of Bodmin Priory, and "Sanctus Pyranus episcopus de Cornubia 18 die Novembris" in that of the Church of "Lanceston." This latter entry gives a different date for the saint's feast, for which there is no other evidence.

precentor of Exeter cathedral in 1283, and was installed Dean on 13 March 1284. There was an obit in the cathedral each 9th May of a Master William de Kilkenny, formerly canon.¹ In 1289 the Bishop of Ossory was one Michael of Exeter. (The Franciscan Friary at Clonmell was founded in 1269 by Otho de Grandison, uncle of the famous Bishop of Exeter.) The date of the *Life* cannot well be earlier than the 14th century, as the name *Mousehole* shows (unless John of Tynemouth added this sentence himself), since the importance of Mousehole as a port for Spain lasted roughly from the 14th to the 16th centuries, and the name in this form is not found earlier than 1310.

A difficulty to be remembered when studying this *Life* is that it is a recension of a recension. We cannot be sure how much of the Exeter (?) *Life* has been abridged by John of Tynemouth, and how much alteration from the Irish *Life* is due to the unknown author of the *Life* which the latter copied. On the other hand, John was a copyist, and a copyist only. He abridged, but did not add to, the material he used. The names of persons in his work must therefore have been in the original form of C.

A very interesting point to be noted is that the Exeter canon (?) who "pirated" the *Life of S. Ciaran* suffered the same fate himself. His work was in turn still more shamelessly pirated by the canons of S. Pol de Léon in Brittany and appropriated to a saint of Léon, S. Sezni, patron of Guisseny (with far less excuse, since the name of *Sezni* does not even remotely resemble that of *Ciaran*). The reader will find the *Vie de St Sezni* in Albert Le Grand's *Vies des Saints de la Bretagne Armorique*.² It contains one point of interest for us. It is evident that C. originally gave the name of the Queen who ate the blackberries, and that John of Tynemouth cut it out. Albert le Grand says

¹ Mr. Atchley, to whom I am indebted for these interesting and highly important facts, says "I cannot find when he was a canon. A *William de Kilkenny* was appointed bishop of Ossory, c. 1231, but was never consecrated, and he is possibly the same person as the canon of Exeter."

² I have discussed the question in "S. Sithney and S. Elwin," No. 18 in this series. I should however have made it clearer that the *Vie de St Sezni* does not copy the *Vita Ciarani*, but the *Vita Pirani*.

it was "la princesse *Onegia*." The Latin *Vita Ciarani* does not give the name, but the Irish version of that *Vita* (Br.) preserved at Brussels, says it was *Eithne*, which may have been transformed into *Onegia*, or some similar form, by the author of C. The latter clearly knew a version of the *Life of S. Ciaran* closely following Br., since he inserts chapters found in Br. but not in I. On the other hand, it was a Latin, not an Irish *Life* which he had in front of him, identical, except in length, with I, since there are a great many passages in C. word for word the same as in I.¹ Albert Le Grand (or the canons whose Breviary lections he summarized) has imitated the author of C by adding to his *Vie de St Sezni* a chapter relating the saint's visit to Léon, and death, at the age of 127, at Guisseny.

I will now give an analysis of the

LIFE OF SAINT CIARAN OF SAIGHIR.²

Incipit Sancti Kyarani episcopi et confessoris Vita.

c.I. "The most blessed Bishop Kyaranus,³ the firstborn of the Saints of Ireland, came from the western part of Leinster, which is called Ossory. At the time that he was born, all the Irish were gentiles." His father was called Lugneus, a nobleman of Ossory, his mother Liadain, who came from the south of Munster. Before his mother conceived him, she saw in a dream a star fall into her mouth. She related the dream to the *magi*, who told her that it signified that she was to bear a son whose fame would remain in Ireland till the end of the world. The child was born, and brought up in the island of Clera.

¹ E.g., in the following passages of C the words in italics are the same as in I. "*mater eius . . . stellam in os suum cadentem vidit.*" "*descendens autem quandam super nidum cubantem coram Pirano unguis rapuit et in aera asportavit.*" "*scripturas sanctas legens et ecclesiasticam regulam discens,*" "*vulpes . . . ficones furata est, et volens comedere ad suum pristinum habitaculum.*" "*angeli crebris visitationibus frequentabant. Innumerabiles presbiteros, episcopos, et clericos ordinavit.*" Many other examples might be given.

² Now Seir-Kyran, near Birr, in King's Co.

³ The spelling of the name is as in the Latin *Life*.

c.II. As a small child, he saves a little bird pursued by a kite.

c.III. "Saint Kyaran lived in Ireland for 30 years in holiness and integrity of body and soul without baptism. . . . And yet, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost in His holy servant Kyaran he lived as one religious and perfect in his ways. Hearing about the Christian Religion at Rome, he left Ireland and went to Rome, where he was baptized and taught the Catholic Faith, and remained there twenty years, reading Holy Scriptures. . . . diligently learning ecclesiastical rules. The people of Rome, seeing his wisdom and prudence, the piety and faith of the man of God Kyaran, he was ordained bishop there; and then was sent to Ireland his native land. And on his way S. Patrick, archbishop of the whole of Ireland, met him in Italy, and seeing each other the saints of God rejoiced. S. Patrick was not then a bishop, but was afterwards ordained archbishop by Pope Celestine, and sent to Ireland to preach. . . . And Patrick said to Kyaran: "Proceed to Ireland before me, and go to a fountain in the middle of Ireland which is called Fuaran, and build there a monastery, for there shall be thy honour and thy resurrection." S. Kyaran replied, "The place where the fountain is is unknown to me." And S. Patrick answered him, "Dear brother, go thy way in peace, and the Lord will be with thee; and take this bell as the companion of thy journey, which will be silent until thou reach the aforesaid fountain. And when thou shalt have come thither, thy bell will sound clearly and sweetly. And after thirty years I will come to thee in that place." Then the saints of God kissed and blessed each other, and S. Kyaran made his way to Ireland, but blessed Patrick remained in Italy. And from that time the bell of S. Kyaran sounded not until he reached the fountain of Fuaran, as S. Patrick had foretold.¹

c.IV. "When S. Kyaran had come to Ireland, God directed him to the fountain of Fuaran, and there the bell of the man of God sounded clearly, which bell is called the *barthanus Kyarani*,²

¹ An exactly similar story is found in the *Life of S. Kea* (Ké or Quay); see "Four Saints of the Fal" (No. 20 in this series) p. 9.

² A gloss in the Irish language adds "that is, an *bardan Ciarain* = the Dumb Bell (?) of Ciaran."

and is had in great honour in the city and in the whole *parochia* of S. Kyaran. For it is taken all over the district to the solemn leagues of princes, to defend the poor, and to exact the tribute of the monastery of S. Kyaran. This bell was made in the house of (*apud*) German the bishop, the Master of S. Patrick. And that fountain is . . . in the *plebs* which is called Hele. And the blessed pontiff Kyaran began to live there as a hermit, for the wilderness (*heremus*) all round was thick with woods. And he built his little cell, and then a monastery, of the poorest materials. And afterwards by the gift of God, through the grace of S. Kyaran, a city grew there. And the city and monastery are all called by one name, that is, Sayger.

c.V. When S. Kyaran had come there, he first sat down under a certain tree, in whose shadow was a most ferocious wild boar. And the boar, seeing the man, at first fled in terror, but afterwards God made him tame, and he returned to the man of God like a servant; and that boar was S. Kyaran's first disciple and (so to speak) monk in that place. For the boar himself began immediately in the sight of the man of God to tear up vigorously with his teeth branches and grass to construct a cell . . . Then other animals came to S. Kyaran from their lairs in the desert, namely a fox, a badger, a wolf and a doe; and they lived with him and were quite tame. For they all obeyed the commands of the holy man like monks.

c.VI. One day the fox, who was more crafty than the other beasts, stole the sandals of his abbot, that is S. Kyaran, and abandoning his intention (to live as a monk) took them to his former habitation in the wilderness, meaning to eat them there. And when the holy father Kyaran knew this, he sent another monk or disciple, namely the badger, to bring back the brother to his place. And the badger, knowing the woods well, obeyed his superior's command and went straight to Brother Fox's cave. And finding him preparing to eat his master's sandals, he bit off his ears and tail and plucked off his hair, and compelled him to return with him to his monastery, there to do penance for his theft. And the fox, unable to resist, came together with the badger to S. Kyaran in his cell at the ninth hour. And the holy man said to the fox, "Why hast thou done this wrong, 10]

Brother?—a thing which no monk should do. Behold, we all share the same sweet water and all eat the same food. And if thy body craved fleshly sustenance, Almighty God would have enabled us to obtain it for thee from the bark of trees." Then the fox, praying for indulgence, did penance by fasting, and did not eat till the holy man gave him leave."¹

c.VII. Disciples flock to S. Kyaran, and a famous monastery is begun. The beasts remained in it as long as they lived. Ireland begins to be Christian, through the labours of three holy bishops who were there before Patrick, *viz.* Ailbe, Ybar and Declan. Kyaran converts Ossory. At last Patrick arrives in Ireland, and by the grace of God converts the kings, nobles and tribes.

c.VIII. and IX. S. Kyaran's mother comes to him and is converted and becomes a faithful Christian and holy servant of God. He founds a nunnery for her. A neighbouring chief, Dimma, carries off one of the nuns there, called Bruineach.

c.X. and XI. Kyaran miraculously obtains swine and sheep for the monastery,

c.XII. Kyaran raises to life Leogar the son of Fintan, who offers the saint the "villa" which is called Raith Fera, with its lands.

¹ Plummer considered this story "one of the most delightful things in hagiographical literature." It "reads like a page from a mediæval 'Jungle Book.' The attempt of the authors of the *Lives* of the British Saints (II. 124) to euhemerize these charming 'jungle-folk' seems to me as unscientific as it is prosaic; and this defect runs more or less through all the work." (*Vitæ Sanct. Hib.*, I. cxli, iiv, note 3). (Baring-Gould attempts, in the passage referred to by Plummer, to explain away the story of Ciaran's first disciples being animals by saying that they were members of the Fox clan, the Broc tribe, etc. It is characteristic of his method of treating the mediæval Latin *Lives* he uses: he rationalizes the miracles, but regards the narrative as otherwise historical, which of course is far from being the case). The story of the fox is found in the Anglo-Saxon Homily on S. Neot, written at Croyland. (see *S. Neot*, No. 21 in this series, p. 9).

c.XIII. S. Patrick comes to Munster and converts King Aengus. A certain man, the son of Erch, accidentally kills the horse of S. Patrick. Aengus arrests him. Kyaran intercedes for him and gives the king a quantity of gold and silver. The king releases the man, who goes home. The gold and silver then vanishes away. The king is angry with Kyaran, but loses his sight and falls to the ground almost dead. Kyaran restores his sight and heals him and the king gives him many gifts.

c.XIV. King Aengus has seven skilled harpers, who play before him and sing to him sweetly the deeds of heroes. The harpers passing through the parish of Muscraige Tire (E. and W. Muskerry, Co. Cork) are slain by their enemies, who conceal their bodies in a certain pond and hang up their harps on the bank of the pond. The King cannot imagine what has become of them, but Kyaran informs him. The saint then proceeds to the pond and fasts there for a day, and the pond dries up. The harpers come to life, after being a month in the water, pick up their harps, and sing sweet songs to the people before the king and the bishop. The pond has ever since been dry but is still called *Loch na gCruitireadh*, i.e. the Harpers' Pond.

c.XV. One of the officers of the King of Munster is killed, with his twenty men, by their enemies. Kyaran goes to fetch their bodies to bury them, but finding he has not enough carts to carry the corpses, raises them all to life again instead, together with a pig they had killed. The men become monks in his monastery.

c.XVI. Kyaran miraculously supplies the Queen of King Aengus, who had conceived an unlawful passion for a chief named Conchrid, with blackberries out of season, and so delivers her from her infatuation. He foretells the death of the king and queen, who are later slain at Ceall Osnadh by the King of Leinster.

c.XVII. The saint entertains Archbishop Patrick, the King of Munster, and nine chieftains, with provisions miraculously multiplied.

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c.XVIII. The King of Tara attacks the King of Munster, but Kyaran causes a wood to grow up between the armies and a stream to rise in flood to separate them. Kyaran entertains the entire army of the King of Munster with a roasted ox and pig, and after the meal much is still left. The fame of Kyaran is spread abroad.

c.XIX. Robbers who invoke S. Kyaran's aid are saved from their pursuers by a globe of fire. They become monks at his monastery.

c.XX. Punishment of a robber who carried off a valuable cow belonging to the monks of S. Kyaran. He dies, and the cow returns of her own accord.

c.XXI. When S. Conche, Kyaran's nurse, needs oxen for ploughing, he sends them to her monastery at Ross Beannchuyr. They go and return of their own accord, year by year, as required.

c.XXII. S. Kyaran was wont every Christmas Eve, after the midnight mass, to go to Ross Beannchuyr and say mass again there. After distributing Holy Communion to S. Conche and others he returned right across Ireland to Saigir before dawn, just as the prophet Abacuch went from Judaea to Caldea and back in a day.

c.XXIII. There is a rock, now called the Stone of S. Conche, on which she used to pray, by the sea-shore. The saint one day mounts this rock and is transported home upon it. It is written, "God is marvellous in His Saints."

c.XXIV. Punishment of a disciple, Carthagus, who conceived a passion for a virgin in S. Liadan's monastery.

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c.XXV. Two brothers on a pilgrimage, Odhran and Medhran, visit Saigir on their way. Medhran decides to stay there permanently.¹

c.XXVI. The saint raises to life a certain matron, named Eachyll, dead three days. She gives to S. Kyaran the *vicus* called Eachill's Leap.

c.XXVII. A *prepositus* of the King of Munster, named Ceannfaeladh, kills Cronan, a friend of Kyaran, who raises him to life again seven days later and foretells the murderer's fate.

c.XXVIII. A King of Munster named Ailill quarrels with S. Kyaran, and departs after speaking angry words. As a punishment he is made dumb, but on his repentance the saint blesses his tongue and he recovers his speech.

c.XXIX. One night Kyaran, now an old man, and a pilgrim called Germanus, immerse themselves in cold water, as a mortification (a favourite practice of the Celtic saints). Soon Germanus can stand the cold no longer, on which Kyaran blesses the water with the sign of the cross and the water around the pilgrim becomes hot. The saint then bids Germanus lay his hand on the fish swimming near him, which is to provide a meal for Kyaran's disciple Carthagus, who is to return (after a pilgrimage previously imposed as a penance) next day.

¹ Baring Gould, who imagined that the whole of Penwith was full of dedications to Irish saints, boldly asserts that "Madron is the Irish Medran, a favourite pupil of Ciaran of Saighir." (L.B.S. III. 397, II. 130). M. Loth's opinion that Matronus, the disciple of S. Tudual of Tréguier, who was buried at his feet, is the éponyme of Madron, is far more probable. Madron and Paul are surely the two disciples, Matronus and Paul, described in the 2nd and 3rd *Lives of S. Tudual*. The parish of Madron is full of typically British place-names, some of them names of Breton saints (e.g. *Boscathno* contains the name of the éponyme of Plougasnou near Morlaix, and *Boskednan* that of S. Kenan, patron of Plouguerneau). As M. Loth says, the rash identifications of which the L.B.S. are full are "un véritable massacre des Innocents."

c.XXX and XXXI. S. Kyaran, Abbot of Cluain meic Nois (Clonmacnoise), is imprisoned by King Furbytheus, who refuses to let him go unless he will give him seven red cows with white heads. The abbot promises to try and find them, and visits S. Kyaran of Saigir. The two S. Brendans also pay a visit to Saigir at the same time, and the saint, who has nothing in the house but bacon, turns it into a sumptuous meal of fish, vegetables and honey. A monk who refuses to eat anything made of bacon is told that he will come to a bad end. The four saints make a league together and bless each other. Seven cows of the required colour are then found grazing by a river, and given to the King, who grants S. Kyaran of Clonmacnoise his liberty. The cows subsequently vanish away, and the king realizes that he has sinned.

c.XXXII. A mischievous boy from Clonmacnoise, called Crichidh Cluana, extinguishes the paschal fire at Saigir. Kyaran predicts that "the accursed boy" will be punished. Next day he is killed by wolves. S. Kyaran of Clonmacnoise hears of this and comes to Saigir. He is received in an icy-cold chamber, as there is no fire in the monastery. In answer to S. Kyaran of Saigir's prayer, there descends from heaven a globe of fire, which he carries in his chasuble to the guest chamber. He then raises the dead boy to life, and the latter returns with his master to Clonmacnoise.

c.XXXIII. Another fire-story follows. A monk accidentally extinguishes the fire. A distinguished guest, S. Ruadan, Abbot of Lothra, arrives and cannot be properly entertained. Kyaran then blesses a stone, which bursts into flames. He carries the stone to Ruadan, who gives thanks to God, with all his companions.

c.XXXIV. The same monk has another accident and spills a vessel of milk. S. Kyaran blesses it with the holy sign, and it is found filled with excellent milk of unknown source.

c.XXXV. The aged saint was praying one day shortly before his death, when an angel appeared to him. Kyaran asked three petitions of God in the presence of the angel, who assured

him that they would be granted: first, that no one buried in his cemetery near his chair¹ should be in hell after the day of judgement; secondly, that everyone who kept his feast should be rich in this life, and should have eternal rest in the life to come; and thirdly, that the people of Ossory, who had accepted him as their patron, should never be defeated if waging a defensive war within their own territory.

c.XXXVI. We are informed that the most blessed Kyaran never at any time in his life wore soft clothing, or ate flesh, or drank intoxicating drink. He slept little, and allowed himself no bodily comforts. He converted to the faith of Christ the people of Ossory, and other tribes. He ordained an innumerable multitude of bishops, priests and other clerks.

c.XXXVII. Our holy patron Kyaran prayed for a well, which an angel caused to spring up, and many cures still take place there. It is called the Fountain of Kyaran.

c.XXXVIII. The most holy Kyaran lived 300 years. At last, worn out with old age, he called the people, instructed and blessed them, and, having received the divine sacrifice, gave up the ghost amid the choir of saints, on the 3rd of the nones of March. Thirty holy bishops, whom he had consecrated, by God's providence departed to the kingdom of Christ the same night.

Let us now examine the Cornish *Life*, and compare it with the Irish.

DE SANCTO PIRANO, EPISCOPO ET CONFESSORE.

"Now the blessed Piranus, who by some is called Keranus,² is called Piranus in Cornwall, where he rests." The

¹ In Germoe churchyard in Cornwall there is a very curious little stone building, known as *S. Germoe's Chair* as far back as the 16th century at least.

² *Keran*, as we shall see (p. 30) is the oldest form of the name of S. Kerrian's, Exeter. This is an additional argument for C being written at Exeter.

writer then summarizes c.I.—VI. of the *Life* we have just read, introducing certain alterations. The saint's father is called *Domuel*, and his mother *Wingella*. The latter sees a star fall into her mouth *after*, instead of before, his conception. The incident of the bird in c.II. is related, but instead of a kite it is a hawk, "which also is called *nisus*." Kyaran stays 15 years in Rome instead of 20. The fountain is called *Waran* instead of *Fuaran*. Most significant of all, instead of Patrick telling Piran that his resurrection will be at the fountain of *Fuaran*, he is made to say, "Thou shalt however at last go to Britain, and serving God to the end of thy life thou shalt there await the blessedness of the common resurrection and life eternal." The statement in I that the saint's bell was still in Saigir is of course omitted by the author of C, who knew that S. Piran's bell was one of the chief treasures of Perran-zabulo. In the beast-story the badger is called a *taxus* or *taxo*.

After following I down to the end of c.VI, the *Vita Pirani* now deserts the order, and follows Br. by inserting a story of a cow, somewhat similar to that in I c.XX. The *prefectus* of the King of Leinster carries off Piran's cow, which wanders back to him again. Piran wants to give the cow to "a certain man named Brendanus, who has built for himself a place not far from Piranus," Brendon refuses it, as he has vowed never to possess a cow. In order to persuade him to take the cow Piran pretends to be ill, and sends to Brendan for milk. Brendan blesses a vessel full of water and changes it into milk. Piran blesses it, and it becomes water again. Brendan then accepts the cow, and Piran prophesies that God will always give Brendan's monastery a cow with a calf every year till the end of the world.¹

Then follows the story in I. c.XXX—XXXIII. but S. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise has become *S. Geranus*. The boy extinguishes the fire "under the liquor of Piran's monks." This detail is of great importance, as it shows that the author of C knew other *Lives* of Irish saints, besides that of S. Ciaran of Saigir. The

¹ An exactly similar story is found in the *Vita Carthagi*, c. xlvii. (Plummer, op. cit., I, p. 188).

latter does not tell us *how* the boy put the fire out, but the *Life of S. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise*, which relates the same story, informs us that the boy "in his diabolical way took the brethren's drink and poured it on the fire, and so extinguished the consecrated fire."¹ The saint Ruadan has become *Rodanus*.

Next our author inserts the story in I c.XXVIII and IX. The virgin is called *Bruneta*, instead of *Bruineach*. There are other differences in the way C tells the story. After this come the anecdotes related in I.c.XIV, XV, XIII, XVI, XVIII, XIX, XVII, XII and XXII—XXIX, but *Aengus* has become *Cohingus*, *Conchrid* (in I c.XVI) has become *Concolor*, *Concha* is changed to *Cota*, *Medhranus* to *Medardus*, *Eachyll* to *Ethilda*. Between XXVIII and XXIX C, following Br., inserts a short story about the death of a monk called Corbanus, and after XXIII C. and Br. insert two other stories not in I. In one S. Piran feeds a multitude of 940 people at the cell of S. Cota with a sow's shoulder, which he changed into bread, honey, fish and ale, and water which he changed into wine. The other relates how at a council in which Piran was sitting King Corbanus (*Cobranus*, Br.) who had the power of slaying with a look anyone whom he regarded fixedly and with malicious intent, killed a young man in this way. Piran was wroth with the King, who forthwith became blind. On prostrating himself at the saint's feet, the King was healed, and the young man raised to life.

C omits c.XXXV and XXXVI, XXXVIII and XXXIX. The reason for the omission of c.XXXV is very clear, for, as Duine points out (*Memento*, No. 179) "it is the presence of the saint's body which communicates and guarantees to the soil in which it lies a divine privilege." If Ciaran's body was buried in the cemetery at Saigir, it could not be at Perran-zabulo.

After c.XXXVII C adds "He lived in the body more than 200 years, without losing his eyesight or his teeth, and without any of the infirmities of old age. For he was one of the first twelve bishops whom that great S. Patrick, who first preached

¹ Fr. Grosjean however thinks that this form of the story may have been in the version of the *Life of Ciaran of Saigir* followed by the author of C.

the faith in Ireland,¹ sent to preach the gospel in Ireland.... Finally, calling together his sons whom he had begotten unto God, and the people, he said, "My brethren and dearest sons, I must by the divine disposition leave Ireland and go to Cornwall, and there await the end of my life: I cannot resist the will of God. I warn you, brethren, to edify the place with good works and examples, because the sons of perdition and death are at hand....." Having said this and much more, he sailed to Cornwall, made himself a home (*mansionem*) there, and showed many miracles among the people to the honour of God. Finally, overwhelmed with infirmity, he called together his brethren, instructed them concerning the kingdom of God with many words, and ordered his sepulchre to be prepared: and descending into the grave, on the third of the nones of March with great glory his soul penetrated the heavens. Now he rests in Cornwall, on the Severn Sea, 15 miles from Petrokstowne and 15 from Mousehole."

The written traditions of S. Perran are thus exceedingly disappointing. A Cornish or Devonshire cleric of the mediaeval period, under the impression (due, as we shall see, to a mistake) that the Piran or Peran of Cornwall must be the same as the Ciaran of Ireland, has appropriated to the Cornish saint the *Life* of an Irish saint,—in itself one of very little historical value, consisting of local Saighir legends, and floating fragments of folklore common to other *Lives* of saints—British as well as Irish, written down many hundred years after the time of the Saint, of whose real life the author knew nothing whatever. I have analysed every chapter of the *Life of Ciaran* in order that the reader may see this for himself. The legends of the *Life of Ciaran of Saighir* are charming legends, and worthy of careful study. It is of great interest, *e.g.*, to find the story of the fox stealing the shoes both in an Irish *Life* and in one written so far away as the east of England not later than the 11th century. Still, the *Vita Kyarani* is nothing more than a collection of legends. Having next analysed the *Vita Pirani*, the reader will now be in a position to form a judgement as to the value of the

¹ It will be noted that this statement contradicts I.

latter work, which became the standard *Life* of the saint of Perran-zabulo. It is a very inferior copy of an Irish *Life*, a copy which has in turn been very much abridged by John of Tyne-mouth in the 14th century. The Irish stories have been abbreviated and lost all their raciness and local colour, and no stories about the saint in Cornwall have been added (obviously because none were known). Inconvenient facts have been omitted and a new conclusion unscrupulously invented. The Irish names have been corrupted and degraded, showing that the author did not know Irish. The corruption of the name of Ciaran of Clonmacnoise into *Geranus* may be due to the fact that there is in Cornwall a parish of *Gerrans* belonging to the Bishop of Exeter. The difference in the names of the saint's father and mother is much more than a mere corruption,—where our author got *Domuel* and *Wingella* we cannot even guess.

A point to be noticed in the *Vita Pirani* is that the first anecdote it gives about the saint after his establishment of himself as a monk in Ireland is one in which S. Brendan appears. This is significant, because among the relics of S. Piran at Perran-zabulo (as the canons of Exeter very well knew) was a *tooth* of S. Brendan and one of S. Martin (see p. 49). The Cornish writer did not introduce into his narrative any mention of S. Martin, but the guardians of the relics of S. Piran, or at any rate the Chapter of Exeter who were deeply interested in them, may have known that tradition spoke of a Martin left by Patrick in the territory of Ossory (homily in the 14th century *Lebar Brecc*). Now Ossory was the home of S. Ciaran of Saighir.

Let us now see what light is cast on the subject by the study of philology, and of the geography of the cult of S. Perran in Celtic countries generally, especially in Brittany; and I will then, after briefly referring to two Damnonian saints who have also been, like S. Perran, identified with S. Ciaran of Saighir, S. Keverne and S. Kerian, leave the reader to Mr. Henderson's exhaustive study of the cult of S. Perran in Cornwall.

The identification of the Cornish Perran or Piran with the Irish Ciaran by mediæval hagiographers was due to the well-

known fact, as familiar to them as it is to modern linguists,¹ that an initial P in Brythonic dialects is replaced by a C in Goidelic. *Easter*, e.g., is *Pask* in Cornish and *Casc* in Irish, *head* is *pen* in Cornish and *cenn* in Irish. Hence it occurred to Cornish clerks anxious to answer the question "Who was S. Piran?" that the name must be the same as the Irish Ciaran, and accordingly his feast was fixed on 5th March, which was the festival of S. Ciaran of Saighir.² Dr. Plummer considered that *Piran* and *Ciaran* might be the same name, though he saw it was impossible that the Cornish Piran could be Ciaran of Saighir, and suggested Ciaran of Clonmacnoise.³ The great Celtic scholar M. Loth however considers the identification untenable on philological grounds. His arguments, which are highly technical, may be found in a recent article in the *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne*.⁴ The first syllable of *Ciaran*, he says, is a diphthong (the name is found on an inscription dated 716 as *Cērān*).⁵ It would be pronounced quite differently from the Cornish Perran or Piran, in which the *i* is short,⁶ and he concludes that "it is clear that Ciaran and Piran could not designate the same personage." The form of the name in Domesday, *Pieran*, is, in his opinion, a sign that already "scholars or persons believing themselves to be scholars" had identified Piran with Ciaran or Cieran, and had begun altering the name

¹ See my "S. Cuby," No. 22 in this series, p. 26.

² The Bollandists in the 17th century recognized the impossibility of the identification, and pointed out that in Wilson's Martyrology 11th May was given as S. Piran's day at Padstow. (*Acta SS.*, March I. 390; ed. 1865). See Appendix II.

³ *op. cit.*, I. pp. li, lii. (According to one version the father of the younger Ciaran came from Cornwall).

⁴ *Quelques victimes de l'hagio-onomastique en Cornwal: saint Peran, saint Keverne, saint Achebran*. (1930, pp. 157, f.)

⁵ "The name Ciaran is pronounced as a dissyllable, something like Kyee-raun, with a stress on the second syllable." It is, he says, "a diminutive, founded upon colour, and means 'Little black one.'" R. A. Stewart Macalister, *The Latin and Irish Lives of Ciaran*, pp. 1 and 105.

⁶ It should be noted that the pronunciation of the *i* in *Piran* as the *i* in *fire* is quite modern and very misleading.

to make it fit in better with their theory. (op. cit., pp. 164, 165). This seems to me more probable than Duine's suggestion that the identification is "the usual phenomenon of localisation, effected by the people, and accepted by the clergy." (*Mem.*, No. 179).

Elsewhere M. Loth is disposed to see in the name *Peran* a corruption of a British name *Petran*, found in the Book of Llandaff. The *Vita Paterni* tells us that the father of S. Patern was called Petranus. In Middle Breton Petran becomes *Pezran*: Port-Louis (Morb.) was *Loc Pezran* in 1423, and by 1446 had become *Loperan*. The Cartulary of Landevennec mentions a *Tribus Petrani*. S. *Petranus* is invoked in the Litany of the Psalter of Rheims (10th century).¹

SAINT PERAN IN BRITTANY.

The cult of S. Perran is widespread in Cornwall. It is even more widespread in Brittany, besides being found, as we shall see, in Wales, which is a further argument against the theory that S. Perran is S. Ciaran of Saigir, for it is impossible that a single Irish saint could have founded so many settlements in three other countries (especially as his *Life* represents him as living in Ireland till he was a very old man), for each of these foundations must have meant a prolonged effort to create and to develop.²

S. Perran has not only a popular cult in Brittany, but a place in the official cult of the saints in the dioceses of Léon and Tréguier. His name is found in the calendar of the Breviary of Léon printed in 1516 ("PIERAN, Bishop, 9 lessons of the Common of Confessor Bishops"), and in that of the Breton Hours printed for the diocese of Léon (according to some authorities in 1486, but possibly as late as 1570) where he appears under 5 March as PIERANI EPISCOPI. The manuscript

¹ Duine, *Inv. Lit.* 43, 44.

² It is to be observed that all the Cornish and Welsh dedications, and several of the Breton, are on the sea, or on tidal estuaries. The Celtic saints usually travelled by water.

Breviary of Tréguier (15th century) has the same entry as the Léon Breviary of 1516. It is remarkable that the name was spelt in the liturgical books of these two dioceses exactly as in Domesday Book, though this spelling is (as we have seen) probably not older than the 11th century. It is an interesting proof of the close intercourse between Cornwall and North-west Brittany throughout the Middle Ages.

St Peran is the patron of the parish of Trézévidé in Léon, not far from Morlaix. In the east of Brittany he is the éponyme of St Peran, a *trève* of Paimpont, once a priory (S. Peter is now the patron of the parish) and of Loperan in the parish of St Malo des 3 Fontaines, north-west of Ploermel, (the Recteur of St Malo says that the name is pronounced *Lesperan*);¹ in the south we find Loperan² at Port-Louis near Lorient; in the north there is a Saint-Perran (sic) in Pledran, south of St Brieuc, and a vitrified fortress called Camp de Peran close by, a Prat sant Peran in Paule, (east of Carhaix) and a wood, chateau and heath of St Peran in Glomel, adjoining Paule. Trébérhan in Roscanvel, opposite Brest, may be the *Tribus Petrani* of the Cartulary of Landevennec (see p. 22.)

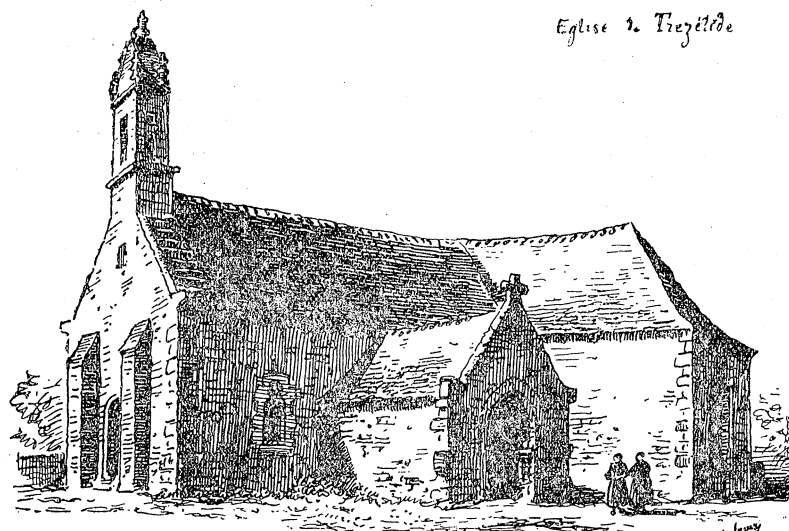
The only traditions about St Peran I have been able to find relate to the parish of Trézévidé, where a curious wayside shrine of stone stands by the high road between St Pol-de-Léon and Lesneven, containing a rude, archaic statue of the saint. The shrine stands on high ground, in the distance can be seen the spires of St Pol. My friend M. Le Guennec has kindly sent me the following notes about this extremely interesting monument.

"St Peran is the patron of the church of Trézévidé, where he has his statue, and another statue on the cross in the churchyard. He also possesses an oratory by the way-side north of

¹ *Noms des Saints Bretons*, p. 103.

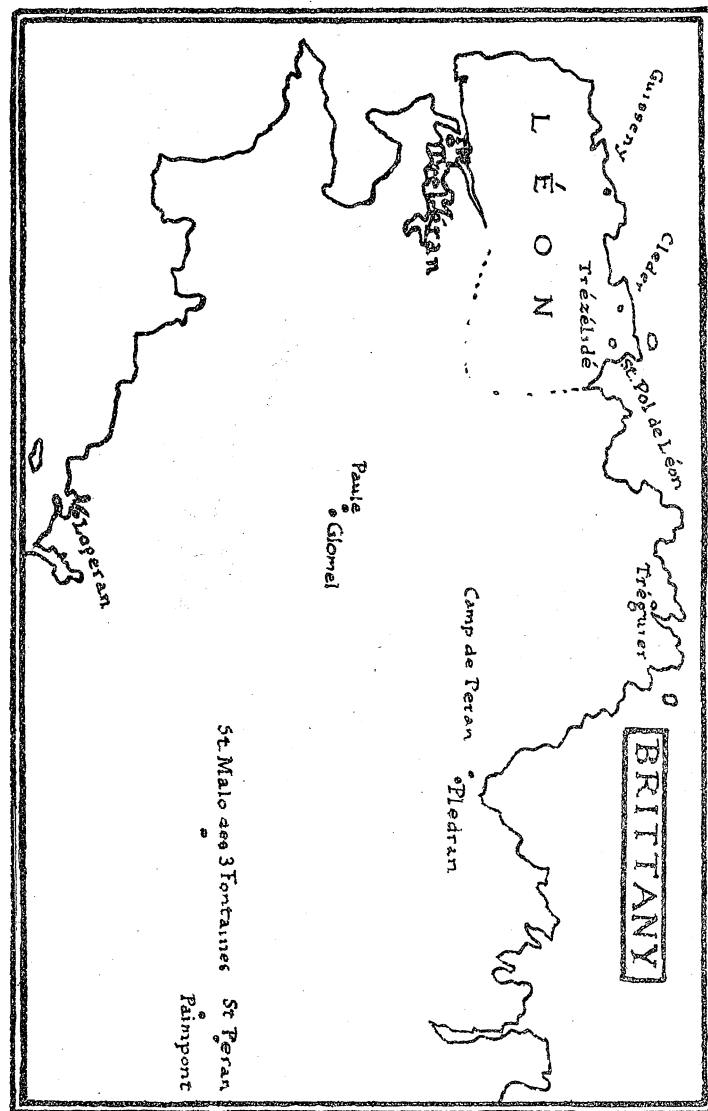
² M. l'abbé Lozerec, Rector of St Gildas de Rhuys, tells me that the chapel of Loperan was rebuilt in 1553 and dedicated to S. Peter, who has here, as elsewhere, supplanted S. Peran. In 1636 the traveller Debuissou-Aubenay, in his *Itinéraire de Bretagne*, translates *Locperan* by *Locus Petri*. An island close by, which bears the name of *Lezeran*, formerly joined to the mainland, had a statue of S. Peter on it in 1818.

the *bourg*. It is a little building raised on six steps. In a niche is a rude statue of the saint, bareheaded, with his hands raised in blessing. On one side is a stone, which may have been a lech, and afterwards a support for a box for offerings. On the other side, close to the west of the oratory, is a great stone or flat rock, on which are markings of an ambiguous nature. Some call it St Peran's Bed; others say it was his prie-dieu and that he knelt there so long that his knees wore these depressions in the stone. Infants are made to lie down on this stone, to strengthen them, and make them learn to walk soon.



The Church of Trézévidé (from a sketch by M. Le Guennec.)

As the statue of the saint is somewhat naïve, free-thinkers who pass the oratory are sometimes disposed to scoff, but those who do so are always soon punished. A man of Saint-Pol who boasted that he believed in neither God nor devil was passing one day on his bicycle, and scornfully cried "*Vieil empoté*, come



and have a turn with me, instead of sticking there like a flower in a pot!" He had not gone a hundred yards when suddenly he found himself violently flung to the ground, as if he had received a push from an unseen hand. He arose badly bruised and frightened, but he had learnt his lesson, and afterwards declared that he would never make fun of the saints again, 'for they know how to punish scoffers.'

Some inhabitants of Santec, on their way to Lesneven, thought it would be a good joke to play a trick on the Trézélidé people and to carry away the statue in their cart. However the joke did not come off. They drove on up the slope without difficulty, but when they reached the turning to Berven they came to a halt and found it impossible to advance an inch further, though they alternately coaxed and whipped the horses, who struggled in vain to go on. At last they saw that the saint refused to leave his parish, and turning back they put him into his niche again, promising to make up for their offences by "giving him a new coat," *i.e.* repainting the statue, which they did not fail to do.

On another occasion, some peasants passing with a wagon loaded with faggots mocked at Saint Peran, but were quickly paid out for it. Soon afterwards, without any apparent reason, the horses shied and upset the entire load in the ditch, and the drivers had to spend a lot of time in getting it back in the cart again.

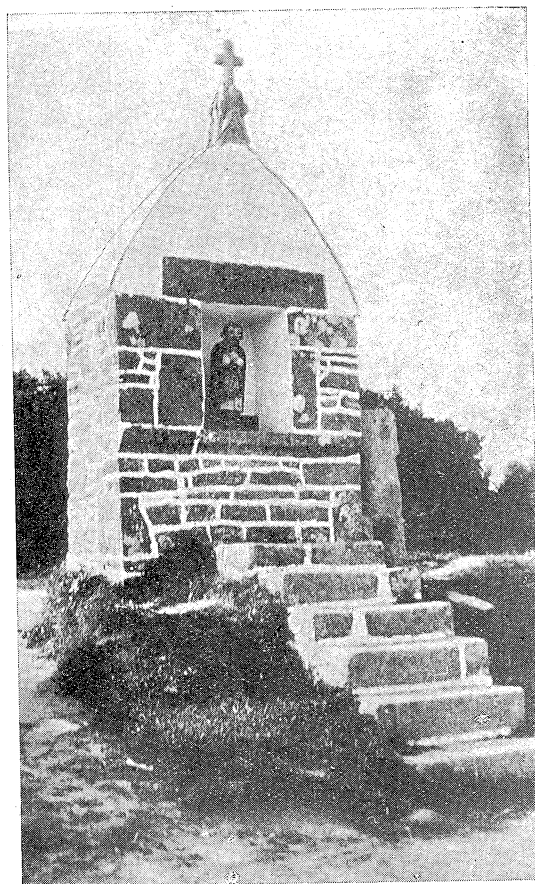
A painter of Saint-Pol one day jeered at the saint as he passed, and made some rude remarks about his staring eyes. Suddenly he was seized with agonizing pains in his own eyes and became practically blind. He groped his way back to the oratory, knelt down there and humbly begged the saint's pardon. S. Peran had pity on him and restored his sight. To show his gratitude, the painter promised to return every year before the Pardon and give the statue a new coat of paint, which he never failed to do as long as he lived."

It is interesting to note that local tradition in the parish of Cleder represents St Peran as a companion of St Ké, the patron of Cleder in Brittany and of Kea in Cornwall and Landkey in Devon. A blind beggar, called Dall an Dluz, told Anatole Le Braz at Cleder that "one of the disciples of St Ké was saint Peran, a good and kindly personage. I believe it was he who was the messenger sent by St Ké to the churlish corn-merchant." (See the Life of St Ké in "Four Saints of the Fal," p. 11). "In any case," the blind man continued, "St Peran was only a subordinate character. He stands in his oratory by the road at Trézélidé like a way-side beggar, in his open house covered with white-wash, and I don't think that many gifts fall into his plate."¹

SAINT PIRAN IN WALES.

Cornwall and Brittany are not the only Celtic countries where S. Perran is honoured, for his cult is found, as I have said, in South Wales. There was a chapel of S. Piran in Cardiff, in which King Henry II. heard mass on Low Sunday in 1172, on his return from Ireland. Giraldus Cambrensis tells us (Itin. of Wales, c.VI) how "in the morning, having heard mass, he remained at his devotions till every one had quitted the chapel of S. Piranus. As he mounted his horse at the door, a man of a fair complexion, with a round tonsure and meagre countenance, tall, and about 40 years of age, habited in a white robe falling down to his naked feet, thus addressed him in the Teutonic tongue: "God hold thee, cuing," which signifies, "May God protect you king;" and proceeded, in the same language, "Christ and His Holy Mother, John the Baptist, and the Apostle Peter salute thee, and command thee strictly to prohibit throughout thy whole dominions every kind of buying and selling on Sundays, and not to suffer any work to be done on those days, except such as relates to the preparation of daily food; that due attention may be paid to the performance of the divine offices. If thou dost this, all thy undertakings shall be successful, and thou shalt lead a happy life." The king, in French, desired

¹ An. Le Braz, *Les Saints Bretons d'après la tradition populaire.*"



ORATORY OF S. PÉRAN AT TRÉZÉLIDÉ
(from a photograph by Mr. J. Percival Rogers,
8 July 1929.)

Philip de Mercros, who held the reins of his horse, to ask the rustic if he had dreamt this? and when the soldier explained to him the King's question in English, he replied. . . . "Whether I have dreamt it or not, observe what day this is. . . . and unless thou shalt do so, and quickly amend thy life, before the expiration of one year, thou shalt hear such things concerning what thou lovest best in this world and shalt thereby be so much troubled, that thy disquietude shall continue to thy life's end." The king, spurring his horse, proceeded a little way towards the gate, when stopping suddenly, he ordered his attendants to call the good man back. The soldier, and a young man named William, the only persons who remained with the king, accordingly called him, and sought him in vain in the chapel, and in all the inns of the city. . . . The fatal prediction came to pass within the year." This chapel of S. Piran "stood in Shoemaker St, in the parish of S. John, and it would seem that at the Reformation it was transformed into the Guild Hall of the Cordwainers and Glovers, in whose records for 1550 it is mentioned as 'Seynt Peryns Chappell.'"¹ If we could explain the reason for the dedication of this chapel in Cardiff, we might be in the way to find a clue to the real story of S. Piran. It would seem that at the time Henry II. passed through Cardiff there were traditions about the saint in South Wales, for Geoffrey of Monmouth introduces him into his romance as the chaplain of King Arthur, who made him Archbishop of York after S. Samson.²

SAINT KEVERNE.

S. Peran is not the only saint who has suffered from the well-meaning attentions of ignorant hagiographers. Near the

¹ *Lives of the British Saints*, II. 136.

² Geoffrey reads *Piramus*. ("Expulso namque beato Samsone Archiepiscopo ceterisque sancte religionis uiris, templa semiusta ab officio Dei cessabant, tanta etenim paganorum insania preualuerat. Exinde conuocato clero et populo, Piramus, capellanum suum, metropolitane sedi destinat.") Matthew of Westminster turns *Piramus* into *Pyrrannum*. See San-Marte's note *in loco*. Mr. Wade-Evans thinks that *Piro*, the abbot mentioned in the *Vita Samsonis*, was in Geoffrey's mind. Piro and Piran have been identified by other writers, (e.g., by Tonkin) without a shadow of proof.

Lizard is a parish now called S. Keverne, who has also been identified with S. Ciaran of Saighir. Mr. Henderson has dealt with the history of this parish and the question of its dedication (see pp. 60f.) I would only add here a few lines in order that the reader may know what M. Loth has written on this saint in the article I have already referred to (p. 21)

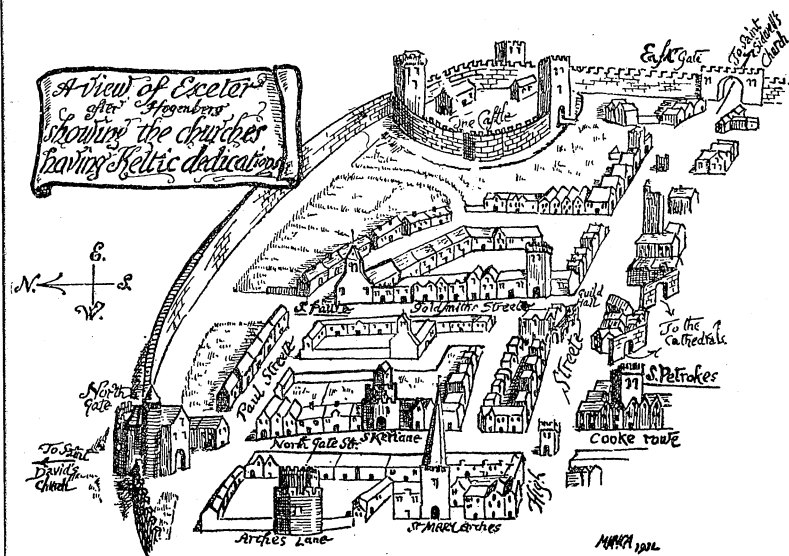
He points out that *Keverne* is a corruption of an earlier *Kevran*. The *v* was soon followed by an "e of resonance," and *Kevran* quickly became *Kevern* according to a well-known law in which vowel and consonant in Cornish so frequently get transposed. M. Loth gives as an example the Middle-Cornish *ebren* (=heaven) which in modern Cornish is *ebbarn*, and the reader may recall many other examples from Cornish place-names.¹ The form of the name in Domesday, *Achebran*, he considers to have been a blunder of the canons there, who turned *Lanna-Kevran* into *Lan-Achebran*. (Lampaul in Brittany was formerly *Lanna-Pauli*, rendered in a 9th century manuscript as *monasterium Pauli*.) I would like however to point out that we have another instance in the period of Domesday of an *a* being inserted before the name of a saint. S. Neot is called in the Geld Inquest of 1083 *Sanctus Anietus*. M. Loth comments caustically on the attempt of the authors of the L.B.S. to identify *Achebran* with an Irish saint Aed Cobran! At the same time he thinks that *kevrán* and *kebran* are derived from an old Cornish root *cobran*, which means *one who helps*. Cobrant appears frequently in the cartulary of Redon. Later it was pronounced *covrant*, and from it is derived the name of the famous Armorican saint Corentin.

SAINT KERRIAN.

We have seen that two different Cornish saints have been sacrificed to increase the glory of an Irish saint. I think it is clear that a third Damnonian saint has suffered the same fate. At Exeter there was formerly a church of *S. Kerian*, situated in the part of the city inhabited by the Britons up to 936, when Athelstan expelled them. The churches in this quarter are all

¹ Thus *Cambron* has become *Camborne*.

dedicated to Celtic saints,—S. David, S. Petroc, S. Paul de Léon, etc. An examination of the different spellings of the name of the patron saint of S. Kerian's will show that at Exeter, as at Perran-zabulo, there was a tendency to alter the name to make it appear more like *Kyaran*. In the Episcopal Registers in 1310, 1312, 1332, and 1362 it is *Ecclesia Sti Kerani*, in 1399 and 1408 *Kerani* and *Kierani*, in 1438 *Kierani*, in 1440 *Kerani*, in 1441 *Kierani*. *Keriani* is found in the 15th century (see p. 6) and Hogenberg's Map of Exeter in 1527 shows the church of *S. Keriane*.¹



PLAN OF EXETER IN 1527.

(Reproduced from the engraving by R. Hogenberg in the British Museum).

¹ Mrs. Frances Rose-Troup has kindly sent me the following note:

"S. Kerian occurs in the Kalendar of the Leofric Psalter, [Harleian MS. 863] dated 1173, as *Kerani* and in the Litany in the same as *Kyran*; in the Ordinance of Bishop Marshall, [1194—1204] as

If S. Ciaran were really the patron of S. Kerian's, he would be the only Irish saint honoured in Exeter. All the rest are British saints, and it would be hard to explain this solitary instance. But it is clear, I think, that S. Kerian's is called after a Damnonian saint, who must have been an important personage, as the Celtic dedications at Exeter are nearly all to very famous saints. A saint called *Kerianus* appears in Albert Le Grand's *Vie de St. Ké* as a disciple of that saint, buried by him at Cleder (see "Four Saints of the Fal," p. 12): and a S. Kerian is the éponyme of the parish of Querrien near Quimperlé, and of the trêve of St. Keran' in Treflaouenan. It is a common name in Brittany. There is a Kerian in Chateaulin, and a Querrien near Loudéac.

I even think that S. Kerian may *possibly* have been honoured, side by side with S. Kebran, at S. Keverne in Cornwall. It is a remarkable fact that in Cornish parishes whose names begin with *Lan* the parish church is hardly ever dedicated to the saint whose name is compounded with the *Lan*. The name of the holy well at S. Keverne (see p. 66) perhaps supports this view. The monks of Beaulieu may (as Mr. Henderson suggests) have tried to identify Keverne with Ciaran, but they may have been led to do so by finding that a S. Kerian was honoured there. S. Keverne is very close to Brittany, and must have been in constant

Kerani; in the Grant of Peter of Palerma [c. 1214] as *Kierani*. A small church dedicated to him stood in North Street, Exeter; only the tower remains and an inscription is attached 'Here stood the ancient church of S. Kerian, which, having fallen into decay, was demolished A.D. 1878.' Since the Reformation the benefice has been united with that of S. Petrock, but the parishioners still assert their independence by electing their churchwardens. In a rental of c. 1265 the name occurs as *Sancto Karano*, a rent of sixpence being paid to the Chapter. A tenement *versus Portam Borealem* was given by the will of John Doulis in 1257 to maintain lights in the churches of S. Keiran and S. Cuthbert." [The present tower of S. Kerian's is a quite modern structure, though the clock *may* be ancient.]

¹ In Brittany, as at Exeter, *Kerian* and *Keran*, are found as different forms of the same name. In Cornwall *Gwithian* is locally pronounced *Gwithan*.

communication with Brittany, and it is in a district full of dedications to Breton saints.¹

One thing at any rate is clear, *viz.* that neither the Exeter Kerian nor the Lizard Keverne or Kyeran (the forms *Keran* and *Keyran* are also found) can be the same as S. Ciaran, for if Piran was really the British form of Ciaran, those parishes would bear the British, not the Irish, form of the name.

¹ M. Largillière has shown in his "Six Saints de Plestin" that S. Garan or Haran (pronounced C'haran) is the patron of Cavan, and that Cavan and Garan are the same name. Since about 1679 S. Chéron of Chartres has been the patron of Cavan.

APPENDIX.

POPULAR CULT OF SAINT PERRAN IN CORNWALL.

At the end of the 16th century Carew's *Survey of Cornwall* affords evidence of the continued remembrance of *S. Peran* and of his Legend in Cornwall, as he refers to the *Vita Pirani* (p. 156,—*S. Peran* and *S. Keby* are practically the only Cornish Saints he mentions).

Baring Gould and Fisher (L.B.S., vol. II. 138) seem to be mistaken in saying that "Hals relates how in his time people said that he had come over from Ireland floating on a mill-stone." *Tonkin* appears to be the first writer who records this legend. He says that "*S. Piran* ...is so named from that famous Irish saint [mentioned by Camden] ...It seems those [Irish] kings were not very grateful to him, for he was forced to swim over from Ireland hither on a millstone...He is also looked upon as the patron of the Tinnerns, who keep his feast on the fifth of March, and tell twenty idle stories of him, much derogating from his sanctity. Note, that on that day, 5th of March, there is a fair held near the church, the profit of which belongs to the parish."

The story of the millstone may be derived (as, I think, Dr. Dexter has suggested) from some dim remembrance of the Saint's portable stone altar. (see "*S. Carantoc*," No. 14 in this series, pp. 13, 14). It is a pity *Tonkin* did not record the "idle stories" of which he speaks. *How* *S. Piran* came to be the patron saint of the Tinnerns we cannot imagine, unless it is due to the great number of mines in the sub-parish of *S. Agnes* (an old proverb in the Cornish language said that "the tin of *S. Agnes* is the best tin in Cornwall.") Mr. A. K. Hamilton Jenkin has very kindly sent me the following note on Old Tinner Feast-Days.

Old Tinner Feast-days.

By A. K. HAMILTON JENKIN, M.A., B.Litt.

(Author of *The Cornish Miner*.)

Whilst it has constantly been affirmed that *St. Perran* was the patron saint of Cornish miners and that his feast-day was kept by them as a holiday, it was not until recently that I came across any direct evidence in support of this. I had already examined a number of ancient cost-books of the Redruth and Gwennap mines dating from the period 1770—1790. Although "allowances" to the men for Midsummer occur regularly in these, no mention was ever made of the feast of *St. Perran*.

A few years ago, however, I was fortunate enough to become the possessor of a cost book of "Great Work" mine (in the parishes of Breage and Germoe) covering the years 1759—1764. This, in addition to being one of the oldest and most interesting mine cost books in existence, derives an added importance from being the only one of which I know which contains any evidence on the subject of *St. Perran*. It appears, however, that at this date, the miners of Great Work still retained the observance of *St. Perran* feast, and, in March of each year, a regular entry appears in the accounts of 1/- to the men and 6d. to the boys "allowance for Perran-tide." No doubt, the miners of this out-lying district retained many old-fashioned customs when they had ceased to be observed elsewhere. By 1820, however, Perran-tide seems to have been no longer recognised even in the Breage district, since no mention of it occurs in the contemporary cost book of Wheal Vor which is now in the possession of the Royal Institution of Cornwall. Referring to the two old tinner holidays of Perrantide and "Chewidden," Hitchens and Drew wrote in 1824: "These days are now regarded with less veneration than formerly, many of the tinnerns knowing little about them and caring less"

[33]

Hist. of Cornwall, I, 725. It is perhaps worth noting that as late as 1866, the alluvial tin "streamers" of East Cornwall were still in the habit of keeping a number of feasts and holidays peculiar to themselves. Among these may be mentioned "Paul's Pitcher-day," or the eve of Paul's Tide (January 24th); "Freday in Lido" (March 1st) and "Picrous Day" (second Thursday before Christmas). The latter feast falls on the same day as "Chewidden," Cornish "*Dê-Yew-Widn*"—White Thursday, on which according to the western men's tradition, tin was first smelted. It may be noted, too, that "Freday in Lido" very nearly corresponds with "St. Perran's Day" (March 5th) although the Blackmore streamers, among whom the remembrance of ancient feasts seems to have survived longest, knew nothing, in 1866, of either St. Perran or Chewidden. In the Porkellis Moors, near Helston, May 1st was regarded, within living memory, as being the beginning of the streamer's year, and was celebrated with a certain amount of drinking and jollification.

As I have mentioned in *The Cornish Miner*, a man of unsteady step and festive appearance was often called a *Perraner* in Cornwall two hundred years ago.

APPENDIX II.

Mr. Atchley has called my attention to a particularly interesting fact, *viz.* that there was a direct connexion between the diocese of Ossory and the Priory of Bodmin in Cornwall.

When the Normans conquered Ireland in the 12th century Geoffrey son of Robert obtained possession of the barony of Kells, where he founded a priory in 1193. "As there were not any regular canons of St. Augustine, of the English nation, then in this kingdom, he caused the church to be served by priests, till he procured the following persons from the priory of Bodmin in Cornwall, *viz.* Reginald de Aclond, Hugh de Rous, Alured, and Algar; Reginald was the first prior of this house, who was succeeded by Hugh; Alured was made the first prior of Inistioge." (Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum*, 1786, pp. 361—362). In another charter the founder grants "that upon the death of their prior, the canons should for ever have an unlimited power to choose a successor, either from this priory, or that of Bodmin in Cornwall." (There is no evidence as to whether this right of choosing a prior from Bodmin was ever exercised).

Hugh de Rous, the second prior of Kells, became bishop of the diocese (Ossory) in either 1202 or 1204. It was by his advice that Alured was made first prior of Inistioge, when the Abbey was re-founded for Augustinian Canons in 1210 and dedicated to Our Lady and Saint Columb, "the special patrons of the place." (Archdall).

In 1356 one David *Cornwalshe* was abbot of Gaignemanagh Abbey, Co. Kilkenny. Thus there was a good deal of intercourse between Cornwall and the diocese of Ossory.

The *Vita Pirani*, however, could hardly have been written at Bodmin, where the name was spelt *Pieranus* (see p. 6, note). G.H.D.

The Cult of S. Pieran or Perran and S. Keverne in Cornwall.

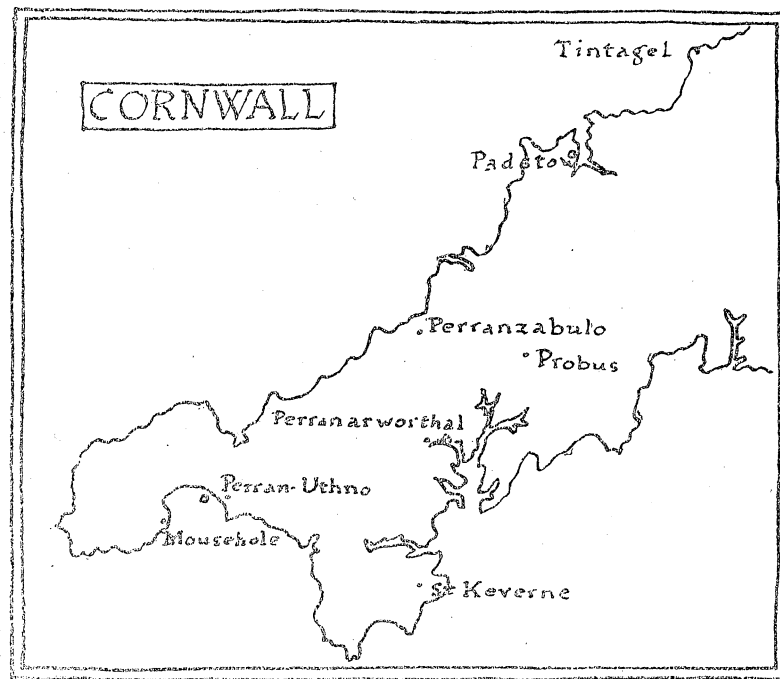
By CHARLES HENDERSON, M.A.

The fame of the ancient Oratory buried in the sand hills at Perran has made the name of S. Perran as well-known to modern generations of Cornishmen as it was to their ancestors before the Reformation who knew him as the special patron of the Tinnerns and as a friendly and jovial Saint. The centre of his Cult was, of course, at his Church among the sands. Here were reverently preserved his head, his staff, his bell and other relicks. Here he was honoured on his Feast day, March 5th, and from hence set out processions in Rogation-tide and on other occasions, carrying the relicks far and wide to attract the veneration of the people and to open their purses for the benefit of the Church.

All this, of course, ceased at the Reformation and it was not until the end of the 18th century that the chance discovery of the little Oratory beneath the sand, led people to take an interest in the religious history of the place and the forgotten Cult of the Saint.¹

Though so famous among the Cornish Saints, S. Perran had only two Churches and one Chapel called after him in Cornwall, besides Perran-Zabulo. The two Churches Perran-Uthno and Perran-Arworthal both bear the names of the Manors which they served. They were unimportant Churches of small parishes and there is no reason to suppose that they were of more consequence in

Celtic times. The only recorded Chapel of S. Perran was in the parish of Tintagel remote from his three Churches. The site of the Chapel is lost but a reference to S. Perran in this region is to be found in Domesday Book and suggests that the dedication was a very old one. At Venton-Barren or Venton-Perran in Probus is a Well which may have been a Holy Well of the Saint, but this is doubtful. The only Holy Well that was certainly his is at Perranwell in the parish of Perran-Zabulo, near the centre of his Cult.



¹ See Journal of Royal Inst. of Cornwall, vol. xx, 1917, p. 358 for a good paper on S. Piran's Oratory by Dr. T. Dexter, with a bibliography. Dr. Dexter contends that the Oratory was not buried until the 17th century and that it contained the Shrine of S. Piran until the Reformation. The writer cannot accept these views but would like to say how much Cornish ecclesiology owes to Dr. Dexter for his excavation work at Perran.

PERRAN ZABULO.

Although the age of the celebrated Chapel of S. Perran lying in the sand-hills of Perran-Zabulo may have been exaggerated, its rude walls almost certainly go back to the days when it was the centre of the land-owning Monastery of Lamberran [*Lan-perran*] served by Celtic monks who revered S. Perran as their Founder. In the later Celtic period (*circa* 700) it seems that the Monastery of S. Petroc at Lanwethinoc or Padstow (afterwards removed to Bodmin) gained the lordship of the whole region known later as the Hundred of Pydar or Petroc-shire. Pydar included the whole coastline from Portreath in Illogan to Padstow harbour, and extended inland as far as the watershed or backbone of Cornwall. It is clear from Domesday Book (1085) that the Monastery of S. Petroc, then at Bodmin, was lord-paramount of all Pyder except for certain estates that had been usurped by Anglo-Saxon kings and prelates, such as Carnanton and Pawton, and except for the shrunken remains of two Celtic Monasteries, once no doubt as important as S. Petroc itself. These two were Perran and Crantock.

The Exeter Domesday (1085) gives the following account of the ecclesiastical Manor of Lamberran. "The lands of *S. Pieranus* in *Cornugallia*. The Canons of *S. Pieranus* have one Manor which is called *Lanpiran* which they held free on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead [1066]. In it the Canons have one plough and the villeins have 1 plough. There are four villeins and 8 bordars and 2 serfs and 8 animals and 30 sheep and 10 acres of pasture. It is worth 12/- yearly and when the Count [of Mortain] received it, it was worth 40/-. From this Manor have been taken away two Manors which at the death of King Edward [1066] rendered to the Canons of *S. Pieran* a farm of four weeks. One of these Bernerus holds of the Count, and of the other hide, which Odo holds of *S. Pieran*, the Count has taken the whole money. These two Manors rendered to the Dean for custom 20/- besides the aforesaid farm."

The Exchequer Domesday gives much the same account, save that it estimates the whole of *Lanpiran* at 3 hides.

In the Geld Inquest of 1083 mention is made of *Sanctus Pieranus* holding 1½ hides in the Hundred of *Stratone* [Trigg]. Accordingly we find in Domesday, in a group of North Cornish Manors, Bernerus holding a Manor called *Tregrebri*, one hide which 38]

never paid geld and was "of the honour of *S. Peranus*." This was, presumably, the hide taken away from Lanpiran and held by Bernerus under the Count of Mortain, as recorded in the Exeter Domesday. It is difficult to identify *Tregrebri*. Degembris in Newlyn not far from Perran will hardly do, for *Tregrebri* from its position in Domesday Book must have been somewhere in N.E. Cornwall. As will be shown, there was a Chapel of S. Perran in Tintagel parish, the only place in that region where traces of his Cult are found. Possibly this was *Tregrebri*. If so, it is interesting to find property belonging to Lanpiran 30 miles away.

The earliest document relating to the neighbourhood of Perran is a Charter of A.D. 960 preserved in the Cathedral at Exeter. By this King Edgar granted to his faithful Thegn [*minister*] Eanulf, nine cassates of land in the place called *Tiwaernhel* [Tywarnhayle] and elsewhere two Manors [*Manse*] called *Bodeudan*.¹ The boundaries of this land are thus given in Anglo-Saxon :—

First at Pen-altuig,² then on the old dike [hedge] to the *cristel mael*³ [crucifix] and from the *cristel maele* to *Velentines Gate*. Then on to *Finfos* and from *Finfos* on the stream to *Hryd-Worwig*.⁴ Then to *Munnenco*. Then on to *Carn-peran* and from *Carn-peran* to *Carnwelin*. Then on the old Street⁵ to *Bethcywrc*.⁶ Then on forth along the Street to *Dofen sotho*.⁷ Then on the way to *Cofer-fros*. Then on the stream to the sea at *Nancuic*.⁸

Although King Edgar modestly calls this gift a "small piece of land" (*aqellulum*), it is clear from the boundaries that it included an area 10 miles long and about 4 miles wide ; namely all the parish

¹ Possibly Bejowsa in Ladock, spelt *Bodeuda* in 1292 and *Bodewda* in 1347.

² Now Penhale point, called *Penhals-deu* in 1600 (= Head of Black Cliff).

³ Clearly the Cross standing near the second buried Church. This is still a bound stone.

⁴ This is Rejarrah spelt *Resworow* in 1538. *Hryd*=*Res*=Ford.

⁵ The ancient ridgeway along the back-bone of Cornwall ; now the main road from Zelah towards Redruth.

⁶ *Beth-cruc*=Barrow-grave, probably the Four-Burrows.

⁷ Later known as *Don sotha*, a down near the Four-Burrows.

⁸ Nancekuke at Portreath.

of S. Agnes, that part of Illogan East of the Portreath stream, and all the large parish of Perran except the small North East corner known later as the Manor of Halwyn or Penhale.

It is significant, too, that the gift included on its Eastern edge, the ecclesiastical lands of Perran. The secularization of Church property in Cornwall by the Anglo-Saxons and Normans was a feature of the 10th and 11th centuries. Sometimes their usurpations took effect, sometimes the Church held its ground. At Perran, the Clergy or 'Canons' of Lanpiran seem to have preserved their independence for a century after Edgar's time, although no doubt they lost most of their territory to the Saxon lords of Tywarnhayle.¹ Later in the 10th century one of these lords appears to have been Byrhtic, who, according to an entry in the Leofric Missal,² manumitted two serfs called Ribrost and Hwhite at *Tiwarhel*.

According to Domesday (1085) however, the Manor of *Tiwarthel*, no less than 7 hides in extent, was held by Robert, Count of Mortain, the new Norman lord of Cornwall, by usurpation not from the Canons of S. Perran but from the Canons of S. Petroc at Bodmin. Algar had been the tenant in 1066. In the same way the Count held *Calestoc* [Callestick in Perran] one hide, under S. Petroc, and *Elhil*³ [Halwyn or Penhale in Perran] 1 hide, also under S. Petroc.

It is possible, therefore, that the late Saxon kings favoured the Monastery of S. Petroc, after its subjection to the Saxon See, to the extent of giving it the overlordship of lands formerly subject to the Monastery of S. Perran. From the account of *Lanpiran* given in Domesday, it has been seen that some sort of Collegiate or Con-

¹ The site of the Manor-house of Tywarnhayle appears to have been a little up the Western valley from Perran-Porth. The name implies the "House on the estuary." The valley was, perhaps, a tidal creek before the coming of the Sand-dunes. *Ty* (a house) is a word rarely found in Cornwall and then only in connexion with places of capital importance e.g. Tehidy. Tywarnhayle was evidently an important place before the Saxon Conquest. It was, perhaps, the centre of population in S. Perran's territory. In later times the whole Manor was ecclesiastically subject to the Church of Perran.

² MS. in Bodleian Library, Oxford.

³ *Elil-wyn* or "White Elil," later Halwyn, in contradistinction to *Elil-glas* or "Green Elil," now Ellenglaze in Cubert on the other side of the Holywell stream.

ventual Church with a Dean and Canons survived at Perran until Robert of Mortain, who became Lord of Cornwall in about 1076, seized all its property. The Count was a great robber of Church lands all over Cornwall. He died in 1091. His son and successor, William Count of Mortain, succeeded to his great inheritance in Cornwall and endeavoured to make some amends to the Church, but he joined the rebellion of the Norman barons against Henry I. and lost his lands and liberty at the Battle of Tenchebrai in 1106. The King thus became possessed of his Cornish estates, and by a comprehensive Charter conveyed sundry Churches on them, including *Peranus*, to the Cathedral Church of Exeter. This Charter was confirmed by his successor Stephen, by Henry II. and by King John.

Thus the Cathedral of Exeter became the owner of the Church and Manor of *Lanpiran* or Lamberran early in the 12th century. The revenues of the Bishop were separated from those of the Chapter at about this time, and Perran fell to the latter. In the 13th century, the Cathedral Treasury contained a charter of Bishop Robert (1138-61) confirming *S. Peranus* to the Dean and Chapter. From that time onwards, this body owned the Church lands of Lamberran, and the advowson of the Church, no longer collegiate but now a Rectory with S. Agnes as a daughter-Church.¹ In 1269 Bishop Bronescombe allowed the Chapter to appropriate the benefice to themselves, setting aside a fixed portion for a Vicar (appointed by them) to serve the cure of souls. This Vicarage was to consist of the whole *Altarage* of the mother Church and Chapel, and all obventions arising from the processions of the relics [*de turnis reliquiarum*]. The Vicars were to pay 6 marks (£4) annually to the Chapter, and sustain all ordinary burdens, including the keeping of two curates.

In 1281 the Chapter's share of the benefice was valued at £43/3/2 per annum, and the Vicar's at £13/6/8.

The relative values of the impropriated Rectory and the Vicarage will be found in the Papal Assessment of 1291, namely £7 and £2.

¹ Perran and S. Agnes parishes were "peculiars" of the Dean and Chapter, in which their Official held Visitations and Church Courts in place of the Archdeacon of Cornwall. This continued until the abolition of Peculiars and Church Courts in the 'fifties.

The first Vicar, appointed in 1269, was a local man *Droculus* (or Drew) of *S. Pyran*. His successors found the payment of the pension of 6 marks to the Chapter very irksome and there were constant suits in the Consistory, from which the Chapter always emerged victorious. The depositions of the witnesses in one of these suits, which took place in 1379 in the time of Vicar John Gaylard, are preserved.¹ From there it appears that the three preceding Vicars had all been in arrears with the pension both on account of their poverty and because of the great pestilence. Vicar Richard Trevarek had not paid it for 18 years and the Chapter had to seize all his goods at his death. Vicar John Martyn his successor was more regular in his payments. Although Vicar Gaylard was ordered to pay up the arrears by the Court, he still owed £32 in 1387.² While the Vicars of Perran found it difficult to make two ends meet, the Chapter was drawing a considerable income from the parish. Their Great Tithes of Perran and S. Agnes brought in £43 in 1386, and the rents of their lands £3.³ The lands consisted of about 200 acres round Perran Church, forming the estate of Lamberran, and about 100 acres at Carnkief, two miles away. A 13th century deed (D. and C. Archives, No. 3672 fo. 60) describes this latter as the *Landa* (or Moor) of Karnkef, and it was probably rough pasture for the stock at Lamberran. Here, too, the tenants of Lamberran claimed rights of turbary, as appears from a Visitation report of 1331. The extent of the Chapter's property in Perran parish can be gauged from documents in the Archives (Nos. 1004, 1005) dated 1650, when it was sold by Parliamentary Commissioners, during the Puritan usurpation, to one Zacharias Truscott for £250. It consists of the estate of Lamberran, with fields called *Geare widdon*, *Brandice Close*, *Trapp Close*, *Bunting Close*, a *Stitch* of 16 acres etc., being arable, pasture and sandy ground, also *Carkeife*, which was mainly moor and furze ground. The Chapter recovered its property at the Restoration.

From a Visitation held by the Officials of the Chapter in 1281,⁴ we find that the demesnes at *Pyran* rendered 10/-, only, to the

¹ Archives of D. and C. Exeter No. 2876.

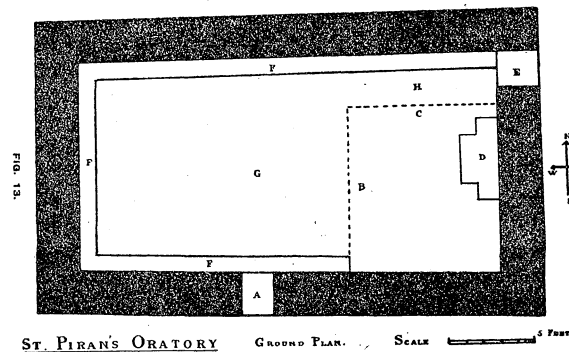
² Debit Roll. D. and C. Archives 2707.

³ Archives of D. and C. No. 5236, 5233, 5241. These *Vendicio garbarum* rolls contain lists of tenements and tithe-payers in Perran and S. Agnes for 1384, 1386, and 1390.

⁴ Archives of D. and C., No. 3672a.

Chapter because they were immeasurably harmed [*ultra modum deteriorata*] by sand. The rectorial tithes of Perran had been sold in the previous year for £12/18/4 and those of S. Agnes for £13/11/8.

This early reference to the encroachment of the sand is important in its bearing upon the disputed question of the overwhelming of the Oratory. Everything goes to show that this little building was abandoned at about the time of the Norman Conquest. The rude carving of its South doorway is of the middle of the 11th century. No part of it is later. The earliest parts of the second Church, on higher ground a quarter of a mile to the East, appear to be of the early part of the 12th century. We have seen that the Church of Perran was secularised by Count Robert between 1076 and 1085, and restored again to ecclesiastical hands when Henry I. gave it to Exeter (1106—1135).



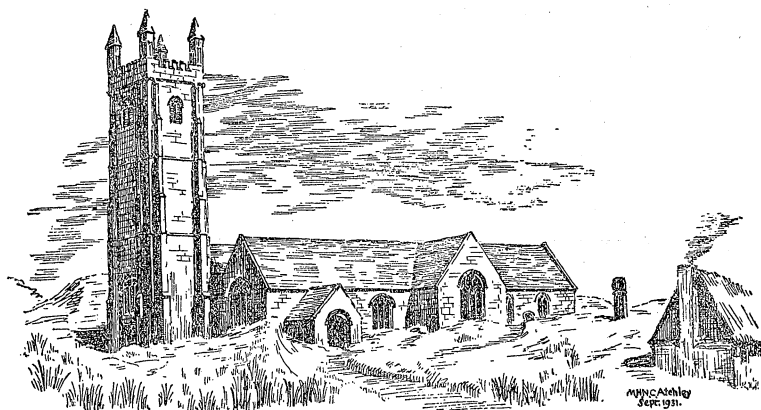
(By permission of Dr. Dexter).

Churches were being rebuilt by their new patrons to serve the new parochial system all over Cornwall from 1100 to 1250, and Perran was an exception only in the fact that a new site was chosen. The reason for the change can only have been the encroachment of the sand. The new Church was built as far away from the sand as possible, that is to say, at the extreme edge of the Church lands, so that the Chancel wall was actually the boundary between secular

and ecclesiastical estates,¹ a unique distinction for a country Church in Cornwall.

A small stream, however, ran between the Oratory and the new Church. This sufficed to keep back the sand until the 17th century, when some tanners were allowed by the Chapter to drain it away. The result was that the sand attacked the second Church and

¹ In a View of the 'Bounds' of Tywarnhaile Manor in 1617 (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 24758), "the Chancel of Perran Church" is named as a bound-mark.



THE CHURCH OF PERRAN ZABULO.

(This sketch is a reconstruction by Mr. Atchley of the Second Church of Perran-zabulo, made in part from an old water colour in the possession of Mr. Hancock of S. Agnes, painted before 1804. Mr. Atchley says "I took Dr. Dexter's plan where he actually excavated, and set it out in perspective, after I had checked it from my own notes. On this I have drawn the elevations of the church, partly from what remains of the old work in the existing new church, and partly from the water colour. The resulting conjectural view is, I think, almost line for line correct.")

The ancient Cross will be seen between the Church and the old Churchtown inn. The reader will notice the mountains of sand surrounding the Church).

obliged the parishioners in 1804 to remove the tower, pillars and woodwork to Lamborn, three miles inland, where the present Church now stands. The dismantled Church was then overwhelmed by sand and remained buried until its excavation by Dr. T. Dexter in 1918.

The Oratory abandoned in the 11th or 12th centuries appears to have been buried until disclosed by the shifting sand at the end of the 18th century.¹ There is no evidence that it was seen by anybody between those two dates, although the tradition that it had existed remained.

The detailed Visitations of Perran in 1281 and 1331 make no reference whatever to any building but the parish Church, and from the latter it is clear that S. Perran's Relicks were there,—and not in the Oratory, as has been claimed.

William of Worcester, who visited Cornwall in 1478, did not go to Perran, nor did Leland in 1535.

Nicholas Roscarrock, a native of Cornwall who collected notes about Cornish Saints, *circa* 1580 states in his MS. Life of S. Piran "of some called Kieranus" that the Saint died "about the year 503 at a place in Cornwall wher ther was a Church or Chapple erected to him and bearing his name, and where he was buried, being called S. Pirans in the Sands, which Chapple hath bene overblowne with the sands, though ther standeth one at this day dedicated unto him neere that place, since the other hath been drowned or overblowne with sand."

Richard Carew, a contemporary of Roscarrock's, speaks of the inhabitants having been obliged to move their Church.

William Camden (1586) refers to a *Sacellum* of S. Piran, in the sand on the North coast, which he had clearly not seen. Camden derived most of his information about Cornish ecclesiology from Roscarrock.

Dr. Borlase about 1750 noted "The Church of Piran San was anciently situated further to the West, now swallowed up by the

¹ It was seen by the Lysons, who wrote in 1805. They refer to a deed in the Registry at Exeter dated 1485 as mentioning the resort of pilgrims to the Shrine. This is a mistake. The deed in question is concerned with S. Agnes and mentions only the custom of bringing S. Piran's relics to that place. See *post*.

sands, and the present Church is in no little danger, the sands having spread all round it."

A letter of John Hosken, Vicar of Perran,¹ to the Dean and Chapter dated 1674 (Archives No. 3499, 249) complains of the encroachment of the sand at Lamberran and Gear. A hundred acres of common had been already overwhelmed.

Some years later² the Churchwardens, Twelve men and 97 other parishioners of "S. Pyran in the Sands" sent a petition to the Dean and Chapter (No. 1446) in which they showed that their Church was situated in "a wild desolate sandy common far distant from any inhabitants... and so very much exposed to the winds and tempests "that it was often shattered with the least windy weather and is "thereby very chargeable to us, especially in the last dreadful storm; "the whole roof being quite blown off, the walls so very much "shaken that they are rendered almost incapable of being repaired "and the sands (by reason of the winds) has made such encroachments on the land adjoining the Church that should we be "constrained to build or refit the same where now it stands, we "have great reason to fear that in some short time it may be totally "swallowed up.. we therefore humbly desire a license from the "Bishop and your consent to pull down the old Church and remove "it to a more convenient site."

Among the signatories to this petition occur, side by side, the names of Thomas Tonkin of Trevaunance and William Hals, then living at Ventongimps, the two 18th century historians of Cornwall.

To this, Vicar John Hosken sent a counter-petition of great length. In this he declared that the site of the Church was not wholly desolate, as there were people living adjacent to the Churchyard, that the parishioners had been well enough satisfied with the position of the Church since its consecration in 1270,³ that the congregations were still as large as those of neighbouring Churches "insomuch that I know of 2 dissenters, and these but inconsiderable persons, in our whole parish," that Newlyn, Cubert and other Churches were just as much exposed to storms, that the site was

¹ He was a native of the parish and held the living from 1672 to 1724.

² Apparently in 1704. See D. and C. Act Book.

³ The Authority for this statement is not known.

better than the "desolate and barren heath whereon some for their particular ends design to now erect it," that the damage done by the storm could have been easily repaired if the "Churchwardens had been as careful and conscientious in discharging their oaths as they have been servile and unworthy of their offices in running about (as attendants to a third person)¹ for the getting of subscriptions to the petition," that the walls and furniture were sound and could be repaired for £2, while £2,000 at least would be required to build a new Church, and that the thick grass planted on the sands was keeping them from further encroachment, etc. etc.

The Vicar's counter-petition was successful. The removal of the Church was postponed for nearly a century, until in 1804 the state of the fabric was so desperate, the encroachment of the sand so serious and the situation of the Church so remote from the people, that at a Vestry meeting attended by the Vicar, Rev. James Bonetto, John Thomas the Squire of Chiverton, and other inhabitants, it was resolved to raise £1,000 and build a new Church near Lambourn on a piece of land given by Francis Gregor, Esq.

£500 was raised from landowners in the parish and the "Common people" were eager to contribute their labour and the use of their small carts.² So the Church was moved, or rather those parts of it that were worth removing. These included the fine granite tower, which was shortened in process of rebuilding, the granite arcade, tracery, etc. There remained on the site the crumbling rubble walls of the Chancel. These were soon buried with sand, and when Dr. Dexter's excavations revealed them in 1918, it was a matter of surprise to most people that the remains were so considerable.

A full account of the Church, by Dr. Dexter, will be found in the Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, Vol. xx. 1919, p. 455. The building has some interesting features. The Chancel walls of rubble appear to be at least as early as the 12th century, though Dr. Dexter's claim that they are Pre-Norman can hardly be admitted. The rest of the building is, as usual, a 15th century addition. At present the plan shows a Chancel and Nave, and South Aisle with a Chancel, of the same length, (86½ feet in all), a shallow South

¹ Probably Hugh Tonkin, Esq. of Trevaunance.

² Archives of D. and C.

Transept—as at the neighbouring Church of Cubert. A break in the North Wall at the Chancel step suggests that here was once a North Transept, removed for some reason in the 15th century, when a staircase to the rood-loft was built.

Dr. Dexter comments on the smallness of the Chancel (27 feet x 13½) and considers that it could not have held the “Shrine” and that the Shrine was therefore kept in the Oratory until the Reformation. He points out that Bodmin Church, “which treasured the Shrine of S. Petrock, was a pilgrim Church, and its Chancel is 55 feet long.” This is an unfortunate comparison, for the Shrine of S. Petroc was *not* in the parish Church at Bodmin, but in the Lady Chapel of the Priory Church, a much smaller building.

Among the Archives of the Dean and Chapter at Exeter (No. 3672a) is a very interesting Visitation Book containing inventories of the property belonging to the Chapter's Churches in Devon and Cornwall in 1281. The Perran inventory has been printed in an English translation, but the Latin text deserves being given here.

Pyranus. Extenta et Visitacio facta apud Sanctum
Pyranum die Sancti Barnabe Apostoli 1281.

Est ibi j calix argenteus in parte deaurat', ponderis xxs.

Duo parvi calices argentei ponderis xs.

Duo paria vestimentorum sufficientes and j par vestimentorum
insufficiens et vetus.

Duo paria corporalium sufficientes.

viii tualle benedictae and x non benedictae.

j pixis argentea ad eucaristiam, cum sera.

v feole stagnae.

j crux bona processionalis.

v vexilla que non valent obolum.

Item j crismatorium nullius coloris (*sic*) and sine sera.

Sacr'm bonum et sufficiens.¹

Duo suppellicia sufficiens.

j Rochet.

j frontar' satis competens.

Item j capsis in qua est capud Sancti Pyerani cum ceteris
reliquis, ferro ligata et serata.

Item alia capsis in qua est scutella Sancti Pyerani argentea.

Item j baculus pastoralis Sancti Pierani, argento auro and
lapidibus preciosis textus.

Item j dens Sancti Brendani and j dens Sancti Martini qui
ponuntur in quadam pixide argentea.

Item j crux argentea in qua ponuntur relique minute Sancti
Pirani.

Item j feretrum in quo ponitur corpus Sancti Pyrani.²

Item j crux Sancti Pyrani ossea and j campanella Sancti Pyrani
de cupro.

Item j turribulum insuffic'.

Nullum candelabrum.

Item j feretrum novum honeste depictum, vacuum.

j vas stagnaeum ad aquam benedictam.

Item ij campane.³

j cista ad reponendum ornamenta ecclesie, serata.

Item j velum quadragesimale sufficiens.

Item j textus, auro and argento coopertus.

Item fontes⁴ competentes, serati.

Item est ibi j missale bonum, male ligatum cum tropario et
gradali bene notato.

j gradale vetus and insufficiens.

j troparium sufficiens.

¹ But was there any Shrine at Perran? The following Inventory shows that the relics were kept in several small reliquaries. There seems to be no *proof* that Perran was a pilgrim resort but there are several references to the relics being taken on tour.

¹ *Sacrarium* in the 13th century usually meant a piscina. (Rock's *Church of Our Fathers*, IV., 494). G.H.D.

² The feretory on which the relics were placed when they were taken in procession about the country.

³ The large Western tower was, of course, not built until two centuries later.

⁴ The word *Fontes*, for Font, always used in the plural.

j legenda bona de temporalis sufficiens cum Sanctis in iiij voluminibus cum ij psalteriis.

Item Antiphonarium vetus, nullius valoris.

j portiphonium insufficiens.

j psalterium per se sufficiens.

ij manualia.

j ordinale sufficiens de usu Sarum.

Item cancellum minus bene coopertum et minus bene fenestratum.¹

Inquisicio facta per Johannem le Rus, Rogerum le Rus, Andream filium Andrei, Johannem filium Hervei de Ton, Ricardum Russenole et Walterum de Trenan, Juratos, qui dicunt quod sunt de redditu assise 43/2½d. et de dominico xs. modo, quia ultra modum deterioratum per sabulonem.

Item presentatur quod dominus Johannes de Lambron, miles, vendidit j quarter' ordeï ad pentecost' quod valet in foro eo tempore v. sol. iiijd. tradidit mutuo usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis pro viij solidis.

Item parochiani nullam dant decimam de instauro ecclesie et habent porcionem oblacionum que veniunt ad truncum que porcio estimatur valere per annum xxxs. vel xls.

Item decima garbarum de ecclesia Sancti Pyrani sine capella vendebatur anno preterito pro xijli. xvijjs. iiijd.

Item decima capelle Sancte Agnetis xijli. xjs. viijd.

Item vicarius portat firmario annuatim iiijli.

Item vicaria consistit in toto altilagio qui recipit totum preter decimam garbarum et redditum assise² que valet et estimatur ad xx marcas. [£13 6s. 8d.] Et inde reddit capitulo iiijli. ut supradictum est, et debet sustinere duos capellanos preter se.

Summa pertinentis ad personatum³ xliij li. iijs. ijd.

¹ The fenestration of the Chancel seems to have been a permanent source of difficulty. The remains of the Church show constant alterations in the windows.

² The sheaf tithes and rents of Church lands belonged to the Chapter.

³ i.e. the Parsonage or Chapter's portion.

The Inventory drawn up by the Chapter's Commissary in 1331 has been printed by Hingeston-Randolph in his edition of Grandisson's Register p. 607. It is not so complete, and leaves out the relicks. To it is added a note that the parishioners keep up the Chancel and its books, receiving in return a tenth of the Store [*instaurum*] of the Church; but as the Store, through their negligence, had in great part disappeared, they agreed to let the Chapter and the Vicar keep up the Chancel and to fix a collection box (*truncum*) in the Church. All offerings placed in it or made at the Altars of the Church were to be devoted towards the upkeep of the Chancel. A note adds, "The parishioners still carry about the relicks of S. Piran excessively to divers and remote places as before."

This reference to the processions in which the relicks of the Saint were taken about to attract the offerings of the Faithful explains what is meant by the clause in the establishment of the Vicarage in 1269 which gave the Vicar the tenth of all offerings arising "de turnis reliquiarum" (from the tours of the relicks).¹

Nicholas Roscarrock writing about 1580 remarks:—"I who was born within 3 miles of Padstow and not far from S. Piran remember his reliques were wont to be carried upp and downe in the Country upon occasion and have seen them so carried in the tyme of Queene Mary (1553-8). There was a boane of his in Waltham Abbey. There was a chaple not far from Padstow bearing his name [probably at Tintagel, see *post*] but his reliques were (I take it) allways reserved in S. Pirans, except some part."²

In 1482 when Bishop Courtenay allowed the people of S. Agnes Chapelry to have their own Cemetery instead of bringing their dead to Perran, he stipulated that the Wardens of S. Agnes should offer half a pound of wax to the image of S. *Pieran* in the parish Church every year on S. *Pieran*'s day. "Moreover, if the parishioners of

¹ In the Early Chancery Proceedings B. 205, No. 78 is a claim by John Edmonde, late Vicar of Perran Zabulo, against his successor, Rauf Treloye, who had undertaken to pay him the oblations offered on March 5 [i.e. the Feast] in 1503 to the head and image of S. *Pieran*, at the time of his resignation, and then refused to do so. In B. 327, No. 17 is a counterclaim against Vicar Edmonde's pension.

² M.S. Lives of the Saints in the University Library, Cambridge.

S. *Pieran* should wish to carry the relics or the *Capsula* with the relics of S. *Pieran* to the Chapel of S. Agnes on the third Rogation Day, they were to be honourably received by the inhabitants in processional array, and permitted to enter the Chapel so that they might receive the offerings and devotion of the people as had been used of old time among them."¹

Perran was, after S. Michael's Mount and the Holy Trinity Chapel at S. Day, the most popular Holy place in West Cornwall. Such pre-Reformation Wills of Cornishmen as have survived (1433—1558) usually mention small legacies to these three places.

Sir John Arundell of Lanherne² in 1433 left 40/- to the use of the parish of S. *Pieran-in-Zabulo* to enclose the head of S. *Pieran* honourably and in a better way than they do [*ad claudendum Capud Sancti Pyerani honorifice, et meliori modo quo faciunt.*]

The Will of John Trevelyan, Vicar of S. *Pieran*, dated 1447, is preserved.³ He desired to be buried in the Chancel of S. *Pieran's* Church but left nothing to the Saint. The following left bequests to the 'Store' [*staurum*] of S. Perran.⁴ John Andrew of S. Columb minor 1470, 12d.; Thomas Killigrew of Penryn 1500, 6/8; Thomas Poyle of Tregony 1502, 12d.; John Mowla 1503, 8d. to the Store and 8d. as an offering to the Saint; Peter Bevyll esq. 1511, 12d.; Thomasine Bevyll 1517, 12d.; Thomas Tregian of Truro 1517, 12d. Thomas Tretherffe esq. of Ladock 1528 6/8.

Other bequests, simply "to S. Perran," are as follows:—

John Carnell, Rector of Hacombe 1445, 6d., William Velour 1435, 12d., John Nans L.L.D 1507, 12d., Marion Lelley 1525, 4d. John Enys of Enys in 1510 left 6d., "to the Image of S. *Pieran in Zabulo.*"

Nicholas Roscarrock's remark that he had seen the relics of S. Perran carried about as late as Queen Mary's time (1553-8) is borne out by several bequests of that period which show that the Cult of the Saint had not died out during the Protestant Regime of Edward VI., e.g. Walter Sawell of Gerrans in 1556 left 4d. each to the Trinity of S. Day, S. Michael's Mount and S. *Peryn*.

In the Probate Registry at Exeter is a book of Wills proved by the Official of the Dean and Chapter between 1547 and 1557. This contains the wills of several people of Perran and S. Agnes. Raffe Thomvy of Peran-in-Zabulo, for instance, made his will in 1554 and desired to be buried in S. Peran's Church. To the Store he left "a moder sheppe," and 2/1 to a priest to say "5 masses of the 5 wounds." John Jakandrew of Peran (1553) left a lamb to the Store of S. Peran and a ewe to the Holy Trinity of S. Day. Thomas Payne of *Peran* (1558) left 6d. "to Saynt Peran ys fote," 12d. to the Store of S. Agnes and 8d. to "Saint Agnes ys fote."

Jenkyn Jack of Perran (1558) left "for tithes forgotten, two butts of beies" and 8d. "to the Fote of S. Peran," besides gifts to the Mount and S. Day. These references to S. Perran's Foot and S. Agnes' Foot are curious, but no explanation of them is forthcoming.

What became of the relics of S. Perran and those of other Cornish Shrines is not recorded.

In the list of Church plate seized by order of the government in 1549 nothing is reported for *Pearan-Sand* but a chalice and paten of silver weighing 8 ozs., both of which were restored to the parish by order of Queen Mary in 1553. This must mean that the silver boxes and other valuable ornaments belonging to the relics were concealed from the Commissioners.¹ The relics themselves, as we have seen, were brought out again during the brief restoration of the old order under Mary (1553-8), but, with the accession of Elizabeth, the Church of England once more took a Protestant tack and at the end of the century there were probably few people living who could have told of the fate of the bones of S. Perran or of the valuable reliquaries in which they were kept.

Of the Cult of S. Perran nothing remained save his name, given quite frequently to natives of the parish in baptism until the 19th century, a number of local legends more or less ridiculous, and his Feast on March 5th,—which afforded the Tinnors of Perran and S. Agnes an excuse to get more drunk than on other holy days.²

¹ Diocesan Registry, Exeter, Deed no. 1064.

² Lacy's Register fo. 503.

³ P.C.C. Rous 13.

⁴ Most of these wills are at Somerset House.

¹ At Crantock relics and valuables were concealed but the Commissioners discovered them.

² See Appendix.

PERRAN ZABULO PARISH.

S. PERRAN'S CROSS.

Of the 300 odd stone crosses in Cornwall, none is more striking from its size and situation, than the tall weatherbeaten pillar of granite called S. Perran's Cross, which after at least a thousand years is still *in situ* among the sandhills. We have seen that this stone is named as a *Cristel-mael* or Crucifix in the Charter of King Edgar A.D. 960, when it served, as it does still, as an important bound-mark. A century and more after that, the second Church of S. Perran was built a few feet to the North of it, but this, after 700 years of age, was removed, and the Cross remains solitary once more. It stands in its own rough base and is a monolith 8 feet 10 ins. high from 18 ins. to 7 ins. thick with a round head 2 feet in diameter and a shaft about 1½ feet wide. A full description will be found in Langdon's "Old Cornish Crosses" p. 181. The head is pierced with three holes and one sinking to give the effect of a cross. In the centre is a boss and there are projections at the neck. On the shaft was crude ornamental work, but it has been almost wholly obliterated by the weather.

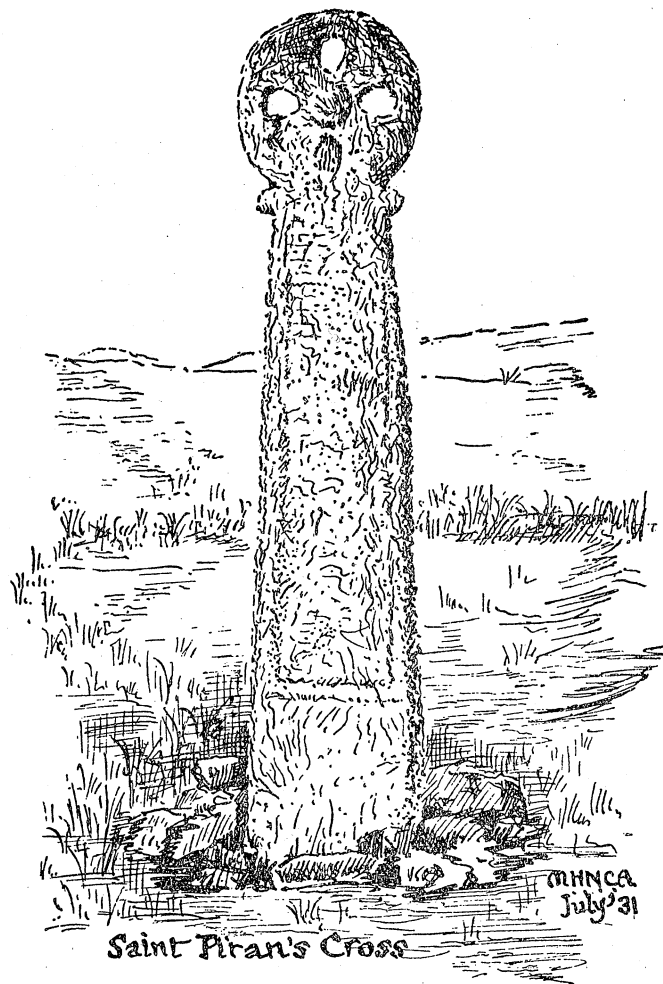
Some lands near the Church were called Scawen-Growse (*Scauan-an-grouse 1560*), implying "the Elder tree near the Cross."

In 1870 a field at Reen bore the name of Grouse (*i.e.* the Cross) and there was a Wheal-Grouse (Cross field or Cross Mine) at Callestick.

PERRAN WELL.

A mutilated stone, said to be a Cross, stands about two miles inland near Perran Well (see "Old Cornish Crosses" p. 221). This Cross is a bound-stone and as such is named in the bounds of Carnkief, as viewed in 1587.¹ Perran-Well, the adjacent hamlet, takes its name from a holy well of S. Perran which Tonkin (1730) thus describes: "In Caerkief near the highway to Mitchell is a fair arched well called Fenton-Berran, *i.e.* S. Piran's well." The well was once noted for its curative properties but being drained by mining operations, the carved stonework of late mediaeval date was collected by Squire J. H. Peter of Chiverton and set up over a well

¹ Tonkin's MS. Truro Museum.



in Chiverton grounds where it can still be seen. According to the Parochial History (IV. p. 59) there was a Chapel "at Chapel-Widdan near the site of S. Pieran's Well." Chapel-Widdan would mean simply "White-Chapel."

OTHER CHAPELS.

In the middle of Perranporth beach is a large rock called Chapel Rock, on which a Chapel once stood known as Chapel-an-Garder, probably for *Chapel-an-Gader*; "the Chapel of the stronghold." Ruins were to be seen in Tonkin's time (1730) but nothing remains today. If, as seems probable, Perranporth was once a small estuary leading up to Tywarnhayle, the Chapel may have served as a beacon, like S. Anta's Chapel at the mouth of Hayle river.

Tonkin also refers to ruins of a Chapel in the middle of Callestock, to those of a Chapel in Penwortha Village, and to a house at Lamborn which had been a Chapel of S. Edmund belonging to the mediaeval mansion there. In 1372 William Lamborn and his wife had license for a Chapel at Lamborn. There is no documentary evidence of the other Chapels.

PERRAN UTHNO PARISH.

The little parish of Perran on Mount's Bay and the Manor of Uthno were formerly conterminous. The Lords of the Manor were patrons of the Rectory and were, doubtless, builders and endowers of the Church. *Odenol*, as the Manor is called in Domesday Book, or *Udno* in later times, has been thought to be the name of a Saint, connected with *Lanuthnoe* or *Lanudnoe* the old name of S. Erth. This is most improbable. The place name Uthno or Udno occurs elsewhere in Cornwall e.g. Henna in S. Ewe (*Hudnou* 1260, *Uthno* 1328, and *Uthno* 1529), Inow in Constantine (*Uthenou* 1338) and is probably connected with *Hudh*=Shade, Covert; cf. Huthnance (Shade-valley) in Breage. *Lanuthnoe* or S. Erth, too, appears in 1200 as *Lanuthinoc* or the "Church of S. Wethinoc."

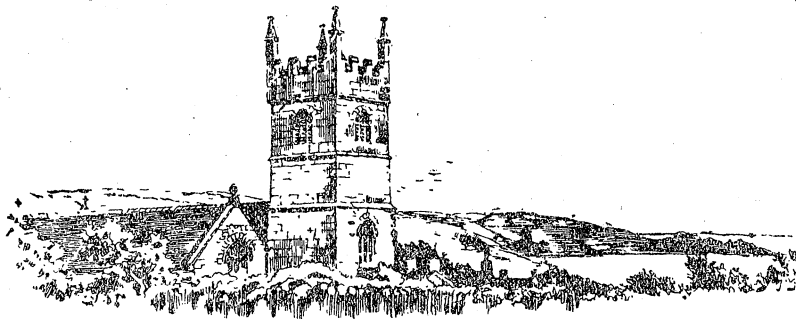
The earliest reference to *S. Pyeran*¹ in connexion with Uthno that I can find is in a deed of 1311² though the parish is mentioned

¹ There is no evidence in the shape of place names, early crosses, etc. to show that the Church existed in Celtic times.

² At Nettlecombe Court, Somerset.

as *Uthnou parva* in 1277 and *Udnou Parva* in 1290, being so called on account of its absolute rather than its relative smallness. There was no "Uthno magna." In 1403 we meet with the form *Udno Peryn*. According to the Parochial History, the dedication of the Church is to SS. Pieran and Nicholas, but I can find no evidence for the latter Saint. In the Account rolls¹ of the Manor of Uthno in 1495 and 1539 mention is made of small gifts "to the fraternity of S. Peran" or "the fraternity in the Church of S. Peran," i.e. the usual parish Gild which looked after the Church.

The centre of population in this small parish, is the large village of Goldsithney, properly *Pleyn-Goil-Sithney* or "Sithney Fair field," which grew up round an important fair held here on S. James' Day. This fair was removed hither from Merther-Sithney near Helston in the 11th century.² There was an important Chapel of S. James at Goldsithney, built in 1400 and finished in 1409. It was called the Chapel of S. James *juxta Petrys Met*, from a stone in the highway which remained in Goldsithney Street until modern times and bore the name of *Peter's Meet*. In 1311 the Fair is described as "of Peteres mehet," or "Peters meth."



[Perran Uthno church. (On the right is seen Mount's Bay, with Cudden Point). From a drawing by T. Raffles Davison].

¹ *ibid.*

² This is the Market mentioned in Domesday as having been moved from the Bishop's Manor of *Matela* or Methleigh in Breage. Merther-sithney was in this Manor.

On the East side of the parish, near the Falmouth Packet Inn, is a small tenement of 18 acres called Chapel-an-Growze or the "Chapel of the Cross." Here stood a Chapel and burial ground, but no remains exist today.

PERRAN ARWOTHAL PARISH.

This little parish on a creek of the Fal was, like Perran Uthno, determined by the limits of the Manor which partly gives name to it, Arworthal, anciently *Arwoytel*. Whether the Church existed before the Manor is doubtful. The earliest feature of the building is a 12th century tympanum, but a Celtic Cross has been found in the near vicinity.

Although a charter of the time of Edward I. refers to the "advowson of the Church of the Manor of Arwothel," the parish was already subject in ecclesiastical matters to the neighbouring Church of Stythians, and remained a Chapelry to it until modern times, but is now a separate Vicarage. In 1354 Edward "the Black Prince" and Duke of Cornwall appropriated the benefice of Stythians to Rewley Abbey in Oxford, which had been founded a century previously by Richard, Earl of Cornwall. Perran passed with Stythians to the Abbey. As a Chapelry, it is hardly ever mentioned in ecclesiastical records, but in the writer's possession is a document dated 1388 whereby William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, after holding a Visitation of the Diocese of Exeter, obliges the Abbot and Convent of Rewley to provide at their own cost a lit Chaplain to celebrate divine service in the parish Church (*sic*) of *S. Pieran-in-Arwothel* every Sunday, Feast and week day.

The Curacy of Perran appears to have been at some time esteemed a Vicarage, for in 1671 the Rural Dean presented the Churchwardens of Perran at the Visitation "for having two bells cracked and Vicarage house wholly ruinous." At the Visitations of 1630, 1690 and 1745 however, Perran is described as a Chapelry annexed to Stythians and served by a Curate.

Perran Well, the chief village in Perran-Arwothel parish takes its name from what Tonkin (1730) describes as "a strong Chalybeate spring much frequented of late years." There is no evidence to connect this well with S. Perran or to suppose that it was a Holy well.

In the Vicarage garden is the mutilated shaft of an early Cross with incised ornament. This is said to have come from a field called *Park an grouse* (*i.e.* Field of the Cross) adjoining the Church.

A field at Trewedna was called "the Growse" (*i.e.* Cross) in 1691. There was a line Celtic Cross at Pellyn Cross, where five roads meet. It was afterwards taken to Tregulow garden near Scorrier ("Old Cornish Crosses" 272).

There is said to have been an ancient Chapel at Higher Bissoe. Its site is marked on the 6 in. Ordnance Map, but there is no documentary evidence about it.

VENTON-BARREN IN PROBUS.

In the Western part of the large parish of Probus, near Trehane, is a small holding called Venton-Barren or Venton-Barn, which in 1283, appears as *Funteyn-Peran* and in 1510 as *Fenten Peran*, a name that can scarcely mean anything but S. Perran's Well, unless, indeed, it is simply Peartree-Well (*Peran*). There is a copious spring here but no traditions of any peculiar virtue or sanctity attached to it.

S. PIRAN'S CHAPEL IN TINTAGEL.

In 1400 Bishop Stafford granted a general license for the Chapel of S. Dennis at Trevena (now Tintagel village). In 1547, however, Sir Gregory, the Vicar of Tintagel, obtained from Bishop Nevville [Register fo. 36] a license for the Chapels of SS. Pieran and Dennis in his parish and for the Chapel in the Castle. The latter according to Leland was dedicated to S. Julitta.

The site of S. Dennis' Chapel in the village is known, but that of S. Pieran is doubtful. In any case the presence of S. Pieran in this district, the only case where he occurs in North or East Cornwall, recalls the entry in the Geld Inquest, 1083 (see *ante*) which gives 1½ hides to S. Pieranus in the Hundred of Stratton (*i.e.* Trigg) and also the entry in Domesday (1085) describes the Manor of *Tregrebri* held by Bernerus as having been "of the Honour of S. Perannus" and as having never paid geld, proof of very ancient ecclesiastical ownership. From its position in Domesday, *Tregrebri* must have been in the

Tintagel district, and Bernerus, who held it, held also Hornicot in North Tamerton, the Lords of which are found at the end of the 12th century in possession of Tintagel Castle and Bossinney. Unfortunately *Tregrebi* cannot be identified with any place in Tintagel parish.

On the other hand the only recorded Chapel in Tintagel parish besides that in the Castle and that of S. Dennis' at Trevena, stood at Trethvy on the road to Boscastle. The building is now a cow-house, measuring 34 feet by 12 internally, but most of the walls have been rebuilt. A lancet window of Green-stone from this Chapel is in the neighbouring house, called S. Piran's from a guess that the Chapel might be identical with the Chapel of *S. Pieran* licensed in 1457. Unfortunately this name rests upon no other evidence.

S. KEVERNE PARISH.

The North Eastern half of the Lizard peninsula, comprising the parishes of Mawgan, S. Martin, Manaccan, S. Anthony and S. Keverne, has, for the last 1000 years, at least and probably for a considerable time longer, gone by the popular name of Meneage, pronounced Menâgue. This name, like Roseland, has no official significance. It is the name of neither a Hundred, a Rural Deanery nor an Honour, yet it has held its ground from a period earlier than any of those institutions in Cornwall. The word Meneage is thought to be connected with *Manach*, a monk, and to imply the "monkish land."¹ This is by no means certain, although it is clear that in Celtic times there were a number of small Monasteries in the area.

Lesneague in S. Keverne, anciently *Lesmanaoc* 967, *Lismanahec* 1150 etc., was, from its name, the capital (*Lis*=Court) of the region. We find it the chief house on some territory bestowed upon the monks of S. Michael's Mount by the Count of Mortain circa 1080.

S. Keverne, however, is one of the largest parishes in Cornwall, and its Church, with the land-owning monastery belonging to it, whose lands are now called Lanheverne, seems to have been independent of Lesmeneague.

¹ Manacles Point near S. Keverne is clearly a corruption of Meneage-als, i.e. Meneage Cliff.

According to the Geld Inquest of 1083 the Canons of *S. Achebramus*¹ held one hide of land in the Hundred of *Winningtone* [Kerrier] which never paid geld, a proof of its ancient ecclesiastical ownership. In Domesday (1085) this is more fully described. Here we are told that the lands held by the Canons of *S. Achebrannus* in *Lannachebran* had been seized by the Count of Mortain, whose robbery of Church property in Cornwall has already been noticed in the account of Perran-Zabulo.

We have seen how the lands of the Counts of Mortain came to Henry I. after the Victory of Tenchebrai in 1106. The King handed over much of the usurped Church property upon them to Exeter Cathedral, including Perran. The S. Keverne lands appear to have been retained by the Crown and to have passed into secular hands. In 1201, for example, John Pulein gave 1½ acres in *Tregonan* (below S. Keverne Church-town) to Hervey Fitz-Gilbert and 9½ acres there to John Fitz Richard (de Reskymer). These lands were esteemed to lie in *S. Akeveranus*, the advowson of whose Church was to be shared equally between John Pulein and John Fitz Richard. Nevertheless, the Church and lands of Tregoning seem to have been recovered by the Crown and annexed to the Earldom of Cornwall, for Earl Richard gave them to Beaulieu Abbey in the New Forest, which his father King John had founded, and in 1235 obtained license from Pope Gregory IX. to appropriate the benefice to the Abbey, reserving a Vicar's portion for the Cure of Souls. To these transactions the Rector of S. Keverne, one Bartholomew, who had been appointed by the Chapter of Exeter on the death of Vivian the last Rector, took strong exception. He appealed against the appropriation,² declaring that the Abbey was very rich already, with £1000 a year in rents, and little hospitality to exercise in so deserted

¹ Although *Kieran* and *Kyran* became the official spellings of the Church's name during the 14th and 15th centuries, the older *Achebran* or *Akeveran* held its ground in popular speech and returned as *Keverne* at the Reformation. *Kieran* can never have been a genuine form of the name.

² The Councils of the Church at this period endeavoured to set bounds to the practice of appropriation of benefices to religious houses which was now assuming the proportions of an abuse. Appropriation could only be justified if the Monastery were too poor to meet its obligations of hospitality, etc.

a place as Beaulieu, that the Bishop of Exeter who consented to the appropriation had promised before his consecration not to alienate any goods of his Church without the consent of the Chapter, and that the Abbey, in virtue of the Pope's decree, had already seized upon the benefice, turned the place into a mere farm or grange and yet neither increased the number of monks nor their hospitality. In spite of this opposition, the Abbey secured its valuable prize, and in 1236 we find the Abbot buying out the claims of Richard de Reskemere in $9\frac{1}{2}$ acres in *S. Kaveran*, for which he was to be received into the benefit of all prayers made in the Church of S. Kaveran for ever, and those of Thomas de Pridias and Sibilla his wife in $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres in *Tregonan*. Sir Roger de Reskemmer Kt. also released to the Abbey all his rights in the Manor of *Tregonon*, the Vill of *S. Keveran* and the advowson of the Church there.

Protected by the all-powerful Earl Richard, the son of their founder, the monks of Beaulieu easily established their position at S. Keverne. Owners of the land round the Church, including the Church-town which even then seems to have been a centre of population, they had their Grange or farm in the valley below at Tregonan. From all over the wide parish¹ they drew the valuable tithes of corn and grain: from the long stretch of coast with its fishing villages they drew the valuable tithes of fish. In the Papal Taxation of 1290 their temporalities at *Keveranus* were assessed at £11/11/8, their Rectorial tithes at £22/13/4. The Vicarage was assessed at £4/6/8. We must multiply by 6 to reach the actual yearly value.

Suffice it to say that the Abbey drew a very handsome income out of its remote Cornish parish.

In 1269, when the Vicarage was finally drawn up, the Bishop decided that it should consist of the whole Altalage (small tithe), the house already occupied by the Vicar, and the tithe of peas and beans in places already enclosed. The tithe of fish and the tithe of peas and beans in open fields were to go to the Abbey. The Vicar was to bear all burdens of the fabric and even repair the Chancel.

¹ S. Keverne parish is 10,000 acres in area. It was formerly divided for convenience into four regions or *Turns*, known as Turn-Bean (or Little Turn) S.E., Turn-Traboe N.W., Turn Trelan S.W. and Turn Tregarne E.

The privileges of jurisdiction conferred by the Earl on the Abbey over its lands at S. Keverne were considerable. In 1283 the jurymen of Kerrier at the Eyre of the King's Justices presented that the Tithing of *S. Kieranus* had not performed its yearly suit to the Hundred Court for the last 30 years, *viz.* during the time it had been in the hands of the Abbot of Beaulieu. The Abbot's proxy replied that Richard, Earl of Cornwall and King of the Romans had given the Church to the Abbey and that Henry III. in confirming the gift had made the Abbey free and quit of all suits to the Hundred and Shire Courts and had granted to it View of Frankpledge, Sok, Sak, Tol, Tem, Infangenethef, Utfangenethef, freedom from hidage and geld, Danegeld and Saccage, with the right of having the chattels of fugitives and of amercing their own men, and finally quittance from Toll. He produced the King's Charter and the jurisdiction and franchise were allowed by the Justices.

In 1301 at another Eyre we find the Abbot's claim to have a Gallows, Emends of the breach of the Assise of Bread and Ale, a Pillory and Tumbrell, etc. in *S. Keveranus*, were again allowed by the Royal Justices.

The most remarkable privilege, however, claimed and enjoyed by the Abbey at S. Keverne was that of Sanctuary. Although every consecrated building was then a Sanctuary for malefactors, the number of places where the right extended beyond the Church walls was not great.¹ Beaulieu was one of these privileged Sanctuaries and S. Keverne was probably made so by King Henry III. out of compliment to the Abbey.

The limits of the privileged Sanctuary at S. Keverne are not known but they seem to have included the Church-town.

Before 1283, the Sanctuary was violated. The Eyre Roll of that year records that William le Waleys and some other bailiffs came from Restronget to *Trevalseure* in S. Keverne to levy a distress on the tenant, John son of Matthew, on behalf of the landlord Henry de la Pomeray. A scuffle ensued in which William le Waleys killed John with his sword, and for fear, no doubt, of the vengeance of the

¹ In Cornwall Buryan, Probus and Padstow were the other privileged Sanctuaries, all tracing their privileges to alleged grants of King Athelstan.

S. Keverne folk, fled into the Church of *S. Kyeran* for sanctuary, where he spent the night. Very early in the morning, however, a mob of his friends forced their way violently into the Church and rescued him in spite of the efforts of the men of *S. Kieran* whose business it was to guard the Sanctuary. The fugitives were pursued but escaped across the Helford River.

Their offence was a very serious one, for no felon could leave a Sanctuary until he had abjured the realm in the presence of the Coroner, and the Sanctuary Keepers were held responsible for any fugitive in their Sanctuary until the Coroner had been to do his office.

In 1284 Robert de Aleburne, one of the chief Sanctuary breakers on this occasion, received a pardon from King Edward I. at the instance of Eleanor the Queen Mother.

The Eyre Roll of 1301 refers to a murderer taking Sanctuary, in the Church of *S. Keveran* and abjuring the realm before the Coroner in the usual way.

Neither of these cases suggest that S. Keverne, as a Sanctuary, had any exceptional privileges, yet in later days it certainly had.

In 1516, for instance, the Reeve of Winnianton Manor complained that John Tremenhire and others had taken some stray beasts and impounded them in the Sanctuary of S. Keverne so that he could not have them.

More curious is the complaint of James Erisey, Squire of Erisey near the Lizard, against his parson, John Richard, the Rector of Grade, made to the Star Chamber Court in 1525. Squire and Parson were on the worst of terms and Erisey alleged that the Parson was threatening to murder him:—"and made his avaunt that after the same so done he would take Seynture and there live as well as he doth now and yn the proces therof, he hath set his benefice to a Bretton priest to serve the same and he himself hath taken a Cure at Seynt Keverayne which is a Seyntuare place and of lyke privylage as the Seyntuare of Bewle [Beaulieu]."

In his reply, the Rector denied the charges and declared "S. Keverayn is not a place of lyke privelege to the Seyntuary of Bewly but is an aunicyente Seyntuary, but the certaynty of the privylege he knoweth not."

John Leland who visited the Meneage in 1538 has this interesting note in his *Itinerary*.

"Within the land of Meneke or Meneg land is a paroch church of S. Keveryn otherwis, Piranus; and ther is a Sanctuary with X or XII dwelling howses and therby was a sel of monkes, but now goon home to ther hed house. The ruins of the monastery yet remaineth." Again he says "S. Keveranes longgid to Bewle Abbey and had a Sanctuarie privilegid at S. Keverines."

When the Abbey established a cell of Monks at Tregoning is not clear. In 1539 the Abbot had a royal Charter granting him the right of Free Warren in the demesne of *Tregonan*. This implies that the place was something more than a mere Grange or Farm, although previously, in 1334, it had been occupied by a lay farmer, John Petit, who looked after the interests of the Abbey in the parish. The Patent Rolls show that at this time (1320—1340) it was usual for monks to be sent down in couples from Beaulieu to collect their rents at S. Keverne and Helston (where also they had some house property).

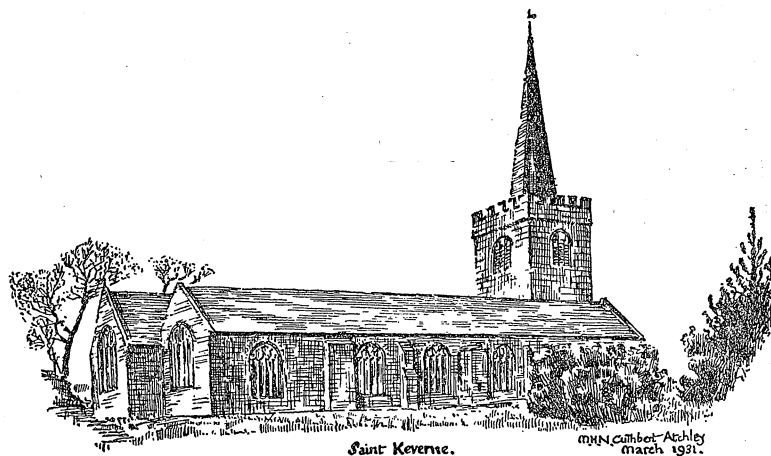
In 1528, we find the Abbot of Beaulieu complaining to Cardinal Wolsey that two of the Cardinal's agents had unjustly seized his property at *S. Keveran* on the plea that there had once been a cell of Monks there, and that the place was thereby forfeited to the Crown under the Act of 1525 for dissolving Monasteries under the yearly value of £200. The Cardinal, it seems, wanted to apply the property to the endowment of a College.

The Abbot however made good his claim, but unfortunately the house of Beaulieu itself fell in 1539, and this time its property passed not into the hands of a Cardinal, busy about founding Schools and Colleges, but into the grip of an unscrupulous King and his greedy Courtiers.

At the time of the dissolution of the Abbey, its property at S. Keverne brought in £78 annually, including £6 from Helston and £57 in Tithes. All this passed to the Crown, and thence by grants to lay owners. In 1603 the lay farmers of the Great Tithes sued Mr. John Buggyns, who had bought the Barton of Tregonan and refused to pay Tithes on the ground that the Barton was exempt as having been occupied in demesne by Cistercian Monks. To support his claim he brought witnesses who remembered seeing the ruins of the old

religious house at *Tregonyn*. One man of 80 remembered having seen some old walls and a Church there, another of 67 had been told by older people that the Monks left Tregonan "in hand" in order to exercise the hospitality to which they were bound. In 1755 Dr. Borlase could still trace "considerable ruins," but there are no signs of them now.

S. Keverne Church stands high and its Spire is a prominent mark by land and sea. It is a large and spacious building, mainly 15th century in its present form, though exhibiting many signs of an earlier 13th century building, which had, perhaps, narrower Aisles.¹ The three rood-loft staircases side by side in the North wall are a unique and inexplicable feature.



There appears to have been a Holy Well at S. Keverne, for the name *Funten-Keran* [i.e. S. Kieran's Well] is found here in a deed circa 1280.

¹ Some of the pillars of the Arcades appear to have been re-used from the earlier Church.

The large parish of S. Keverne contains the sites of several early Christian remains. Lesneague, the Lismanaoc of 967 has been already noticed. Its mill, known as Mill-mehall or S. Michael's Mill, recalls the fact that the place belonged to the Monks of S. Michael's Mount. It is called *Melyn Myhall* in 1464 and *Molendinum Sancti Michaelis* in 1258.

Close by, near a ford on the same stream, was a Leprosary or Lepers' house, named in 1267 and 1450. In the first instance the place is called *Nansclegy*. The name survives in Clodgy lane leading to Tregowris.

At Tregowris was a Chapel of S. James standing by the way-side in 1473, there was another at Traboe in a field yet called Chapel Park. Traboe like Lesneague belonged to S. Michael's Mount Priory. At Gwenter (=Whiteland) there was a ruined Chapel in 1703 and the field in which it stood is still called Park Chapel. In 1263 the Abbot of Beaulieu acquired a house and $\frac{1}{4}$ acre in *Wynter*, perhaps for the purpose of building and maintaining this Chapel to serve a remote part of the parish. There is said to have been a Chapel at Chynalls near Coverack, and another at Treleage.

At Lestowder, which seems to imply the Court of Teuder, a Cornish King whose name occurs in some Legends and Lives of Saints, there was a Chapel of S. John the Baptist licensed by Bishop Stafford in 1403. There are no remains of this Chapel, but a field on the farm bears the name of the *Hospital*, which suggests that it may have been connected with some Lazar house.

Although the only known Cross in the parish is that at Trelanvean, a large number of fields bear names which suggest that Crosses once stood in them.

From the foregoing account it will be seen that the attempt of the Mediaeval ecclesiastics to identify the patron of S. Keverne with Kieran or Piran is not borne out by the earliest spellings of the name S. *Ach'ebrann* 1085, *Akeveran* 1201, *Akeveran* 1278, *Kaveran* 1235, etc. or by the present pronunciation Keverne. The form *Kyran* does not seem to occur much before 1283, certainly not before the place fell into the hands of the Cistercian Monks of Beaulieu who were, perhaps, responsible for the attempt to identify the name with the Irish *Ciaran*. Southern Ireland was peculiarly rich in Cistercian Monasteries, so that the name of Ciaran would have been well known to members of the Order in the British Isles.

¹ The *Ch* in Domesday is intended to represent *K*.

Akeveran is probably the truest form of the name of the patron Saint of S. Keverne. Compounded with Lan the name becomes Lanheverne, which is still applied to part of the Church-town. Trehaverne in Kenwyn, the *Tregavran* of Domesday, Tregaverne near Port Isaac in North Cornwall, and possibly Goon-haverne in Perran-Zabulo, may contain the personal name, but the latter is spelt *Goenhavar* in 1290 and may simply be the "Summer pasture Down," or the "Goat's Down."

According to a well-known legend, S. Just after visiting S. Keverne, absconded with his Chalice. His host threw three rocks at the thief as he was going westwards. These fell in a field near the road from Helston to Marazion, not far from Germoe, and were known as Tremeneverne or the Three Stones of Keverne. They were supposed to be unlike any rock found in the Germoe district but similar to the Stones found on Crowza downs in S. Keverne. Such is the story as related by Hunt and other late collectors of Cornish legends. On the Germoe parish map (1840) the field in question, part of Hallegan tenement, is given the name of *Menheveren* or *Menherveren*. This name certainly suggests the meaning "Stone of Keverne." It would be interesting to trace it further back.

NOTE. Since the preceding pages were printed, a discovery of the greatest interest has been made in the Church of S. Agnes, which was formerly, as has been stated, a chapel under Perran-zabulo. The Vicar (Rev. W. H. Browne) has taken up the floor of the Church and found the foundations of the walls of a very ancient church which existed before the building of the 15th century Church, as the pillars of the latter partly rest upon these foundations. This earliest Church was roughly 18 feet long by 12 feet wide; the walls are from 18 ins. to 20 ins. thick. Mr. Jenner thinks that it must be the original Celtic Church. It shows traces of having had a screen of some sort separating the Chancel from the Nave, the Chancel being the bigger part. G.H.D.

There are signs of a spring (perhaps a Holy Well) close to this ancient building. "At the west end of the removed floor it was noticed that the boards were dripping with water, whereas all the rest were perfectly dry, thus denoting the existence of a spring." The spring at Perran Oratory is in exactly the same position.

My best thanks are due to Mr. M. H. N. Cuthbert Atchley, not only for the beautiful sketches he has done for this book, but also for invaluable information given me by himself and his father, also to M. Le Guennec, to Miss Beatrix Cresswell, Mrs. Frances Rose-Troup, Mr. Morton Nance (who drew the maps), to Mr. Wade-Evans, the Comte de Laigue, Fr. Grosjean, the Rev. Frank Nesbitt, Mr. Penrose (of the Truro Museum, who allowed me to use the photograph on p. 2), Mr. Jenner, and Dr. Dexter, and above all to Mr. Charles Henderson. G.H.D.