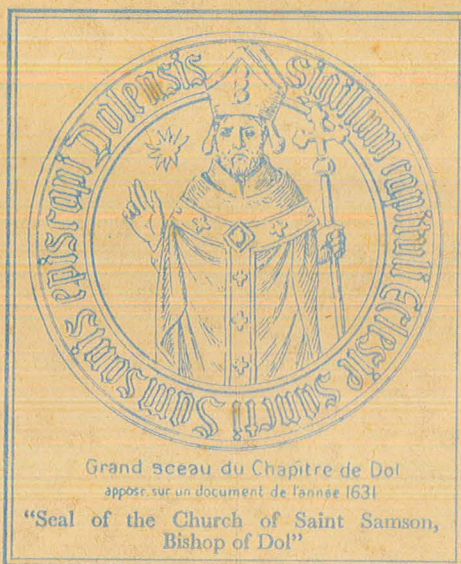


M. le chanoine Henri Pèrennès,
hommage cordial de
 l'auteur
 G. H. Doble.
 14 août 1935

Saint Samson

in

Cornwall



BIBLIOTHE
 QUIMPER
 DIOCESAINE

Saint Sampson in Golant
 Saint Sampson in Cricklade
 Saint Sampson in Southill

By
 The Revd. Gilbert H. Doble, M.A.

FOREWORD

BY HIS GRACE MONSEIGNEUR F. RENÉ MIGNEN,

Archbishop of Rennes, of Dol and of St. Malo.

Rennes, 21 Juin, 1935.

Cher Monsieur le Chanoine,

Vous m'avez demandé quelques lignes d'introduction à votre ouvrage: "Saint Samson in Cornwall."

Je dois surtout lui souhaiter de nombreux lecteurs. Il les mérite par sa valeur et encore plus par le sujet que vous y traitez.

Saint Samson, pour nous le grand Evêque de Dol, a brillé par son énergie, par son activité apostolique, par sa haute sainteté. Vous admirez son œuvre de christianisation dans la Cornouaille Anglaise. Nous l'admirons dans la Bretagne Armoricaïne. Puisse-t-il nous aider les uns et les autres à garder son héritage et continuer à le bénir du haut du ciel!

Veuillez agréer, cher Monsieur le Chanoine, l'assurance de mon dévoué respect en Notre Seigneur.

F. RENÉ MIGNEN,

Archêvêque de Rennes.



Document numérisé en 2023

Saint Samson in Cornwall

I AM grateful to those who have made possible the publication of this attractively got-up book, and to those who have assisted me to write it by giving valuable information. I would like to thank, in addition to those I have mentioned in the course of my narrative, M. Bourde de la Rogerie, late Archiviste of the Department of Ille-et-Vilaine, who helped me revise Dom Plaine's very incorrect list of Breton dedications to S. Samson; M. Seguin of Avranches, who furnished me with useful facts about places in the dioceses of Avranches and Coutance; Mr. M. H. N. Cuthbert Atchley, who has an unrivalled knowledge of Cornish churches, for his notes on the architecture of S. Sampson's, Golant, and on the Liturgical cult of the saint in England; Mr. R. Morton Nance for the two maps; Fr. Grosjean, the Bollandist; the Vicar of S. Sampson's, Cricklade; and Mr. A. N. Symons, of Guernsey. Dr Singer, of Kilmarth, has made an interesting suggestion about the site of the "Ile Saint Samson," which I was too late to insert in the text, but do not wish to be omitted. He points out that William Worcester speaks (in 1478) of an island near Tywardreath which might possibly be this island, as it is near Golant, though it does not now bear S. Samson's name. Worcester says "*Insula de Greefscita est in Cornubia juxta prioratum monachorum de Trewdreth, juxta villam de Fowey per tria miliaria ex parte occidentali; et dicta insula jacet ex opposito patriae Britanniae vocatae le Foorne.*" Dr. Singer thinks that this island was Callyvarder Rock.

Special thanks are due to His Grace Mgr. Mignen, Archbishop of Rennes, of Dol and of St. Malo, for kindly consenting to write the Foreword.

GILBERT H. DOBLE.

Wendron Vicarage, Helston.

May, 1935.

THERE is no county in England so romantic as Cornwall, alike in its history as in its scenery, and few parishes in Cornwall are so steeped in romance as S. Samson's. Perched on a hill overlooking the lovely estuary of the Fowey, the church bears the name of, and perhaps was founded by, the most famous of the saints of Brittany, the chief figure¹ in that great company of Celtic bishops and monks from Wales and Damnonia who fashioned Christian Brittany in the ancient Armorican land, and thus created a country which has had so much influence on the history, art, literature and religion of France and England. Further, scholars have now discovered that the parish of S. Samson's contains the palace of Mark, the Cornish king, round which centres the story of Tristan and Iseult, the love-tragedy which has thrilled so many hearts and inspired so many poems for a thousand years, the home of

"That proud, first Iseult, Cornwall's queen,
She whom Tristram's ship of yore
From Ireland to Cornwall bore,
To Tyntagel, to the side
Of King Marc, to be his bride.
She who, as they voyaged, quaff'd
With Tristram that spiced magic draught,
Which since then for ever rolls
Through their blood, and binds their souls."

Better instructed, Matthew Arnold should have written *Lantyan* instead of *Tyntagel*; and Tennyson, too, when he pictures how

"Down in a casement sat,
A low sea-sunset glorying round her hair
And glossy-throated grace, Isolt the Queen."

should have placed her, not on the north coast of Cornwall, in

"Tintagel, half in sea, and high on land,
A crown of towers,"

but in a stockaded earthwork near Fowey.

I think, then, that an attempt to state what the efforts of the scholarship of the last thirty years have taught us about this exceptionally interesting parish may be welcomed. A great deal of new knowledge has been gained by recent researches, though still, it must be confessed, the problems of the early years of Cornwall's story continue to baffle us, and, as we strive to see it more clearly, looking through the glasses of History, we find that our lenses tend constantly to get out of focus and the vision threatens to become blurred again just as we hoped that the outline was becoming distinct.

¹ "C'est le saint principal de l'émigration bretonne."—DUINE.

The 12th century *Roman de Tristan* assumes that the church of Lantyan was already dedicated to S. Samson before the time of King Mark, and as, on the whole, the religious associations of the parish offer considerably less difficulties to the historian than does its connection with the cycle of Arthurian legends, it will be well to consider its ecclesiastical history first.

Who was S. Samson, and why is he honoured here ?

S. Samson was a Welsh bishop of the 6th century,¹ who founded the abbey-bishopric of Dol in Brittany, and has always been regarded as the chief of the "Seven Saints of Brittany" (the founders, according to tradition, of seven out of the nine episcopal sees which it formerly possessed). A very early *Life* of the saint exists, which describes, in some detail, a visit he paid to Cornwall. Its evidence is confirmed by that of Cornish place-names. I propose to begin by discussing the whole question of the cult of S. Samson in Cornwall, as only in this way can we understand the significance of the dedication of the church on the Fowey.



Grand sceau du Chapitre de Dol
apposé sur un document de l'année 1631.

"Seal of the Church of Saint Samson,
Bishop of Dol."

The earliest *Vita S. Samsonis* has² been the object of special attention during the last thirty years, and three of the greatest scholars France has produced in modern times have published valuable studies on it. M. Fawtier has given us a critical edition of the text, with an introduction: the late M. Joseph Loth has explained the personal names

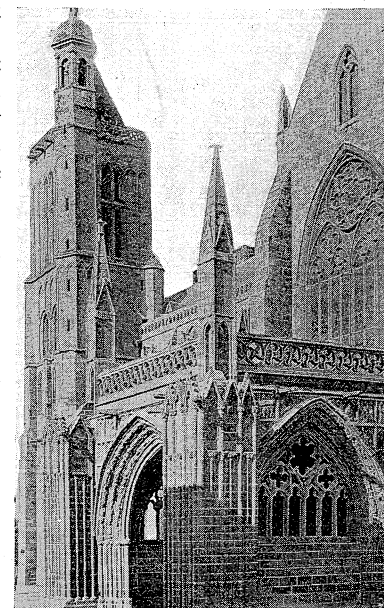
¹ He was present at the Council of Paris (c. 560) and signed "Samson subscripsi et consensi in nomine Christi."

² Another *Life*, known as the *Vita secunda*, was written, according to Duine, by a monk of Pental, or a clerk of Dol, "in the second half of the 9th century." It was printed by Dom Plaine in 1887:—one has only to compare this edition with the work of Duine, Loth and Fawtier to see what progress has been made in the last 50 years. Dom Plaine did not know that Docco and Tricuria were in Cornwall!

in it, and identified nearly all the places it mentions: and the late M. l'abbé Duine has traced the sources of the author's quotations and pet phrases, and shown with what books he was familiar. As none of these sources are later than the beginning of the 7th century, Duine thinks the book was written by a monk of the abbey of Dol "about the year 610-615." In any case it cannot possibly be later than the middle of the 9th century when the see of Dol became for a time the metropolis of an independent ecclesiastical province of Brittany, as it contains no hint of such a thing. Its author tells us repeatedly that he has visited Wales and (by implication) Cornwall, and seen many of the places there associated with his hero, which we can well believe, since we know that the closest intercourse was maintained for centuries between the British colony in Armorica and the mother-country. The *Vita prima Samsonis* is not only the earliest but the most authentic of any of the *Lives* of the saints of Wales, Cornwall or Brittany which we possess, and it is of capital importance to every student of the early history of those three countries.

In this little study I must confine myself almost exclusively to the passage of the *Vita* which describes the saint's sojourn in Cornwall, briefly summarizing the story of his career in Wales and on the Continent.

The author begins with an address to Tigernomal¹, Bishop of Dol, who has asked him to write a *Life* of S. Samson. In this prologue he gives us a singularly confused and puzzling account of his authorities. He has learned, he says, much from a monk of a monastery founded by S. Samson "beyond the sea," i.e. in Great Britain, an old man over 80 years of age (he had been about 80 years in the aforesaid monastery) whose uncle Henoc,² a deacon, and a cousin of S. Samson had written an account of the saint's doings, part of the information in which was derived from Samson's mother. The old man had had this book of Henoc's read aloud to our author when he visited his



PORCH OF SAINT MAGLOIRE,
DOL CATHEDRAL

¹ A Cornishman of this name is commemorated on an inscribed stone in the wall of Cubert Church.

² A saint of this name is eponym of *Llanhenock*, N.E. of Caerleon (Mon.)

monastery. Another source of information consisted of oral traditions gathered in Wales and Cornwall during his visit to Great Britain, and he had heard the names of Samson's father Amon and mother Anna recited in the diptychs at mass at the saint's altar (*where*,—whether in Wales or in Cornwall, he does not say).

He then begins the "Life of Saint Samson, the Confessor of Jesus Christ, who is commemorated on the 28th of July." His father and mother were both of noble birth. The former came from Demetia¹, the latter from Gwent. At the age of five he was taken by his parents "to the school of the famous master of the Britons called Eltut [Illtyd], who had been a disciple of S. Germanus and ordained priest by him." Eltut kisses the boy and foretells his future greatness;—"Behold him who is to be a high priest, to the profit of many on this side and beyond the sea, behold the illustrious priest of all the Britons, behold the ablest founder of churches since the Apostles." Samson continues in the monastery of Illtyd (now Llantwit Major) for many years, and in due course is ordained deacon by Bishop Dubricius,² and later, priest. After a time he leaves Llantwit (owing, Duine thought, to the hostility of a powerful party in the monastery), and goes to the Island (or, Monastery) of Piro³ (or Pyro). While there, his father falls ill, and Samson visits him and hears his confession. Amon resolves to become a monk, and receives the tonsure forthwith. Anna, who had lovingly encouraged her husband in his resolution to give himself wholly to God, follows his example, and so do her children, with the exception of Samson's sister. Amon eventually recovers his health, and fulfils his vow, bestowing all his earthly possessions on the poor. His brother Umbraphel, seeing this, decides to imitate him, together with his wife and his three sons, Samson's cousins. Their wealth is devoted to the foundation of monasteries.

On his return journey Samson encounters and slays a fire-spitting serpent. Soon after Piro falls into a well at night, and dies, and Samson is chosen to be abbot in his place. Some "Scotti" visit the monastery. Impressed by their learning, he resolves to accompany them on their return to Ireland, and stays there some time, at Arx Etri (Dun Etail, the promontory of Howth near Dublin).⁴ When he gets back to his island monastery in Wales, he finds that his father and uncle have made great progress in the coenobitical life and are already distinguished among the other monks by their fervour, at which he rejoices. He sends his uncle, as soon as he is ordained priest, to govern a monastery which had been given to him in Ireland. He himself retires, with his father and two other monks, to a "desert" (the term used in Celtic monasteries for a solitary hermitage, to which specially fervent monks would often withdraw). Entering a

¹ Demetia at this time, according to Mr Wade-Evans, included all South Wales west of the Usk, Gwent being the country east of that river.

² According to the *Annals of Cambria*, Dubricius died in 612.

³ The *Insula Pyronis* may be Caldey Island, which Leland in the 16th century speaks of as "Inis Pyr, called also Caldey." (Manorbier, close by, was originally *Mainaur Pir*.) But Loth doubts this (*La vie . . . de Saint Samson*, 1914, pp. 21, 22.)

⁴ At Ballygriffin (Co. Dublin) are the ruins of a church of S. Samson, and there is a Bally Samson in the south of Wexford.

vast wilderness (*heremum*), they settle in a castle, in which was a fountain of purest water, by the river Severn. Samson himself goes to live alone in a cave in a wood close by. The site of the hermitage in the castle, our author says, was, "up to the time when I was in Britain, looked upon as a very hallowed spot (*magno semper venerabatur cultu*), and an oratory had been constructed there, in the place where S. Samson used to come to sing mass every Sunday." This episode is one of the most interesting in the earlier part of the book, and the reference to the oratory constructed in memory of the saint is a valuable proof, the genuineness of which cannot I think be disputed—the writer's statement is clearly first-hand evidence, of the cult of S. Samson in the country of his birth. It is to be observed that there is very little cult of the saint in Wales. His name is found in most mediæval English kalendars, but in very few Welsh kalendars¹, and there is not now in Wales a single undoubted dedication to S. Samson. (This is perhaps not surprising, since a man's memory is cherished in the land where his life's work was done rather than in the land where he was born, and Samson is much more a Breton saint than a Welsh saint.¹) The church of Marcross in Glamorgan is said, on the very dubious authority of the Iolo MSS., to have been formerly dedicated to him. The cross called Carreg Samson in Llanbadarn churchyard probably commemorates a different Samson, referred to in the *Life* of S. Patern, and there is reason for thinking that the places called Samson's Farm, Samson's Cross and Samson's Bridge at Stackpole near St Petrox in the South of Pembrokeshire may in reality derive their name from another Samson connected with S. Petroc (see p. 20.) Unfortunately it is not easy to identify the "desert" our author describes. Baring-Gould and Fisher (following Mr. Done Bushell) endeavour to locate the saint's cave at Stackpole in Pembrokeshire, but confess that, while there is an ancient camp there, as required by the statement in the *Life*, there is neither a fountain nor a chapel, which are equally required. And Stackpole is no more "on the river Severn" than Cherbourg is on the river Seine. A visitor to Wales could not possibly think of these distant sea-washed promontaries as being on a river. Marcross on the Glamorgan coast might possibly be considered as "on the river Severn." At Cressage in Shropshire there is said to have formerly existed a chapel of S. Samson. This is certainly on the Severn—a few miles below Shrewsbury, but it is a rather long way from Glamorgan. The Gloucestershire parish of

¹ The cult of S. Samson in *England* is due to the bestowal of relics of Breton saints on English monasteries by Athelstan in the 10th century. It is owing to this reason that SS Samson and Branwallader, with SS Mary and Michael, are co-patrons of Milton Abbas, in Dorset. Athelstan also gave relics to the cathedrals of Canterbury and Salisbury, and to the Abbey of Abingdon. (I must leave on one side the difficult question of the church of S. Samson in York. It may be later than Geoffrey of Monmouth, who makes King Arthur appoint his chaplain Pyramus as successor to "Samson the Archbishop" of York driven out by the Saxons! S. Samson appears indeed in a very early Yorkshire Kalendar, drawn up at York or Ripon before 816, that of Achery. The entry which mentions Samson is however an addition made at Rheims early in the 9th Century. See Dom Quentin, *Les Martyrologes Historiques*, p. 124.)

Colesbourne appears also to have formerly had S. Samson as patron, but it is on the Cotswold hills 12 miles from the Severn.¹

Our author now rather abruptly describes the meeting of a synod (he does not tell us *where*, but apparently at Llantwit Major).



SAINT SAMSON AS ARCHBISHOP AMID SEVEN SAINTS OF BRITTANY
Medallion of 13th Century glass in East Window of Dol Cathedral

¹ The Rector of Colesbourne writes to me, "It is said here that (a) the parish church was at one time dedicated to S. James and S. Samson; (b) that an old chapel near by was dedicated to S. Samson. But I have found no documentary evidence for either." South of Colesbourne, at Cricklade in Wiltshire, is an important church of S. Samson, but I can find no account of its origin. All this country was British in Samson's time.

Enquiry is made for Samson. He is sent for, "and in spite of his unwillingness, he is made Abbot in the monastery, which, as they say, had been built by S. Germanus." It was customary, we are told, to consecrate bishops in this monastery on the Feast of S. Peter's Chair (22 February). The annual festival was now approaching, and the bishops were expected for the ordination service. It was an ancient custom, our author tells us, that three bishops should be consecrated at the same time¹. There were two candidates, but it had not yet been decided who was to be the third. At this juncture Samson had a dream. He seemed to be standing in white robes, amid a crowd of glorious beings, and saw three bishops, in rich vestments and wearing golden "diadems" (an early form of the mitre), invite him to enter the church with them. He did so, and they consecrated him bishop. He enquired who they were, and learned that they were Peter, James and John. The holy father (*papa*) Dubricius also had a dream, in which an angel told him Samson was to be bishop. He immediately caused the "counsellors" of the congregation to be awakened and summoned to a meeting, at which it was unanimously agreed that Samson should be made bishop. During the ordination service as Samson was placed in the episcopal *cathedra*, a mysterious dove was seen hovering over his head.

Soon after this, during the night between Easter Eve and Easter Day, after the saint had sung the mass which concluded the great Vigil service, he remained alone in the church to pray and in an ecstasy (*in excessum mentis exiit*) saw a shining angel, who said to him, "Be of good cheer, Saint of God . . . For I am sent unto thee from my Lord; for thou oughtest to remain no longer in this thy country; for thou art destined to be a pilgrim, and beyond the sea thou shalt be very great in the Church." As the Angel spoke, the brethren began to return to the church for the morning office, and the vision departed. Having finished the Easter Day services, the saint immediately prepared for his journey, and setting out "directed his course on this side of the Severn Sea,"—that is, to the lands south of the Severn, which would be "this side" from the point of view of one writing in Brittany. "On the way" (*in via*), we are told, "he visited his mother and aunt, and consecrated their churches, which had been already built . . . and rejoiced to find his brothers and cousins leading a noble and catholic life with their mothers" (Anna and Afrella). Where were these churches? It would seem they were in Gwent, the native land of Anna and her sister Afrella. We have seen² that in Gwent, near Caerleon, is a *Llanhennock*, and our author tells us that one of the cousins of Samson was called *Henoc*. A little to the N.E., in what is now Gloucestershire, is a parish called Oxenhall (near Newent), the church of which is dedicated to *S. Anne*. (S. Anne is also patron of the church of Siston near Mangotsfield, in another part of Gloucestershire). However that may be, the passage reminds us of the fact that this was an age of great church expansion,

¹ These numerous bishops must have been monastery bishops, not diocesan bishops. See Loth, *La Vie de Saint Samson* (1914), pp. 12, 13, and (1923), pp. 39 and 42.

² See Wade-Evans, *Welsh Christian Origins*, pp. 223, 224.

in Wales as well as in Cornwall and Brittany, and that the conversion of wealthy families like that of Samson led to the building of monastic churches, from which our present parish churches had their origin. After this, Samson embarked, and, "accompanied by the aforesaid three [see p. 6] and many others, after a prosperous voyage (*navigio*) arrived at the monastery which is called Docco."

The next seven chapters in the *Vita Samsonis* (c. 46-52) describe the saint's sojourn in Cornwall.

c. 46. "Now when the brethren who were in this place hear of his arrival, and especially of his request that some wise man among them should meet him, straightway they direct the wisest of them, Viniavus¹ by name—who himself also was named among them, in the British language, *Light*, to confer with him. For he was divinely inspired and knew many things concerning the future. So when he had come to the place where S. Samson was, he bowed low, with respectful greeting; and giving thanks to Almighty God for his arrival, and sitting down beside him, he humbly inquired of him where he was going. But when S. Samson told him the cause of his journey and asked whether he might stay with them for a little while, S. Juniavus, prudent (*providens*) in spirit, thus gently gave reply saying, "O most loving Father (*O papa amantissime*), the journey thou hast undertaken is a thing to be desired by a servant of God, for God in the gospel praises him who becomes a pilgrim for His sake: nevertheless the thing that thou askest—that thou mightest stay with us, is not convenient, lest for example thou, who art better than us, shouldst be condemned by us, who are less worthy, and, what is more proper, we should be condemned by thee, as we deserve. For I wish you to know this—that we come short of our former practice (*in nostris prioribus institutis relaxamur*): thou shouldst therefore go on thy way in peace, and once at least, before crossing to Europe, show some outward sign, that by thee, before thou art absent from us in body, the power of the Lord may be shown in this province."

c. 47. Now when S. Samson heard these things, he was astonished at his doctrine and perceived that the Holy Ghost spoke through him, and so, leaving his ship in that same place, he arranged for a cart to convey his holy vessels and books, and harnessed two horses which he had brought with him from Ireland to his chariot, and proceeded on his way, crossing the country [of Cornwall] with the Lord for his companion. A veteran traveller (*longaevus viator*), he eagerly sought the Southern Sea², as they call it, which leads to Europe; and, with a band of brothers in front of him, likewise others following behind, he himself sitting alone, as was meet, in their midst, he never ceased to offer supplication to God by day or by night.

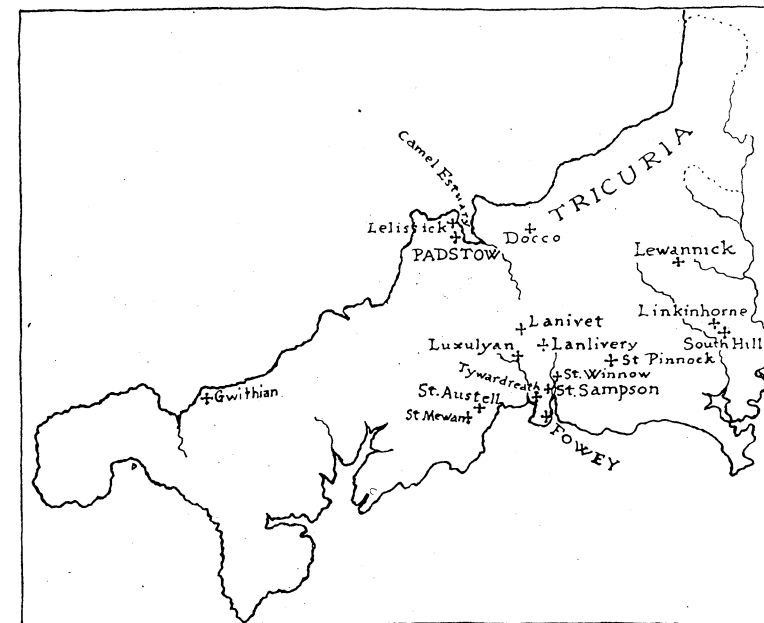
c. 48. Now on a certain day, as he was passing through a certain district (*pagus*) which they call Tricuria, he heard verily, on his left hand, men adoring a certain temple (*phanum*) after the manner of the Bacchantes, by a symbolic game³; and he, making signs to the

¹ Another reading is *Juniavus*.

² *Austreum*, or *Austeiium*, or *Auffereum*.

³ *per imaginariam ludum*.

brethren to stand still and keep silence, himself descended from the chariot and stood on the ground, and earnestly looking towards those who were worshipping the idol (*idolum*), he saw before them, on the top of a certain mountain, an abominable image (*simulacrum*) standing;—I myself have been on that mountain and with my own hand have reverently touched the sign of the cross which S. Samson with his hand cut with a certain iron tool upon the stone that



Map of Cornwall to illustrate the Cult of Saint Samson

stands there; when S. Samson, I say, saw this image, he hastened to them, taking with him two brothers, and gently remonstrated with them for worshipping an idol and abandoning the one God Who made all things. All this while their chieftain [or, Count (*comes*)] Guedian was standing in front of them. They began to excuse themselves by saying there was no harm to observe the magical rites of their ancestors in a game¹: some were furious, some laughed, and some, who were better disposed, urged him to go away, when

¹ This is a very difficult passage—*Excusantibus illis malum non esse mathematicum eorum parentum in ludo servare*. The *Vita Secunda* paraphrases it, *malum non esse ritum quod colebant, et Deum parentum suorum, quod est idolum, debere eos adorare*. *Mathematici* = 'soothsayers' in Mediaeval Latin.

In the words that follow ("*alii deridentibus*," etc.) our author, who is incurably pedantic, has borrowed some phrases from the *Vita B. Martini* of Sulpicius Severus (c. II)—the celebrated incident of the cutting in half of the saint's mantle at Amiens, just as, when describing Samson starting on a journey, he cannot resist the temptation of twice applying to him S. Jerome's description of the aged Antony, setting out to visit the hermit Paul, as a "*longaevus viator*,"—an expression in this case most inappropriate.—(DuRoi, *Orig. Bret.*, p. 30.)

suddenly the power of God was openly shown. For a certain boy engaged in horse-racing was thrown to the ground from a certain swift horse, and twisting his neck as he fell headlong, lay there a lifeless corpse.

c. 49. As his neighbours stood around him weeping, S. Samson said "Ye see that your image (*simulacrum*) cannot help this dead boy. But if ye promise to utterly destroy this idol and never to worship it again, I, by the power of God working in me, will raise him to life." They agreed, and he, bidding them to withdraw a little, prayed over the corpse for about two hours, and then presented him who had died alive and unhurt before them all. When they saw this, with one accord they fell at S. Samson's feet, together with the aforesaid Count, and utterly destroyed the idol.

c. 50. Then the prudent Count made them all come to have their baptisms confirmed¹ by S. Samson, and he himself came together with them, praising God and saying; "Behold an angel of God sent from heaven has come to snatch us from our error; but still, O Saint, we have great anxiety of mind." S. Samson said: "What is that?" The Count replied: "We have a certain goodly place occupied by a poisonous and most evil serpent; now this serpent dwells in a certain impenetrable cave and devastates nigh two whole regions (*pagos*) and no man may dwell there." Hearing this, S. Samson said fearlessly: "Let us go in the name of the Lord, doubting nothing; if thou believest, thou shalt see with thine eyes the mighty works of God on this serpent." So with one accord they, without hesitation, went with S. Samson, and that young man who had recently been raised to life, and who had promised to become a clerk, followed him. S. Samson went before the army, and the boy recently resuscitated showed the way, until, as the next day was dawning, they saw with their eyes that horrible cave where the serpent was. Then the boy said: "Elect of God, seest thou beyond the river the cave in which is the serpent?" And he, trusting in the Lord, bade both the army and his monks to remain where they were, and he alone,—nay; he and God with him, crossed the river, his boy following him, and they came to the mouth of the terrible cave. And S. Samson, looking on the boy as he followed, and smiling, spake thus: "Be of good cheer, boy, and play the man." The boy replied: "Whom shall I fear, Elect One? God is with thee." Then bidding him stand at a little distance, the saint boldly entered the cave. Now the serpent, as soon as it saw him, was greatly afraid and turning round strove madly to bite its own tail, but the saint straightway seized the linen girdle he was wearing and quickly slipped it over the serpent's neck, and dragging it after him precipitated it from a certain great height, bidding it in the name of Jesus Christ to live no longer. Now when the boy saw this, he hastened back to the army and to the Count and told them what he had seen. And they, when they had heard, went quietly to Samson and desired to pay him due apostolic honour. He refused however to

¹ A curious and puzzling expression.

receive any great gift from them, but in honour of the mighty work shown there he commanded his followers to found a monastery near the cave; he himself meanwhile living a heavenly life in the cave, devoting himself to fasting and praying.

c. 51. But I think that that miracle which for his sake the Lord showed in that same cave ought not to be passed over in silence. For one day he was thirsty, and the Lord willed to refresh him after a long abstinence from food and drink, wherefore, the Almighty fulfilling his desire, after he had prayed he beheld water dripping in a continuous shower from the rocky roof of the cave and splashing down on a certain stone close by. Seeing this he greatly rejoiced, and felt that, through the Spirit, God had given aid at his prayer; and to this day that water ceases not to flow day and night.

c. 52. Having received therefore his cousin mentioned at the beginning of our work, who had now received the diaconate, and having appointed his father as superior over the monastery, which was now completed, and the mighty works which God wrought by him in that region being accomplished, he set sail, according to his promise, and crossed the sea, under God's guidance, many monks accompanying him, and in particular that deacon of whom we have already spoken sufficiently, and after a prosperous voyage they reached the desired port in Europe."

Now this section describing Samson's passage through Cornwall is perhaps the most interesting in the whole *Vita*. The first two of the three episodes it contains bear on their face the stamp of truth, and the third is a legend associated with a monastery founded by S. Samson. They are not all three, as M. Fawtier contends, "simply topographic legends."¹ A topographic legend is a story, usually of a common type, sometimes introducing a banal folk-lore theme like an encounter with a dragon or serpent, sometimes a floating anecdote told about many different saints, and always attached to a particular place, with a view generally to explaining its name. The serpent story we have just read is a topographic legend (as I hope to show) about the cave at Golant. The stories in the *Vita Petroci* about Samson and the chapel near Padstow,² and about the hunter Constantine, are topographic legends. But the rest of this section is historical. It abounds with personal names and place-names, and they are all the right names. The stories of the meeting with Winniavus and of the conversion of the heathen revellers on the Bodmin moors do not belong to the realm of popular legend. Nor could the vivid and life-like touches which characterize them have been invented by our author. Surely we have here a real and most precious glimpse into the Cornwall of the Age of the Saints. We can feel, as we read this part of the *Life of S. Samson*, what we cannot feel about any other *Life* of a Cornish saint, that we have before us the record of a historic event, of a genuine episode in the early history of Cornwall. We

¹ *La Vie de Saint Samson*, p. 62.

² See p. 20.

learn that, in the middle of the 6th century, while the people inhabiting the wild moorlands of the watershed of Cornwall were still heathen, on the tidal estuaries, which must always have been the approaches by which the influences of civilization reached the Damnonian peninsula, Christian monasteries, inhabited by monks from South Wales, had been established for some considerable time. *Docco* has been proved to be St Kew¹ (*Lan-doho* in 1185 and 1300)². It took its name from one of the most celebrated of the Welsh saints, the "Bishop Docco, a holy abbot of the Britons," whose "falling-asleep" is recorded in the *Annals of Ulster* in 473, the founder of Llandocha Fawr near Cardiff. There is another Llandocha in



CHURCH OF SAINT SAMPSON, GOLANT

Photo by Kathleen Rundell, Par

Glamorgan, near Cowbridge. No doubt it was, with the Cornish Docco, a daughter house of the great Cardiff abbey. Close to St Kew lie other important churches, once monastic,—Padstow and St Breoke, also founded by Welsh saints, though in their case the founders came from a different part of Wales (from Cardigan). But Llandocha is near Llantwit, and previous acquaintance with Llandocha no doubt determined Samson to sail for Docco.

The description of Samson's reception at Docco is most illuminating. Docco has been founded for some considerable time, and the monastic rule has already become relaxed—the fatal tendency to a progressive decline of the original fervour, which has always been

¹ It is "the first recorded place in Cornwall that can be identified with certainty." (Mr. HENDERSON in *Cornish Church Guide*).

² See *Cornish Church Guide*, pp. 119-121, and my *Saint Docco and Saint Kew* ("Cornish Saints" series, No. 12.)

the bane of every monastic order in Christendom (except the two strictest, the Carthusians and the Trappists), and which has perhaps been specially characteristic of the history of Celtic monasteries, has begun to show itself here. Nothing is more likely than that the monks should be disturbed at the arrival of a reformer like Samson, at the head of a large party, just as the *anciens* of a French monastery in the 17th century were when the members of the Congregation of St Maur arrived to revive the original monastic ideals in their house¹. The picture of Winniavus is an attractive one: it shows us the sort of person the Celtic monk was when really possessed by the ascetic spirit and true to his calling. (It is an answer, by the way, to those who would try to persuade us that the Cornish saints were not *saints* at all. Winniavus is clearly the heroic and devoted figure, living in close communion with the unseen and filled with gifts from on high, whom the Christian Church honours as a saint.) Who Winniavus was, and whether he was honoured in Cornwall by later ages with a cult, is another matter. It is a question not easy to answer. It does not necessarily follow that every Cornish saint had a church named after him. In any case there is no evidence to support the wild statements of Baring-Gould² who boldly identifies him with the eponyms of Lewannick (originally *Lanwenech*) and St Winnow (*San Winnuc* in Domesday), who are probably two distinct personages. S Wynnocus is the patron of St Winnow, and Wynnocus and Winiavus are entirely different names—a charter of 969 mentions two places, one called *hraet Winiaw* and the other *Carn Winnioc*, in the same sentence³.

Equally convincing and instructive is the picture of the conversion of Guedian and his tribesmen, though the details lack the precision we should have desired. It is not easy to make out exactly what the object of their worship was. M. Loth⁴ points out that our author has the appearance of contradicting himself, since he seems to state that the saint destroyed the idol on which he had carved the cross—a cross which we have just been told was visible there long afterwards. This great scholar thinks, on the whole, that the *fanum*, which in the Latin of the period meant a *temple*, was perhaps the ruin of an ancient pagan shrine or *nemeton*, and that this, and not the menhir connected with it, was destroyed⁵. In any case our author clearly regards the worshippers as pagans, and Baring-Gould is making a purely gratuitous assumption in assuring us that the "game" in which they were engaged "had already lost all its heathen significance when Samson interfered with the ceremony."⁶ The carving of the cross on the long-stone is a specially interesting detail. A huge menhir at Brignogan on the north coast of Brittany, near a chapel on the beach, has a cross cut on it about two feet from the ground. No doubt the missionaries who converted Cornwall and Brittany often christianized such ancient monuments of nature-worship by marking them

¹ If we are to believe the *Vita Petroci*, the request to be allowed to stay at a monastery was frequently followed by the eviction of the original occupants!

² L. B. S., IV, 155, 160.

³ Gray-Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, III, 521.

⁴ In the *Revue Archéologique*, 1924, pp. 49-63. "*Fanum et Simulacrum*."

⁵ A *nemeton* usually had menhirs round it.

⁶ L. B. S., IV., 157.

with a cross, and some of our Cornish crosses may very likely commemorate the triumph of the Cross of Christ over paganism on some similar occasion. Our author is obviously speaking the truth when he tells us that he reverently placed his hand on the incised cross on this Cornish moorland while he listened to the story told him by his guide.

Unfortunately, it is not easy to identify the hill on which the menhir stood. Our author tells us that it was in the *pagus* of Tricuria. This is the ancient Hundred (as the Saxons afterwards called it) of Trigg (*Triger-sire* or *shire* 1130, *Treger-sir* in King John's reign: the name is found in Brittany in a French form as *Tréguier*). But as Triger-shire was of enormous extent, including practically nearly all North Cornwall, the place referred to might be anywhere between the Camel and the Devon border. St Kew itself is in Trigg. Baring-Gould suggested that the cross on Laneast Down might be the remains of the menhir described in the *Vita*, though it no longer stands on a hill. It has a cross roughly cut on it, but it does not now at all resemble a menhir. It is, the Vicar of Laneast informs me, "an upright slab of no great thickness. . . . The head of the stone is rounded. I have never heard any local legends of this stone, and as it stands on the footpath which leads from Tregeare to Laneast Church, I am inclined to the belief that it is and always has been a cross." Duine's suggestion of Kit Hill and M. Fawtier's of Southill seem barred by the fact that both places are in East Wivelshire.

The same difficulty presents itself when we enquire if the chieftain Guedian (the original form would be *Wedian*) has left his name in Cornish topography as met us when we asked the question about Winniavus. The name is found at *Gwithian* in Cornwall, but Gwithian is in the west of the county. The name must have been a common one. The Abbey of Ste Croix, Quimperle, possessed relics of a S. Guedian, brought from the Ile de Groix. A Guedian appears in the Life of S. Teilo, and another in the life of S. Golven¹. *Guoidianus* is invoked among other Celtic saints (several of them associated with S. Samson) in the Litany of the 10th century Psalter of Rheims. (Duine, *Inv. Lit.*, 43).

The third episode in the story of S. Samson's sojourn in Cornwall is connected with the foundation of a monastery by the saint. It was built at the spot where a serpent who devastated the neighbourhood had lived. Now it has always been a puzzle why stories about a serpent occur with such bewildering frequency in the legends of saints who lived in the Dark Ages. Many ingenious explanations have been offered², but the study of the *Life of S. Samson* suggests a

¹ See Goezian in Loth, *Noms des SS Bretons*, 132.

² Baring-Gould and Fisher (L. B. S., IV., 158), point out that Gildas, apparently a contemporary of Samson, describes Maelgwyn, a tyrant reigning in Anglesea, as "*insularis draco*." Plummer (*Vitae Sancti Hib.*, I., p. cxi), refers to a passage in an Irish book in which "the plague appears in a bodily shape as a monster, which is destroyed by the saint." (Plummer afterwards printed this book as 'The Life of Mac Creiche' (in the Bollandist series of *Subsidia Hagiographica*), in his *Miscellanea Hagiographica Hibernica*). M. Cerquand (*Revue Celtique*, t.VI., p. 417f), sees in these legends a symbol of the damage done by high tides.

much simpler one. The serpents Samson slew in Cornwall and in Normandy both inhabited caves, which our author had seen. He had also seen at Pental a large stone which covered the Norman serpent's grave. The cave in Cornwall is described as "impenetrable" and "horrible." Now such caves must always have had a legend connected with them in early times, and I think that some similar place will usually be found to have existed wherever there is a serpent story about the local saint. At Rouen, where S. Romain is said to have treated a serpent after the same manner as S. Samson

did the Cornish serpent, there was a noisome swamp quite close to the city called the "varvot du Petit-Bouvreuil," which was only drained in 1766. (Bunyan was but reproducing the actual conditions of life in his own day in placing the Slough of Despond near a big town). Many children, asking their parents about such a cave or swamp, which they were forbidden to go near, must have been told that it was the abode of a serpent. When the enquirers ascertained that in reality there was no serpent there, they would be told that it had been destroyed long ago by the patron saint of the church, and so the legend grew up. The fact that there are four serpent stories about S. Samson is not, as we might be inclined to think at first sight, just a tiresome repetition of an impossible fairy-tale. Each of these stories is told of one of the four chief scenes of Samson's labours — Wales, Cornwall, Pental and Dol. The four stories represent four different sources of local tradition found by our author in places where the saint had worked and founded churches. If the reader will look at the contemporary Anglo-Saxon poem of "Beowulf" he will understand the mentality of the time, which insisted on the hero of a story conquering a half-human monster. The stories however must have had time to grow, and show that a generation or two had passed since the saint lived there.



SAINT SAMPSON

Fragments of mediaeval painted glass in window of chancel of S. Sampson's Church, Golant

Photo by Kathleen Rundell, Par

We must now endeavour to identify the site of the monastery founded by S. Samson in Cornwall. It must be either S. Samson's

Golant or S. Samson's church at Southill. M. Fawtier, who, as we have seen, would place the idol at Southill, places the serpent's cave at Golant.

Southill is much more likely to have been the site of an important monastery than Golant. The parish is an extensive one, and formerly included the town of Callington. There is a very large glebe, which Mr. Henderson maintains is a sure sign of the existence of a Celtic monastery. On this glebe is a Holy Well of S. Samson. Lastly, there is a remarkable fact to be considered, which has never been pointed out before, indicating that Southill must have been Samson's headquarters in Cornwall, viz., that on the relics of S. Melor in the Abbey of St Magloire at Paris in the Middle Ages had been written the words *Sanctus Melorius, consobrinus Sancti Samsonis*¹. Now the magnificent church of Linkinhorne, only a mile from S. Samson's, Southill (the two churches are in full view of each other), is dedicated to S. Melor, who has also a beautiful holy well in the valley beneath the church. Here we have three distinct and quite independent pieces of evidence connecting Samson and his companions with a former monastery at Southill. The Paris scribe who labelled the relics at St Magloire (in the 10th or 11th centuries?) could not possibly have known that there was a church of S. Melor in Cornwall adjoining a church of S. Samson. It is strange that no traditions about Samson's father Amon, the first Abbot of the monastery founded by him, should have remained in Cornwall. The name *Southill* is not Celtic, and therefore not ancient, and may have replaced an older *Lan* name commemorating Samson or his father. (Samson's mother *may* be commemorated at St Ann's chapel in the adjoining parish of Calstock). The monastery at Southill must have declined and dwindled away before the 11th century, as it does not appear among the monastic and collegiate churches of Cornwall in Domesday².

¹ Duine, *Mem.*, No. 84. The words constitute a problem not easy of solution. There is an early tradition that one of Samson's cousins was called *Magloire*, and an 11th century gloss to c.2 of the *Vita Samsonis* tells us that the eldest son of his aunt Afrella was "called Maglorius" (See Fawtier, p.100). Maglorius was afterwards regarded as Samson's successor in the see of Dol, and assumed more and more importance in the story of S. Samson. In the 14th century John of Tynemouth, in his analysis of the *Vita Samsonis* (printed in *Nova Legenda Anglie*), begins with the words "*Sanctus Sampson . . . beati Maglorii consanguineus extitit*," and we have the fully elaborated legend in Albert Le Grand's "*Vie de Saint Magloire, deuxième Archevesque de Dol, le 24 Octobre*." *Melor* is a later form of the name *Magloire*, but do "*Sanctus Melorius*" and "*Maglorius*" represent the same person? There is a Saint-Meloir-des-Ondes between Dol and St Malo.

² For Southill, see Mr Henderson's Notes on p. 32. The cult of S Samson continued in full vigour at Southill down to the time of the Reformation, and the earlier pages of Southill Baptismal Register show that *Sampson* was a favourite Christian name there in the 16th century. It is still (perhaps for this reason) a common surname in Cornwall. The Rector of Southill (Revd. R. W. Marsh) has carefully examined the Registers for me, and has found that between the years 1556 and 1651, the name Sampson occurs 75 times in the Baptismal Register. In 1563 five children received the name of their patron saint. He says "the name is always spelt SAMPSON."

The claims of Southill seem overwhelming. On the other hand, Golant has a cave¹ which answers much better than anything at Southill to our author's description of that inhabited by the serpent. It is half a mile from the church, by the river, 2 minutes' walk from the railway station. It is a large and a very long cavern, and from the roof water drips unceasingly, both summer and winter, which seems exactly what the writer of the *Vita Samsonis* describes in c. 52—*quasi de nimbo guttam*. (The *Holy Well* is at the church). Moreover it is hard to avoid the conclusion that he had the Fowey in his mind when picturing the saint leaving Guedian and his party *at the river* before tackling the serpent. The river at Southill (the Lynher) is only a stream, and is some distance from the holy well. The latter is



CHURCH OF SAINT SAMPSON, GOLANT

Photo by Kathleen Rundell, Par

situated below the church, apparently in a little recess which might be described as a "cave," but not as an "impenetrable" or "horrible" one,—it is a pretty grotto full of lovely ferns. The water is still used for baptisms in Southill church. Here then we must leave this problem. The monastery mentioned by our author may have been at Golant, but there must have been another and more important one at Southill.

It remains to discuss the dedications to Samson and his companions in Cornwall which are not referred to in the *Vita Samsonis*.

¹ The cave, which is at the bottom of the cliff, a few feet from the river (opposite Hay Point, down which a trackway comes—there is a paved ford not far away), resembles a mine adit, but there are no mines in the parish. A local farmer says it has probably been formed by a spring in the hill, but perhaps deepened by searchers for slate. There is a tradition that it formerly reached to Torfrey House.

There is an "Ile Sant-Sanson" mentioned in a mediæval prose romance called "Folie Tristan." We shall speak of this later. (see p. 26).

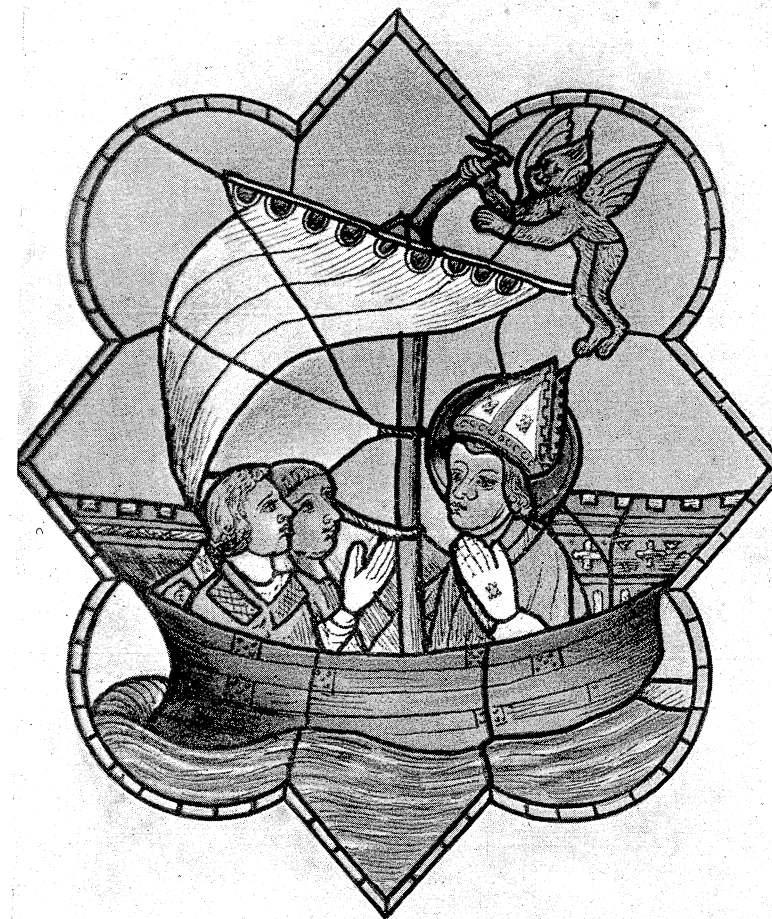
There is an island of Samson in the Scillies, well-known owing to its being the scene of the first half of Sir Walter Besant's novel *Armored of Lyonesse*. In a Bull of Pope Celestin III, dated 29 May 1193, it is called "insula Sancti Sampsonis." It has been suggested that our saint retired there during Lent, as did Dubricius in the *Insula Pyronis*: but it is a very long way from the scene of his labours in East Cornwall, though it is true that a saint honoured in Scilly, —S. Elidius, had a chapel dedicated to him in the East Cornwall parish of St Mellion. It may be observed that another island in Scilly, now called "St Martin's," was formerly named after a saint of the north coast of Brittany—S. Maudetus.

Finally, there was a chapel of S. Samson at Lelissick (or Cove) in the parish of Padstow. "It stood near a little stream just behind the present Coastguard station and close to the brink of the harbour." There are no remains of it now, but it seems to have remained intact down to the 18th century, as it is shown in old maps. It was one of the huge number of shrines which surrounded the famous monastery founded by the chief saint of Cornwall—S. Petroc. Now at first sight we are strongly tempted to rank this chapel among the "chapelles cotières" which, as the late M. Largillière showed, so often in Brittany mark the landing-place of a missionary. Here, we think, is the site of S. Samson's landing-place, as S. Samson's church at Golant is the site of his embarkation, more especially as in the *Vita Petroci* we are shown a Samson building this very chapel and welcoming S. Petroc at it. But when we study more closely the story there told, we find that, instead of confirming our surmise, it leads us to doubt its being really grounded in fact. In the *Vita Petroci* Samson is not a bishop, travelling at the head of a large party of relatives and disciples, but a solitary hermit who has been endeavouring, unassisted, for some considerable time, to build a tiny oratory. The author of the *Vita Petroci* may have been a Breton. In any case he must have known Brittany, and if he had been told at Padstow that the chapel at Lelissick was dedicated to the most famous of all the Breton saints, the great "Archbishop of Dol," he would have said so, instead of representing him, as he has done, as living a solitary life in Cornwall for 37 years. It seems more reasonable, then, to think that the Samson honoured at Lelissick was a Pembrokeshire saint connected with S. Petroc¹. Breton tradition however associates the great S. Samson with S. Petroc. There was a priory of S. Petroc near Dol (a local legend even says that S. Petroc lent his donkey to S. Samson to build Dol cathedral!) and the cult of S. Petroc is also associated with that of Samson's relative S. Mewan, so it will be wise to keep an open mind on this point².

¹ See "Saint Petroc," Petroc, No. 11 in my "Cornish Saints" series, p.18 (2nd ed., 1930).

² *ib.* pp. 4, 5, 32.

We have seen that a cousin of S. Samson is patron of the nearest church to S. Samson's Southill. A careful study of the map of Cornwall suggests that other members of his party, which, as the *Vita* expressly states, was a large one, may have founded churches in Cornwall at the same time¹. S. Mewan and his godson S. Austol have



SAINT SAMSON SAILING TO BRITTANY

Medallion of 13th Century glass in East Window of Dol Cathedral

¹ The *Vita Secunda* describes the Saint, while awaiting the completion of his monastery, in the famous cave (at Golant or Southill) working a miracle to feed "his disciples" who "were ranging the whole neighbourhood to preach the word of salvation to the peoples." (c. 17).

In my "S. Meriadoc," I have shown that S. Meriadoc and S. Gwinear, like Samson and his companions, were Welsh Saints who founded churches in Cornwall and then went on to Brittany.

churches only a few miles west of Golant, and S. Mewan, as his *Vita* tells us, was a relative of S. Samson, and employed by him on a diplomatic mission in Brittany. Dom Plaine, in a list of Samson's disciples which he gives (unfortunately without mentioning his authorities) on p. xxviii of his introduction to his edition of the *Vita Secunda*, records "S. Suliac (Sulinus), 3 October," said to have founded a monastery near Dol (he is mentioned in one version of the *Vita Maglorii*). It is possible that we have here the eponym of Luxulyan, which is also near Golant. The official patron of St Winnow, opposite Golant and connected with it by a ford, is a well-known Breton saint. S. Pinnock is invoked in a Breton Litany, and the names of the Cornish parishes of Lanlivery, Lanivet and Lewannick, all near Golant or Southill, are found on the north coast of Brittany as Lanlivry, Lannevet and Louannec. The original patron of Fowey was the Glamorgan saint Barry, after whom Barry Island is called, now displaced by the better-known St Bar of Cork.

The *Vita* then relates how Samson continues his voyage¹ and lands in Brittany. It is characteristic of the author's method of writing that he gives us no hint that the saint stayed some considerable time in Guernsey on the way, until, towards the end of the first part of his work, he casually mentions that Samson, passing by *Angia* and *Lesia* (Jersey and Guernsey) some years later, recruited an army for Judual among the inhabitants, "those men being well-known to S. Samson."²

The rest of the story of Samson's life, though it must have been the most important in his career,—the foundation of the great abbeys of Dol in Brittany and Pental in Normandy, and the saint's espousal of the cause of the Domnonian prince Judual against Commorus, and visit to the Merovingian court at Paris, is passed over rapidly, as being familiar and therefore less interesting to our author's Breton readers. A word must be said about the foundation of Pental, as it shows how widespread was S. Samson's influence. After winning his cause at Paris, he obtained from King Hiltbert (Childebert)³ a grant of land in Normandy, where the Risle enters the estuary of the Seine, and founded an abbey there, called Pental—the name seems to be derived from the Breton *peniti*. Although this monastery was destroyed by the Northmen in the 9th century and was never rebuilt, three parishes surrounding it—St Samson-sur-Risle, St Samson-la-Roque, and Le Marais-Verdier, remained as an *enclave* of the diocese

¹ No doubt he embarked at Golant. Fowey, as Leland remarks, was still the port for Brittany in the 16th century.

² In Part II of the *Vita* we are told how Samson abolished the heathen observances of the First of January in Lesia. S. Samson is the patron of one of the ten parishes of the island of Guernsey (there is also a *Port St Samson* there), and there was a chapel of St Magloire. The two saints are by tradition the apostles of Guernsey. In Guernsey the name is usually spelt SAMPSON. In the Coutances Episcopal Registers the church is called *Ecclesia Sancti Sansonis in Guerneseyo*. The church has a mediaeval chalice, repaired in 1614, which has an inscription *Sum eccles. Divi Sampsonis* 1614. For the history of this church, see Mr. W. H. Auger's *St Sampson's Church, Guernsey* (1914), and *Dacey's Hist. Account of Guernsey*, 1751.)

³ The Comte de Calan thinks that this was Childebert II (575-596).

of Dol right down to the time of the French Revolution, though separated from Dol by the whole of Lower Normandy. It is an interesting example of how topography preserves the memory of historical events of which often no written record remains¹. S. Samson was honoured in other parts of Normandy, as was his relative and companion S. Mewan². West of Pental, he is honoured in the diocese of Bayeux at Saint-Samson-de-Troarn (a few miles east of Caen), and he is patron of Aulnay-sur-Odon, S.W. of Caen, and of two adjacent parishes, Arclais and Mont-Chauvet, near Bénv-Bocage, again to the S.W. There is also a Fort-Samson near Bayeux. Still further west, in the diocese of Coutances he is patron of St Sanson-du-bon-fossé near St Lô, and of Carneville east of Cherbourg, of Anneville-sur-mer and Geffosses; and in the diocese of Avranches there are a Fontaine St Samson, a statue of the saint in the church of Marcey and one in that of Boisyvon, and a parish where he is patron, called Angey (between Avranches and Granville) which also has a Croix-St-Samson. In the diocese of Rouen he is patron of Saint-Samson-en-Bray, in the commune of La Ferté-Saint-Samson, between Forge-les-Eaux and Argueil. The Abbeys of St Wandrille and Mont St Michel also possessed some relics of the saint. Many of these places in Normandy must have been visited by him when at Pental. Close to the southern border of Normandy is a S. Samson at Prez-en-Pail. La Roche-Guyon, near Mantes, between Rouen and Paris, possessed one of his arms. North of Paris, in the diocese of Beauvais, he is patron of Clermont, and of St-Samson-sur-Thérain in the canton of La Formerie: in the diocese of Amiens the parishes of Bouillancourt, Moyenneville and Soupplicourt, and the chapels of La Faloise and Monts de Caubert were dedicated to him. At Orleans he was formerly patron of one of the city parishes and a priory, and has given his name to a hamlet in the commune of Olivet, and to Ezerville-St-Samson and Oinville-St-Samson, near Pithiviers.

At Angers is a little church in the Jardin des Plantes, now used as a tool-house, dedicated to him. It adjoins the great Abbey of St Serge. This is a most interesting fact, because in the Middle Ages S. Samson's Golant was a chapelry of Tywardreath, which belonged to the Abbey of St Serge at Angers. A 10th century sacramentary of

¹ At Saint-Samson de la Roque, a number of Merovingian sarcophagi were unearthed in 1905 and 1922. See Dr Coutan, *La Question de Pental* (Rouen, Lecerf, 1926.)

Our author relates in the second part of his work two anecdotes about the Saint's cross, "which he was wont always to have borne before him." and which had been preserved at Dol after his death, as a relic, encased in gold and silver and precious stones. It was one day stolen, but the thief was found next day dead in a frozen pond. Under Bishop Loucher this cross, he tells us, being brought, together with the saint's *baculus*, miraculously extinguished a fire in the Abbey. (For interesting details about the crosses and *bachalls* of Celtic saints, see Dom Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands* (1932), pp. 351-354.)

² An interesting study could be written on the work of Celtic saints in pre-Norman Neustria. S. Maclou is patron of the chief parish church in the city of Rouen.

the Church of Angers contains the name of our saint in the prayer *Libera nos, quaesumus* which follows the Pater Noster after the canon of the mass.

Dom Plaine gives a list of 26 churches and chapels in the north and east of Brittany dedicated to our saint. He was honoured in Ireland, in Italy and in Bavaria. Is there any Celtic saint (except S. Bridget) whose cult is so widespread? Truly, as Duine says, "in the 16th century S. Samson was one of the great names of Europe."

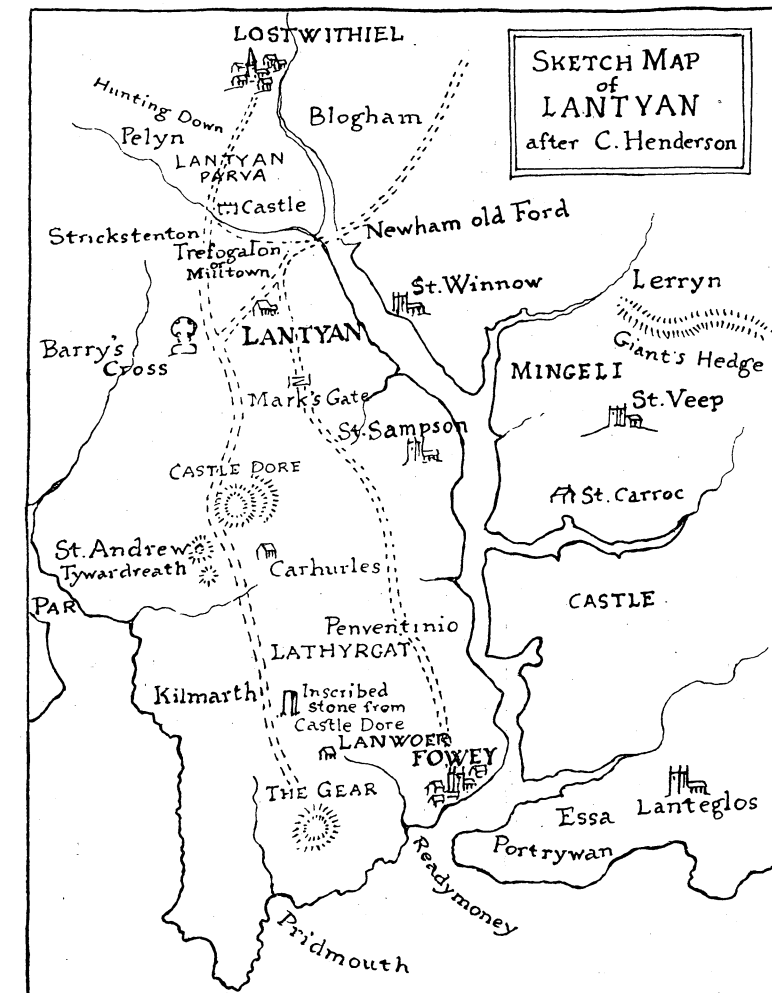
Before taking leave of the *Vita Samsonis*, I should like to point out how valuable it is for the student. Though its author's literary powers are almost *nil*, though his incoherences are as puzzling as his style is barbarous, though he mixes pure legend with genuine history, it does beyond all doubt give us a view of British Christianity before the final triumph of the Anglo-Saxons and the devastations of the Norse invasions. The writer, as even M. Fawtier concedes, had spent some time in Wales and Cornwall, and is the first visitor to tell us anything of the history of our county. Llantwit, though not in her first glory, was still a "splendid monastery" of Celtic monks. S. Samson's footprints were still pointed out in Cornwall, and there were vivid recollections of persons connected with his work there. There was constant intercourse between the three British lands, and monks passed to and fro continually across the Severn Sea and the English Channel. The reader, if he can get over the author's uncouth style, ill chosen words and badly arranged narrative, will finish the book with an impression of Welsh mountains and forests, in whose recesses are witches as well as seers and hermits, of Cornish estuaries and moorlands, of solemn services in the churches of Celtic monasteries, and of journeys in Gaul by a saint who was obviously a man of immense energy and activity, a born leader of men, who was also a man of visions and ecstasies and who was said to be attended by angels whenever he ministered at the altar: and he will have caught a glimpse, fleeting but precious, of the great emigration to Armorica and the foundation of Christian Cornwall and Christian Brittany.

We have seen how topography confirms these impressions and shows us numerous traces of our saint's passage in Wales, Cornwall and Brittany. In conclusion we must add that the capital importance of S. Samson's work in Armorica and Neustria is further proved by the exceptional honour accorded him in ancient liturgical books.¹ From the 10th century onwards the sacramentaries used in the Churches of Northern and Western France and Southern England contain particularly ample provision of proper collects, prefaces, etc. for his feast, and he is invoked in a great many litanies. The student will find full details in the late M. Duine's *Inventaire Liturgique de l'Hagiographie Bretonne* and *Culte de S. Samson à la fin du X^e siècle*.

¹ In the Hieronymian Martyrology, under 28th July, appears the entry *In Britannia Dolo monasterio sancti Samson abbatis et episcopi*. (The MS of Berne calls him "confessor," that of Wolfenbüttel "abbot.")

CHAPTER II.

THE great scholar who has helped us so much in identifying the Cornish scenes of the *Life of S. Samson* is also our chief guide in localising the episodes of the other story with which the parish of S. Sampson's Golant is associated,—the story, in great part poetical fiction but in part perhaps based on historical events, of



Tristan and Iseult. It was M. Loth who discovered that in the original form of the story the residence of King Mark, the husband of Iseult,¹ was, not at Tintagel, but at Lantyan in the parish of St Sampson's², and that almost every other place mentioned in the

¹ *Iseult* is a Cornish name. A charter of 967 mentions a Ryt-Eselt in the Meneage.

² *Contributions à l'étude des Romans de la Table Ronde*, p. 72. Lancien is only mentioned in Bérout and in *Tristan menestrel*.

poem "Le Roman de Tristan," written in French verse by a writer called Bérout in the 12th century, is to be found in Cornwall. The forest of Morois turns out to be the ancient woodland, clothing both sides of the Truro River, of whose existence the name *Moresk*, still in use at Truro, is a continual reminder, so that there is no longer any need to go and look for it on the shores of the Moray Firth! The hermit in the forest who undertakes to provide Iseult with suitable clothing goes to the Market "at the Mount" which gives *Marazion* its name. The "Mal Pas" or Dangerous Passage by planks across the mud flats of the Truro River, across which Tristan, disguised as a leper, carries Iseult, is no longer in use, but its name survives in *Malpas*. *Blanchelande*, to which the Queen goes to purge herself by ordeal after crossing the Mal Pas (she swears "by S. Ylaire," i.e. S. Hilary) is a manor in the parish of Kea. And *Lancien*, the residence of King Mark, mentioned five times in the poem, is *Lantyan* in the parish of St Sampson's, and when the Queen rides to church with the barons "along the street strewn" with flowers and hung with tapestry, "they go to the minster of St Sampson's,"¹ where she offers to the Bishop a piece of rich cloth, afterwards made into a chasuble and used there on great feasts,—"it is still at St Sampson's," says the poet, "as those who have seen it say."² King Mark swears "by S. Andrew" and "by S. Stephen the Martyr," the patron saints of the adjoining parishes of Tywardreath and St Stephen's-in-Brannel. Tristan and le Morholt fight a duel on the *Ile Sant-Sanson*, which was probably in the Fowey and has since disappeared, for it was near Lancien, and the citizens of Lancien watch anxiously the combat from the shore.

Unfortunately the pleasure we feel at finding that the scene of this famous romance is laid in Cornwall, where it must originally have been composed, and that the different incidents in it take place in spots so well known to us all, is slightly damped by the discovery, when we examine the poem more closely, that Bérout cannot have known Cornwall, and must have written his poem in France³. He imagines S. Sampson's to be a cathedral, and Lancien a city, and he clearly did not know the exact whereabouts of the places he names. No doubt there was an older poem, altered and adapted by him, in which the details were more accurate, and one day we may be able to learn the truth about King Mark⁴ and his palace of Lantyan. Scholars have made most valuable discoveries for us. We have learnt something about mediæval Cornwall of the date when the French romances were written, and about the earlier Cornwall in which the personages whose adventures are described in the Arthurian stories lived but, as I said at the beginning, we do not know enough

¹ "la rue mot bien jonchie s'en vont au mostier Saint Sanson."

² "encore est ele d Saint Sanson."

³ He knows St Trémur of Carhaix and St Lubin in Brittany, and St Evroul in Normandy.

⁴ *Kilmarth* (Kil-March) close by in the parish of Tywardreath, must mean, M. Loth says, "Mark's place of retreat."

yet to get a clear-cut and consistent view of these remote times. Patient searching may reward us by further discoveries.

One of the most promising directions in which to look for clues is to be found in the examination of ancient charters and deeds recording the tenure of land, and of the place-names mentioned in them. The late Mr Charles Henderson has left us some notes on the parish of St Sampson and of the places within it, which contain some most suggestive facts, confirming what the study of *Lives of Saints* and of mediæval Romances has already taught us. We shall see that the place-names of the parish show traces of the existence of ancient castles, one of which seems to bear the Arthurian name of Gorlois, and of numerous crosses, indicative of the importance and antiquity of its ecclesiastical associations. Two names commemorate King Mark. An inscribed stone *may* commemorate Tristan. I have reproduced a map Mr Henderson drew in 1927 as "an attempt to indicate those places in the neighbourhood of Lantyan which seem to have relation to the Tristan Legend," with his "explanation."

NOTES BY THE LATE

MR. CHARLES HENDERSON

ON THE

PARISHES OF ST. SAMPSON, GOLANT, AND ST. SAMPSON, SOUTHILL.

Parochia Sancti Sampsonis 1327. *Seynt Sampson* 1541. *Gollenant* 1421
(Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 15355). *Gullant* 1509.

The meaning of Golant, *vulgo* G'lant, is obscure. The name was formerly applied only to the hamlet below the church on the shore of the Fowey River. The last syllable of the word is possibly *Nant*=a valley. Since the 15th century, however, the secular *Golant* has tended more and more to displace the ecclesiastical *S. Sampson* as the name of the parish.

Saint Samson is, of course, the patron of the church, which was a chapelry to Tywardreath. It was, however, a civil parish before 1327, when the *Parochia Sancti Sampsonis* is named in the Subsidy Roll. The churchtown farm, now part of Penquite, was formerly called *Saint Sampson*. It belonged to the Priory of Tywardreath, and it was, perhaps, in right of this tenement that the Priory possessed the advowson. So early as 1281 the *Capella Sancti Sampsonis* is named as annexed to Tywardreath Church. Its people contributed towards the Mother Church until 1508 (e.g. in 1480 they gave £4 and £10 to the building of the aisle and tower at Tywardreath, and paid for a window with a figure of S. Sampson in it). But in 1508, having rebuilt their own church, they refused to contribute anything towards the new roodscreen at Tywardreath. The churchwardens of

Tywardreath sued them in the Consistory Court, but the only result was to ventilate their very real grievances. The Bishop (Oldham) ordered that their new church should be consecrated, and also its cemetery (previously it had not enjoyed right of sepulture), thereby making their dependance on Tywardreath a mere formality. Possibly it had been independent in Celtic times. One would expect it to have been the manorial church of Lantyan, the paramount manor of the parish. There is no proof that Tywardreath church existed before the Conquest: the dedication is to S. Andrew, not to any Celtic Saint, and there is no Celtic name indicating a religious settlement in the near vicinity. It is possible, therefore, that S. Sampson is the true mother church and that it originally included Tywardreath.

PLACENAMES IN THE PARISH.

CARHURLES. This adjoins Castle Dore and is, perhaps, the ancient name of the earthwork. Is it *Car-Gorlois*, i.e., Castle of Gorlois? (In 1540 and 1645 spelt as at present, held of Lantyan Manor.)

CASTLEDOOR (or DORE). Compare with *Pilfer Door* (a field name in Lantyan) and *Power Door* in Little Pinnicks in Tywardreath.

GOLANT. *Golovante* alias *Golevante* 1540. *Golonant* 1471. *Gullant* 1509. *Golant* 1570. *Gowlante* 1573. (In 1570 Bulhill Haye.)

LANTYAN¹. *Landian* 1271 (Ped. Fin. 239). *Nauntean Parva* 1262 (P. F. 191). *Nanstian* 1270. *Nantian* 1290. *Lantyan* 1340. It has a field called *Barrs Cross Close*, and another called "Piskey Lane Field."

LAWHIBBET. *Lahibet* 1636. *Lewhippet* 1682. On this estate is a field called "Castle Meadow" or "Rounds."

LAYAWN. *Lanywan* 1327.

LESKERNICK. On this farm is a field called "Cross Park" or "Church Park."

MARKS GATE. (On Lantyan.)

TORFREY. *Trefry* 1636. It has a field called "Parkenconstable" and another called "Cross Park," and a lane called "Piskey Lane," also "Martin's Well."

(*Lahibet* and *Lanywan* appear to be *Lan* names, of ecclesiastical origin, *Les* suggests a Chief's courthouse.)

The map on p. 25 is an attempt to indicate those places in the neighbourhood of Lantyan which seem to have relation to the Tristan Legend. Some explanation may be necessary.

¹ Lancien is a name found in Brittany. A man called Guenolé Lancien was living in the parish of Melgven, near Rosporden (Finistère) in 1692. (Lancien is the spelling of Lantyan in Beroul.) But it may be "l'Ancien" (Breton 'Coz.')

Great Lantyan and Lantyan Parva are shown with the stream running between them and Castle on its bank, where Mark's "Palace" probably stood. The stream falls into the River Fowey, and near it is an ancient ford leading to Newham, on the St Winnow bank. This was Lantyan Passage. At one time the tide must have flowed some way up the Lantyan Valley, perhaps as far as Castle.

The ancient roads of the district are shown by dotted lines. The old road from Lostwithiel to Fowey (now a mere lane) passed through Castle, Lantyan, and so to Penventinio or "Pennytinny."

Another ancient road or ridgeway is the present main road. This passed Barr's or Barry's Cross, which stood at the top of Lantyan lane but has been moved to Menabilly; and further on is the great fortress of Castle Dore, with a smaller earthwork quite near it.

Castle Dore may have been used by King Mark as his stronghold but the name "Carhurles" suggests a connection with Gorlois, the King of Cornwall, who was attacked by Uther Pendragon, the father of Arthur. The well-known inscribed stone that once stood at Castle Dore is now set up outside Menabilly Gate. The inscription has now been authoritatively pronounced to read "*Drustagni Fili Cunomori*."¹ The stone was once surmounted by a cross and might well date from the time of King Mark, who bore the alternative name of *Cunomor*. Still more curious is the fact that *Drustagn* is the archaic form of *Tristan*.

The country east of the Fowey is defended on the land side by that mysterious earthwork, the Giant's Hedge, extending from Lerryn to Looe. Whether this was continued across the Fowey and so to Par Bay is uncertain.

Lathyrgat and *Lanwoer* are the old names of *Lanheriot* and *Lawhire*. Near the latter are faint traces of an entrenchment called the Gear (i.e. *Caer*=castle) in a field called Combe Farm. This was probably the objective of the ridgeway from Castle Dore, as it guarded the little harbour of Pridmouth (a name anciently written *Porth-Rediman*, and therefore akin to the neighbouring cove-name *Ready-money*).

Polruan, anciently *Port-Rywan*, is probably an older place than Fowey. It might conceivably mean "the Roman Port," for traces of Roman influence have been found round the haven mouth. *Essa*, which once included Polruan, was written *Ussa* (pronounced *Usha*) in the 13th century, and is probably the estuary town of *Uxella*, mentioned by Ptolemy as lying west of the Tamar so long ago as A.D. 120. The name is old Celtic for *water*. (Fr. Grosjean writes, "*uxella* is a form of a well-known Gaulish word, found in place-names, and meaning 'high'; Welsh *uchel*. G.H.D.")

¹ Professor Macalister, however, says that it is not *Drustagni*, but *Cirusinius*. (*Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1929, p. 181.)—G. H. D.



INSCRIBED STONE FORMERLY AT CASTLE DORE, GOLANT
(showing Tau Cross)

Photo by Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, F.S.A., Editor of "Antiquity"



INSCRIBED STONE FORMERLY AT CASTLE DORE, GOLANT
(showing inscription "Cirusinius Fili Cunomori")

Photo by Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, F.S.A., Editor of "Antiquity"

Suthulle 1270. *Southulle* 1288. *St Samson de Southulle* 1333.

SOUTHILL, the mother church of Callington, lies in the Hundred and Deanery of East Wivelshire. The benefice is a Rectory, formerly attached to the Manor of Callyland or Kallilond. That a church existed here in Celtic times is probable, for S. Sampson is the patron, and on the extensive glebe, measuring no less than 205 acres, is his Holy Well. In the churchyard (formerly in the Rectory garden) is a most valuable Romano-British inscribed stone, discovered in 1891. The inscription, in two vertical lines, *Cumregni Fili Mauci*, is surmounted by the Chi-Rho monogram. (See Victoria County History of Cornwall, p. 423).

In 1288 the *Ecclesia de Southulle* was assessed at £5 . 13 . 4.



CHURCH OF SAINT SAMPSON, SOUTHILL

On 4 November 1333 Bishop Grandisson dedicated the "*majus altare ecclesie parochialis Sancti Sampsonis de Southulle in Cornubia*." In 1466 Nicholas Ayshton of Callington bequeathed "to the Church of Southill (*ad opus ecclesie*) and to the Store of St Sampson there 2s." Callington had to come in procession to Southill on S. Sampson's day (28 July).

The *Terrier* of 1601 mentions "a close called Sampson Well Parke," also a "Cross Parke."

In the parish is a *Tregunnet* (cf. Langunnet in St Veep and Langonnet in Brittany.)

AN ARCHITECTURAL ACCOUNT OF THE PARISH CHURCH OF S. SAMPSON OF GOLANT.

The parish church of S. Sampson was a chapelry of Tywardreath until the latter part of Henry VII's reign. The present building contains nothing of S. Sampson's day, in fact nothing earlier than the end of the 14th, or the beginning of the 15th century, and almost all of it is of the late 15th and the early 16th centuries. It was consecrated with its cemetery in 1509.

The church is true to the traditional Keltic plan, and consists of a two staged West tower, Nave, South porch, and aisle that is divided from the nave by an exquisitely proportioned arcade of seven arches. The building was over much "restored" in 1842 when the old screens, the pulpit, and the copy of King Charles the Martyr's letter of thanks to the Cornish people for their loyalty, all being decayed, were needlessly removed through the lack of scientific knowledge of those who were in charge of the repair work.

The roofs are of special interest and beauty: the inscription carved on the nave wall plates records that it was given by the gilds of S. Katherine, S. James, S. John the Baptist, All Saints, S. George, and S. Eloy (*i.e.*, Eligius bishop of Noyon), and the South aisle roof by the Colquite family, names of which precede wording that has been read as "*S. Sampson ora pro animabus*"—S. Sampson pray for their souls. During the restoration the inscribed plates were replaced out of order, so that the wording does not now read correctly.

The church is faced with granite, the rich texture of which should be noted. Of this material, also, is the octagonal font. In the North window of the chancel there is some mediaeval stained glass depicting the figures of S. Sampson and S. Anthony. At a "restoration," by a strange perversity, the old bench ends (some 19, mostly complete) were used to form chancel desks and a pulpit instead of being employed for the purpose for which they were made. They are well worthy of study, the subjects being the letter "M" for Mary, the Lily for "the Annunciation of our Lady" (to use the Prayer Book term) and that most usual Cornish subject, the emblems of the Passion and the Crucifixion. This woodwork and the roof were made about King Henry VII's time. The beautiful 18th century altar rails and some interesting co-eval pews should be noted.

On the West side of the porch is the interesting Holy Well with a 15th century arched cover over it: anciently there was a passage connecting it to the porch, which was destroyed when the latter was partly rebuilt at the "restoration."

M. H. N. C. ATCHLEY.

CRICKLADE.

Cricklade is mentioned twice in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (in 905 and in 1016), in each case as a place where the Thames could be crossed by an army. It was a coinage town. Under Ethelred the Unready, five moneyers were at work there. Cricklade coins have been found all over Scandinavia. The British Museum has four coins of Canute minted at Cricklade, eight of Edward the Confessor, and three of William the Conqueror and William Rufus.

In Domesday we find that the church at Cricklade belonged to S. Peter's Westminster, which also owned many burgages there and took the third penny of the town. The arms of Westminster Abbey are still to be seen in the lantern of the tower of S. Sampson's church. Nothing appears to be known of the origin of this magnificent church, but two stones over the inner doorway of the north porch are believed to be 10th century, and one of them is thought to have formed part of a Runic cross. In 1427 Sir Walter Hungerford obtained a grant from the Crown of the manor of Cricklade, and in his will (he died



CHURCH OF SAINT SAMPSON, CRICKLADE (Wilts.)

in 1449) he gave the advowson of the church of S. Sampson, with the Parsonage and lands and the rectorial tithes, to the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury. Ever since, the living has been a Vicarage.

Dr Browne, late Bishop of Bristol, endeavoured to place at Cricklade the site of the meeting between Augustine of Canterbury and the British bishops, but with no more positive evidence than Camden (*Britannia*, p. 257) had for believing that Cricklade was the original seat of the University of Oxford!

THE LITURGICAL CULTUS OF S. SAMPSON
IN THE BRITISH ISLES.

In the liturgical books S. Sampson's name is to be found in England in the Kalendar in King Athelstan's *Psalter* (Cotton Ms. Galba A. XVIII), written in the early 10th century. (It may be a French insertion in the *Kalendar of Achery*, see p. 7.)

There are at least 14 Kalendars and Litanies of the Anglo-Saxon period, whose provenance ranges from the West Country to Canterbury, and from Worcester to Lincolnshire, that contain S. Sampson's name. In one, a Missal Kalendar (Cambridge C. C. C. Ms. No. 422, circa A.D. 1061) he is referred to as "bishop of York." The 12th century Missal Kalendar of York (Surtees Soc.: 59) gives his name, as does the 15th century *Manuale Precum* (Harl. Ms. 2885) also of York provenance, which is not surprising since one of the churches of the city of York is dedicated in his honour.

In the mediaeval days more than half the English Kalendars include his name, as do about 4 Scottish ones of this period. But perhaps the most interesting is his post-Reformation cultus, for his name is found in the Kalendars of the Elizabethan devotional works such as *Precum Publicarum* A.D. 1560, and *Orarium* of the same date, *Preces Privatae* A.D. 1564, and the Book of Common Prayer of 1617.

There were relics of S. Sampson in many of the great mediaeval churches: e.g. Canterbury and Salisbury Cathedrals, Glastonbury Abbey, and Milton Abbas Church in Dorset.

In art there have been many representations of him. The people of St Sampson's, Cornwall, paid for a stained glass window portraying him for Tywardreath Church about 1480 and as late as 1774 there was a painting of him on a board at Milton Abbas church. In St Mary Magdalene, Wiggenshall, in Norfolk, there is a small figure of S. Sampson in stained glass.

M. H. N. C. ATCHLEY.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

- FAWTIER (ROBERT), *La Vie de Saint Samson* (Paris, Librairie Champion, 1912).
 DOM PLAINE, *La Très Ancienne Vie inédite de S. Samson* (Paris, Retaux, 1887). He prints the *Vita Secunda*.
 LOTH (JOSEPH), *La Vie la plus Ancienne de Saint Samson de Dol* (Paris, Champion, 1914 and 1923). Two separate articles, both essential for the student.
Fanum et simulacrum, in *Revue Archéologique* (Paris, Leroux, 1924.)
Les Noms des Saints Bretons (Paris, Champion, 1910,) also in *Revue Celtique*.
Contributions à l'étude des Romans de la Table Ronde (Paris, Champion, 1912.)
 DUINE (ABBÉ F.), *Origines Bretonnes* (Paris, Champion, 1914.)
Memento des Sources Hagiographiques de la Bretagne (Rennes, Bahon-Rault, 1918.)
Inventaire Liturgique de l'Hagiographie Bretonne (Paris, Champion, 1922.)
Saints de Domnonée.
Le Culte de Saint Samson à la fin du Xe siècle (Rennes, Oberthur, 1902.)
Saint Samson en Angleterre (Rennes, Simon, 1900.)
La Vie de Saint Samson, à propos d'un ouvrage récent (in *Annales de Bretagne*, April, 1913.)

TAYLOR (Canon T.), *The Life of St Samson of Dol* (S.P.C.V., 1925.)

WADE-EVANS (Rev. A. W.), *Welsh Christian Origins* (Oxford, Alden Press, 1934.)

DOM. GOUGAUD, *Christianity in Celtic Lands* (London, Sheed & Ward, 1932.)

BARING-GOULD and FISHER, *Lives of the British Saints* (London, 1907.)

CORNISH CHURCH GUIDE (Truro, 1925.)

MURET (ERNEST), *Bérout, Le Roman de Tristan* (Paris, Champion, 1922.)

DOBLE (Canon G. H.) "*Cornish Saints*" series, No. 11, "*S Petrock*" (2nd ed., 1930.)
No. 12, "*S. Docco and S. Kew.*"

Dedications to Saint Samson in Brittany, in alphabetical order, with the diocese in which each was found before the Revolution (from Dom Plaine).

- (1) AVESSAC, near Redon (diocese of Nantes). The Cartulary of Redon shows there was a *Monasterium S. Samsonis* here.
- (2) BIEUZI, near Pontivy (diocese of Vannes). Chapel now destroyed.
- (3) BOBITAL, near Dinan (enclave of Dol in diocese of St Malo). Patron of the parish.
- (4) ILE DE BREHAT, near Paimpol (enclave of Dol in diocese of St. Brieuc) Chapel now destroyed.
- (5) DOL. S Samson was patron both of the city and the diocese.
- (6) FONTENELLE, near Antrain (enclave of Dol in diocese of Rennes, Patron of the parish. There is a Holy Well of S. Samson.
- (7) HELLEAN near Josselin (diocese of St Malo). Patron of the parish.
- (8) ILLIFAUT (enclave of Dol in diocese of St Malo). Patron of the parish.
- (9) KERITY near Paimpol (enclave of Dol in diocese of St. Brieuc). Patron of the parish.
- (10) LANDUNVÉZ near Brest (diocese of Léon). Chapel.
- (11) LANVELLEC between Lannion and Morlaix (enclave of Dol in diocese of Tréguier). Patron of the parish.
- (12) LANVEZEAC east of Lannion (enclave of Dol in diocese of Tréguier. Patron of the parish.
- (13) NEULLIAC, north of Pontivy (diocese of Vannes). Chapel.
- (14) PLEHEDEL, between Paimpol and St Brieuc (diocese of St Brieuc). Chapel.
- (15) PLEINE-FOUGÈRE (diocese of Dol.) Chapel destroyed, but a *cave baptismale*, called the "Auge St Samson," remains.
- (16) PLEUMOUR-BODOU (diocese of Tréguier). Chapel.
- (17) PLOUARET (diocese of Tréguier). Chapel.
- (18) PLOUGAZNOU (diocese of Tréguier). Chapel.
- (19) PLOUHA (diocese of St Brieuc). Chapel.
- (20) QUEMPEL-GUEZENNEC (diocese of Tréguier). Chapel.
- (21) REDON (diocese of Vannes). Chapel in the Abbey Church.
- (22) SAINT-IDEUC, east of St Malo (enclave of Dol in diocese of St Malo). Patron of the parish.
- (23) SAINT-SAMSON-DE-L'ISLE, west of Pontorson (diocese of Dol). Parish suppressed in 1791. The "cuve St Samson" (*monument historique*) remains, but the church is destroyed.
- (24) SAINT-SAMSON-JOUXTE-LIVET, north of Dinan (enclave of Dol in diocese of St Malo). Patron of parish.
- (25) SAINT-SAMSON-SUR-OUST, north of Rohan (diocese of St. Brieuc). Patron of parish.
- (26) THELOUET, near Paimpont (diocese of St Malo). Chapel destroyed.
There is a *Samzun* in Locmaria-Belle-Ile, and a *Loc-Samzun* in Melrand.