

*à Monsieur le Chanoine Nérennes,
Hommage de l'auteur, G.H. Doble
10 Mars 1933.*
"CORNISH SAINTS" SERIES, No. 30.

(Reprinted from "The Truro Diocesan Gazette," 1933).

SAINT GUDWAL or GURVAL, BISHOP AND CONFESSOR.

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

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



ANCIENT CROSS AT ROSEMORRAN IN GULVAL.

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Author of "S. Mawes," "S. Euny," "S. Budoc," "S. Winwaloe," "S. Corentin," "S. German," "S. Melaine," "S. Gwinear," "SS. Mewan and Austol," "S. Feock," "S. Petrock," "SS. Docco and Kew," "S. Melor," "S. Carantoc," "S. Senan," "S. Nonna," "A John Wesley of Armorican Cornwall," "S. Brioc," "SS. Sithney and Elwin," "S. Selevan," "Four Saints of the Fal," "S. Neot," "S. Cuby," "S. Tudy," "S. Clether," "SS. Nectan and Keyne, and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall," "SS. Constantine and Merryn," "S. Symphorian," "S. Decuman," "S. Perran, S. Keverne and S. Kerrian," "S. Augustine of Canterbury in Anjou," "Les Saints du Cornwall," "Les Saints Bretons," "Two Cornish Parishes in the 18th century," "Breage in the 18th century," etc.

With Notes on Gulval Church and Parish by CHARLES HENDERSON,
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TRURO :
NETHERTON AND WORTH,
LEMON STREET.
1933.



LA BRETAGNE - LES BRETONS
339. LOCOIL-MENDON (Morbihan) - Église de Loccoil



LA BRETAGNE
LES BRETONS
341. LOCOIL-MENDON
(Morbihan)
Ruines du Prieuré
(Mensach Ru)

THE CHURCH AND PRIORY OF LOCOAL (LOCUS GUTUALI) IN BRITTANY.



Document numérisé en 2021

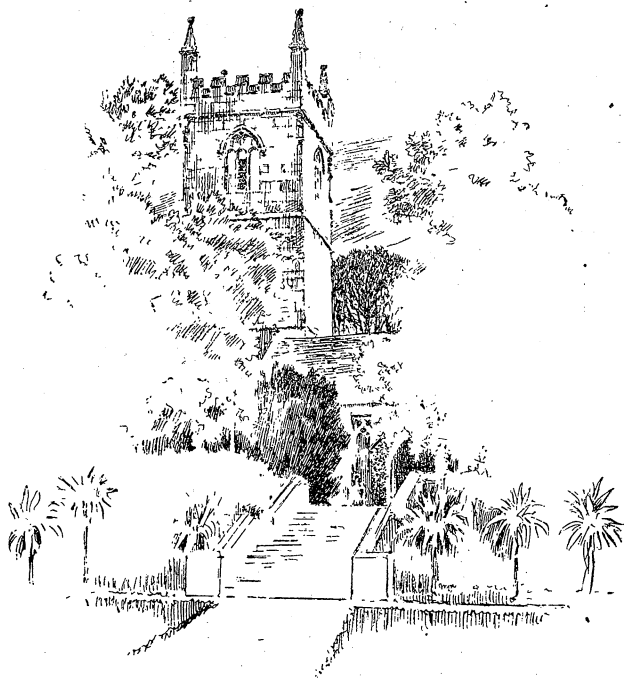
SAINT GUDWAL or GURVAL, Bishop and Confessor.

The parish of Gulval in West Cornwall has been supposed to take its name from a Breton saint Gudwal or Gurval. The *Parochial History of the County of Cornwall* (1) says boldly "the church is dedicated to S. Gudwall, a British saint who flourished in this diocese in the sixth century; his feast was kept on June 6; in an ancient calendar he is styled bishop of S. Malo. S. Gudwall, Gunwall, or Gunvell, was born in Wales about A.D. 500. Being entirely devoted to religion, he collected eighty-eight monks in a little island called Plecit, being no more than a rock surrounded by water. For some reason however, he abandoned this establishment, and passed by sea into Cornwall; and from thence he went into Devonshire;....at length however again emerging, he sailed into Brittany, and there succeeded S. Malo, as bishop of that see, although he is said even then to have dwelt in a solitary cell, and to have died there at a very advanced age. His relics have been widely distributed, and various places in France have been called by his name. There cannot be any doubt of S. Gunwall having bestowed his name on this parish, more especially when the prophetic well is taken into account, since saints scarcely ever failed of imparting some supernatural quality to their favourite streams." (2). When the ancient chalice, paten and flagon were most unfortunately melted down in 1899, the words *ECCLESIAE Sti GULVALIS SIVE*

(1) Wm. Lake, Truro, 1867, II, 116, 120.

(2) A holy well is usually in Cornwall a sign of the sojourn of a Celtic saint in the place, but it does not follow that in this particular instance that saint is S. Gudwall! (There is no authority for *Gunwall* or *Gunvell*).

GUDWALIS were engraved on the new ones made from the original metal. And I think we may agree that the present form of the name *Gulval* is in any case a sign that for the last four hundred years at least the Breton saint has been regarded as the eponyme of this parish. The same tendency to identify the patron saint with a well known Breton saint has been at work in the two neighbouring parishes of Madron and Paul. At Paul St. Pol de Léon has for many hundreds of years been the patron, while as early as the fifteenth century at any rate St. Patern was regarded as the patron of Madron or Maddern. It seems



GULVAL CHURCH, CORNWALL.

therefore worth while to enquire what is known about S. Gudwal as a step towards the solution of the vexed question of the Christian origins of this particularly beautiful and interesting Cornish parish.

I have said that the saint's name is spelt in two different ways, and this at once brings us to an extremely difficult problem, in which scholars take different sides, and not only contradict each other, but sometimes even contradict themselves!(1) The names GUDWAL and GURVAL are found close together in the same part of Brittany, and both names are found in ancient documents. Are these two very similar names different forms of the name of one person, or are they the names of two different saints?

In the later Middle Ages the diocese of Saint-Malo honoured a Saint GURVAL as the successor of Saint Maclovius or Machutus in the see of Aleth. The name *Gurvali episcopi Macloviensis* appears in the calendar of the fifteenth century manuscript missal of Saint-

(1) La Borderie (*Hist. de Bret.*, I, 493) thinks that the two names are the names of different persons. M. Loth (*Noms des Saints Bretons*, p. 44) seems to take the same view, but agrees that *Gudwal* and *Curval* have been identified with each other in Brittany. Duine, in his *Origines Bretonnes* (H. Champion, Paris, 1914) followed M. Loth's opinion, but in his *Memento des sources hagiographiques de l'Histoire de Bretagne* (Rennes, 1918) he says "I am not disposed to believe in the existence of a S. Curval distinct from S. Gudual. The fact that the legend of S. Gurval is quite different to that of S. Gudual proves nothing, since both these legends have their origin in folklore, and are late arrangements of popular traditions by the clergy." M. Charles de Keranflec'h, whose work on the Life of S. Gudwal is quoted at length by La Borderie (see the passage already cited) identifies S. Gudwal with S. Curval, and so does M. Le Mené (*Hist. des paroisses du diocèse de Vannes*, I, 295, 469) who was very familiar with all the Vannes traditions.

Malo under 6 June, and the seventeenth century legendary of that diocese (1) contained three lessons for his festival, which end by stating that he built a monastery in the parish of Guer, in which he died. From them Albert Le Grand has compiled his *Vie de Saint Gurval, Confesseur, Evêque d'Aleth*. (2).

On the other hand, there are numerous calendars which commemorate *on the same day* (6 June) a Saint GUDUAL, and a long *Life* of this saint was written in the twelfth century at the Abbey of SS. Peter and Paul at Ghent, where his body rested. The *Life of S. Gudual* has nothing whatever in common with the *Life of S. Gurval*, except that both describe their hero as a British bishop, the former as a bishop in Great Britain, the latter as the occupant of one of the nine episcopal sees of Little Britain or Brittany. In consequence the Bollandists in their monumental *Acta Sanctorum* printed separately a treatise *De Sancto Gurvallo, Episcopo Alethensi in Armorica*, followed immediately by another *De Sancto Gudwalo, episcopo Britanno, Gandavi in Flandria*. (3).

It will help clear the ground for our discussion if we first examine, one after the other, the two different traditions, that of St. Malo and that of Ghent.

I.

I will first give a translation of the Lessons for the Feast of S. Gurval formerly in use at St. Malo, as printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, (p. 716).

(1) *Officia Propria sanctorum ecclesiae macloviensis*, 1615.

(2) *Vies des Saints de la Bretagne Armorique*, pp. 216, 7, (ed. 1901).

(3) *Acta Sanctorum*, June 1, pp. 715—736 (edition of Paris, 1867).

DE SANCTO GURVALLO.

“(i) Gurvallus, born in greater Britain, as a boy desired to live righteously and prudently, and studied diligently at school, that he might learn to serve God in His Church. He kept under his body with fasts, alms, vigils and prayers, and he was accustomed every day to gather the Clerks and preach a sermon to them, by which means he inspired many with the desire to forsake the tumults of the world and live a heavenly life. Determining to make Christ his heir, he spent all his patrimony, which was very great, in building a monastery. When it was finished, he lived as a Monk under Brandan, a man of great name: who made him Abbot over the monks living and worthily serving God there.

(ii) At length the blessed Maclovius, Pontiff of Aleth, being sick in the country of Saintonge, having compassion on the people of his diocese, and pondering whom he should make his successor as bishop, exhorts the Brethren that as soon as he should be dead, they should send for Gurval, whose miracles and virtues had made him famous, to rule the Church of Aleth: for he had been warned by God that he was to be raised to that honour. Therefore, when the blessed Maclovius had been called by Angels to the glory of heaven, the disciples, obeying his commands, proceed to Aleth, and direct the inhabitants to send messengers to S. Gurval.

(iii) He therefore, listening to the supplications of the messengers from Aleth, embarks with them and duly arrives at the desired haven. And then with the unanimous consent of the Pontiffs of the neighbouring cities, he is consecrated by the authority of the Metropolitan, and set over the See of Aleth. And when he had ruled the Episcopal Chair for a year and some months, he chose Coalfinith the Archdeacon and

set him over the Pontifical See; and in order that he might himself be more free to devote himself wholly to God, he sought a certain monastery of his diocese built in the territory of Guer (*in pago Guernio*), and took several Priests with him, who for the love of God had forsaken their possessions. But even there he was distressed at the crowd of people who flocked to that place drawn by the fame of his holy conversation, and resolved to make men forget that he had ever been Bishop of the diocese; so he left twelve of the aforesaid Priests there, and with the others migrated elsewhere, and at last betook himself to a certain cave, where, famous for signs and miracles, he rested in peace."

The historical value of these lessons is very small indeed. They are of very late date. The Bollandists wrote to the Canons of St. Malo in 1695 and asked them if they had any ancient manuscript lectionary from which the lessons might have been taken (as Albert Le Grand asserted).(1). The canons replied that they had no manuscripts at all, only printed books. No wonder then that Duine indignantly rejects the claim of Gurval to a place in the list of the bishops of Aleth.(2).

Let us now turn to the *Vita Sancti Gudwali*. It is a very long and diffuse production, occupying eighteen pages of the great tomes of the *Acta Sanctorum*. The author has stuffed his work out with huge masses of worthless padding (he even introduces the Virgilian tag

"sunt lachymae rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt"

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 217.

(2) "How dare anyone seriously assert that Gurval was a bishop of St. Malo! Can any documentary evidence older than the fifteenth century be brought forward?" (*Origines Bretonnes*, p. 21) see p. 21.

as a pious reflection!) I will summarize the narrative it contains, omitting of course all the digressions, giving in full only the titles of the chapters.

VITA GUDWALI.

Lib. I. c. i. (*Acta SS.*, p. 719, Caput I). June I., Paris edition, 1867.

Of the birth of the man of God, and of how peace was restored by his birth.

Gudwal was born in the coasts of Britain, at a time when Christ had everywhere revealed His glory to the nations. He was of noble family. At his birth the scourge of war, famine and pestilence, with which God had smitten the land, ceased, to signify that a child of peace had come.

c. ii. *How, being born again in Christ, he grew to the perfection of man's age.*

Gudwal is educated, grows up, is ordained deacon and priest, devotes himself to preaching.

c. iii. *How, on account of his great merit, the honour of being raised to the episcopate was conferred upon him.*

Gudwal is made Bishop. Clergy and people rejoice under the rule of their natural leader (*hereditarii juris potentia illustris*). Religion flourishes.

c. iv. *How he withdrew from the world, and united himself more closely to the divine love.*

Finding the Pastoral care a hindrance to complete renunciation of the world, Gudwal resigns his bishopric, and, after appointing his successor, retires to a monastery in his diocese and devotes himself to a life of contemplation.

c. v. *How the enemies of the Church were put to flight, and overthrown by the hand of God.*

A band of sacrilegious robbers attacks the monastery. Gudwal prays, and the hostile forces turn against each other and a mutual slaughter ensues.

c. vi. *How, for the love of God, he retired to a cave by the seashore.*

The monastery was close to the sea, in which was a rocky island not far from the shore. Gudwal resolves to make it his abode, as a place where he can enjoy in secret familiar intercourse with God and the company of the holy angels. He crosses thither with a single companion, and makes a tiny hermitage in the rocks. After a time, some disciples leave the monastery and follow him. They dig on the island and hew out a chamber to live in.

c. vii. *Of the living creatures in the sea, who at God's command assisted him.*

The hermitage is in danger of being invaded by the sea at high tide. The Saint, filled with anxiety, prays, and the fishes bring a bank of sand to protect it, which remains there to this day.(1).

c. viii. *Of the supply of water, obtained by the Saint's prayers from the dry rock.*

There was no water on the island. Gudwal prays, and a spring begins to flow, which hollows out for itself a basin in which Gudwal and his monks draw water for their needs.

c. ix. *Where the sea, an element that cannot be tamed, allowed itself to be tamed at the word of the man of God.*

The monastery on the island attracts more and more monks. "For, as is read in ancient

(1) "(maris) animantia quamdam praevalidi roboris machinam, a Deo provisam et ab ipsis inventam, supra ipsos spumantis pelagi fluctus . . . detulere."

copies of his Life(1), he had about 188 disciples, including both aged monks and young novices." As the island is now too small for them, Gudwal commends the matter to God in prayer, and one day at low tide he goes out and traces on the sands with his pastoral staff a line enclosing a wide space of land, which he forbids the sea to cover, and to this day that land remains permanently reclaimed from the waters.(2).

c. x. *Of the innocency of his heart and the cleanness of his hands declared by the Saving Victim [at mass].*

One day, after observing fast and vigil, Gudwal says mass. As he stands at the altar the heavens are opened and the heavenly Jerusalem sends forth a choir of angels who surround the holy bishop and fill him with spiritual consolation, as he offers the Lamb of God.

c. xi. *Where he enters the sea, supported and strengthened by God's right hand.*

It now remained that, as the Saint had for the name of the Lord so long occupied this retreat in the sea, he should show himself equally ready to leave it and seek another home, that he might declare himself for Christ's sake a stranger and pilgrim upon earth. After consulting with his brethren, inspired with the seven-fold grace of the Holy Spirit, he embarks them on seven vessels. They hoist the sails amid the song of hymns. Gudwal, like Peter of old, walks upon the water to the ship in which he is to make the voyage. The monks declare that they hear a voice from heaven bidding Gudwal be of good cheer, for the Lord is with him.

(1) "Sic enim in antiquioribus gestorum ejusdem exemplaribus legitur."

(2) Dykes to keep out the water at spring tides are, it is said, still visible at Locoal-Mendon.

c. xii. *How, while the holy bishop was chanting, the angels of God responded.*

The saint is left alone to recite the canonical hours, the brethren being all occupied in sailing the ship. When he intones the versicle "O God, make speed to save us" the angels make the response "O Lord, make haste to help us," and the rest of the office is sung in this way antiphonally between Gudwal and the angels. The whole party safely reaches the land to which they are going.

Lib. II. c. i. *Of the place suitable for monks, divinely destined for the holy father's use.*

Gudwal and his monks, on landing, are well received by the people of the country, which is not named. He seeks for a suitable place for a monastery. One is at last found which he thinks may possibly answer their purpose, and they begin to clear the ground. A day or two later, however, while they were saying none, having stopped work for that object, a certain ruler (*quidam praepotens terrae illius*), escorted by a party of soldiers, passes by and looks on the party with interest. He had previously protected them from attacks by robbers, and now watches with edification the holy man chanting in the midst of his brethren and genuflecting at the end of each section of the psalm. He approaches reverently, bows three times, and asks for the saint's benediction. In return he offers them useful advice. He tells Gudwal that he knows the country from which he has come, and is aware of his noble birth, and of how he has embraced a life of voluntary poverty and exile for God's sake, but says that the place he has chosen is unsuitable and that he knows of a much better site for the monastery, which he invites him to examine. Gudwal follows him

to visit the spot, which he approves, and gives thanks to God, saying *Gloria in excelsis Deo*. It is decided to build the monastery there.

c. ii. *Of the brethren sent to Cornuvia and the message to the illustrious Mevorus with which they are charged.*

Gudwal enquires to whom the land belongs, and is informed that the owner is a certain Christian called Mevorus, who had been driven out by a rebellion and had taken refuge in Cornuvia. Gudwal proposes that a deputation be sent to him to obtain his consent, and four brethren are chosen for that purpose. After a long journey, they arrive in Cornuvia, find Mevorus and explain their errand. Mevorus gladly agrees.

c. iii. *Of the aged couple, long childless, but through the Blessed Gudwal granted offspring.*

Mevorus' wife was barren and they were both advanced in years. The messengers tell them of what wonders have been brought to pass through Gudwal's prayers. The holy bishop Gudwal appears to the wife in a dream and tells her she is to bear a son called Simeon, to be consecrated to the Lord and trained in his own monastery. The father promises that the child who is to be born shall be handed over to Gudwal, with all his rights of succession.

c. iv. *Of the disciples of the blessed Father, marvellously delivered from the robbers who attacked them.*

In due time Gudwal sends chosen monks to Mevorus to claim the fulfilment of his promise. A band of robbers intend to attack them as they pass through a forest, but are smitten with blindness, take to flight, and in their haste collide with the trees and injure their faces.

c. v. *Of the shower of rain from which the servants of God are miraculously sheltered on their journey, and how the illustrious Mevorus fulfils his vow.*

The messengers reach Cornuvia, and remind Mevorus of his vow. Mevorus returns with them, taking the little Simeon. A fearful storm begins, but the highroad along which they are travelling is dry while all the country round is soaked in rain. Mevorus is brought to Gudwal, they embrace each other, and Simeon is handed over to Gudwal, with all his inheritance, under an everlasting covenant.

c. vi—xii contain a series of miracles worked by Gudwal. A workman falls off the roof of the Church (*basilica*) they are building and is killed. Gudwal raises him to life. A thief who daily helped himself to vegetables from the monastery garden is scared out of his senses by a vision, Gudwal restores him to his right mind. A boy of eight years old, dumb from his birth, is made able to speak. A wolf kills a sheep, who is restored to life when touched by the saint with the end of his pastoral staff; then, at Gudwal's command, the wolf appears, prostrates himself, begs pardon, and becomes in future the guardian of the fold. The saint has compassion on a lame wolf and heals him, again by the touch of his pastoral staff, and charges him henceforth to live on herbs. He gives away to beggars the horse used by the monks for work on the farm, and instead receives from God another horse.

Lib. III. c. i. *Of the angelic visitation by which his most holy death was revealed.*

One day in Lent, after mass, he was praying before the crucifix, when an angel appeared to him, announcing his approaching death.

c. ii. *How before the day of his death he is comforted by the saints.*

Ten days before his end S. Michael, accompanied by S. Peter and S. Paul, is seen upon the altar where he is praying. The apostles tell him on what day he is to die.

c. iii. *Of his falling asleep in Christ and how his soul left his body in the form of a dove.*

Next day he calls for all the brethren and gives them his final exhortations. On the 6th of June he dies, and the disciples see his soul in the form of a dove mount up to heaven.

c. iv. *How at his funeral a heavenly light shone.*

The monastery glowed with light all night when Gudwal was buried.

c. v. *How his funeral was attended with miracles.*

His mother and sister were present at his death. They desired that his body should be buried in the cathedral where he had been bishop. The monks, though wishing to keep his body, finally consent. The corpse is placed on a wagon drawn by oxen, and, accompanied by the monks, the clergy, and a vast concourse of people, proceeds along the road till it comes to a place called Gudwal's Hill, where the beasts halt and remain immovable, though more oxen are brought. Two untamed bullocks are then attached to the wagon and they drag it to the island of Plecit. "This, if I mistake not, is that island where, as set forth in the first part of this work, the holy bishop, after being made a monk, began an anchorite's life." Here he is buried: a blind man touching the bier receives sight.

c. vi. *How after his death he became again a pilgrim and chose a place of rest for himself in Blandinium.*

After many years the British race was in large part driven out of its own land and dispersed here and there by the invasion of barbarians and pagans. The brethren of the aforesaid monastery, carrying the Saint's body with them, crossed the sea which divides the land of the English from that of the Franks to seek a new home. They at length reach Montreuil, where the body rested for some time, till finally removed by the Marquis Arnulf to Blandinium at Ghent, where the Abbot of the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, Gerard, received it with due honour. A solemn procession carried the relics of S. Gudwal, together with those of S. Bertulf. It was on 5 December, in the reign of King Lothaire.(1). Here the blessed Gudwal is honoured, in company with S. Wandrille and other saints.

Then follows a Sermon for the Translation of the relics of SS. Gudwal and Bertulf, taken from the Chronicle of Blandinium. It states that Gudwal the *Archbishop* died in Britain *in loco Cornuvia*, (2) and was carried to the town which is called Plerit(sic) and buried there. But the place being invaded by pirates (*cyclicis*) the relics of S. Gudwal were carried to Montreuil. The relics of S. Bertulf were brought to Boulogne at the same time. Some time after a Breton named Electus stole both the bodies, intending to take them to England and sell them to King Athelstan. The Marquis Arnulf however detected the theft and pursued Electus, and caught him

(1) In 959 A.D.

(2) The statement, it is to be noted, is inconsistent with the *Vita*, which says the monastery was *not* in Cornuvia, but a considerable distance away.

at Oye. The bodies of the two saints were carried to Harlebek on the Marquis's own estate, and from there they were brought with hymns and chants to Ghent.

(Two chapters are added describing miracles which took place by Gudwal's intercession at Ghent and in the neighbourhood. We are told that, though his body rested at Ghent, he was still invoked by fatherless children and widows in Britain).

In spite of its verbosity and the obvious inventions with which it abounds, this *Life* has several features of great interest. It claims (in Lib. I. c. ix.) to be based on a much older *Life*, and although many mediaeval hagiographers make a similar claim, I think that in this case at any rate the writer is telling the truth. The *Life* is full of incidents typical of what one expects to find in the *Lives* of Celtic saints (the story of the funeral, for example, closely resembles that of the burial of S. Ronan) (1) which would hardly have been invented by a Flemish monk in the twelfth century, and the proper names it contains (few though they be) must have come from a *Life* written in Brittany. *Mevorus* is a latinized form of a name containing a root found in the names of two Cornish and Breton saints—*Mevennus* (of St. Méen in Brittany and S. Mewan in mid-Cornwall), and *Meva*, who is honoured with S. Ida at Mevagissey.(2). The mention of *Plecit* in

(1) Similar stories are found in the *Lives* of S. Patrick and of S. Melor.

(2) Professor Loth, in a letter to me dated 12 Dec., 1932, says that he thinks *Mevorus* is the same name as the *Miuor* of a charter in the Book of Landaff. On p. 204 of the 1840 edition of the *Liber Landavensis* is a grant to Bishop Cerentur of Merther Minor. The Hengwrt MS. reads *miuor* (on p. 86 it is "Sancti Teliaui de merthir mynor"). The place is on the Ogmores below Bridgend, Glamorgan.

Book III, c. v. is, I think, quite decisive. It is clearly, as we shall see, the *Plec* immediately opposite the island of Locoal in Brittany, the "insula sancti Gutuali" of a charter of 1037. The Flemish writer could not have used this name unless he had found it in a Breton *Life*. The mere fact that he himself knows nothing of Brittany only makes this more certain. He clearly imagines that the saint lived all his life in Great Britain, and definitely states that his body was carried across the Straits of Dover to Picardy. He knows so little about the history of the tenth century that he imagines the story he had read of the occupation of Brittany by the Northmen from 919 to 936 to refer to an invasion of Great Britain!

There is, then, a basis of ancient tradition in this mediaeval *Life of S. Gudwal*. It is difficult however to say exactly where the author ceased copying and started inventing. There are many obvious fabrications in his work. The story of the appearance of SS. Peter and Paul to the saint ten days before his death, for example, is clearly suggested by the dedication of the abbey at Ghent.

The Sermon for the Feast of the Translation of the Relics contains one extremely interesting incident, showing us how the English King, Athelstan, one of the greatest collectors of relics who ever lived, nearly obtained for this island the relics of S. Gudwal.(1). The fact that the thief was a Breton reminds us that relic-stealing was a special weakness of Bretons in the Middle Ages,—it was a Breton canon of Bodmin who stole the bones of S. Petrock in 1177, and we

(1) It is possible that he did obtain some after all, for we find *Reliquiae Wtuali confessoris* among those that he gave to the monastery of S. Mary and S. Peter at Exeter.

owe the magnificent chapel of St. Jean-du-doigt in Plougasnou to a similar pious larceny.

II.

If these two Latin *Lives* which we have been examining are to be trusted, it would be evident that S. Gurval and S. Gudwal were two entirely different persons. I hope to show that this is not the case, and in order to do so I want to place before the reader a bird's eye view (so to speak) of the whole problem.

It is to the evidence, firstly, of the liturgical cult of S. Gurval or Gudwal, and secondly to that of Breton topography that we must look in order to reconcile the two opposing traditions.

The calendar of the fifteenth century manuscript Missal of St. Malo, now in the Library of Chartres, has, under 6 June, the entry *Gurvali episcopi Macloviensis*. Two abbeys in the diocese of St. Malo, those of St. Méen and of St. Jacques de Montfort-la-Canne, honoured S. Gudwal. The former placed *Guidgali episcopi* in its calendar for 7 June, the martyrology of Montfort has, for 6 June, the entry *In Britannia minori, sancti Gutuali, episcopi et confessoris, cuius meritum crebra miracula testantur*.

The diocese of Vannes honoured S. Gudwal with an official cult, as we find his name in two fifteenth century missals, that in the Library of Rouen (MS 307), which has *Guduali episcopi et confessoris* under 6 June, and another (once belonging to Jean Ynisan, now in the National Library of Paris) which spells the name *Gouezgali*. In the same diocese the Abbey of Redon, which possessed the priory of Locoal, had relics of S. Gudual. The Abbey of St. Melaine at Rennes has *Gudual* in the calendar of its twelfth century missal. His name does not appear in the calendar of any other Breton diocese.

The very interesting Sacramentary in the National Library at Paris (MS. Lat., 11589) which dates from the beginning of the eleventh century (perhaps from the end of the tenth century), and was used in a church in the north of France (not far, it is to be noticed, from Ghent) contains the names of a large number of Celtic saints,—SS. Brigid, Judoc, Mevennus, Léry, Paul Aurelian, Melaine, Magloire, Guethnoc, Malo, Columbanus, Judicael, Briac and Samson (for whom a very long proper is appointed). The calendar has, under 4 June, *Nat. sci. Guoetguali conf.*,—an addition, but a very ancient one, and there is a proper collect and preface for the saint. The latter has the words “Qui beatum Guoedgualum plebi tue donasti doctorem.”

The influence of the Abbey of Blandin at Ghent obtained admission for our saint into the martyrologies of Ste Gudule at Brussels, Tournai, Liessies, St. Mary of Utrecht and St. Martin of Treves.(1).

A very interesting fact is the existence in the Middle Ages of a cult of S. Gudwal in England in the diocese of Worcester. His name is found in the Worcester Gradual-Antiphonary (first half of the thirteenth century) now in the cathedral library, which has *Godewali arch. and cf. XII lect.* under 6 June; in a psalter-calendar of Worcester provenance at Magdalen College, Oxford (which has the same entry as that in the Gradual-Antiphonal, which I have just quoted); and in another psalter-calendar in the library at Exeter cathedral (MS. 3508) of about the same date, which was once in use at S. Helen's, Worcester, but shows Exeter influence. Leland in the sixteenth century, writing of Worcester, says “There is in this suburbe a

(1) See Duine, *Inventaire Liturgique* (Champion, Paris, 1922), pp. 12, 24, 25, 70, 84, 175, 188, 192, 199.

chappell of St. Gudwald. What this St. Gudwald was I could not certainly learne. Some sayd he was a bishop.” St. Godwald is also the patron of Finstall in Worcestershire, which was formerly in the parish of Stoke Pryor. Thomas Habington, in his *Survey of Worcestershire* (*Worc. Hist. Soc.*, 1895, p. 387) wrote “in this parysshe the chappell of St. Godwale, sometymes honoured with oblations, but now desolate.”(1).

Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Anglie* contains a Life *De Sancto Gudwalo episcopo et confessore*, abridged by John of Tynemouth in the fourteenth century from the Ghent *Vita*, which is a further proof of the cult of S. Gudwal in England. He may have found it in the Cathedral Library at Worcester, as there is no evidence for the cult of the saint in England outside Worcestershire, whither it had probably been imported from Ghent.(2). From *Nova Legenda Anglie* Whytford took the name of our saint, and entered it in his *Martiloge* (printed 1526) under 6 June (additions) with the comment “the feest also of Goodwale a bishop.”(3).

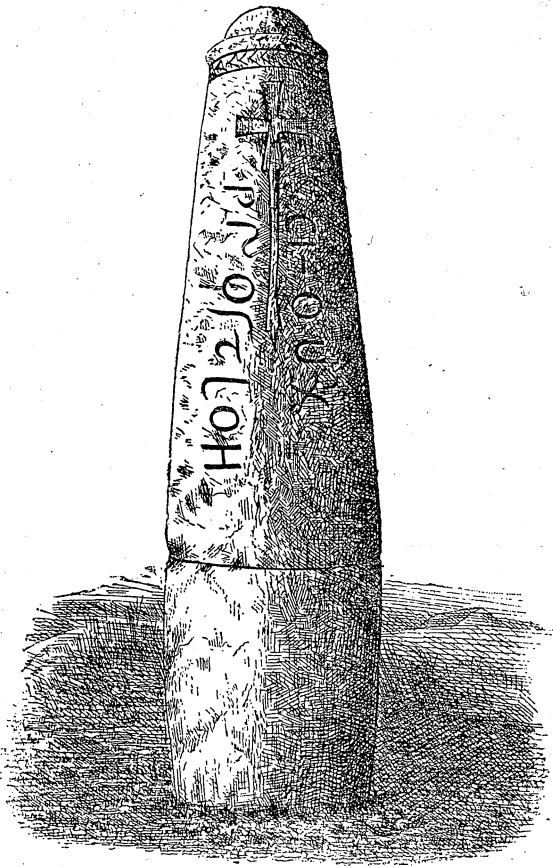
Let us now turn from the field of liturgy to that of topography.

The principal centre of the cult of S. Gudwal in Brittany is Loccal-Mendon. The parish church of Loccal (*Locus Gutualis*) is on a large

(1) I owe these interesting facts to the kindness of Dr. Cuthbert Atchley, the well-known liturgical scholar, and his son, Mr. M. H. N. C. Atchley.

(2) The fact that Worcester liturgical books called him an *Archbishop* shows the influence of the Ghent “Sermon” (see p. 18).

(3) The diocese of Sens honoured a S. *Godoldus*, confessor, on 7 June. The same St. Goau, “*évêque en Angleterre*,” identified with S. Gudual, was honoured at Yevre-le-Châtel, near Pithiviers, which had some of his relics. The Bollandists thought that the body of St. Gudwal must have rested at Yevre and Pithiviers, in the Orléanais, before being taken to Picardy. At Yevre his stone coffin was shown in the 17th century. A St. Gudal appears in the Litany of Dunkeld in Scotland.



Lec'h on causeway at entrance to Locoal.

island in the inland sea of Etel, joined to the mainland by a short causeway or "bridge." The channel separating the island from the mainland has now so silted up that it is difficult to realise, except at very high tide, that it really is an island. The scenery closely resembles that of

places like Ruan Lanyhorne in Cornwall. On the causeway is a cross, and a *lec'h* on which are carved crosses and an inscription, which has been read as CROUX PROSTLON (Prostlon was the name of the wife of Paskeweten, Count of Vannes 874—878). There were formerly other inscribed stones near the chapel of St. John on the island, but they were unfortunately destroyed before any antiquary had copied the inscriptions. The island was called *Insula sancti Gutuali* in a charter of 1037, when it was given by a seigneur called Gurki to the Abbey of Redon, together with its dependencies—the peninsula of Plec, the Minihy, and seven villages in Plouhinec. The *ecclesia sancti Gutuali* is mentioned in the same charter. The monks of Redon constructed a priory on the island, called Locus Gutuali. The parish church of S. Gutual or Goal was burnt by the Spaniards in 1592, and again burnt accidentally in 1765, when a silver reliquary containing the relics of the saint, which used to be carried in procession on the Sunday after 6 June and on the Feast of S. Helen (26 May) was destroyed, but some of the relics were rescued by the Rector and placed in a new reliquary in 1768.(1). (M. Le Mené presumes that part of the body of the saint must have been brought back from Ghent, which is not very likely!). In 1878 a Merovingian tomb, supposed to be the tomb of S. Gudwal, was discovered under the floor of the church. In 1666 there was a monument with the words: "Quisquis ades, venerare locum, venerare sacratos Sancti Guduali cineres, hic locus hic sacer est."(1).

A fisherman I talked to on the beach told me that the "assemblée" or pardon is on the 8th

(1) Information given me by the Rector of Locoal, 15 July, 1932.

or 10th of July. A chapel of St. Goal in the parish (on the mainland) is mentioned in deeds of 1628 and 1675, another chapel of the saint (now vanished) at the village of St. Goal near the bridge is mentioned in 1665. There are chapels of S. Bridget (at Plec), near which are two lec'hs, of S. Helen, of Notre-Dame, of St. Jean, and there were others now destroyed. West of the church, beneath the hill on which the church stands and close to the shore, is the Holy Well of St. Gudual. It has an arch of stone sheltering a niche containing a statue of the saint. (1).

Three parishes east of Locoal-Mendon, which lie in a line north and south,—Pluvigner, Camors and Brech, contain chapels of St. Goal, described by M. Duhem in his useful *Eglises du Morbihan* (pp. 18, 24 and 148). The village in Camors where the chapel of St. Goal stands is called Locoal-des-Bois.

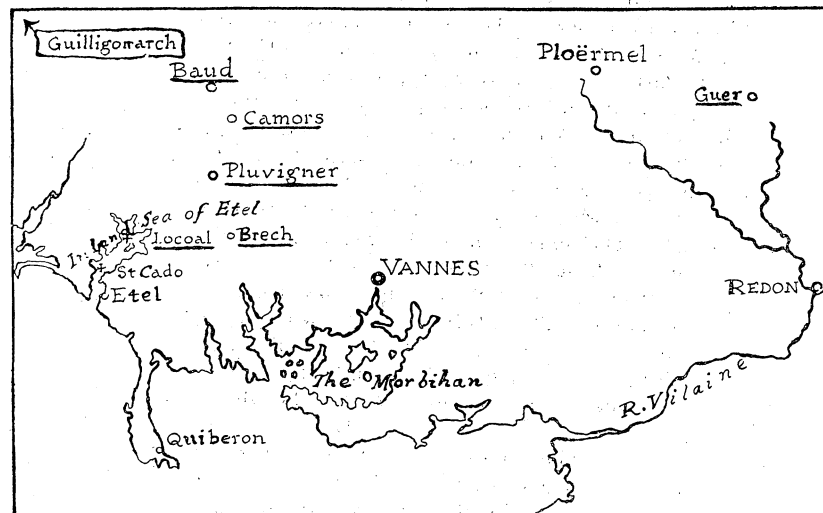
In the parish of Baud is a village now called Lopuscoac (for *Loc-post-Goal*). There is a chapel of *St. Coal* in Guilligomarch (F.) and at *St. Owl* in Loctudy (F.). (2).

It is worthy of notice that S. Gudwal (like St. Guenolé and St. Gildas) has several places beginning with *Loc* called after him, but none beginning with *Lan*, *Plou*, or *Tre*. The *Loc* names are not found before the eleventh century, as M. Largillière has pointed out, but Locoal-Mendon had older names, as we have seen.

Saint *Gurval* is the patron of Guer, a parish N.E. of Vannes. The church, which was rebuilt in 1806—9, has a fourteenth century reliquary

(1) For Locoal-Mendon, see Le Mené, *Hist. des paroisses du diocèse de Vannes*, I, 467—474; Duhem, *Eglises de France: Morbihan* (Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1932); Rosenzweig, *Rep. Arch. du Morbihan*; La Borderie, *Hist. de Bret*, I, 493—495.

(2) Loth, *Noms des SS. Bretons*, p. 44.



Map to illustrate the cult of St. Gudwal.
(Churches or chapels dedicated to the Saint underlined).

(M. Duhem gives a photograph of it in the book I have already referred to). In the parish is the chapel of St. Etienne, at the village of La Grande-Abbaye, which M. Duhem says is "beyond doubt the most ancient religious monument in the department of the Morbihan." M. Rosenzweig, who examined it in 1872, considered it to be the hermitage of St. Gurval. (1).

(1) M. l'abbé Le Claire, in his scholarly monography on *L'ancienne paroisse de Guer* (Hennebont, 1915) says that the Feast of St. Gurval is duly observed at Guer. The church possesses an old banner of green and red velvet with the figure of the saint embroidered on it. Children were often given the name of *Gurval* in baptism. There is a Holy Well of St. Gurval in the rue St. Gurval, near the little "river of St. Gurval," to which a procession is made at the Feast, (the water is said to become undrinkable if the procession is omitted). The "church of Guer" is mentioned as early as 836 ("in ecclesia Wernenst") and the parish in 833 ("Wern, plebe condita"), but the dedication to St. Gurval ("Sancti Gurvaldi") is not found before 1124.

Now the reader will observe that the only two Breton dioceses where either St. Gudwal or St. Gurval are honoured(1) are those of Vannes and St. Malo,—St. Gudual in the former, St. Gurval in the latter. But St. Gurval has no place named after him in the *northern* part of the diocese. He is only found in the extreme south, in a parish which by an odd arrangement of the Middle Ages belonged to the see of St. Malo, and not, as we should have expected, to that of Vannes. The parish of Guer is not far from the places dedicated to St. Gudwal, which all lie together in the south of the department of the Morbihan. St. Gurval is unknown outside Brittany, or indeed outside the parish of Guer. St. Gudwal is fairly widely known outside Brittany, owing to the influence of the Ghent *Vita*.

I suggest, then, that it was the accident of the parish of Guer belonging to the diocese of St. Malo that led to the growth, in the late Middle Ages, of the St. Malo tradition about St. *Gurval*, the form of the name prevalent at Guer. The canons of St. Malo in the fifteenth century wished for some account of a saint honoured in a parish of their diocese. He was described as a *bishop*. So of course he had to be a Bishop of St. Malo, and a *Life* was invented for him, based on the *Vita Machuti*, representing him as the successor of St. Machutus or Maclovius, and retiring to die at Guer. At St. Malo they knew nothing of the Ghent tradition; and the monks of Ghent knew nothing of the parish of Guer, so *they* say nothing about St. Malo.

If it be decided that, on philological grounds, the name *Gudwal* could not become corrupted into *Gurval*, this would not affect my argument, for the form *Gurval* may be due to literary

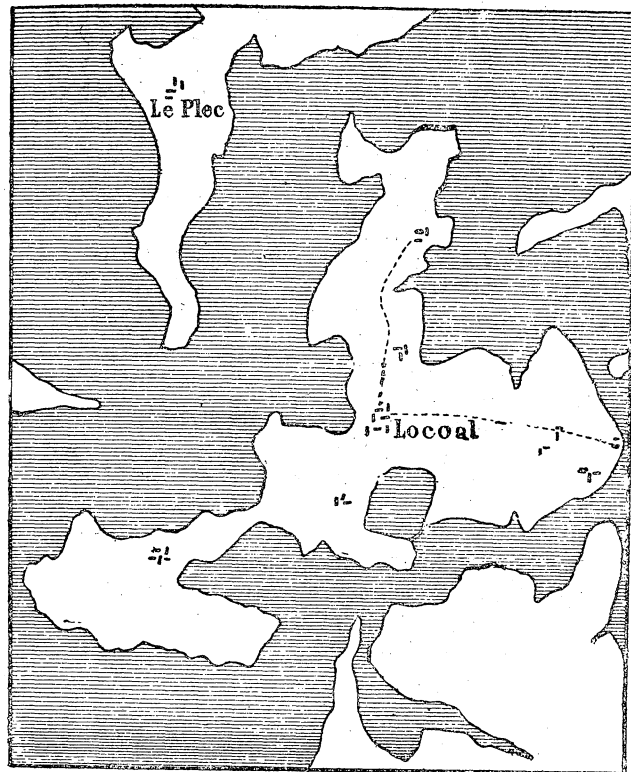
(1) With an official cult.

influences in the Middle Ages, leading to the growth of a popular tradition. The fancies of a priest of St. Malo who had read, in the *Vita Turiavi*, of Archbishop *Wrval*, may have brought about such a change. There are many instances in Cornwall and Brittany of the substitution of a name which had a similarity of sound for the original name of a patron saint (the substitution of the Saintonge *Machutus* for the Celtic *Maclovius* is an example in this very diocese). It is certain that the saint of Guer was identified with St. Gudwal, for he is commemorated on the same day (6 June). If St. Gurval be *not* St. Gudwal, the only alternative would be that he was a purely local saint of Guer (1).

M. Bourde de la Rogerie, the Archiviste of the Department of Ille-et-Vilaine, tells me that the Abbey of St. Melaine at Rennes possessed a small priory, called St. Michel-au-Moustiers, in the parish of Guer. This explains the presence of S. Gudual in the 12th century calendar of the Abbey (see p. 21), and the fact that they spelt the name *Gudual* shows that the monks of S. Melaine either did not know the name *Gurval*, or identified S. Gurval with S. Gudual.

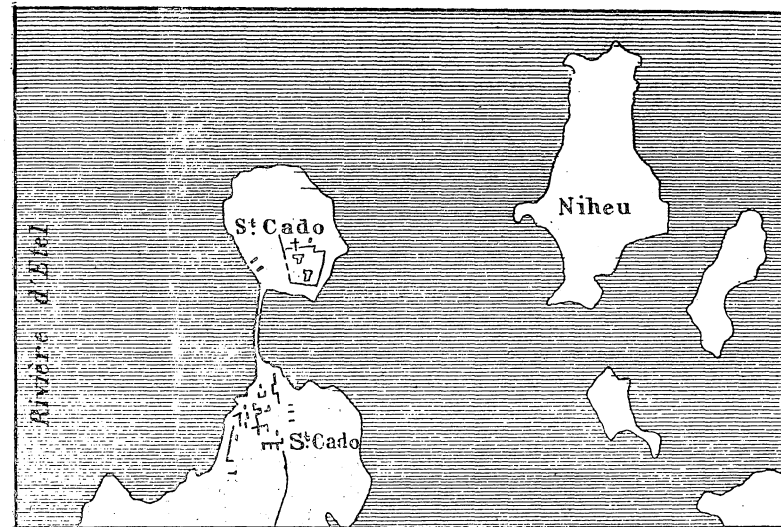
We may conclude that Saint Gudwal was a once famous Breton saint who founded an important monastery on an island in the inland sea of Etel, where he was buried. The Celtic monks of Cornwall and Brittany loved to choose such positions for their settlements. St. Budoc and St. Maudez both lived on island monasteries near Paimpol on the north coast of Brittany, and the sea of Etel contains besides Locool another island monastery, bearing the great

(1) There is a man called *Quoidgal* in the *Vita Turiavi*, who in some versions is called *Guridgal*. There are several *Wrvals* in Redon charters of the ninth century. (Duine, *Memento*, No. I, 4, 6).



name of St. Cadoc(1), while the situation of St. Just, Ruan Lanyhorne, Kea, Lamorran, Mylor and St. Gluvias on the creeks of the Fal resembles exactly that of Locoal on the sea of Etel. After what has been said on pages 23f about Locoal-Mendon and the cult of St. Gudwal in the Vannetais there is surely no need to labour the point in order to prove that he is predominantly a saint of Brittany. The Bollandists in the seventeenth century did indeed suggest Wales as the country where the island

(1) St. Cadoc had also chapels at *Baud* and *Brech* (cf. p. 26), and three other places in the Diocese of Vannes.



ANOTHER ISLAND MONASTERY IN THE INLAND SEA OF ETEL.

of Plecit was to be looked for, and Devonshire as probably containing the site of his second monastery: but this was because they relied too much on the statements of the monk of Ghent, who knew very little about the saint whose body had been brought to his monastery from a far country 200 years before. Locoal with its dependency of Plec, and the Vannetais, have an overwhelmingly strong claim to possess the site of Gudwal's island monastery of Plecit, and his later home; and neither Wales nor Devonshire offer any rival claim.(1).

(1) The *Cornuvia* of the Ghent *Vita* must be the Armorican Cornubia,—Cornouaille. M. de Keranflech considered Mevorus' retreat in Cornuvia to be the parish of Plouguernevel, "where two villages called Locoal still exist, each once possessing a chapel of Saint Goal." M. de la Rogerie writes, "Plouguernevel (Côtes-du-Nord, arr. de Guingamp, commune de Rostrenen) formerly belonged to the diocese of Cornouaille. I find on the map a village of Locoal in this commune."

From Locoal Gudwal founded other establishments on the mainland, in one of which he died, perhaps at Guer, or at Camors (the situation of either fits the description of the abbey in the *Vita* as being in a forest); but his body was taken back to Locoal. At the great exodus of the relics of the principal Breton saints which took place when the Northmen occupied the country in 919, his body was taken to Picardy, and then to Flanders.(1). Some brief facts about him were handed down, either in writing or by tradition, to those who received the guardianship of the relics. From them a monk of the Abbey of SS. Peter and Paul at Ghent afterwards took the outline for his long-winded *Life*. He drew copiously on his imagination to embroider the few facts at his disposal. How much even of the narrative part of his work was invented by himself may be judged by glancing at his description of the voyage of Gudwal and his brethren in seven ships to the mainland of Brittany—distant, not hundreds of miles, as one would suppose from the *Vita*, but less than a hundred yards! The island which he represents as a small rock in a stormy ocean turns out to be a large piece of fertile land in the inmost recesses of a tranquil creek, which shows how dangerous it is to attempt to describe places you have not seen!

Gudwal was clearly a very important figure in the early ecclesiastical history of Brittany, for his name is found in ancient Litanies among

(1) We find the relics and the cult of quite a number of Celtic saints in Flanders and Picardy. The body of St. Winwaloe was taken from Landevennec to Montreuil-sur-mer, where it remained till the French Revolution, to escape the Northmen. St. Judoc is honoured at St. Josse-sur-mer, and in the suburbs of Brussels; St. Winnoc at Wormhout and Berg, and St. Lewine at Berg. (See also Dom Gougau, *Gaelic Pioneers of Christianity*, pp. 106, 7 and 127f. "Saints specially honoured in France and Belgium").

those of the chief Breton saints.(1). The Litany in the Missal of St. Vougay places S. Gudwal third in the list of Breton saints it invokes, in the midst of the "Seven Saints," the founders of Christian Brittany:

See Samsone,
See Macute,
See Guidgale.

But very few details of his life were remembered when mediaeval canons and monks set to work to compose a written *Vita* for him. His abbey failed to develop into a diocesan bishopric, as did those of Dol and St. Brieuc and Tréguier and St. Pol de Léon, and never recovered from its devastation by the Northmen.

Whether or not S. Gudwal originally came from the island of Great Britain (as is quite possible(2)), and whether he had anything to do with the Celtic monastery which must once have existed at Gulval in Cornwall, is a point which cannot at present be decided. Mr. Henderson deals with the question of the dedication of Gulval in the notes on Gulval parish which he has kindly added. If *Wolvella* is a different name from Gudwal, we can only say that nothing is known of S. Wolvella.

G. H. D.

NOTES ON GULVAL.

By C. Henderson.

The ancient Celtic name of the Church lands of Gulval survives in the name of the Manor—

(1) Spelt *Guoidwale* (*Revue Celtique*, XI, 137, 142, 143). The reader will have noticed that St. Gudwal's abbey had a *Minihy* (monastery land, often with rights of sanctuary).

(2) In the parish of St. Dogmael, in the extreme north of Pembrokeshire, near the town of Cardigan, is a place called *Trewidwal*. The Vicar of Moylgrove tells me that "it is situate on the highest eminence of the Pembrokeshire coast, 600 feet above sea-level. There are traces of a vast establishment still to be seen there."

house still adjoining the Church there, Lanisley,—properly Laniskly. Domesday book (1085) tells us that Bishop Leofric held *Landicle* before the Conquest, and that Rolland then (1086) held it under the See of Exeter. It was afterwards held by the Beaupré family; who did homage to the Bishops for it at the nearest Episcopal Manor, Penryn, of which Lanisley was esteemed an outlier.

In his "Celtic Christianity of Cornwall" Canon Taylor has shown that the lands of the See of Exeter in Cornwall were almost certainly derived from suppressed Cornish monastery—bishoprics and monasteries. Lanisley is most probably an instance of this, for the name has clearly a monastic (*Lan*) origin. What the true form of the word may be, it is difficult to determine precisely, but it seems to have been something approaching *Laneskli* (*Lanescli* 1261, *Laneskeli* 1308, *Lanescli* 1301, *Laneschly* 1413).

'Escli' is possibly a personal name.* It does not seem to occur as an ingredient of any other Cornish place name.

Within 150 years of the Conquest the advowson of the Church of Laneskly appears to have come into the possession of the Augustinian Canons of St. Germans Priory. The unreliable seventeenth century historian Hals quotes a deed whereby his supposed ancestor Simon de Als gave the Church to the Priory in 1223. It seems probable that Hals really did see some deed, but whoever granted the Church to the Priory must have been one of the Bishops of Exeter, and by a curious coincidence the only Bishop of that See named Simon—, Simon de Apulia, was reigning

* c.f. however Welsh *Esglyw*, a shelter. *Lan-esglyw*, the shelter-monastery, would describe the situation of the place very well. In most cases, however, the 'Lan' is followed by a personal name.

at that very time (1214—1224). I think it possible that Hals saw a deed of gift in the name of Bishop Simon and had the impudence to turn him into his own ancestor. At all events the Priory of St. Germans was interested in the Church by 1245 when William son of Richard (Fitz Yve) claimed the advowson of Lanesclly against Godfrey the Prior, but after a duel fought in Court between their champions admitted the latter's right for ever. William Fitz Richard was the ancestor of the Beauprés, later Lords of the Manor of Lanisley under the Bishops.

In 1301 the Jury of Penwith reported at the Eyre that John de Tregashyal (Tregaseal in St. Just) was captured for larceny and handed over to the Constable of Launceston but contrived to escape and took sanctuary in the Church of *Sancta Welvela of Laneskly* where he abjured the realm before the Coroner. This is the earliest reference that I can find giving the dedication of Lanisley Church to St. Gulval, though, of course, the dedication must go back many centuries before 1301.

In 1413 the Bishop's Register calls the Church "St. Gwelvela alias Welvela of Lanesclly." This entry was misread by Dr. Oliver, or perhaps by some earlier Antiquary, as "Lanest," and it was assumed to refer to Laneast near Launceston, whose patron saint is St. Sativola or Sidwell. Laneast is now generally held to be dedicated to the two Saints Sativola and Welvela, Sidwell and Gulval, jointly, though there is no more reason of the latter's presence there than the mistaken reading of an eighteenth or nineteenth century Antiquary! It so happens that the re-consecration deed of Laneast in 1436 is preserved and shows us that the building was then re-dedicated in honour of St. Sativola Virgin and Martyr and to no one besides.

In 1440 Bishop Lacy while at Marazion gave the people of Gulval an Indulgence of 40 days to attract contributors to the good work of purchasing and maintaining the new bells in the belfry of the parish Church of *St. Welwela*. This is an interesting piece of evidence as to the date of the tower of Gulval Church.

Since the Reformation the name of Gulval has completely ousted Lanisley as the name of the Church and parish, though Lanisley remains as the name of the Barton and Manor.

There appears to be no other place in Cornwall connected with the cult of St. Welvel or Gulval, but in the higher part of Gulval parish, two miles and more from the Church, is a farm called Bosulval (*Boswolvel* 1327) which is clearly "the House of Gulval." The word *Bos* or *Bod*, a house, is generally supposed to denote a secular settlement, but it is worth remarking that in Buryan parish we find Bosliven for "Bosselevan" and close by "St. Selevan" (now St. Levan). (1)

There is no evidence that Bosulval was ever ecclesiastical property (though, of course, it lay, like the rest of the parish, within the Manor of Lanisley), nor is there any tradition of there having been a chapel or holy well there.

There is a round headed cross of the usual type at Rosemorran, and the site of another must be indicated by the field called Park-Grouse (i.e. Crossfield) near the footpath from Boscreeg to Cranken.

In 1835 the insertion of a five-light window necessitated the alteration of the east wall of the church. During the execution of this work a part of an Anglo-Saxon cross was found embedded

(1) In the parish of Plogoff in Brittany is a place called *Lescoff*. There are other examples of this in Breton parishes. C.H.D.

in the wall. It now stands outside the south porch. It is described in Langdon's *Old Cornish Crosses*, pp. 372—374. Professor Macalister however reads the inscription VRI VI.

There is also a field called Park Chapel at Trezella which must have reference to some forgotten place of worship.

At Bleu Bridge (Bleu is the Cornish *plou* = parish, because the river is a parish boundary) is an inscribed stone, with the words QUENATAU DINUI FILIUS. There is a pre-historic village, recently excavated, at Chysauster, an earthwork at Castle-an-dinas, and a circle of stones on the moor near Boskednan. (Kenan, by the way, is the name of a Breton saint).

In 1308 the executors of Bishop Bytton journeying through Cornwall to distribute alms to leper-houses and hospitals, gave 9s. on their way from Helston to Mousehole at a place called *Glas*. This place, which has long been wrongly identified with Glasney near Penryn, appears to have been on the low ground in Gulval parish below Tolver, where the old road from Marazion to Penzance skirted the marshes. *Glaas* is the name given to part of Tolver (*Talvargh*) estate in deeds of 1392 and 1491. Part of the greens near Long Rock are still remembered by some old people as "Glasney Green" but where the Lazar-house stood is not known.

C.G.H.

GULVAL WELL.

The parish of Gulval once possessed one of the most famous Holy Wells in Cornwall. Hals describes it thus at the beginning of the eighteenth century: "In Fosses Moor, part of this manor of Lanesely, is that well-known fountain called Gulval Well. To which place great numbers of people, time out of mind, have

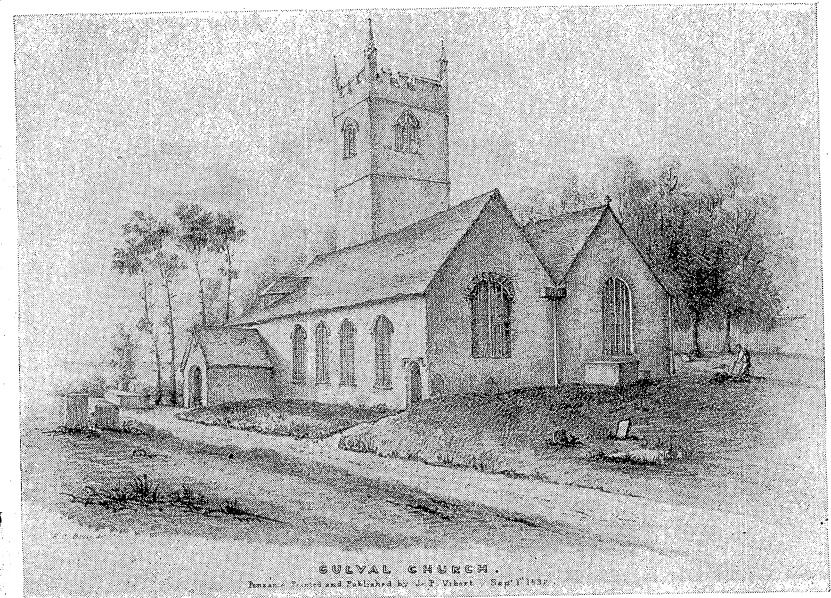
resorted for pleasure and profit of their health, as the credulous country people do in these days, not only to drink the waters thereof, but to enquire after the life or death of their absent friends; where, being arrived, they demanded the question at the well, whether such a person, by name, be living, in health, sick, or dead; if the party be living, and in health, the still quiet water of the well-pit, as soon as the question is demanded, will instantly bubble or boil up as a pot, clear christaline water; if sick, foul and puddle waters; if the party be dead it will neither bubble, boil up, or alter its colour or still motion. However, I can speak nothing of the truth of those supernatural facts from my own sight or experience, but write from the mouths of those who told me they had seen and proved the veracity thereof. Finally, it is a strong and courageous fountain of water, kept neat and clean by an old woman of the vicinity, to accommodate strangers for her own advantage, by blazing the virtues and divine qualities of those waters.”

It will be observed that Gulval well was what is called in French a “fontaine oracle.” It is said to have stood in a field south of the church. It is a pity that the people of Gulval should have allowed their celebrated well, with its associations of immemorial antiquity, to be entirely destroyed within the last hundred years. The Lysons, in the volume on Cornwall in their *Magna Britannia* (1814) (p. ccii), after quoting Hals, add “Dr. Borlase, who writes in 1749, speaks of this woman as then lately dead, and says, that “she was supposed to be so conversant with the mysteries of the well, that she was daily resorted to by numbers of persons who wished to consult its oracular waters, and have their curiosity satisfied, particularly as to goods

or cattle lost or stolen.” We find, on enquiry, that this superstition still keeps its ground, and that the spring is called Gulfwell, “the Hebrew brook.”

G.H.D.

My best thanks are due to M. Le Floch, Rector of Locol, for his hospitality and ready help, to M. Bourde de la Rogerie, to Mr. R. Morton Nance (who drew the map on p. 27), to M. Loth, to Fr. Grosjean, S.J., to Mr. J. A. D. Bridger, to Mr. Henderson, to Mr. C. N. Bennett for his block of Rosemorran Cross, and other kind friends.



GULVAL CHURCH IN 1832.

(By kind permission of Mr. J. A. D. Bridger).