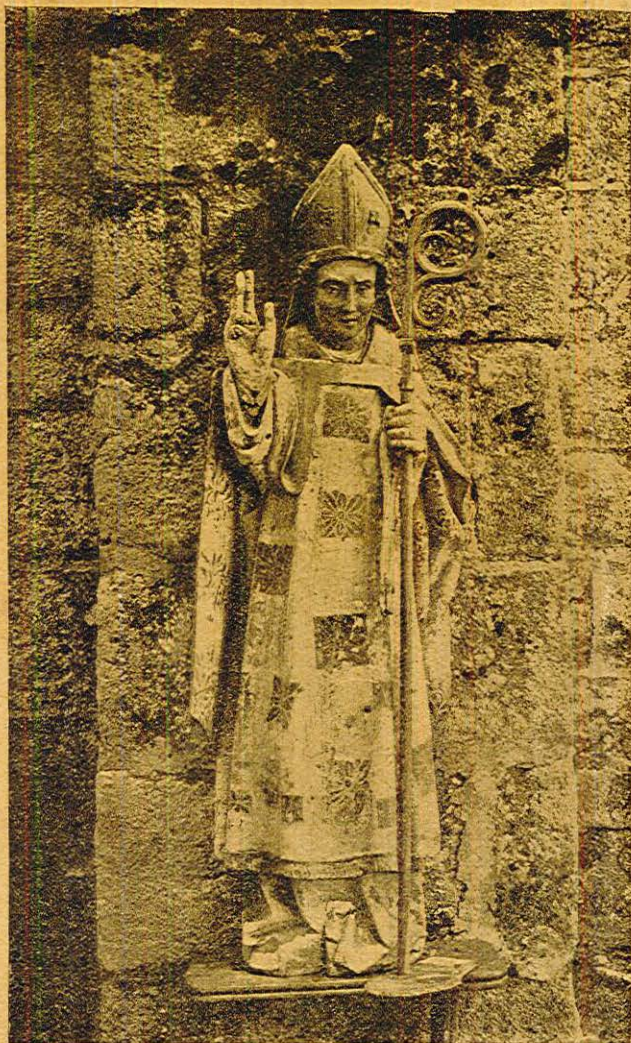


SAINT MAWES



STATUE OF SAINT MAUDEZ (Church of Ergué-Gaberic, near Quimper)

By the Rev. CANON GILBERT H. DOBLE, M.A.

To Canon Virennès, with kindest wishes
from his old friend, G.H. Doble.
25 August 1938.

"CORNISH SAINTS" SERIES. No. 1.

SAINT MAWES,

ABBOT AND CONFESSOR

BY THE

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'S. Gerent,' 'S. Euny,' 'S. Mawgan,' 'S. Winwaloe,' 'S.
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Melaine,' 'S. Feock,' 'S. German,' 'SS. Mewan & Austol,'
'S. Petrock,' 'SS. Docto & Kew,' 'S. Melor,' 'S. Nonna,'
'S. Brioc,' 'SS. Sithney & Elwin,' 'S. Senan,' 'Four
Saints of the Fal,' 'S. Neot,' 'S. Selevan,' 'S. Tudy,' 'S.
Clether,' 'S. Cuby,' 'John Wesley in Cornwall' and
'A John Wesley of Armorican Cornwall,' 'SS. Nectan
& Keyne and the children of Brychan in Cornwall,'
'S. Constantine & S. Merryn,' 'S. Symphorian,'
'Two Cornish Parishes in the Eighteenth Century,'
'S. Decuman,' 'Breage in the Eighteenth Century,'
'S. Perran, S. Keverne & S. Kerrian,' 'S. Augustine
of Canterbury in Anjou,' 'Les Saints du Cornwall,'
'Les Saints Bretons,' 'S. Gudwal,' 'S. Day,' 'Cornish
Church Kalendar,' 'Some Remarks on the Exeter
Martyrology,' 'Miracles at S. Michael's Mt. in 1262,'
'S. Meriadoc,' 'S. Samson in Cornwall,' 'S. Yvo,'
'S. Sulian & S. Tysilio,' 'S. Gennys,' 'S. Budoc,'
'The Lanalet Pontifical,' 'St. Ewe,' 'S. Cadoc,' etc.

With some Notes on the Town of St. Mawes and its
Chapel, by the late Charles Henderson, M.A.

Foreword by the Right Rev. J. W. Hunkin, D.D.,
Lord Bishop of Truro.

Second Edition, 1938.

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FOREWORD.

Cornish people owe a great debt of gratitude to Canon Doble for the valuable work which he has been doing for many years in connexion with the history of the Cornish Saints. He conducts his researches on strictly scientific lines, and makes full use of the work of continental scholars. It is satisfactory to know that eleven of Canon Doble's little monographs have been translated into French.

Saint Mawes is another of the numerous Celtic Saints whom we share with Brittany. To Canon Doble Brittany is a second home.

This account, brief and duly critical, will be widely welcomed, and especially by those who know the lovely inlet on the east side of Carrick Roads; and it is well worthy of a place in Canon Doble's interesting series.

J. W. TRURON :





SAINT MAWES.

Abbot and Confessor.

(1) One of the things that strikes a stranger coming for the first time to Cornwall is the number of places bearing the names of saints. He looks out of the window as the train passes and sees " St. Germans," " St. Austell," " St. Erth, for St. Ives"; at Penzance he sees the motor-bus going to St. Just, at Falmouth he finds the steamer waiting to take him to St. Mawes. His first thought is: " This is a land of Saints ": his next thought is: " What strange, unfamiliar Saints ! "

The reason is that when he crosses the Tamar he enters a land which is not really English at all. He has come to a country which was once a kingdom to itself, and whose people differed fundamentally from the English in race, in civilization, in language, and in religion. The fact that nearly every parish in Cornwall is called after a saint reminds us of the difference in religion which once distinguished the people of Cornwall from the people of England. It was a *Celtic* custom — as soon as you enter Wales you find it (2).

(1) The opening sentences of this brochure are taken from a sermon preached, from Eccles, 44:14, at the Church of St. Mawes on 17th November, 1922, by the present writer, then Curate of Redruth, at the invitation of the Revd. P. J. Coleman, priest-in-charge of St. Mawes, who had seen in Mrs. Enys's little " Perpetual Calendar of Cornish Saints " that 18th November was the Feast of St. Mawes, and conceived the idea of reviving the patronal festival. It was afterwards printed and became the first of a series which now numbers forty-one monographs. It is hoped they will prepare the way for a book the author intends to write on all the Celtic saints of Cornwall, as a contribution to the study of the early ecclesiastical history of Great Britain.

(2) Ireland is like Wales in this respect. In the Isle of Man every parish is called after a saint. M. Auguste Vincent points out, in his *Toponymie de la France*, that " En Bretagne, l'organisation ecclésiastique et les noms de lieu d'origine religieuse sont très différents de ceux du reste de la France."

Even after the English became Christian, their Christianity differed from that of the Cornish, for the English Church was organised after the Roman pattern, the Cornish after the Celtic.

The churches of Cornwall and other Celtic countries usually bear the name of the missionaries who first built a Christian place of prayer on the site, some time during the 5th or 6th centuries. They were priests or monks, many of them from the great monasteries of South Wales. They chose some convenient spot, generally where there was a spring of water, they consecrated it by living there for forty days, fasting and praying⁽³⁾, and then they built their little oratory, which was called after them — “the church of Perran,” or “of Euny,” or “of Budoc,” as the case might be. On the shores of this great tidal estuary, with its many creeks, you will find a very large number of ancient churches, which were centres of culture and Religion 1500 years ago. One of them is called “St. Mawes.”

Leland, the famous antiquary and scholar, visited Cornwall in Henry VIII's reign, and wrote a detailed description of all he saw and heard. “From St. Just pille or creeke to St. Mauditus creeke is a mile *dim* [=half].” On the latter creek he found “a praty village or fischar town, cawlid *S. Maw's*; and there is a chapelle of hym, and his chaire of stone a little without, and his welle. They caulle this sainct there St. Mat . . . he was a bishop in Britain [=Brittany], and [is] painted as a scholemaster.”

There is thus no doubt whatever as to the Cornish tradition in the Middle Ages of who Saint Mawes was. He was regarded in Cornwall as the same as the well-known Breton Saint Maudez⁽⁴⁾. Leland's evidence is confirmed by the fact that in the Registers of the Bishops of Exeter, and in the Assize Rolls and other mediæval documents, which are written in Latin, the name of

the town of St. Mawes is spelt *Villata de Sancto Maudeto* (see p. 23), for *Maudetus* is the latinized form of the name Maudez which we find in the liturgical books of Brittany. The portrayal of the saint as a “scholemaster” is a further proof,— it was clearly due to the stories about the saint and his disciples recorded in the two *Lives* of St. Maudetus which were written in Brittany in the Middle Ages⁽⁵⁾.

It will be well to begin by examining these documents.

Of many Cornish and Breton saints nothing has been handed down to us except their names. But in the case of some of the more important saints an endeavour was made, in the places where they were honoured, to write down some account of who each particular saint was and what he did. Too often, unfortunately, none thought of doing so until it was too late. The vast majority of the *Lives* of Celtic saints which we possess were written long after the true story of what they did had been almost entirely forgotten. This is the case with St. Maudez. The first *Vita Sancti Maudeti* appears to have been written 600 years after his death, in the second half of the 11th century, as it mentions

Whitaker has done in his *Cathedral of Cornwall*, on the supposition that *Mat* = *Machutus*. St. Malo is never called Machutus in Brittany (Machutus was a saint of Saintonge, quite distinct from Maclovius, though later confused with him by “learned” clerks).

In his *Noms des Saints Bretons* (1910) the late M. Loth accepts “Saint Mawes” as being the Cornish equivalent of St. Maudez. But in a letter to me in 1931, he wrote, “The name of Saint Maudez is very puzzling. It is certain that the form in Old Breton was Mawded. There is a *treve* called Saint-Maudé in the commune of Persquen, in the canton of Guémené-sur-Scorff (in the north-west of the Morbihan), which is pronounced in Breton *zan Ode*, for *zan Vode*. *Mawes* cannot represent this name, which in Cornish would have been *Mawdeth* (the *th* being soft, as in *that*).” This knotty problem must be left for philologists to settle. But it does not affect my statement that in the Middle Ages “Saint Mawes” was regarded in Cornwall as the same person as St. Maudez. The association of St. Mawes with St. Budock in Cornwall seems to me to be some argument in favour of the truth of the identification, in view of what I say on p. 11 and 12.

⁽⁵⁾ see p. 5.

⁽³⁾ cf. Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, Bk. III, c. xxiii.

⁽⁴⁾ In Brittany a statue of an Abbot always represents him wearing cope and mitre. This is why Leland thought that St. Mawes was a “bishop in Brittany.” It is not easy to see why he says “they caulle this Sainct there St. Mat.” It must be a form of *Maudit*, but the alternative name *La-vausa* would suggest that the vernacular form of the name must have been very much the same in the 16th century as it is to-day. At any rate we may be quite sure that there is no ground whatever for identifying our saint with Saint Malo, as Dr.

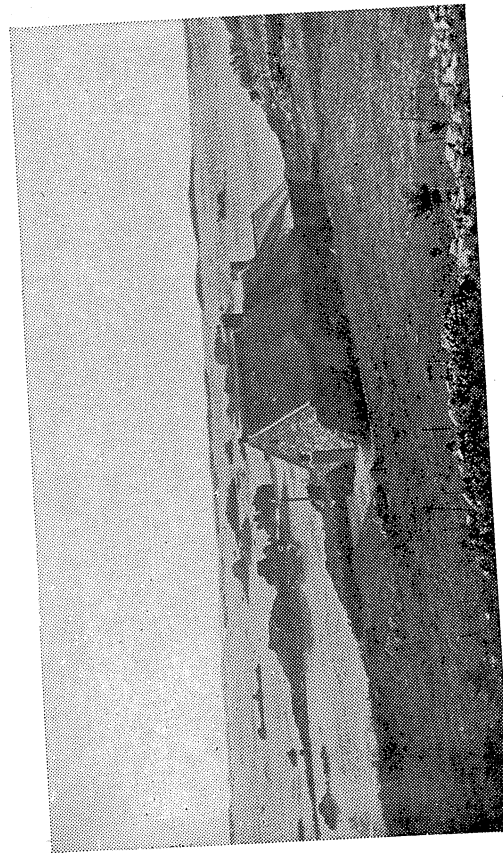
an event which happened "lately, in the time of Count Hoel," who was duke of Brittany, 1066—1084. It was inserted in the *Legendary* of the diocese of Tréguier ⁽⁶⁾.

XVIII Novembr.
SANCTI MAUDETI ABBATIS.
Lessons I—IV.

In the time of Childebert, King of the Franks ⁽⁷⁾, a vast number of bishops and abbots crossed over from the regions beyond the seas to these parts, among whom was the abbot Saint Maudetus. His father was a mighty monarch in Ireland, named Erclaus, his mother a queen called Gentusa. Maudetus was their tenth son, and was given by them to God as a tithe. At the age of seven he was sent to school. The writer has so much to say about his learning and his gift of miracles that he forgets to mention his leaving Ireland, and we next find him "traversing the north of Brittany, accompanied by a great multitude of people who obeyed his saving words," and finally betaking himself to a certain island two miles from the shore, which was then uninhabited because infested with "a poisonous multitude of innumerable worms." After banishing these, he built some huts (*receptacula*) for himself and his disciples on this island. Then he proceeded to build an oratory, and sent letters inviting all the bishops in Brittany to come to its dedication. He worked miracles, and at last died on the island. Miracles continued to be worked there after his death, and people suffering from various infirmities, and especially from worms, would come and mix a little of the earth of the island, in which the afore-

⁽⁶⁾ This *Legendary* has now disappeared, but the *Life of St. Maudetus* was copied from it by one of the Benedictines who were collecting materials for Dom Lobineau's historical researches in the 18th century — Dom Brient, who has written at the end, "Haec ex Legendario Trecorensi." It is now in the *Bibl. Nat.* at Paris (MS. fr. 22321). cf. "St. Mereadoc," No. 34 in this series. The two *Lives* of St. Maudetus were printed by La Borderie, with introduction and notes, Rennes, Pléhon, 1891, and in *Mem. soc. d'emul. des Cotes-du-N.* XXVIII.

⁽⁷⁾ There were two Childeberts in the 6th century.



THE ILE MODEZ, from the Ile de Bréhat

said saint lay buried, with water (*de terra cum aqua mixta ex fundamento accepta*) and drink it as a remedy. "The worms forthwith died in their bodies, and the fame of his name was widely spread abroad." [*worms* mean *snakes* in Celtic-Latin.]

(Here ends the *Life* proper. A series of miracles ascribed to the saint follows).

Lesson V.

"Moreover that miracle is not to be passed over which was lately (*nuper*), in the time of Count Hoel, worked through the aforesaid servant of God. This land then formed part of that noble lord's domains. Certain of his barons rebelled against him, and he besieged them in a rocky ravine from which there was no exit. Suffering from hunger and thirst, one of the rebels went stealthily to the fountain of St. Maudetus, but found, as he retraced his steps, the water he was carrying burn his flesh like hot coals. He returned and threw back the water into the well"⁽⁸⁾.

A legend relating to the saint's life on the island follows (Lesson VI). "At the beginning of the saint's sojourn in the aforesaid island, which in the Breton language is called *Gueldenes* (for *guel* in Breton means *savage* [lit. 'untamed'], and *enes* means an *island*, hence *Guel* *Enes* means 'The Desert Island,' uninhabited on account of the multitude of worms, as we have said), he had two disciples, called Bothmael and Tudy, who faithfully continued with him, joining with him in [*manual*] labour and in the divine office, in hope of eternal joy. He used indefatigably to instruct them in the service of God and in sacred study, sitting, like a good Master, in the place which is now called 'Saint Maudez's Chair' (*Cathedra sancti Maudeti*) It came to pass one day that, in the absence of their master, a certain demon whom the Bretons call *Tuthe* ⁽⁹⁾ appeared to them in the guise of a sea-

⁽⁸⁾ The situation of this well is uncertain, but it must have been somewhere on the mainland. The incident may be dated, according to La Borderie (*op. cit.*, pp. 42-44), about the year 1076.

⁽⁹⁾ In Modern Breton *Teus* or *Teuz*, a goblin. La Borderie (*op. cit.*, 39) cites a passage in St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, XV. 23, "quondam daemones quos *Dusios* Galli nuncupant, hanc assidue immunditiam et tentare et efficere plures asseverant." cf. Van Gennep, *Folklore de la Bourgogne* (Paris, 1934) pp. 192 f.

monster horrible to behold, and disturbed them greatly in their studies and in their prayers. After it had gone, the disciples related what had happened to St. Maudetus, their master, when he returned, who replied, in the words addressed to all of us, 'Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour: whom resist, stedfast in the faith' ⁽¹⁰⁾. The aforesaid adversary continued to annoy the disciples daily, and St. Maudetus kept watch for it, to observe its approach. On a certain day he was standing praying at the door of his oratory ⁽¹¹⁾, as he was wont, when he saw the aforesaid devil walking towards the *Chair*, and immediately, leaving his oratory, he ran after him. When the demon saw him coming, it left the disciples and fled as fast as it could go to the southern shore of the island, and plunging into the sea swam to a great rock on to which it climbed. The man of God followed him till he came to a certain stone on the right hand side of the Oratory of St. Bothmael, just off the road used by those who enter the island, and standing near it he saw the demon sitting on the top of the rock a considerable distance away across the water. Taking up a stone (*lapillum*) and trusting in the help of God, he threw it with all his might at the demon, whom he knocked off the rock, and it never appeared to any of the faithful again. And that stone, with which he slew it, is held in the greatest honour, and is kept among the relics of St. Maudetus" ⁽¹²⁾.

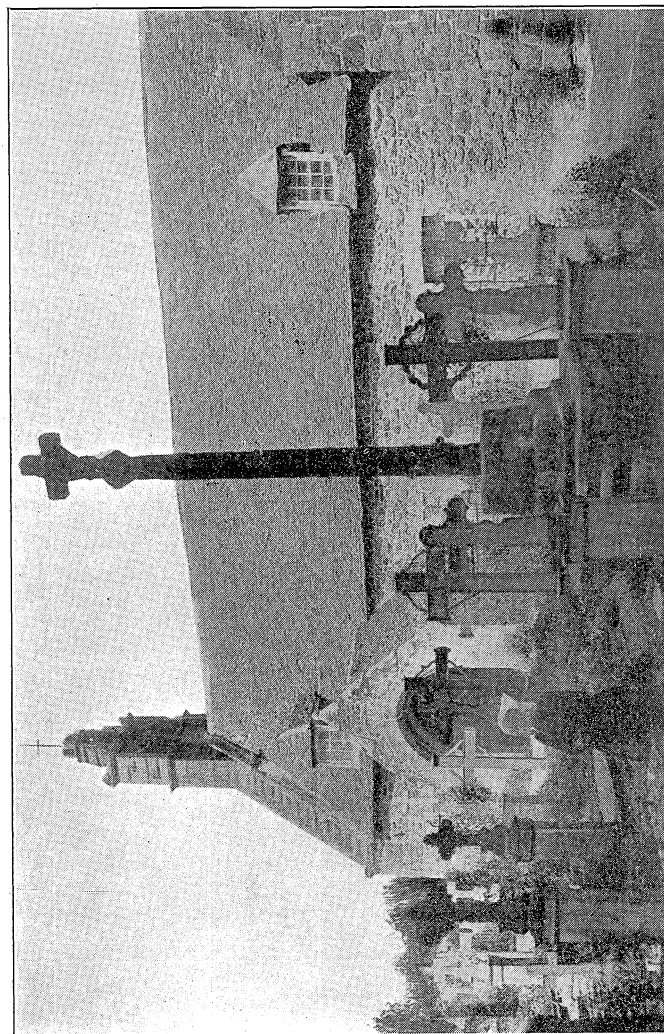
Lesson VII consists of a homily on the Gospel (Matt. 25 : 14f). The writer then proceeds to add a story about an event which occurred apparently long after the death of the saint, and probably shortly before the composition of this *Life*. There were now numerous *minihis* or sanctuaries under the saint's protection in the north of Brittany. One of them was at a place called *Trevechnou* ⁽¹³⁾. "Certain wicked bandits of Trecoria [Tréguier]

⁽¹⁰⁾ 1 Pet., 5:7, 8.

⁽¹¹⁾ Perhaps Forn-Modez (see p. 10).

⁽¹²⁾ We learn from the *Vita Petroci* in the newly discovered Gotha MS. that there was a stone connected with the saint on St. Petroc's shrine at Bodmin. The story about it, however, is quite different.

⁽¹³⁾ According to La Borderie (*op. cit.*, 46-7) this would be Trevenou, a place in the parish of Langoat, close to La Roche-Derrien, just south of Tréguier.



CHURCH OF LANMODEZ

resolved to seize all the valuables (*praeda* ⁽¹⁴⁾) of his *minihi* (*munitionis*) of Trevechnou, which they proceeded to do." (It was the custom during private wars between barons in the Middle Ages for the peasants to store their property for safety in some sanctuary.) The country resounded with the lamentations of the plundered inhabitants of the district, who cried to "Saint Maudetus, the glorious Confessor of Christ," to avenge them. Meanwhile the robbers, who were very thirsty after their exertions in the hot sun, sent one of their number to draw water from the saint's well. He rode there on horseback, but "as he stooped from the saddle to dip his jug in the well, a flame issued from it, and the robber, together with his horse and his jug, was consumed like dry wood, and so perished by the side of the well. The bandits, seeing this, were seized with panic and abandoned their booty; some betook themselves barefooted to the Oratory of St. Maudetus, imploring his mercy with tears, others fled like madmen, vowing to God and St. Maudez that they would never, as long as they lived, harm any person [*or*, thing] in his cemeteries or *minihies*."

The writer now (Lect. IX) ⁽¹⁵⁾ goes back to the story of the saint's life, and relates one more "miracle wrought by the Almighty for him in the midst of the sea between the island and the parish which is called *Landa Maudeti* [i.e., Lan-Modez]. One day the fire went out on the island, and Maudez sent Saint Bothmael his disciple to the mainland at low tide to get a light for the celebration of the divine office and for the preparation of the necessities of life. The boy obeyed his master, crossed over to the mainland as quickly as he could, and entered the first house he saw, where he found a woman boiling milk. He greeted her and asked her to let him have fire for his master's use, but she refused unless he would carry it in his tunic. The boy readily agreed, and proceeded to return with the live coals in his lap. But halfway across he was overtaken by the rising tide. He climbed on to a rock and prayed for deliverance. St. Maudez, who saw him from the island, did the same. By

⁽¹⁴⁾ Du Cange says that *praeda* in low-Latin means a herd of cattle.

⁽¹⁵⁾ The reader will observe how confused is the order of these anecdotes, stories about the saint being mixed up with incidents that happened long after his death.

God's mercy, the rock, with the boy on it, grew higher and higher as the tide rose, and he rested there till the tide began to ebb again, when he got down and returned to the island, where he was received with great joy by his master and his fellow pupil Tudy, who recognized by the double miracle that he was a chosen vessel of God." (Here the *Life* abruptly ends).

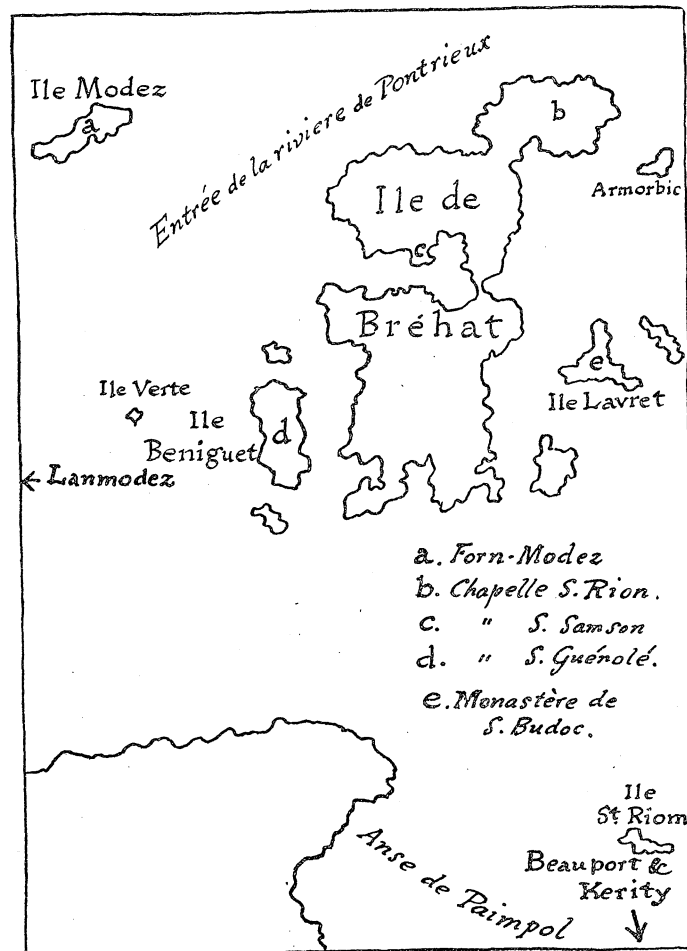
The Second *Life* is found in a MS. of the 14th century, formerly belonging to the Cathedral of Orleans. The MS. is a collection of Homilies and Lives of Saints. The *Vita Mandeti* it contains (the saint is called St. *Mandé* everywhere in France outside Brittany) need not detain us now ⁽¹⁶⁾, since it is only a literary rearrangement and improvement of the First *Life*, retelling the story in a less incoherent and scrappy way, and in a more logical order, adding a few romantic touches and one or two local Breton legends. The reason why it was written at Orleans will be considered later, when we come to deal with the extension of the cult of the saint.

The reader will hardly need to be warned that neither of the two *Lives* of St. Maudez which have come down to us is a trustworthy biography of the saint, though the second is much further from the truth than the first. Neither *Life* is more than a collection of legends, of very unequal interest. The story of Maudez's birth and early years in Ireland must be all a pure fiction. The saint's name is a British name ⁽¹⁷⁾. After the foundation and rapid growth of great monasteries in Ireland, which became famous centres of culture, it became the fashion for

⁽¹⁶⁾ It will be found analysed in the Appendix.

⁽¹⁷⁾ The late M. Joseph Loth (*Noms des Saints Bretons*, p. 89) thought that *Mawded* was the same name as *Matith* (for *Mautith*), which is the name of a saint invoked in an ancient Breton litany. Its original form, he said, might have been *Magu-tid* (= "servant of Did.")

Ireland plays a large part in the legend of St. Budoc, which was composed at the Abbey of Beauport, close to the Ile Modez, and in the *Life of St. Winwaloe* the saint, after studying under Budoc, thinks of going to Ireland. In the highly mythical *Life of St. Eflam*, a saint honoured in a coast parish not far away, Ireland appears as his birthplace.



- a. Forn-Modez
- b. Chapelle S. Rion.
- c. " S. Samson
- d. " S. Guénolé.
- e. Monastère de S. Budoc.

hagiographers to say that the saints of Cornwall and Brittany, who certainly came, in the majority of cases, across the water, were of Irish extraction. The truth is that they came mostly from Wales, and hardly any of them came from Ireland. Consequently the first part of the *Life* of St. Maudez is worthless. The really interesting sections are those which contain the local traditions current about the saint in the north of Brittany in the early Middle Ages. It is true that the stories about what happened to Maudez and his two disciples on the island are (needless to say) only fairy tales. Some of them are related about several other saints ⁽¹⁸⁾. Yet Legend is not to be altogether despised, (especially when it is associated with places near which the writer who records it lived), because it often contains some dim reminiscence of the forgotten truth. Now the point which it is important to notice about the *Lives* of St. Maudet is that they both make the story centre round an island about the identity of which there cannot possibly be any dispute, which is still called after him, and adjoins a parish on the mainland which also bears his name — Lanmodez. This gives us a most valuable clue, which will enable us to recover the outline of the true story of his life, which those who attempted to relate it in the Middle Ages did not know, for, as the late M. Joseph Loth said, in Wales, Cornwall and Brittany, “it is not the *Lives* of the saints that tell us most about the existence of the saints and the national organization of Religion, but the names of places.”

At the entrance of the great Bay of Saint-Brieuc is a group of islands which obviously played a very important part in the history of the Celtic Church. They seem to have been inhabited by numerous monks, hermits and missionaries. The *Life* of St. Winwaloe (written in the 9th century) describes one of them — the Ile Lavret — as containing a monastery in which he was trained as a boy by a famous teacher (*magister*) called Budoc, and we have seen that there was in the 11th century a chapel of St. Bothmael (another form of the name *Budoc*) on the Ile Modez. The latter island, as we have seen, contained a monastery founded by St. Maudetus. In both cases there are ruins of very ancient

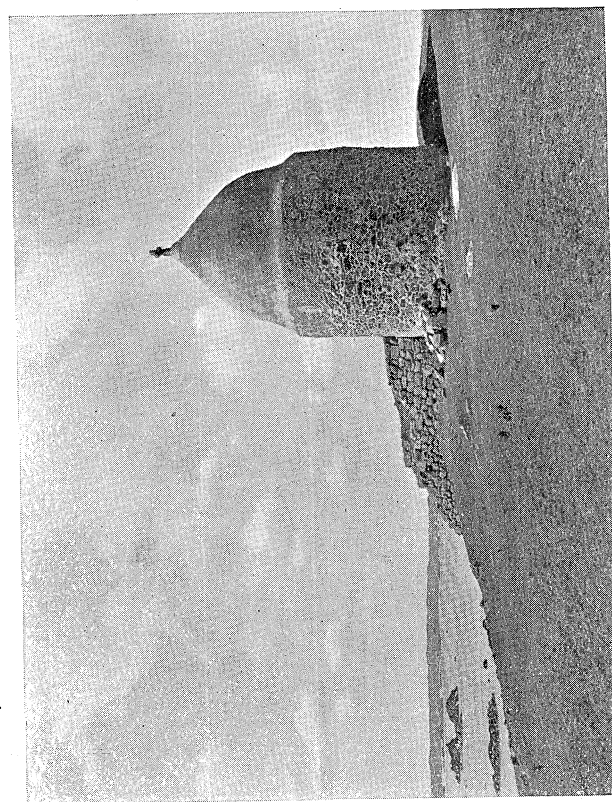
⁽¹⁸⁾ The legend of the rock rising in the sea is found in the *Vita Sancti Machutis*, and that of the burning coals carried safely in the lap is also found in the same *Life*, and in those of St. Cuby, St. Cadoc, and many other saints (it is one of the commonest themes in folklore).

monastic cells still existing on the islands in question to show the trustworthiness of the tradition. On the island of Bréhat is a chapel dedicated to the famous St. Samson, the founder of Dol, and all these islands formed, until the French Revolution, an "enclave" or isolated portion of the diocese of Dol, though they were so near Tréguier. In the 11th century the monasteries on these islands had all been destroyed by the Northmen, but the memory of St. Maudet and other saints who had lived there still clung to cells and oratories upon them. The Ile Modez was, and is, particularly rich in traditions of the saint associated with it. The author of the first *Vita Maudeti* clearly knew this island very well indeed. Such details as, e.g., the exact description he gives of the chapel of St. Bothmael upon it, and his references to the Chair of St. Maudet, are most valuable information as to what this interesting place was like a thousand years ago, and the traditions then attached to certain sites upon it. La Borderie thought that the monastery was rebuilt after the expulsion of the Northmen from Brittany ⁽¹⁹⁾. There are ruins of a mediæval church and cloister there. The little monastery became, he says, in the 13th century a dependency of the Abbey of Beauport, close by on the mainland. When Albert Le Grand wrote, in the first half of the 17th century, the island belonged to the Cistercian Abbey of Bégard in the diocese of Tréguier. He describes a cave on the north side of the island, called *Guelé Sant Modez* (i.e., the "Bed of Saint Modez"), in which tradition said that the saint used to lie on the cold rock, and in which people believed they could see the mark of his body; and "the Cell of the Saint, built like a round tower in two stages — the sailors call it *Forn Maudez* [i.e., "Maudez' Oven"] and when they come in sight of it they take off their caps, invoke the saint, and implore his assistance in passing the Race of Modez, which is a very dangerous current running between the islands of Modez and Brehat" ⁽²⁰⁾. An altar *mensa*, apparently older than the 10th century, has been found in this cell.

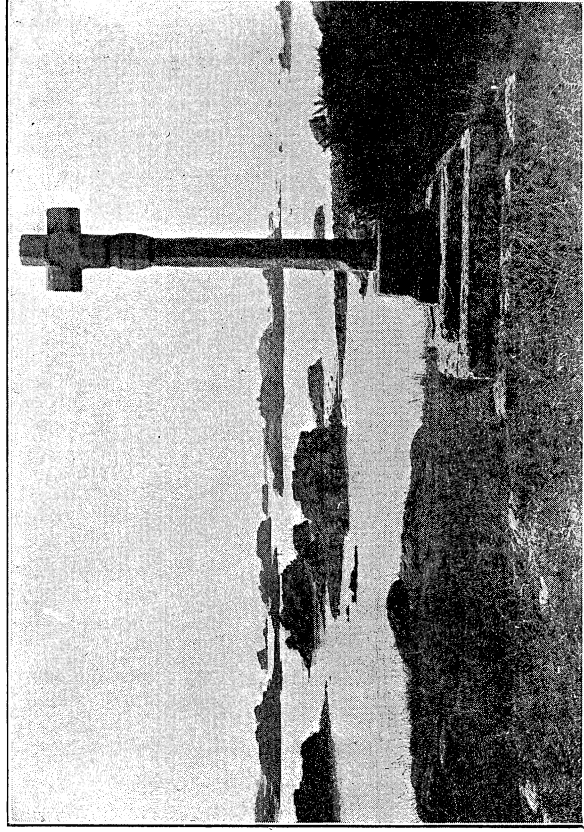
⁽¹⁹⁾ *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 5. But according to the *Anciens Eveches de la Bretagne* (IV., p. 2) this priory was founded in the 12th century.

⁽²⁰⁾ *Les Vies des Saints de la Bretagne Armorique*, ed. 1901, p. 608. The map of the Duchy of Brittany, by the Sieur Hardy Mareschal (1630) shows the "Isle de St. Maudet."

For interesting details about the later history of the Ile Modez see Lucas, *Le culte de Saint Maudet et de Saint Rion*, pp. 10 and 11. The island has never ceased to be regarded as a holy place, and an



FORN MODEZ
(Photograph by M. René Couffon, June 1938.)



THE "CROSS OF SAINT MAUDEZ" ON THE ILE DE BREHAT

Photo by M. Hamon.

On a point of the island of Bréhat, facing the Ile Modez, is a cross called the Croix de St. Modez, to which the clergy and parishioners of the island go in procession on Trinity Sunday. This is done, according to local tradition, because the saint came over one day from his island to preach to the inhabitants of Bréhat, who scorned him and beat him. They were punished by a contagious disease, and went to ask his pardon. The plague ceased, and the annual procession was instituted as a thanksgiving, and has been observed ever since.

Once more, in the parish of Lanmodez, which was also (it is important to observe) an *enclave* of the diocese of Dol, there is, close to the "bourg" (churchtown) and in full view of the Ile Modez, a very ancient white thorn tree, of considerable size, which always remains exactly the same, without growth or diminution, beneath which is a block of granite called *Kador sant Vodé* or *Chaire de St. Maudez*, because St. Maudez is said to have preached here ⁽²¹⁾. Blood is supposed to issue from the tree if it is cut.

From the islands near Paimpol it is only a few hours' sail, when the wind is favourable, to the south coast of Cornwall, where, on the east side of Carrick Roads, we find the town of St. Mawes, the *Villa Sancti Maudeti*, while immediately opposite, on the west, is the parish of Budock, containing the town of Falmouth. Now it cannot be a mere coincidence that these two saints should be found side by side both on the south coast of Cornwall and on the north coast of Brittany, as well as associated together in hagiography as early as the 11th century. West of the Land's End we find one of the Scilly Islands (the eastern group of which was once covered, like the islands round the Ile de Bréhat, with hermitages and monasteries) called in 1336 *St. Maudut* (apparently the island now known as St. Martin's), while close by is the island of Sampson ("St. Sampson," 1150), and we remember again that both the Ile Modez and Lanmodez were enclaves of St. Samson's abbey-bishopric of Dol. The conclusion to which all this evidence points would seem to be

object of pilgrimage. Until the Revolution the adjacent parishes on the mainland used to go in procession to the island of St. Maudet on the saint's festival, or during the octave.

⁽²¹⁾ La Borderie, *op. cit.*, p. 68 and abbé J. M. Lucas, *Le Culte de Saint Maudet et de Saint Rion*. (Vannes, 1893, reprinted from the *Revue Historique de l'Ouest*).

that Budoc and Maudet were monks and missionaries from Wales or some other part of Britain who founded churches and monasteries in Cornwall and Brittany, and were in some way connected with Dol. We are also struck by the fact that there are no less than three places in Cornwall and Brittany which possess, or once possessed, a "Chair of St. Maudet" ⁽²²⁾. The saint is described in his *Life* as a "magister," and was "painted as a scholmaster," and these statements may be based on a genuine ancient tradition that he was a famous teacher.

THE CULT OF SAINT MAUDEZ.

Few Breton saints are so widely honoured as St. Maudez.

From the enclave of Dol, near Tréguier, formed by the Ile Modez and Lan-Modez, the cult of the saint spread all over Brittany, and to many parts of France. We shall find it convenient to deal first with the cult of St. Maudez outside Brittany. It was due almost entirely to the transport of his relics to the centre of France in the 10th century.

In 914 the Northmen invaded Brittany and occupied the country till 939. When it was clear that every church and monastery would be sacked, the clergy and monks fled to less exposed regions, taking with them the treasures of their churches, foremost among which would be in each case the body of the saintly founder. The relics of many of the chief Breton saints, and, as a consequence, their cult, were in this way carried up the valley of the Loire, and to many parts of France. Thus the body of St. Winwaloe was preserved till the French Revolution, at Montreuil in Picardy, and that of St. Sampson, in the church dedicated to him at Orleans. The body of St. Maudez was taken to Bourges, and never brought back to Brittany, except the head, which Alan, Count of Penthievre and Goello, obtained from the

⁽²²⁾ In the churchyard of Germoe, east of the church, there still remains "Saint Germoe's Chair" (Leland mentions this too in his *Itinerary*). It is one of the most curious ecclesiastical antiquities in Cornwall. A very interesting Irish parallel to these "chairs" of Cornish saints is found in the *Life* of St. Ciaran of Saighir, c. xxxv (Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, Oxford, 1910, I, 232). The saint prayed that "omnes qui sepulti fuerint iuxta cathedram suam in suo cimiterio, super eos post diem iudicii infernus non claudetur."

Chapter of Bourges and gave to the Abbey he founded in 1202 at Beauport (near Lan-Modez) ⁽²³⁾. The Feast of St. Mandé was observed at Bourges as a "double, with octave," according to Albert Le Grand and Dom Lobineau, but the *Breviarium Bituricense* of 1523 only has the Common of a Confessor Abbot, with proper collect, for *Maudetus* (on 20th Nov.) ⁽²⁴⁾. The cathedral of Orleans seems to have possessed relics of St. Mandé, as the *Missale Aurelianense* of 1510 has, on 18th November, *Mandeti Abbatis, IX lectiones, in maiori ecclesia*. This accounts for the *Vita Mandeti* in the cathedral library. The feast of St. Mandé ⁽²⁵⁾ was observed with great solemnity (probably for a similar reason) at the Benedictine Abbey of St. Ours at Loché in the diocese of Tours ⁽²⁶⁾. There is a church of St. Mandé near Vincennes, in the outskirts of Paris, dating, it is said, from the translation of some relics of the saint to Paris in the 9th or 10th centuries. A priory was founded here, dependent on the Abbey of St. Magloire, in Paris. The feast of the translation of these relics to St. Mandé was kept on 14th May, and attracted crowds of pilgrims. A bone and an arm of the saint are still treasured in this church, where his cult remains vigorous. He is invoked there for sick children, and the 18th November is observed with much devotion. (The feast of St. Mandetus was also observed at the Abbey of St. Magloire until the dissolution of the Abbey at the French Revolution ⁽²⁷⁾. St. Mandé (*Mandete*) was invoked in the Litany of the 14th century Sens missal. His cult also existed in the dioceses of Chartres (where there was a parish

⁽²³⁾ The head is now at Plouézec. (C.-du-N.)

⁽²⁴⁾ The *Livre d'Heures des Maubruny* (a family of Berry) has *Maudet* on 26 Feb.

⁽²⁵⁾ It will be observed that the saint's name is usually *Mande* or *Mandetus* in France, and *Maudez* or *Maudetus* (with rare exceptions) in Brittany. Prof. Max Förster tells me that philological reasons make it impossible for *au* to become *an*, and thinks that the form *Mande* must have arisen from a misreading of the name *Maudetus*, as in mediæval writing *u* and *n* are often indistinguishable from each other.

⁽²⁶⁾ St. Ours had a proper office of the saint, closely resembling that of Tréguier.

⁽²⁷⁾ The 1433 Breviary of St. Magloire has the name *Maudet abbatis* (in red) with eight proper lessons (Duine, *Inventaire Liturgique*, p. 91). St. *Mauduit* appears (on 17th Nov.) in the 15th cent. Paris Book of Hours (see Perdrizet, *Le Calendrier Parisien*, 1933 pp. 249, 259).

of St. Mandé at Troe, suppressed at the Revolution), Périgueux (the saint was the patron of the parish of St. Mandé and several other parishes), Poitiers and Saintes ⁽²⁸⁾. St. *Maudet* appears (on 18th November) in the Psalter of Fontevault of 1473.

Meanwhile the cult of St. Maudez in Brittany spread in a manner absolutely unparalleled (except in one case). In Lower Brittany only St. Yves has as many statues in churches as St. Maudez, and no saint has so many dedications — he is the patron of about sixty churches and chapels.

St. Maudez has a very considerable liturgical cult in Brittany. His name is in the kalendar of every one of the nine ancient Breton dioceses, and he had chapels in the cathedrals of Quimper (1514), Rennes (1478) and Tréguier. The dioceses of Tréguier and Léon had each a proper office for his festival ⁽²⁹⁾.

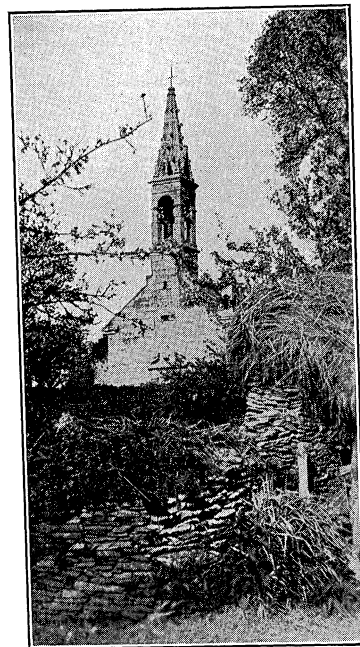
But it is his *popular* cult that is so remarkable. M. Arnold Van Gennep has taught us the importance of distinguishing between the liturgical cult and the popular cult of a saint ⁽³⁰⁾. He has taken all the parishes of an *arrondissement*, given the dedications of every church, and tabulated the “*dévotions populaires*” found there and the “*spécialités*” of each, and has shown that in very many cases it is not the patron saint of the church who is the object of the “*popular devotion*,” but some saint whose inter-

⁽²⁸⁾ The 1737 Breviary of Blois has *Sancti Mandeti, abbatis* in the kalendar under 18th Nov. (Duine, *op. cit.*, 122); the 1498 Missal of Poitiers has *Mandeti confessoris* on the same date. The 15th century Breviary of Saintes has nine proper lessons for his festival, which state that the fame of the miracles of healing due to his intercession have carried the glory of his name afar. There is a village called Saint-Mandé near Aulnay in Saintonge. (J. -M. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 3). St. Mandé was the patron of the monastery of Vaumartin in the diocese of Poitiers. His name appears in the calendars of the Abbey of N.D. de la Couronne near Angoulême, and in that of Beaulieu-les-Loches. Dom Gougoud says that no other Breton saint, except St. Samson, has such an extensive liturgical cult in France.

⁽²⁹⁾ La Borderie, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-27, 66, 7.

Duine says that the name of St. Maudez does not appear in ancient Breton Litanies. But Loth (*Noms*, 89) thinks that he is the MATITH (for MAUTITH) of the Litany of the 11th century, published by M. d'Arbois de Juberville in the *Revue Celtique*, tome III, p. 449.

⁽³⁰⁾ *Le Folklore de la Flandre* (Paris, 1936), c. III., pp. 494 f., and article in *Le Folklore Brabancon*, t. XIII., 1934, pp. 287-299.



CHAPEL OF ST. MAUDEZ IN THE
PARISH OF LENNON.

Photograph by M. Henri Waquet.

cession is believed to be specially efficacious for particular things. (This distinction is not observable in the case of the saint whose cult in Brittany we are now studying, because the buildings dedicated to him are mostly *chapels* owing their origin to the popular devotion to him). Folklore being such an important branch of historical studies, the line M. Van Gennep has struck out promises to be a most fruitful one, but no definite conclusions are possible till much more of this sort of work has been done.

Now it is the fact that St. Maudez has a very special popular cult that has caused the extraordinary number of dedications to him in Brittany. The late M. Largillière pointed out ⁽³¹⁾ that there is only one place-name in Brittany of the earliest type containing the name of St. Maudez, viz., Lan-Modez. There is also a *Locmaudez* in Plestin, and one in Clohars-Carnoët. All the other places called after him (with the exception of the Ile Modez) belong to the much later period when churches and chapels owed their names, not to their founders, but to the popularity of the cult of this or that saint, and similar reasons (such as the fact that the land around belonged to a monastery, etc.). It was believed that the intercession of St. Maudez in places connected with him was efficacious for the cure of certain diseases. We have seen that as early as the 11th century, and no doubt much earlier than that, people went to the Ile Modez to seek a cure for intestinal worms (also for snake-bite). Then the possibilities of obtaining this cure were extended, in popular belief, to any chapel where he was the patron, so that "wherever there is a chapel or statue of St. Maudez a pinch of earth or dust is taken and mixed with water to be drunk by the sick, and particularly by children suffering from worms. The soil is scraped up from the ground close to the foot of his statue. If the church is paved with stone, people take it from the churchyard, as at N.-D. de Châteaulin and at Landeleau (from the site of a vanished chapel of St. Maudez). At the chapel of the saint in Edern so much earth has been removed from beneath the altar that the mensa has fallen" ⁽³²⁾. The saint is invoked for other

⁽³¹⁾ *Les Saints et l'organisation chretienne primitive dans l'Armorique bretonne*, Rennes, 1925, pp. 41, 42, n. 81, 47, etc.

⁽³²⁾ Dean Abgrall in Albert Le Grand's *Vies des Saints*, 1901 edition, p. 612.

troubles, particularly headache ⁽³³⁾. In the printed Vannes breviary of 1589, someone has written, in a hand of about that period, a collect for St. Maudetus, asking for protection against pestilence. Among the evidence taken down at the enquiry held at Angers, in 1371, in view of the canonisation of Charles of Blois, are several references to the *mal de saint Maudet* — apparently a disease of the feet.

The reader will now understand why there are so many dedications to St. Maudez in Brittany.

In the following list I have placed the initials of the diocese in which each church or chapel is found (Tréguier, St. Brieuc, Dol, Cornouaille, Léon, Vannes, St. Malo, Nantes) in brackets after every name.

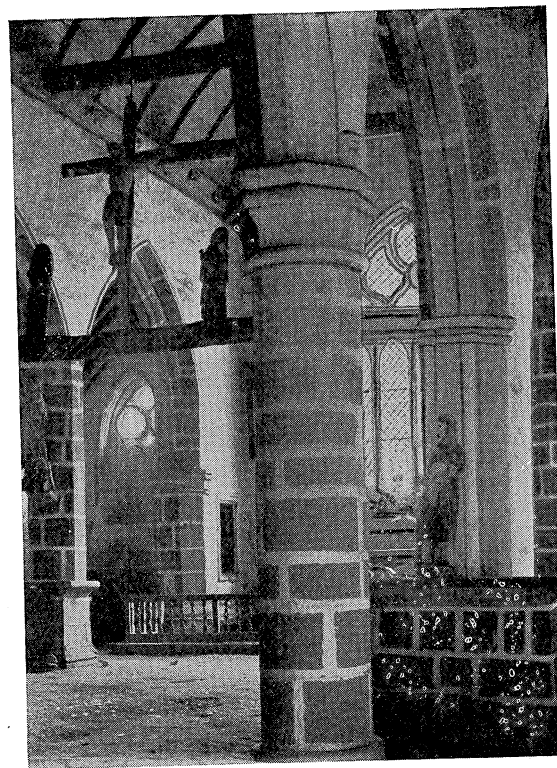
St. Maudez is the patron of the parish churches of Coatascorn (T), Duault (C), Hengoat (T), Henvic (L) ⁽³⁴⁾, Landebaeron (T), Laniscat (C), Lanmodez (D), Lanvadan (V), le Juch (C) and Saint-Maudé (St. M), and (with S. Rion) of the former Abbey Church of Beauport.

He is the patron of chapels still existing, or formerly existing, at Baud (V), Bolazec (C), Île de Bréhat (D), Cleder (L), Clohars-Carnoet (C), Corseul (St. M), Edern (C), Evran (St. M), Gouesnach (C), Graces-Guingamp (T), Guiscriff (C), Guerlesquin (T) Haut-Corlai (C) ⁽³⁵⁾, Hengoat (T), Keriti (D), Lanloup (D), La Croix-Helléan (St. M), Landeleau (C), Langonval in Plouigneau (L), Laniscat (C), Lannebert (St. B), Lanedern (C), Lanvellec (D), Lantic (St. B), Lennon (C), Lesneven (L), Lezardrieux (T), Megrit (St. M), Merléac (C), Nizon (C), Peder nec (T), Penvenan (T), Perret (V), Pleyber-Christ (L), Plerin (St. B), Plestin (T), Pleumeur-Gaultier (T), Pleubian (T), Ploezal (T), Plouaret (T), Ploubazlanec (St. B), Plounez (St. B), Plourac'h (C), Plouray (V), Plourhan (St. B), Plouyé (C), Per-

⁽³³⁾ See Dom Gougoud, *Les Saints irlandais hors d'Irlande*, pp. 137-139. The diocesan authorities have closed access to the holy well beneath the altar of the chapel of St. Maudez at la Croix-Helléan, to put an end to the superstitious practice of dipping sick children several times with the words "A la vie, a la mort!" (St. Maudez is what is called in Breton a "tu-pé-du" saint).

⁽³⁴⁾ At Henvic are statues of St. Maudez and of "his sister Ste. Juvette."

⁽³⁵⁾ For the holy well and chapel of S. Maudez at Haut-Corlai, and the custom of the peasants there taking a handful of earth from the chapel to form a compress for the foot, when afflicted with the



INTERIOR OF CHAPEL OF ST. MAUDEZ AT NIZON.

Photograph by the Rev. E. C. H. Pyemont.

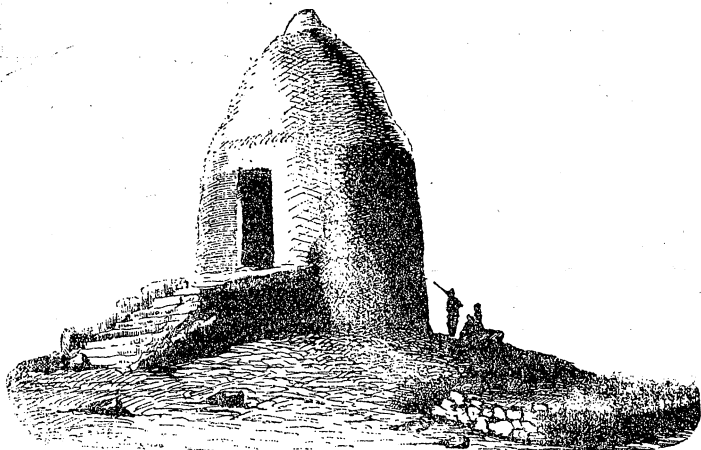
squen (V), Prat (T), Quemper-Guezennec (T), Quemperven (T), Saint-Agathon (T), Saint-Gelven (C), Saint-Philbert de Grand-Lieu (N), Saint-Potan (St. B), Senven-Léhart (T), Sibiril (L), Sizun (L), Trans (N), Trébry (St. B)⁽³⁶⁾. Braspartz (C), Ploudouran (T), Plougasnou (T), Plourivo (St. B.)

There was a Confraternity of Saint Maudet in the parish of Mahalon (C).

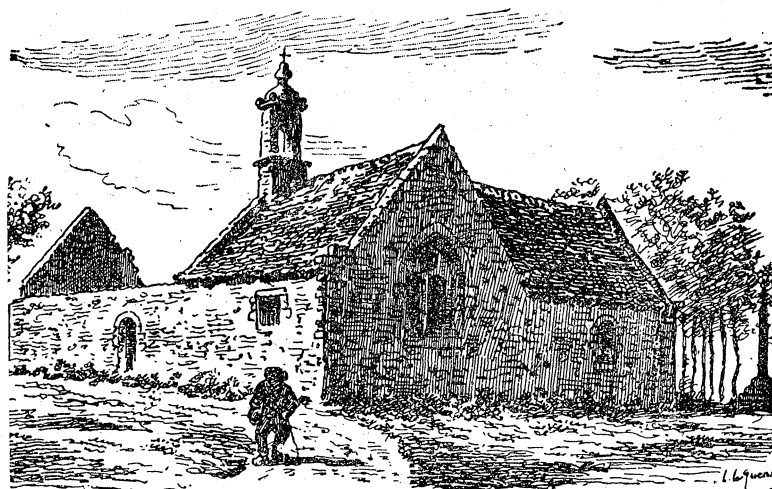
Relics of St. Maudez were venerated in the cathedrals of Quimper (in the 13th century) and Tréguier, at the hospital of Lesneven, at Paimpont, St.-Jean-du-Doigt, Plogonnec, Le Juch, Lanmodez, Hengoat, Lannebert, St.-Michel-en-Grave, and Chateaulin. Magnificent reliquaries to contain his relics are still to be seen at Lesneven, St.-Jean-du-Doigt, Plogonnec and Le Juch.

Drouk zant Vode or "mal de St. Maudet," afterwards washing in the well, see Lucas *op. cit.*, p. 16. Kerdanet, in his edition of Albert Le Grand, says "St. Maudez cured swellings in the knees, for which he is still invoked, and which are called *Droug-sant-Vode*."

⁽³⁶⁾ Sébillot (*Petite Légende Doree de la Haute Bretagne*, p. 72) has a legend connected with the 16th century chapel of St. Maudez (now demolished—the statue of the saint has been removed to Trébry parish church) close to the site of which is a dolmen. The saint fastened the slates on the roof of the chapel he was building with nails given him by a native. In return he healed the native of boils ("clous"). People who desire a cure for boils now offer iron nails to S. Maudez. Sébillot has also a Gouray legend about our saint, based on the Breton folktale of the fox and the wolf. For other folklore see Elvire de Cerny, *Contes et Legendes de Bretagne* (Paris, 1899), pp. 15-22.



"FORN MODEZ," on the Island of Saint Maudez.



Chapelle de Saint-Maudez, à Kerbabu, Plougasnou
(Etat en 1913)

APPENDIX.

Analysis of the VITA MANDETI.

(*Bibl. publique de la ville d'Orléans*, MS. No. 330, fol 36-43.)

In Lect. I-IV. the story of the birth and early years of the saint in Ireland is rewritten in an agreeable style, but one long section of the first *Vita* is repeated *verbatim*. The writer of the *Vita Prima* had omitted to describe the important episode of S. Maudez leaving Ireland to go to Brittany. This is now remedied, and a motive for the saint's taking this step is provided. A pestilence visited Ireland, in which his father and mother, and all his brothers and sisters died. The people wished him to marry and be their king; he prayed that it might not be so, and became leprosy, until the people, disgusted, made another choice. Then the leprosy vanished as suddenly as it had come, and he fled the country, taking with him *Bodmael* and *Thudetus*. "Wafted across the sea by a favourable wind, he landed at the port which is called *Banniged* in the Breton language, and *Portus Benedictus* in Latin, and lived for some time, he and his companions, in the open air, in the *vicus* which is called *Lesheluan*,¹ on herbs and roots and cold water." (Lect. IV and V).

Lect. V. The hunters of Count Daeg², who was then ruling Brittany under Gilbert, the most Christian King of the Franks, find Mandetus and his companions praying in a hut they have built among the bushes, and tell Daeg of it. The Count sends for them, hears their story, and orders "the men who live in the adjacent region (*terra*) which is called *Lesuanalec* in Breton, and *Curia Muriceti*³ in Latin, to provide them with victuals."

(1) La Borderie thinks this is the present village of Lesouan (Lesvoan or Lesvoanno), which is near *Porz Biniguet* (in French *Port Benit*), as *Banniged* is now called.

(2) Our author had read in the *Vita S. Tuduali* of a Breton prince *Deroch* (*Derec*, or *Daroc*). The name has been corrupted into Daeg by an ignorant scribe.

(3) *Les*="Residence of a chieftain," and *banal*="broom" in Breton. Apparently our author means Ploubazlanec, a parish on the coast between Paimpol and the Ile de Bréhat.

Lect. VI. One day, while the monks are building their monastery, at the expense of the said Count, the two little sons of the latter are playing games, and one accidentally kills his brother with an arrow. Fearing his father's wrath, he hides in the woods. Mandetus comforts the distracted Count by raising the dead child to life, and brings back the trembling brother from his hiding place. Daeg, full of gratitude, promises to give him whatever he desires.

Lect. VII. Mandetus asks for "the island then called 'The Poisonous,' but now *Gueltenes*, which means 'Transformed Island'" (*Insula meliorata*)⁴, as he considers it suitable for a hermitage. The Count warns him that it is overgrown with brambles and full of monstrous and poisonous snakes, but Mandetus persists. A fisherman whom they request to ferry them over is so afraid of touching this terrible island that he will only consent to take them as far as a big rock, from which they continue their journey at low tide. By the power of God a fire first consumes everything that grows on the island and destroys all the worms, and a wave then sweeps over it and completely cleanses it.

In Lect. VIII the legend of the *Tuthe* (which a scribe ignorant of Breton has corrupted into *Cuche*, *c* and *t* being so similar in writing of that period) is related. It is represented as not only disturbing the monks in their prayers, but destroying every night the walls they had been building during the day. The story of *Botmaelus* going to the mainland to get fire is inserted in the same lesson.

Lect. IX contains the story of the violation of the *minihi*, which is represented as happening in the saint's lifetime, and not at Trevechnou but at the *villa* of *Lesuanadleg* (both the Breton and Latin names are given as before). The author ends by saying the saint died in his monastery on the island on 18th November, "on which day the solemnity of his festival is celebrated."

(4) This etymology might be defended if the first element in the name were *gwell*, which means "better" in Breton. In Welsh *gwyllt* pronounced (*gweld* or *gwelt*)="wild" or "savage." Prof. Max Forster thinks "*guelt* must be a corrupted form of the participle of the Breton verb *gwellaat* = ameliorate." Mr. Morton Nance suggests "Grass Island" as likely to be the real meaning, but "wild, uncultivated island" as quite possibly correct.

The compiler of the Orleans *Vita*, (or the original author of the portions contained in Lect. V—VII and IX) was a Breton whose home was somewhere near the mouth of the River Trieux, and who was especially familiar with Ploubazlanec. La Borderie (who thought that the *Vita* was a composition more than once retouched) believed that the writer of these particular sections was a Tréguier clerk studying at the University of Orleans, of whom there were many at this period. But they may belong to a *Vita* written near Tréguier and carried by some student to Orleans, where a compiler of Lives of saints honoured at Orleans may have copied the sections in question.¹

The 15th century manuscript Breviary of Tréguier contains a rhymed office for the saint's festival. The following extracts will give the reader some idea of this curious composition.

1st Vespers. *Antiphon to Magnificat.*

Felix locus, felix ecclesia,
Que Maudeti viget memoria;
Felix terra qua sanctus prodiit,
Felix illa qua mortem subiit,
Felix pater, succurre miseris,
Ut felices jungamur superis.

Collect. Sit, quesumus, Domine, Maudetus abbas nostre fragilitatis adiutor, et pro nobis supplicans copiosius audiat, et famulos tuos ab omni adversitate custodi. Per.

1st Ant. at 3rd Nocturn.

Terra cimiterii, fonti dum miscetur,
Si potata fuerit, vermes expellentur.

(¹) We have seen that the Kalendar of the Orleans Missal of 1510 contains the name of Mandetus, and states that 9 proper lessons were read at matins on his festival in the cathedral. There is an Orleans Breviary of the same date (Bibl. Nat., *velins* 1617) which contains these lessons (beginning *Beatus igitur Mandetus de Hybernia extitit oriundus*), but they do not mention any relics of the saint at Orleans. A 15th cent. Orleans breviary (Bibl. mun. d'Orleans, MSS. 133) contains the name Maudetus (18 Nov.) For other French breviaries mentioning him see V. Leroquais, *Les breviaires manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques de France*, Tome II, p. 298.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE CHAPEL OF ST. MAWES.

By the late Charles Henderson, M.A.
Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

Like most of the ancient Cornish towns, St. Mawes was subject to a far distant mother church, which even at the present time jealously prevents ecclesiastical development. It is surprising that St. Mawes never became a parish,¹ for it had personal associations with a well-known saint, and its chapel and shrine must have been as old as any in Cornwall. They were visited by John Leland in 1542 (see p. 2).

The alternative name of St. Mawes was *Lavausa*² (i.e. Lan-Mawes). In 1283, it was already a town, with some independence of the Hundred, as "Villata de Sancto Maudeto." It is so spelt again in 1301, and in 1305 the spelling is "Sanctus Maudutus." It is described in that year as a *Burgus*. It is a separate fiscal unit in 1327. In 1381 Richard Soor, then Rector of St. Just, had license to celebrate "in capella Sancti Mawdeti infra parochiam suam." This was renewed in 1391 in favour of his successor Thomas Raulyn. On 18th Aug. 1427 the chapel of Saint *Mawsey* was licensed for a third time. In 1505 Bishop Oldham granted a "license to parishioners of St. Just to hear divine service in the chapel of S. *Madetus* before going to sea."

In 1433 Bishop Lacy granted an indulgence of 40 days remission of penance to all who should contribute towards the pious work of repairing the culvert adjoining the Chapel of *Mawdyt*. This evidently refers to the gutter running from the

(1) In the Subsidy Roll of 1327 St. Mawes appears as *Parochia Maudut*, but this was for fiscal purposes only.

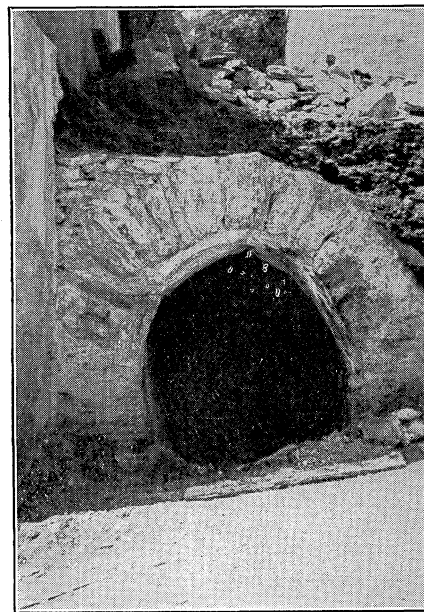
(2) "Town of *Lavowsa*," 1443, 1500.

Holy Well—a gutter which, as the boundary of the later Borough, was to become of vast importance in Parliamentary times.³

The Chapel was not seized under the Chantry Act of 1545, perhaps because it was unendowed. Services were continued until the reign of Elizabeth, but then the Rectors of St. Just took advantage of the prevailing religious confusion to discontinue them. That the inhabitants did not submit without a murmur is evident from the interesting petition sent by them to Parliament in Easter Term 1621, which sets forth that “the Fisher Town of St. Mawes (wherin ther are 300 inhabitants and more, and whereto do belong 30 ships and botes) had a chaple of ease in wch divine service was wont to be said in Queen Elizabeth’s time and before; wch now is not employed to that purpose:—The Townesmen and neighbours therto humbly desire that they may have leave and authoritye to re-edifye the chapell for service there to be said weekly, and sermons to be had monthly at their own cost and charges. The reasons why they desire it are :

1. [the distance to St. Just].
2. “The seate of the Chappell is almost in the middle of the Towne, and neere to the harbour or key wher the ships and botes lye, so that the fishermen will be willing on week dayes to com thether to divine service when tide or wether doth keepe them at home, wch they cannot doe at St. Just, being so remote and they bound to attend their times at sea.
3. “The fishermen and merchantes would be glad to pray in publique for good speed when they goe out to sea, and likewise to give God thanks for their prosperity when they returne, if the Chappell were fitted and licenced for their speedy repaire, which they cannot alwaies doe at St. Just being so farr off.

³ In the Henderson Room at the County Museum at Truro is a large MS. volume full of materials for the history of St. Mawes, entitled “ST. MAWES, Court Rolls, Returns, Bounds, etc.” It contains a list of the Members of Parliament for the Borough from 1573. The yearly entries in the Court Rolls are always headed either “Burgus et Manerium de St. Mawes,” or “Borough of St. Mawes otherwise Mawditt.” G.H.D.



HOLY WELL, ST. MAWES, (June 1938).

4. " Sometimes about hering fishing time many Marchantes, Seiners and other takers and savers of fish, to the number of 500 at least, are long resident in the town, wch would come to divine service if any were publicly celebrated in or nyr the Towne. . . .

5. [The soldiers of the castle could attend it].

6. " The Parson of St. Just is very willing to have all divine service celebrated and sermons to be had monthly at the said Chappell. . . . all being maintained at the only cost of the Towne. And the place being very fitt therefor, as the Chapell being of two roofes, able to containe at least 1000 people within it, and having therto a little parcell of ground not fully a quarter of an aker, in wch there hath long since been a pulpitt erected and sermons preached, though now it be neglected." [a reference, no doubt, to the famous "Chair" of Saint Mawes.]

The petition came to nothing, and in the arrangement of the seats of St Just in 1700 the South Chancel Aisle was set aside for the Mayor and Burgesses of St. Mawes, and provision made for the other townsmen and the garrison of the castle. Nevertheless, the petition is of great interest. It tells us that the chapel had "two roofes,"—i.e. aisles, with a yard of a quarter acre containing a pulpit—evidently the "Chaire of stone a little without the chapel" described by Leland. It was probably a large block of moorstone, and is said to have been broken up and used for building material for the sea walls in the last century.

The petition proving abortive, the Chapel and yard seem to have been usurped by the Lord of the Manor of Bogullas, within the limits of which they were supposed to lie. By 1650 it was converted into a dwelling house occupied by one Robert Treweek. The following document (c. 1750) addressed to Mr. Buller as Lord of the Manor was perhaps the result of renewed agitation to revive the Chapel:

"Memorandum about Crockers House in St. Maus.

This is to lett your Honer know that the House called the Old Chaple in the Manor of Bogullas was built about 150 years since by Mr. Robert Treweek, who was a clothier by trade and

built it for his conveniency. And the persons undermentioned nor no other person that is living will ever believe that it was ever consecrated ground."

(signed) William Jane [and others.]

This certificate, if made in good faith, shows a strange ignorance of local history, but it probably pleased Mr. Buller if it left him under no obligation to restore the site for a new church.

In the end of the 18th century Dr. Whitaker described the Chapel as having one wall and an archway still remaining. It stood a little to the S.W. of the Well, and the yard was on its higher (*i.e.* northern) side. Human bones, he says, were discovered there, and Pentewan stone had been largely used in its construction. At the present day all traces of the Chapel have gone, but the well is still shown by the side of the steep (old) road, in the middle of the town. It has an arched entrance, now blocked up and covered with plaster. The water is piped and the well disfigured by ventilating shafts.

The question of providing a chapel for St. Mawes was next mooted by the Marquess of Buckingham in 1807, probably for political considerations. Ignoring the objections of Dr. Rodd, the Rector of St. Just, he gave the site (some distance from that of the old Chapel), and found the money for the building. It was finished in 1812, and a tablet was affixed to it recording that "This domestic Chapel" was the property of the Marquess, and had been erected at the order and expense of his father, for the sole use of the Portreeves, Freemen and other members of the Borough. Meanwhile Dr. Rodd had quashed all chance of its being consecrated. Nevertheless a private chaplain officiated there until 1822. The building then became a National School, and in 1831 a private school kept by "a rigid Calvinist" named Gant. Mr. Carlyon, who had just succeeded Dr. Rodd as Rector, wrote in 1837 to the Duke of Buckingham begging him to allow it to be licensed as a chapel of ease by the Bishop. This resulted in the chapel being soon after opened for divine service. In 1884 it was pulled down, and a new Mission Church erected on its foundations at a cost of £1500. It was licensed in 1884.

The site of the well was purchased in 1938 by Mrs. Pollard, Hon. Sec. of the Cornwall Branch of the C.P.R.E., and presented to the Parish Council for preservation. The task of excavating and reconditioning the canopy was entrusted to Mr. M. H. N. Cuthbert Atchley.

He considers the building to be chiefly of the 15th century, with some 18th century work. The moulding of the arch was practically destroyed to make a modern reservoir a good many years ago, at a greater depth under the road.

40 years ago the spring ran under the three red brick houses on the hill above the well, a channel being cut for it in the cellar. The ventilating-shafts have been removed, the stone-work carefully repaired, and a Jack-and-Joan wall of local stones built up at the back. A door has been made to fit the archway to protect the water from rubbish falling in.

The "Chair" of St. Maudez, about the time of the blocking-up of the well, was blown to pieces with gunpowder, being too heavy to move, and regarded as an obstruction.

It is necessary to state that there are no Cornish traditions whatever about Saint Mawes, beyond what Leland records (p. 2). The late Mr. Baring-Gould, in his *Book of Cornwall* (pp. 211, 212) boldly transferred the Breton legend of the saint and the *Tuthe* from the Ile Modez to the shores of Falmouth Harbour.¹

G.H.D.

(1) "There was formerly a stone chair near the beach, but it has been built into the sea wall. From this he [S. Mawes] taught the many pupils who came to him.

But whilst they listened to or pondered over his instructions, they were much distracted by the frolics of a great seal that came near, stared at them, and made grunting noises. This was so vexing that one day Mawes jumped out of his chair and, taking a big stone in his hand, ran into the shallow water to try conclusions with the seal. He got near enough to throw the stone at it, and to hit it on the head, after which he was no more troubled with the interruption."

NOTE ON THE NAME MAWES,

by Prof. Max Förster, of the University of Munich.

I see no difficulties in connecting the Breton name *Maudeth* (which certainly is the oldest form of the name) with the English name *Mawes*. In Breton as well as in Welsh and Cornish a final spirant *th* (soft) can be dropped. So we get the Breton form *Maudé* which must have come over to Cornwall. In Cornish a final and a medial *d* would be changed into *z*, so that we get a Cornish form *Mauze* or *Mause* (with the final *e* to be sounded). And *Mause* would be Anglicized to *Mawes*. The Cornish form of the name (with the *ë* sounded) was kept as late as the year 1500 in *La-vausa*; and the *St. Mawsy* of 1427 means of course, the same Cornish *Mause*. If M. Loth says "Mawes cannot represent this name," this is true only as long as he looks upon *Mawes* as a CORNISH or Welsh spelling. But if we take it to be a late English spelling for Cornish *Mause* there is no difficulty in identifying the two names. In case I am wrong in supposing that the saint's name came from Brittany to England I should like to add that also a genuine British (Welsh) name of the Saint would develop in just the same way: a British *Magu-dith* (if this is the Old British form) would become *Maudith* in Old Welsh and this would give a form *Mause* in Cornish. The form *Matith* is difficult to explain; perhaps it is only a scribal error for *Mautith*, as you suggest. Or could *a* be a late spelling for *o* (o)? as in Middle English *laful* for *lawful*?

You give the spelling *minihi*, probably taken from a medieval MS. But the modern Breton spelling is *minic'hi*, the *ch* having the sound of the Scotch and Welsh *ch* (in loc'h) and in German.

I am not quite sure that the Breton *teuz* [pronounced *terz*] has any connection with the Old Gallic *dusios*: neither the initial *t* nor the vowel would suit this explanation. But I admit that the meaning is the same. The Gallic *dusios* is also mentioned by Isidore, Orig. 8, 11, 103 and in the Cod. Paris, lat. 7642 fol. 4r: "Dusios nuncupant demones qui assidue stupri peragunt immunditiam."