

Saints of the landscape: Eluned, daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog

Jeanne Mehan

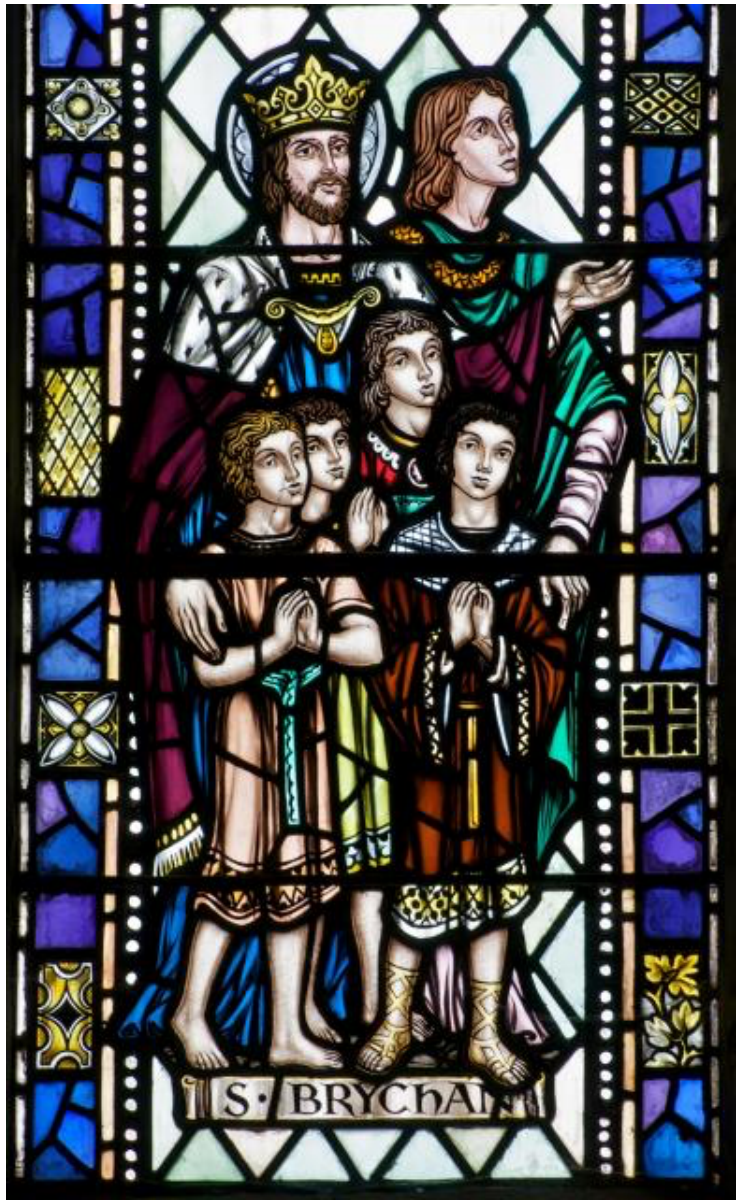
23 October 2020

Agenda

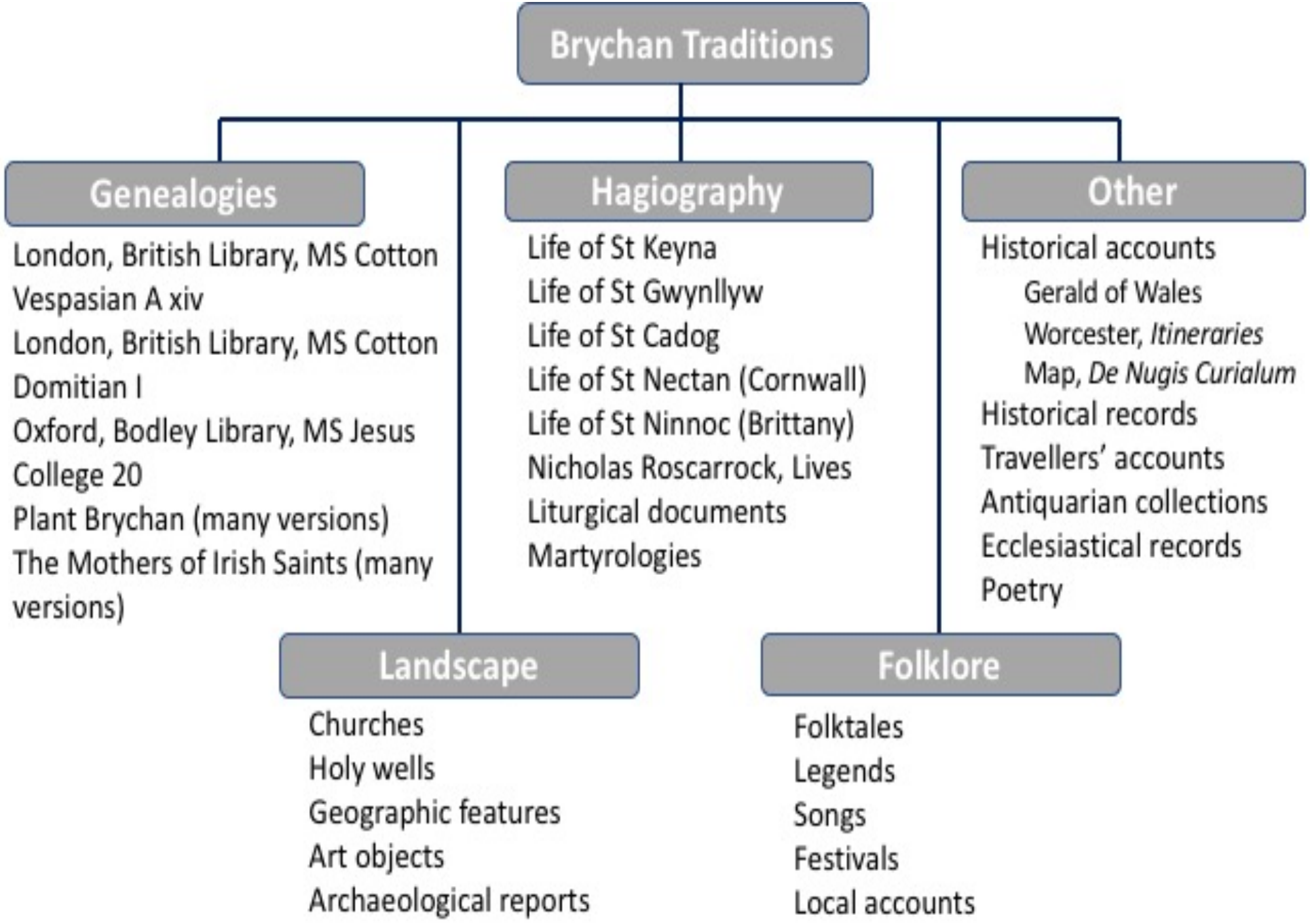
- The tradition of Brychan Brycheiniog and his saintly daughters (30 min)
- The changing traditions of Eluned daughter of Brychan (50 min)
- Questions (10 min)
- Break (20 min)
- Exercise (50 min) – Planning research
  - Review sources on screen
  - Record discussion on chat
  - Use the material to plan research and fieldwork
- Discussion (30 min)
- More questions and conclusion (30 min)

1. The tradition of Brychan Brycheiniog

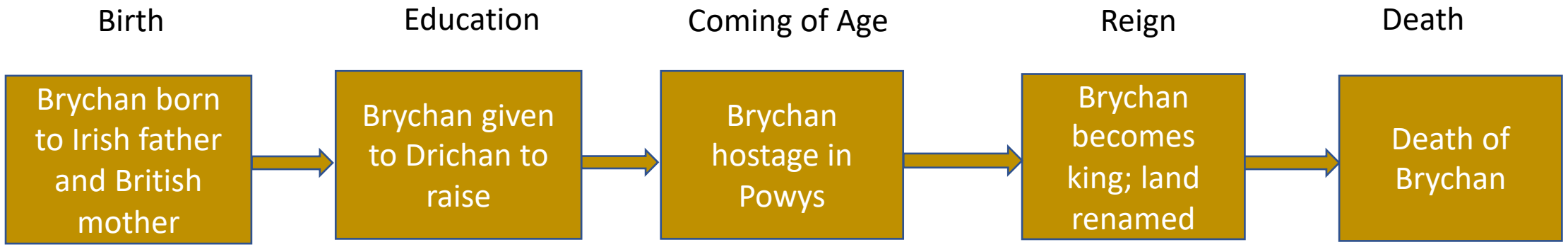







Brychan Traditions
Genealogies
London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv
London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian I
Oxford, Bodley Library, MS Jesus College 20
Plant Brychan (many versions)
The Mothers of Irish Saints (many versions)
Hagiography
Life of St Keyna
Life of St Gwynllyw
Life of St Cadog
Life of St Nectan (Cornwall)
Life of St Ninnoc (Brittany)
Nicholas Roscarrock, Lives
Liturgical documents
Martyrologies
Other
Historical accounts
Gerald of Wales
Worcester, Itineraries
Map, De Nugis Curialum
Historical records
Travellers' accounts
Antiquarian collections
Ecclesiastical records
Poetry
Landscape
Churches
Holy wells
Geographic features
Art objects
Archaeological reports
Folklore
Folktales
Legends
Songs
Festivals
Local accounts

Welsh tradition (De Situ Brecheiniauc)



- Brychan born in Ireland at Benni
- Parents return to Britain with the infant Brychan

- Drichan educates Brychan
- Drichan sees portents of B's future wealth
- Brychan sent as hostage to Banadl, king of Powys

- Brychan rapes king's daughter
- Son Cynog born
- Brychan gives a torque to Cynog as a token

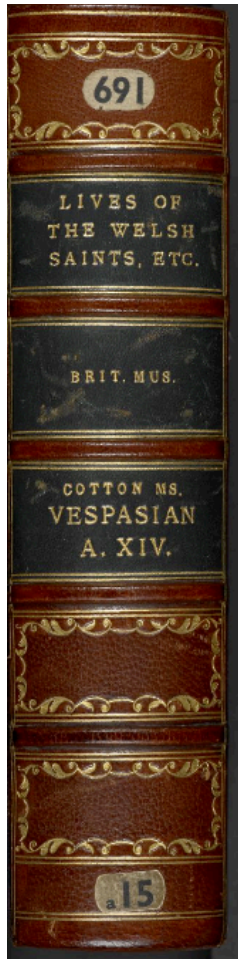
- Land renamed for Brychan
- Progenitor:
  - 3 wives
  - 11 sons
  - 25 daughters

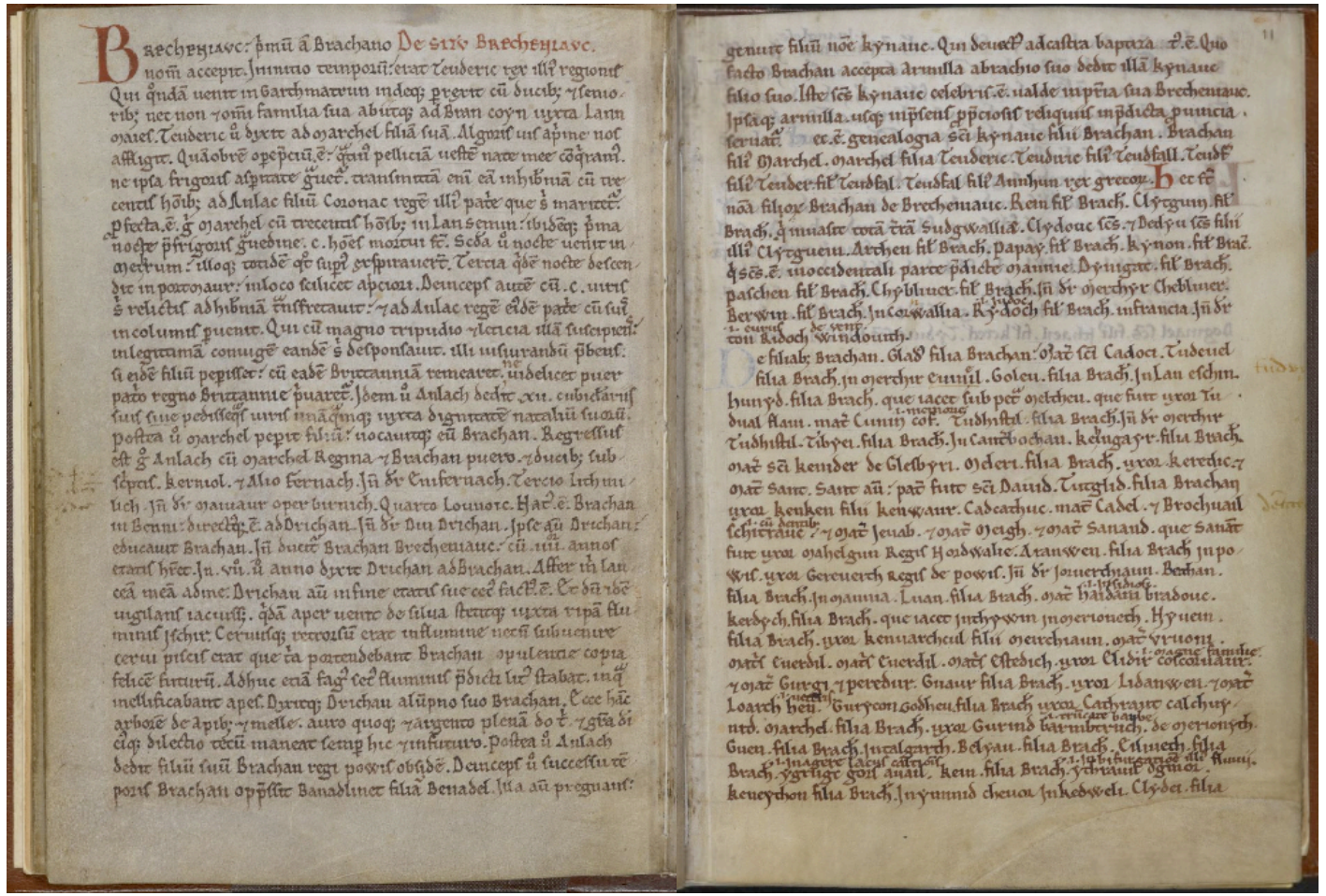
Brychan's tomb is in Ynysbrachan

Sources:

- *De Situ Brecheiniauc* (London, BL, MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv, fols 10v–11v), *c.* 1200
- *Cognacio Brychan* (London, BL, MS Cotton Domitian I, fols 157v–158v, *c.* 1500s from 13thC ms
- *Plant Brychan* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Jesus College 20, fols 33r–34r), 1300s

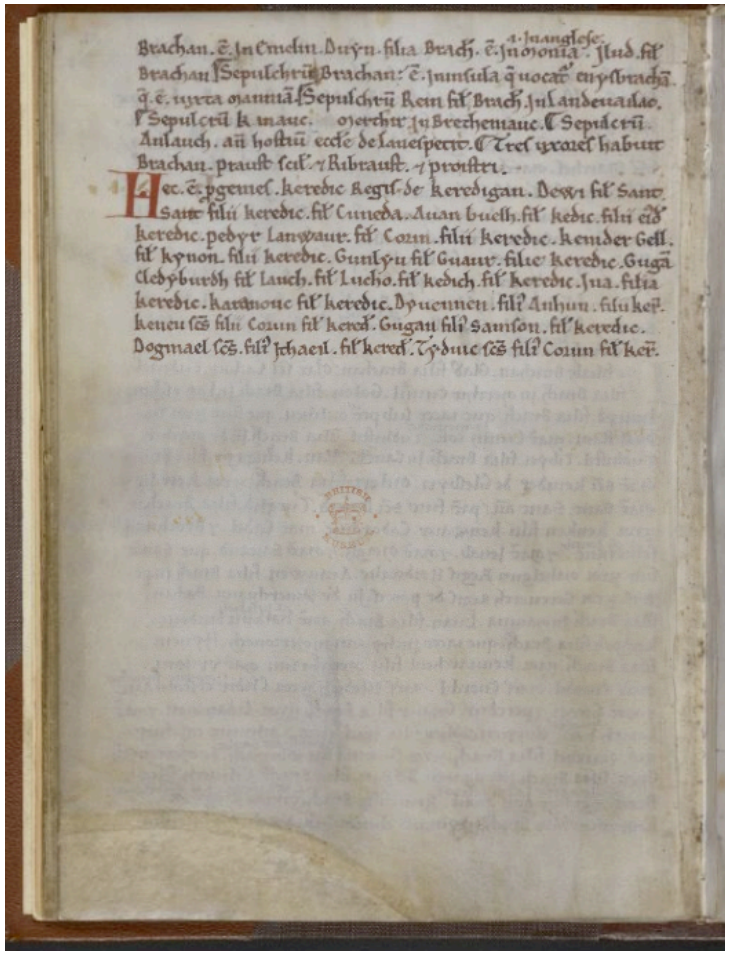
MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv, fols 10v–11v





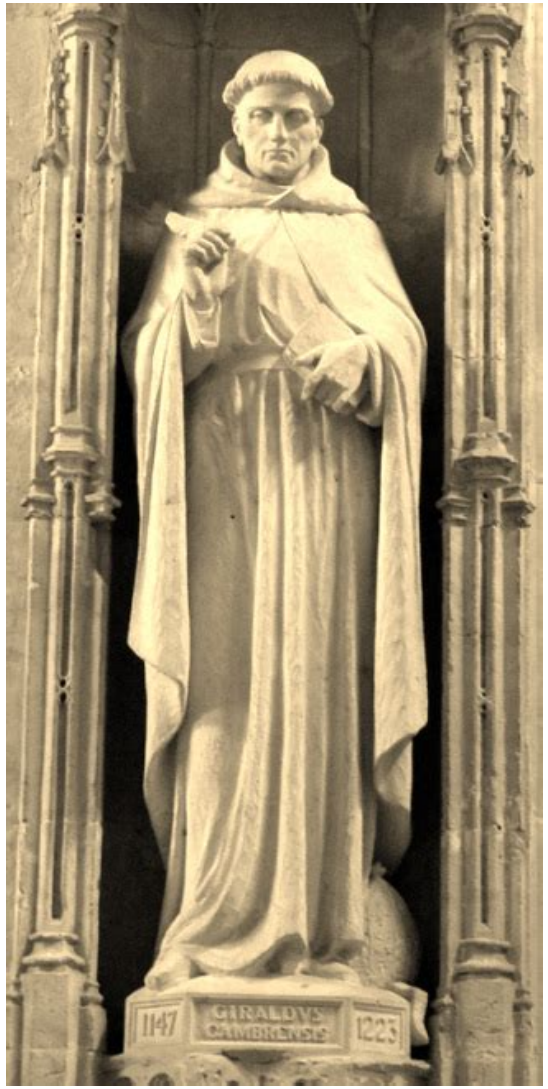
fol. 10v

fol. 11r



fol. 11v

Gerald of Wales (*c.* 1146–*c.* 1223)



In ancient times a man called Brychan was the nobly born and powerful ruler of this country of Brecknock. Indeed, it is from him that it is called Brycheiniog. The Welsh annals bear witness to the fact that had twenty-four daughters. From their youth upwards they were all dedicated to the religious life, and they ended their days blissfully in this state of sanctity. There are still many churches in Wales which have the honour of being named after them.

Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales and The Description of Wales*, trans. and intro. L. Thorpe (London: Penguin Books, 2004) pp. 91–92.

Children of Brychan (De Situ Brecheiniauc)

Brychan Brycheiniog

Sons

1. Cynog
2. Rein
3. Clytguin
4. Arthen
5. Papay
6. Kynon
7. Dynigat
8. Paschen
9. Chybliuer
10. Berwin
11. Rydoch

See Appendix A

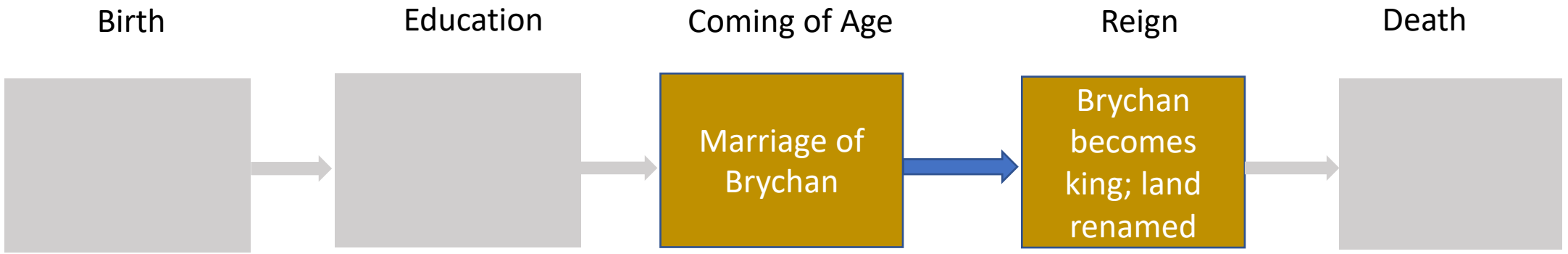
Married Daughters

1. Gwladus=Gwynllyw (*c.* 460)
4. Hunyd=Tudwal Bepr (TBD)
7. Kehingar=Gwynllyw (*c.* 460)
8. Meleri=Ceredig (*c.* 410)
9. Tudglid=Cyngen (*c.* 460)
10. Arianwen=Iorwerth Hirflawdd (*c.* 550?)
12. Luan=Aedan (*c.* 500?)
14. Nyuein=Cynfarch Oer (*c.* 480)
15. Gwaur=Elidir Lydanwyn (*c.* 490)
16. Gurycon Godheu=Cadrod Calchfynydd (*c.* 550?)
17. Marchell=Gwrin Farfdrwch (*c.* 490)

Unmarried Daughters

2. Tudeuel
3. Goleu
5. Tudhistil
6. Tibyei
11. Bethan
13. Kerdych
18. Guen
19. Belyau
20. Eiliueth
21. Kein
22. Keneython
23. Clydei
24. Duyn
25. Ilud

Cornish tradition (Life of St Nectan)



- Brychan marries Gladwisa
- Before ‘begetting son or daughter’ he goes to Ireland
- He stays in Ireland 24 years ‘intent on good works’
- He returns to Wales ‘wishing to see his native land’

- Brychan finds his wife still living
- He begets 24 sons and daughters
- He regrets opposing God’s will
- His children become hermits in Cornwall

Sources:
Life of St Nectan, Gotha, Gotha Library MS M.n.57, fol. 50v, 1200s
See also William Worcestre, *Itineraries*, and William Camden, *Brittania*

Hartland Abbey, Devon



Breton tradition (Life of St Ninnoce)



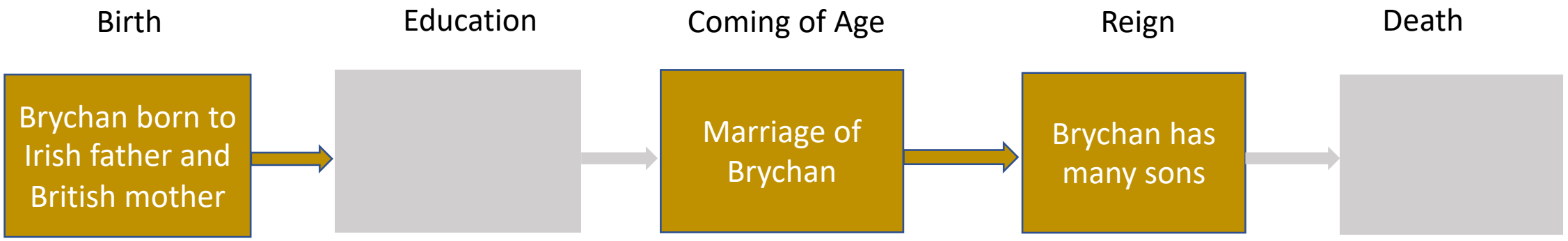
- Of the lineage of Gurthiern (i.e., Vortigern)

- Brychan has a reputation as a great king
- He marries Meneduc, the daughter of King Constantine of the line of Julius Caesar

- Their 14 sons become evangelists
- Brychan & Meneduc are indignant that they have no heir
- Brychan & Meneduc have a daughter, Nennoc
- When she comes of age, Nennoc also chooses a vocation
- After St Germanus of Auxerre supports Nennoc, Brychan & Meneduc agree
- Nennoc leaves with converts & supplies for Brittany
- The Breton prince grants her Lannenec
- Nennoc builds her abbey there

Source:
Vita Sancta Ninnoce, London, BL, MS Egerton 2802, fols 106v–117r (1200s)

Irish tradition (Mothers of the Irish Saints)



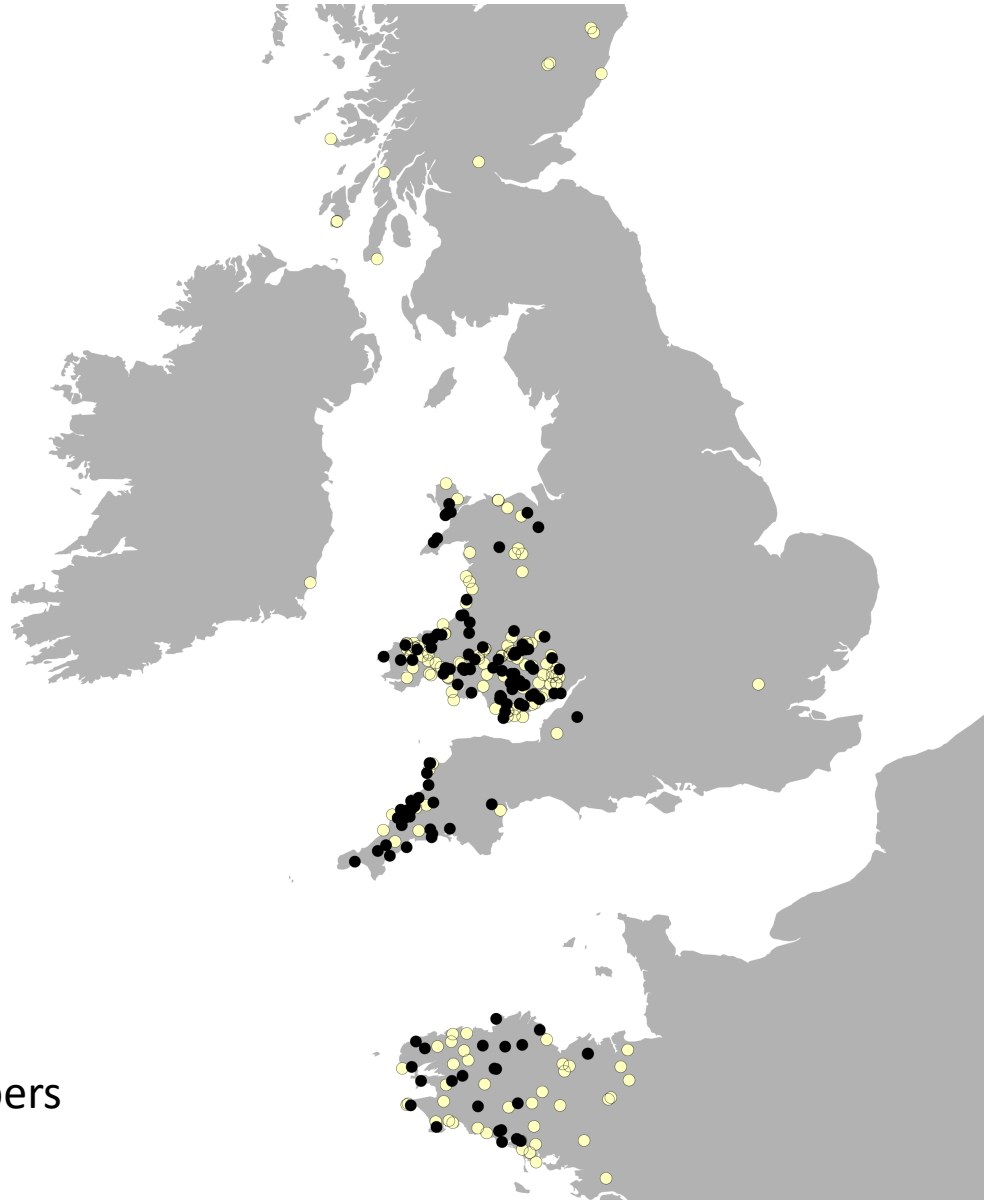
- Brychan born to be king of Bracheneoc

- Brychan marries Dina, daughter of the king of the Saxons

- They have 10 sons
- The sons go to Ireland as evangelists
- They found churches in the Waterford area south of Dublin

Sources:
Book of Leinster
Book of Lecan

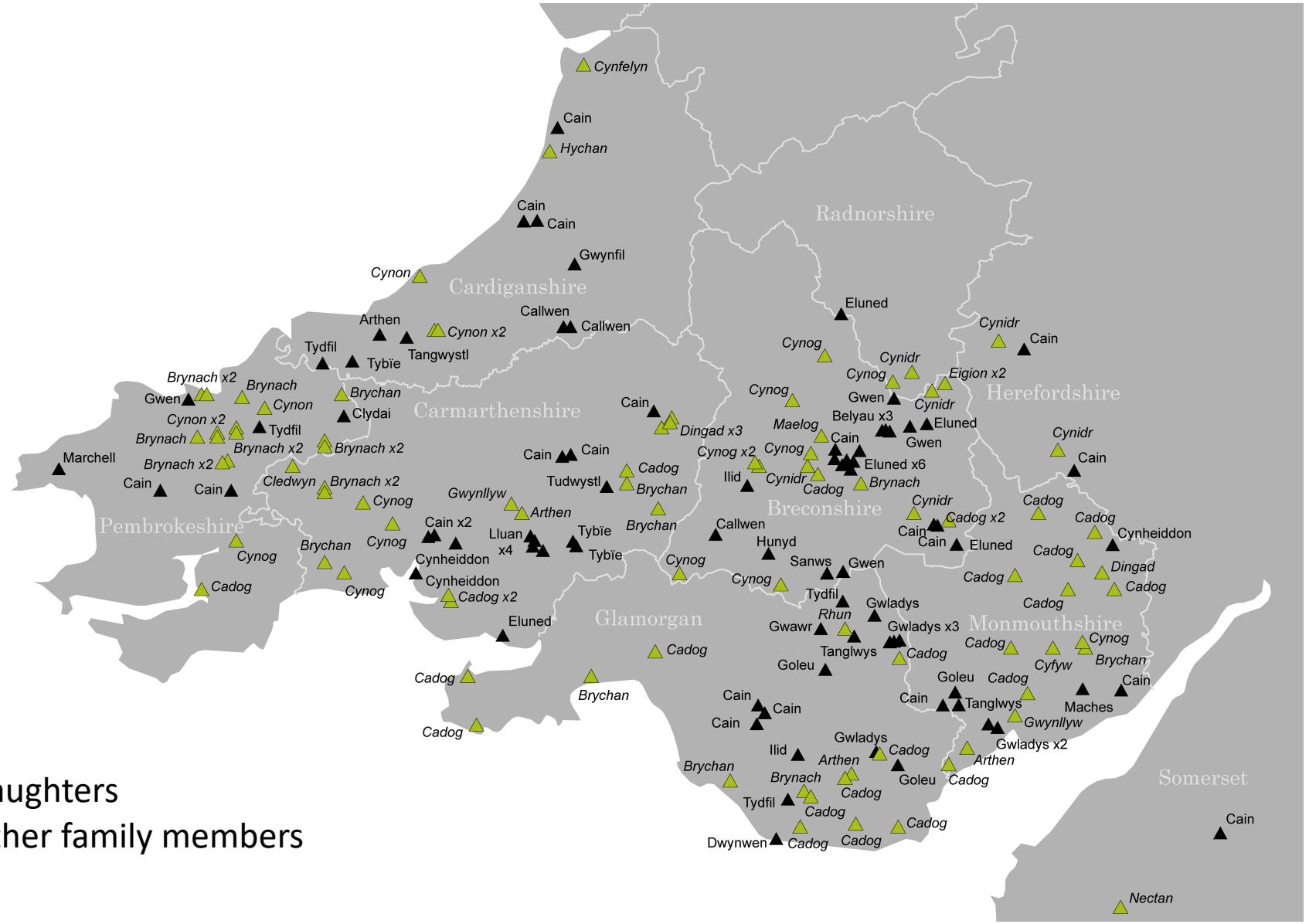
Where is the Brychan family remembered?



Legend:

- Daughters
- Other family members

The Brychan family in south Wales



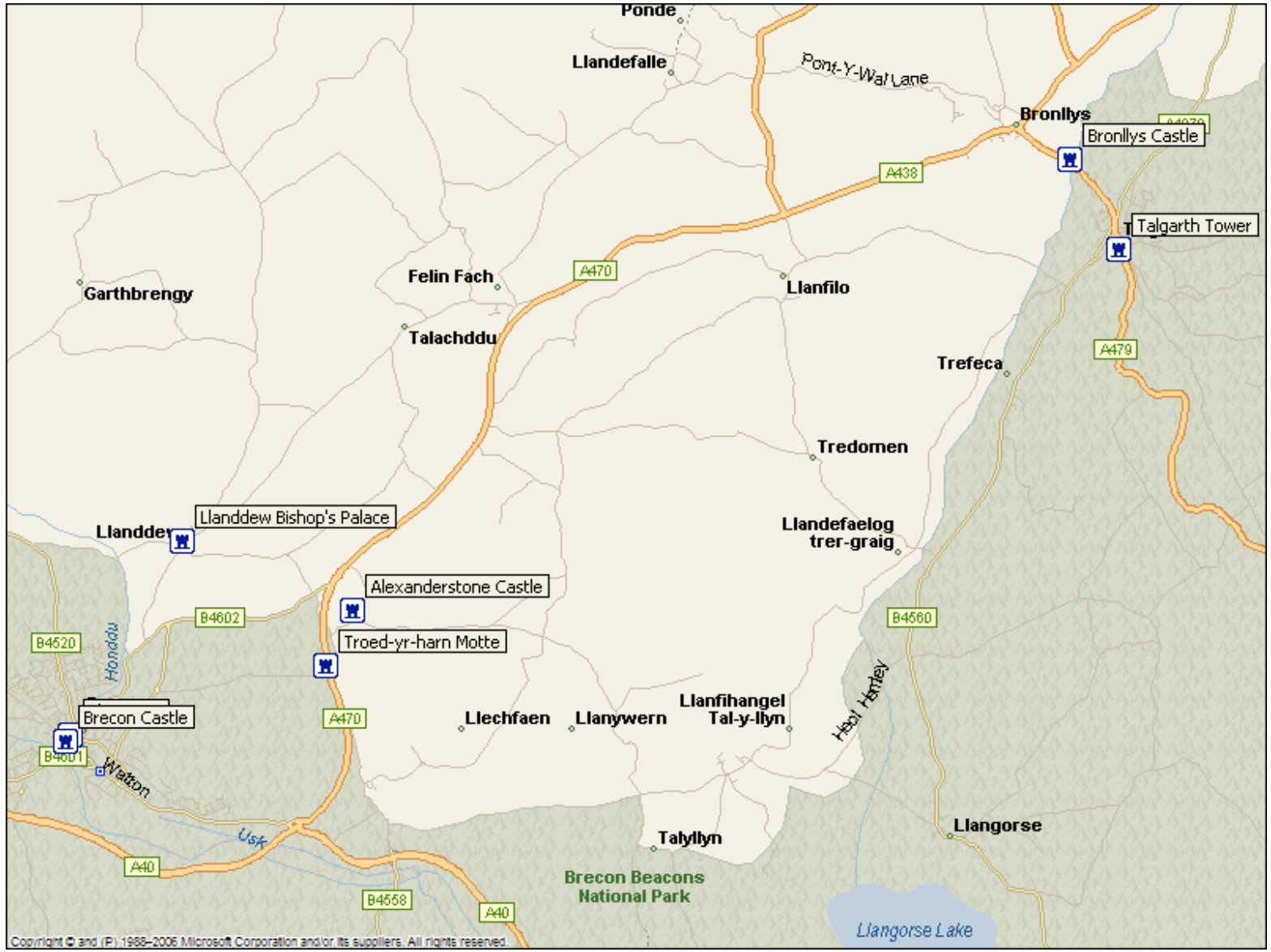
Legend:

- Daughters
- Other family members

2. Eluned, daughter of Brychan



The setting for St Eluned's tradition



Gerald of Wales, The Journey Through Wales

It is called the church of Saint Eluned, after the name of the saintly virgin who on that spot refused the hand of an earthly ruler and married instead the King Eternal, thus triumphing in an ecstacy of self-denial. Each year on the first day of August her feast-day is celebrated with great solemnity in this same place. On that day great crowds of ordinary folk assemble there from far and wide. Thanks to the merits of this blessed virgin, those who are suffering from maladies of any sort recover the health for which they pray. It sems to me that it is well worth my going into details of what happens almost every year at this feast of the virgin Eluned. You can see young men and maidens, some in the church itself, some in the churchyard and others in the dance which threads its way round the graves. They sing traditional songs, all of a sudden they collapse on the ground, and then those who, until now, have followed their leader peacefully as if in a trance, leap in the air as if seized by frenzy. In full view of the crowds they mime with their hands and feet whatever work they have done contrary to the commandment on Sabbath days. You can see one man putting his hand to an [imaginary] plough, another goading on his oxen with a stick, and all as they go singing country airs, to lighten the tedium of their labour. This man is imitating a cobbler at his bench, that man over there is miming a tanner at his work. Here you see a girl pretending that she has a distaff in her hand, drawing out the thread with her hands, stretching it at arm's length, and then winding it back onto the spindle; another, as she trips along, fits the woof to the warp; a third tosses her shuttle, now this way, now that, from one hand to the other, and with jerky gestures of her tiny tool, seems for all the world to be weaving cloth from the thread which she has prepared. When all is over, they enter the church. They are led up to the altar and there, as they make their oblation, you will be surprised to see them awaken from their trance and recover their normal composure. God in his mercy desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn from his wickedness: and so, by taking part in these festivities, many men at once see and feel in their hearts the remission of their sins and are absolved and pardoned.



Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales and The Description of Wales*, trans. and intro. L. Thorpe (London: Penguin Books, 2004) pp. 91–92.

Medieval records of St Eluned’s Chapel

- Grant by Bernard, the Norman Bishop of St. David's (1116-1149) to the Prior and Convent of Brecon, of The Chapel of Saint Haellide *ex nostra proprio dono*.
- Document, dated July 5th, 1152, by David Fitzgerald, Bishop of St. David's, at the petition of Ralph the Prior and the whole Convent, confirming to them grant of the Church of St. Aissilde by his predecessor.
- Agreement in 1520 between the last Prior, Robert Salder, and the Vicar of Brecon, Sir Thomas ap leuan, making over the parish church and other chapels belonging to it to the Vicar, the Prior excepted the "Chapel of Saint Eylet with all the tythes, offerings and emoluments belonging to it" on the condition, that the said Prior and Convent and their successors should cause all Sacraments and Sacramentals to be administered within the aforesaid Chapel
- Note in the Augmentation Office, in a roll of the "Surveys of the possessions in Breconshire of the religious houses of the Duke of Buckingham forfeited to the Crown: “Possessions on the Dissolution The Curate's stipend for celebrating Divine Service in the Chapel of St. Alice in the parish of Brecknock." Morgan notes that Theophilus Jones was of opinion that this was the same building as St. Alud's chapel.
- Description in 1551 the Inquisitio post-mortem of Thomas James, Lord of Slwch, in which his manor is described as Slwch and Saint Aylett, or Haylett.

William Worcestre, *The Itineraries* (1478)

St. Elevetha, virgin and martyr, one of the 24 daughters of the petty king of Brecknock in Wales, 24 miles [36 m.] from Hereford; she lies in the church of Virgin nuns of the town of Usk and was martyred on a hill one mile from Brecon where a spring of water welled forth, and the stone on which she was beheaded remains there, and as often as someone in honour of God and the holy saint shall say Lord's prayer or drink of the water of the spring, he shall find each time a woman's hair of the saint upon the stone; a great miracle.

W. Worcestre, *Itineraries*, p. 155.

Other possible dedications to Eluned



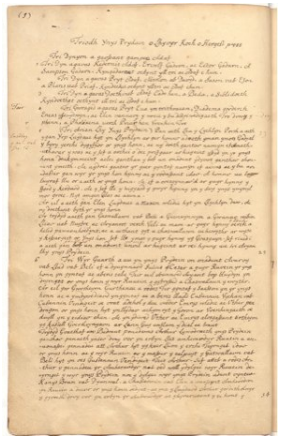
St Almed and St Ellyw’s Parish Church,
Llanelli, Monmouthshire



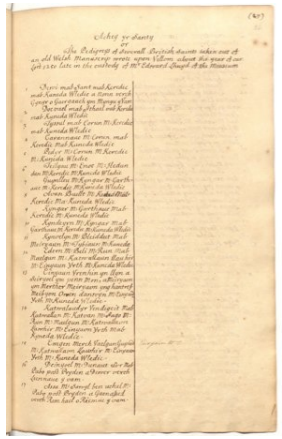
St Ellyw’s Church,
Llanelieu, Breconshire

Hugh Thomas, deputy herald and antiquarian

Trioedd Ynys Prydein



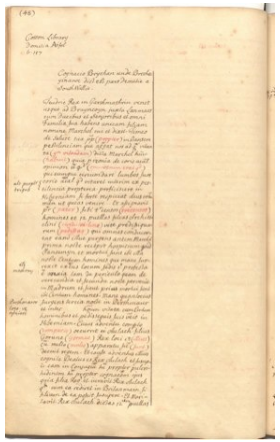
Achey y Santy



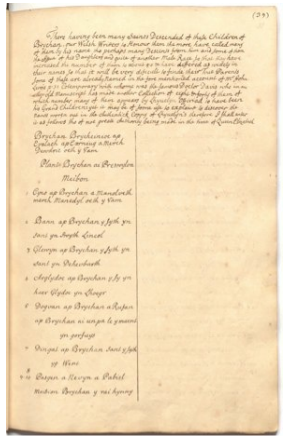
De Situ Brecheiniauc



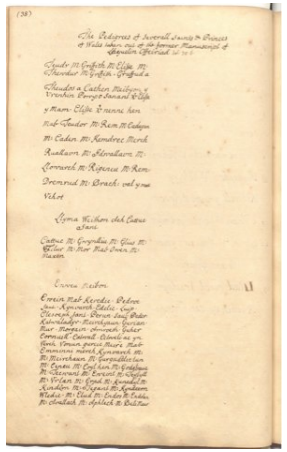
Cognacio Brychan



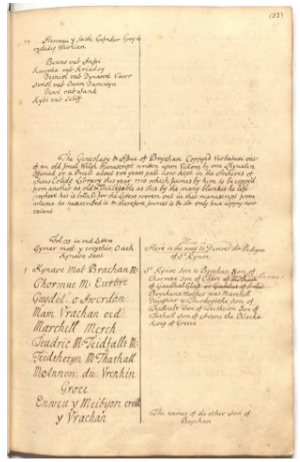
Plant Brychan



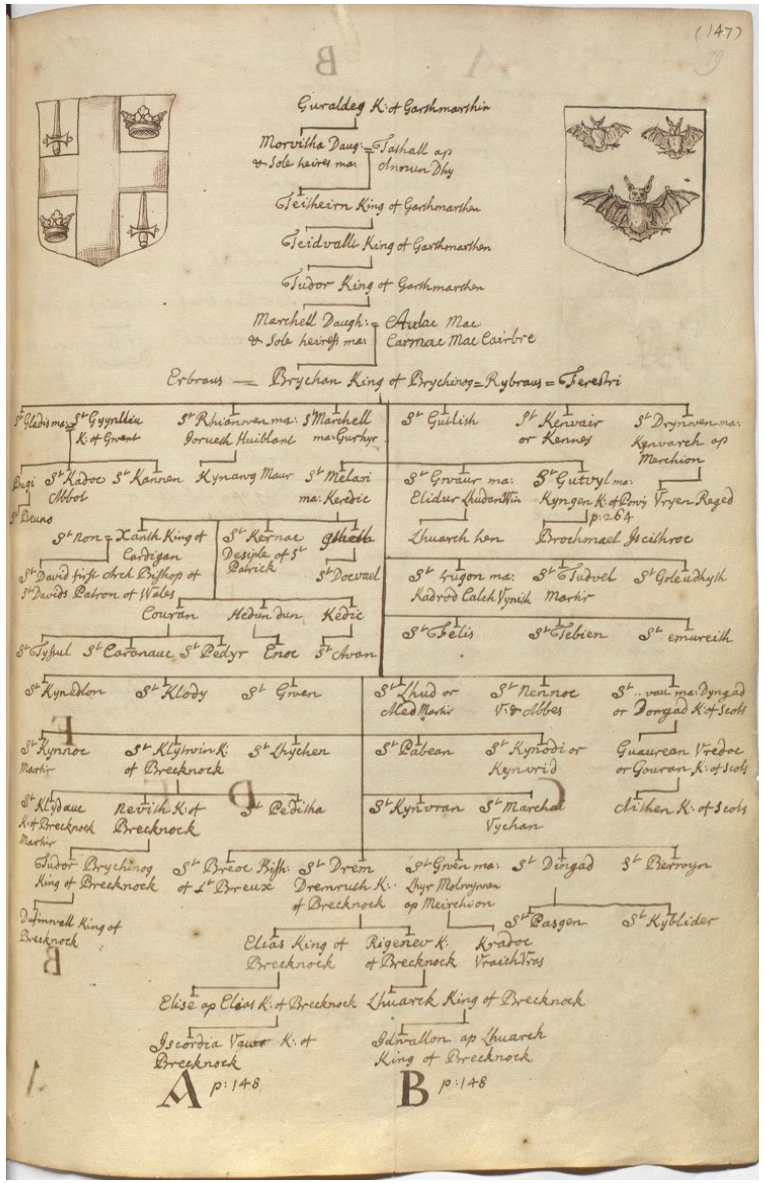
‘Pedigrees of Several Saints’



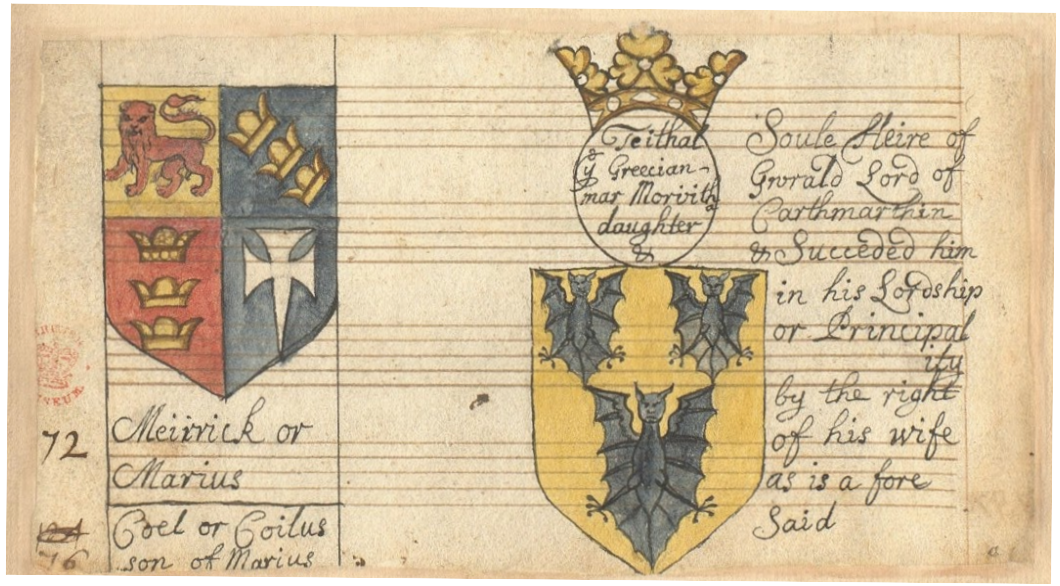
‘The Genealogy & Issue of Brychan’



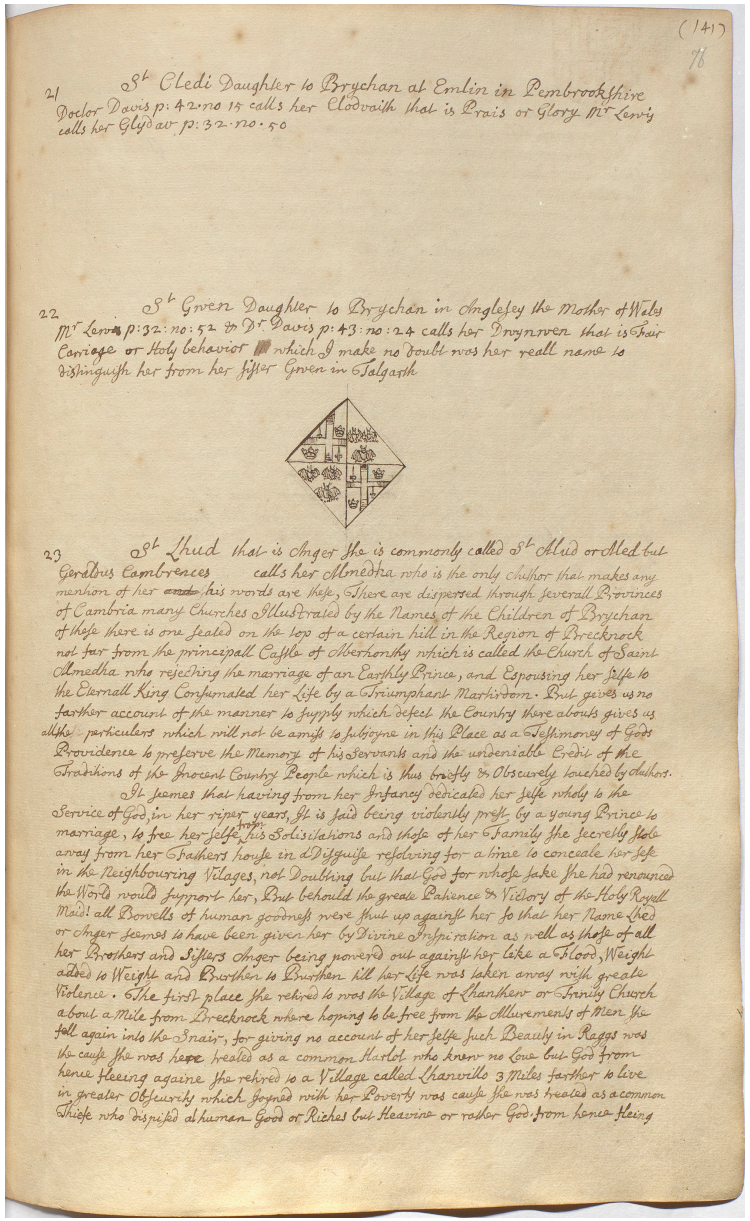
Genealogies and heraldry







Local tradition of Eluned, MS Harley 4181



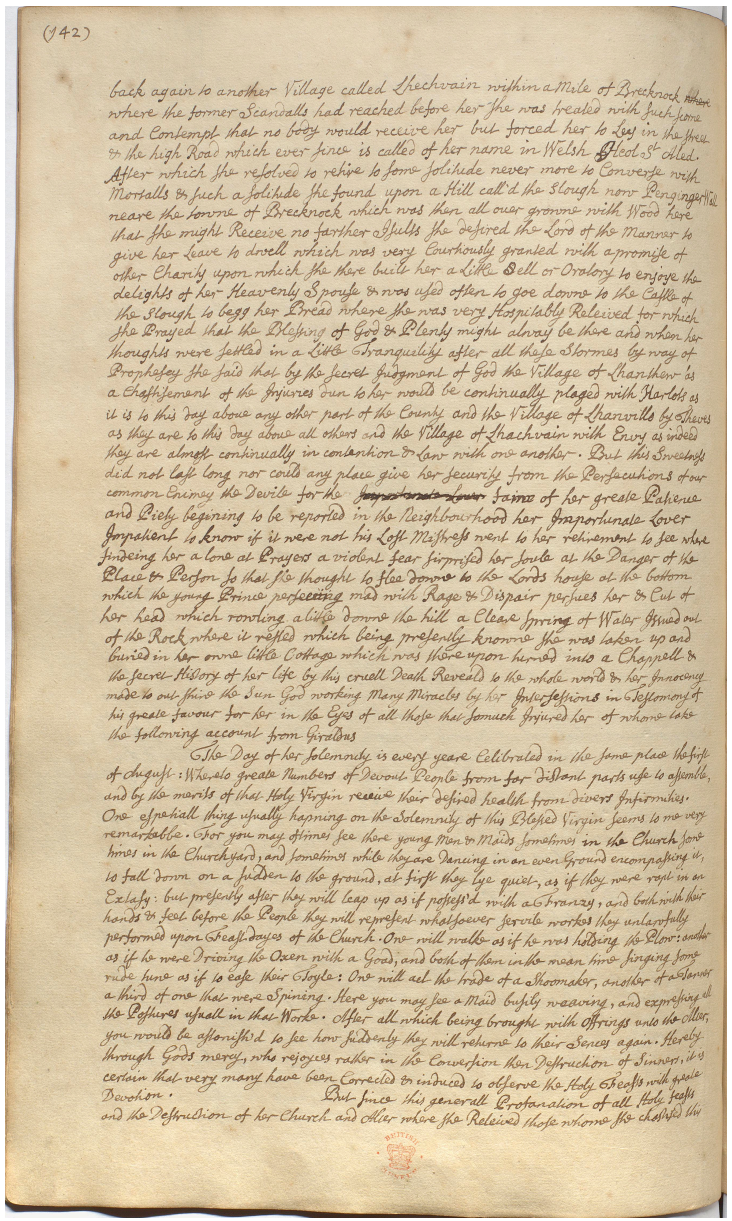
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21 St Cledi Daughter to Brychan al Emlin in Pembrookshire Doctor Davis p: 42. no 15 calls her Cledwaith that is Praise or Glory Mr Lewis calls her Glydaw p: 32. no. 50

22 St Gwen Daughter to Brychan in Anglesey the Mother of Wales Mr Lewis p: 32: no: 52 & Dr Davis p: 43: no: 24 calls her Dwynwen that is their Carriage or Holy behavior which I make no doubt was her reall name to distinguish her from her sister Gwen in Talgarth

23 St Lhud that is Anger She is commonly called St Alud or Aled but Geraldus Cambrences calls her Almedha who is the only Author that makes any mention of her ~~and~~ his words are these, There are dispersed through severall Provinces of Cambria many Churches Illustrated by the Names of the Children of Brychan of these there is one seated on the top of a certain hill in the Region of Brecknock not far from the principall Castle of Aberhonthy which is called the Church of Saint Almedha who rejecting the marriage of an Earthly Prince, and Espousing her selfe to the Eternall King Confirmated her Life by a Triumphant Martirdom. But gives us no further account of the manner to supply which defect the Country there abouts gives us all the particulers which will not be amiss to subjoyne in this Place as a Testimony of Gods Providence to preserve the Memory of his Servants and the undeniable Credit of the Traditions of the Innocent Country People which is thus briefly & Obscurely touched by Author.

It seemes that having from her Infancy dedicated her selfe wholy to the Service of God, in her riper years, & it is said being violently prest by a young Prince to marriage, to free her selfe from his Solicitations and those of her Family She secretly stole away from her Fathers house in Disguise resolving for a time to conceale her selfe in the Neighbouring Villages, not Doubting but that God for whose sake She had renounced the World would support her, But behould the greate Patience & Victory of the Holy Royall Maid! all Bowells of humain goodness were shut up against her so that her Name (her or Anger seemes to have been given her by Divine Inspiration as well as those of all her Brothers and Sisters Anger being powred out against her like a Flood, Weight added to Weight and Burthen to Burthen till her Life was taken away with greate Violence. The first place She retired to was the Village of Llanthew or Tanily Church about a Mile from Brecknock where hoping to be free from the Allurements of Men She fell again into the Snair, for giving no account of her selfe such Beauty in Rags was the cause She was here treated as a common Harlot who knew no Love but God from hence fleeing againe She retired to a Village called Llanvillo 3 Miles farther to live in greater Obscurity which joyned with her Poverty was cause She was treated as a common Thiefe who despised all humain Good or Riches but Heavine or rather God from hence fleeing

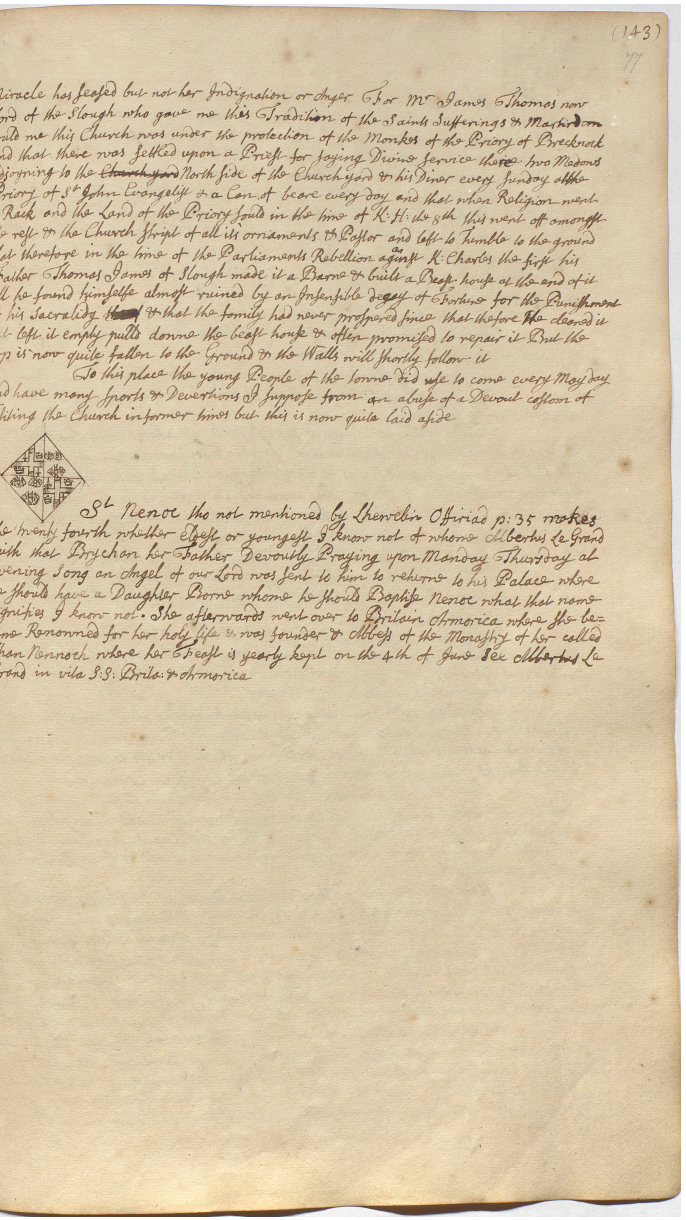


(142)

back again to another Village called Llechvain within a Mile of Brecknock where the former Scandalls had reached before her She was treated with such scorne and Contempt that no body would receive her but forced her to Ly in the Streets & the high Road which ever since is called of her name in Welsh Ffordd St Aled. After which She resolved to retire to some Solitude never more to Converse with Mortalls & such a Solitude She found upon a Hill call'd the Slough now Penyngarllt neare the towne of Brecknock which was then all over growne with Wood here that She might Receive no further Affronts She desired the Lord of the Manner to give her Leave to dwell which was very Courteously granted with a promise of other Charity upon which She there built her a Little Cell or Oratory to enjoye the delights of her Heavenly Spouse & was used often to goe downe to the Castle of the Slough to begg her Bread where She was very Hospitably Relieved for which She Prayed that the Blessing of God & Plenty might alway be there and when her thoughts were settled in a Little Tranquility after all these Stormes by way of Prophesy She said that by the Secret Judgment of God the Village of Llanthew as a Chastisement of the Injuries done to her would be continually plaged with Harlots as it is to this day above any other part of the County and the Village of Llanvillo by Theives as they are to this day above all others and the Village of Llechvain with Envy as indeed they are almost continually in contention & Law with one another. But this Revelation did not last long nor could any place give her Security from the Persecutions of our common Enemy the Devile for the ~~Importunate Love~~ fame of her greate Patience and Piety beginning to be reported in the Neighbourhood her Importunate Lover Impatient to know if it were not his Lost Mistress went to her retirement to see who Judging her alone at Prayers a violent fear surprised her Soule at the Danger of the Place & Person so that She thought to flee downe to the Lords house at the bottom which the young Prince possessing mad with Rage & Dispair perfues her & Cut of her head which rowling a little downe the hill a Clear Spring of Water Issued out of the Rock where it rested which being presently knowne She was taken up and buried in her owne Little Cottage which was there upon turned into a Chappell & the Secret History of her Life by this cruell Death Revealed to the whole world & her Innocency made to out shine the Sun God working Many Miracles by her Intercessions in Testimony of his greate favour for her in the Eyes of all those that Injured her of whome take the following account from Giraldus

The Day of her Solemnity is every yeare Celebrated in the same place the first of August: Where also greate Numbers of Devout People from far distant parts use to assemble, and by the merits of that Holy Virgin receive their desired health from divers Infirmities. One especiall thing usually happning on the Solemnity of this Blessed Virgin seems to me very remarkable. For you may oftimes see there young Men & Maids sometimes in the Church some times in the Churchyard, and sometimes while they are Dancing in an even Ground encompassing it, to fall down on a sudden to the ground, at first they lye quiet, as if they were rapt in an Extasy: but presently after they will leap up as if possess'd with a Frenzy, and both with their hands & feet before the People they will represent whatsoever servile workes they unlawfully performed upon Feast Dayes of the Church. One will make as if he was holding the Plow: another as if he were Driving the Oxen with a Goad, and both of them in the mean time singing some rude tune as if to ease their Toyle: One will act the tricke of a Shoomaker, another of a Sowter a third of one that were Spining. Here you may see a Maid busily weaving, and expressing all the Postures usuall in that Worke. After all which being brought with Offrings unto the Altar, you would be affonish'd to see how suddenly they will returne to their Senses again. Hereby through Gods mercy, who rejoyces rather in the Conversion then Destruction of Sinners, it is certain that very many have been Corrected & induced to observe the Holy Feasts with greate Devotion.

But since this generall Prophanation of all Holy Feasts and the Destruction of her Church and Altar where She Relieved those whome She chastised the



(143)

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24 St Nenoc she not menioned by Llewelin Offiriad p: 35 makes the twenty fourth whether Elder or younger I know not of whom Albertus le Grand saith that Brychan her Father Devoutly Praying upon Munday Thursday at evening Song an Angel of our Lord was sent to him to returne to his Palace where he should have a Daughter Borne whome he should Baptize Nenoc what that name Signifies I know not. She afterwards went over to Britain Armorica where She became Renowned for her holy life & was founder & Abbess of the Monastry of Lan called Lhan Nenoch where her Feast is yearly kept on the 4th of June See Albertus le Grand in vita S.S. Britt. & Armorica

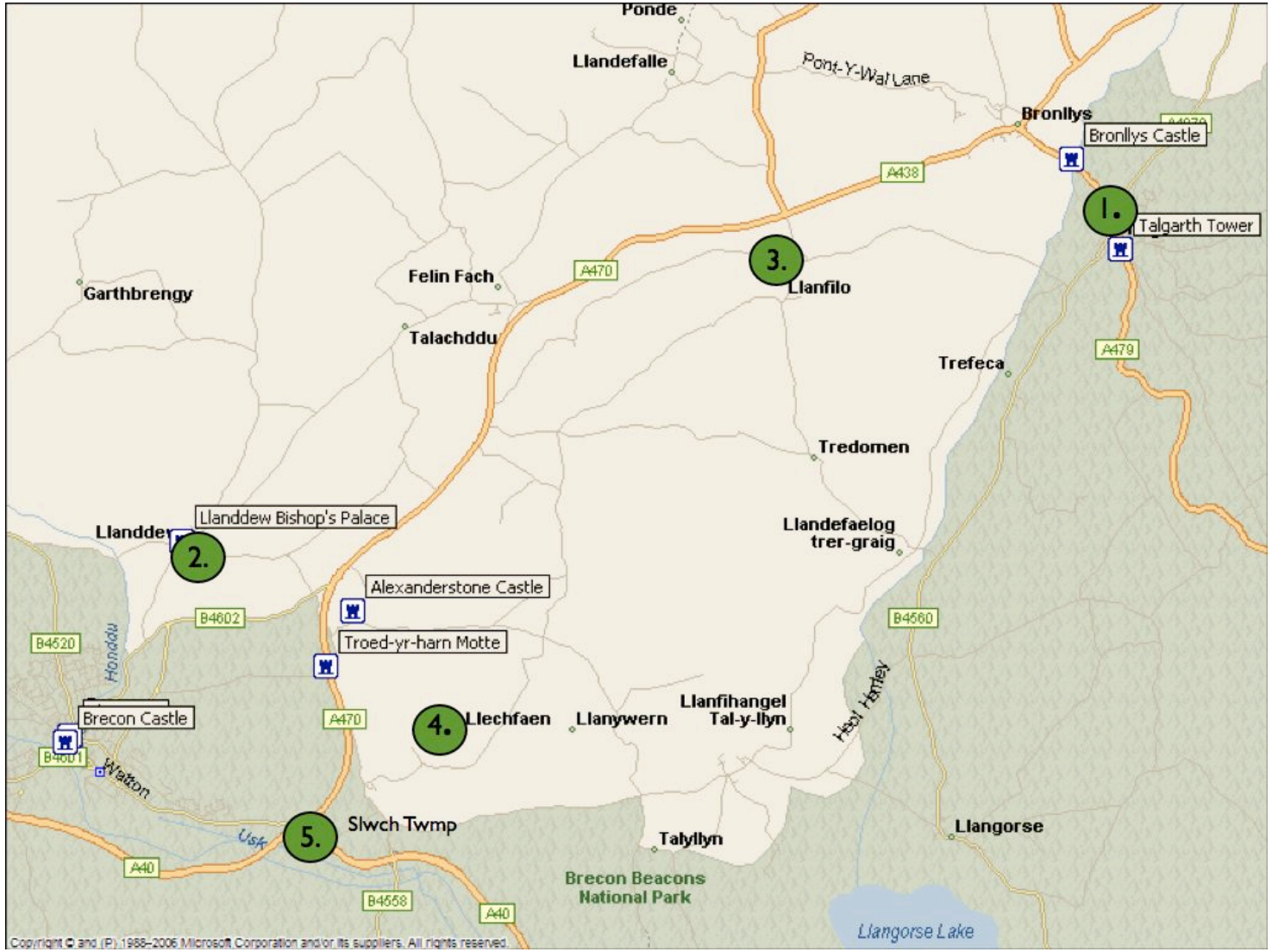
Thomas reports local tradition

S. Lhud, that is Anger ; she is commonly called S. Alud or Aled, but Giraldus Cambrensis calls her Almedha, who is the only author that makes any mention of her ; his words are these…. But gives no further account of the matter, to supply which defect the country thereabouts gives us all the particulars, which will not be amiss to subjoin in this place, as a testimony of God's Providence to preserve the memory of His servants, and the undeniable credit of the traditions of the innocent country people, which is thus briefly and obscurely touched by authors.

Eluned escapes an unwelcome marriage

It seems, that having from her infancy dedicated herself wholly to the service of God, in her riper years being violently pressed by a young Prince to marriage, to free herself from his solicitations and those of her family, she secretly stole away from her father's house in a disguise, resolving for a time to conceal herself in the neighbouring villages, not doubting that God, for whose sake she had renounced the world, would support her. But behold the great patience and victory of the lily, royal maid ! All bowels of human goodness were shut up against her, so that her name, Lhud or Anger, seems to have been given her by Divine inspiration (as well as those of all her brothers and sisters), anger being poured out against her like a flood, weight added to weight, and burthen to burthen, till her life was taken away with great violence.

Eluned's search for sanctuary



The first place she retired to was the village of Llanddew, or Trinity Church, about a mile from Brecknock, where she was so ill-treated, that fleeing from hence, she retired to a village called Llanfilo, three miles farther, to live in greater obscurity, which, joined with her poverty, beauty in rags, was the cause she was treated as a common thief, who despised human good or riches, but sought Heaven, or rather God. From hence, fleeing back again to another village called Llechfaen, within a mile of Brecknock, where the former scandals had reached before her, she was treated with such scorn and contempt that nobody would receive her, but forced her to lie in the street and the high road, which ever since is called of her name in Welsh, Heol S. Alud.

Eluned finds sanctuary ‘upon a hill called the Slwch’



A. ‘…solitude she found upon a Hill call’d the Slough’



B. ‘…which was then all over growne with Wood’



C. ’…she there built her a little Sell or Oratory’



D. ’…& was used often to goe down to the castle of the Slough to begg her Bread’

Eluned's prophecy

When her thoughts were settled in a little tranquility after all these storms, by way of prophecy she said: That by the secret judgment of God a chastisement would rest on the village of Llanddew for the injuries done to her; that the village of Llanfillo should be plagued with thieves, as they are to this day above all others, and the village of Llechfaen with envy, as indeed they are almost continually in contention and law with one another.



A. The Church of St Bilo, Llanfilo



B. Bishop Gower's Well, Llanddew



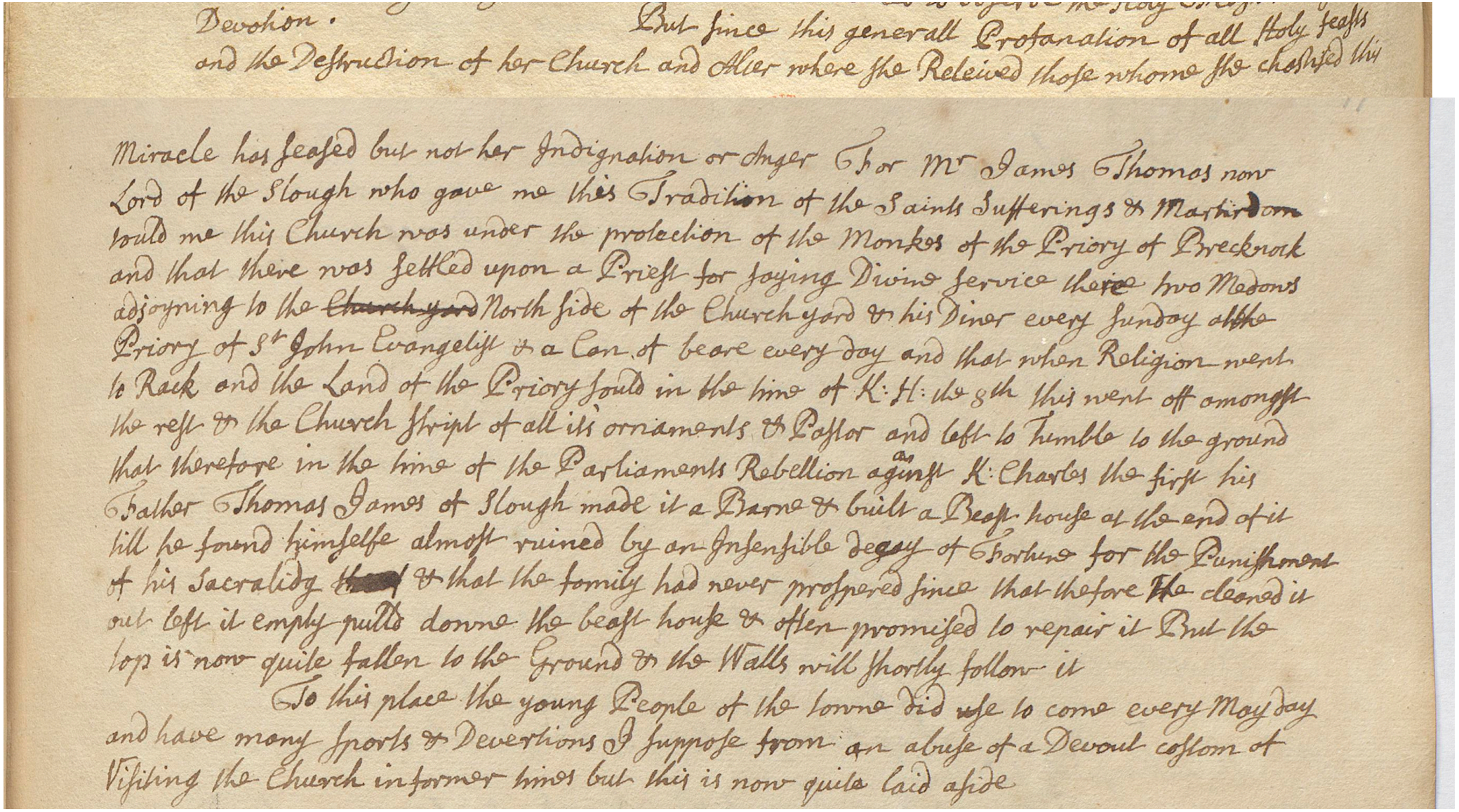
C. Well, Llechfaen

The martyrdom of Eluned



But this sweetness did not last long, nor could any place give her security from the persecutions of our common enemy, the Devil, for the fame of her great patience and piety beginning to be reported in the neighbourhood, her importunate lover, impatient to know if it were his lost mistress, went to her retirement to see, where, finding her alone at prayers, a violent fear surprised her soul at the danger of the place and person, so that she thought to flee down to the Lord's house at the bottom [of the hill], which the young Prince perceiving, mad with rage and despair, pursues her, and cuts off her head, which, rolling a little down the hill, a clear spring of water issued out of the rock, where it rested. This being presently known, she was taken up and buried in her own little cottage, which was there- upon turned into a chapel, and the secret history of her life by this cruel death revealed to the whole world, and her innocency made to outshine the sun, God working many miracles by her intercessions, in testimony of His great favour for her, in the eyes of all those who so much injured her.

What happened to St Eluned's Chapel?



Devotion. But since this generall Profanation of all Holy Feasts
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Description of St Eluned's Chapel (1903)

The annexed Inquisitio post mortem of Thomas James, the Lord of this Manor, taken in the reign of Edward VI. (1551) is specially interesting as referring to the Manor of Slough (Slwch) and Saint Aylett close to the town of Brecon. There is a sonnet by my father to the memory of fair Elined (the name is variously given as Alud, Elud, Elyned and Aluned, and here we have it as Aylett), a, daughter of Brychau Brycheiniog, to which your readers may refer, and also to the account in Jones' History (New Ed., pages 28 and 215) of her life and death, and of the chapel called after her, that stood in Giraldus Cambrensis' day not far from Slwch hill in the direction of Slwch farm. In Jones' time a heap of stones near an aged yew tree, with a well at its root, marked the site of the chapel.

J. Lloyd, *Historical Memoranda of Breconshire* (Brecon: Ellis Owen, 1903), p. 41.

Elyned poem by John Lloyd of Dinas

Fair Elyned, this window doth command
A low flat hill, whereon tradition says
Thy life was freely rendered, in the days
When yet the cross on this benighted land
Had feeble hold, by persecutions hand
Fiercely assailed: oh! while secure we raise
Temple and altar, well become us praise,
And recollections of the martyred band:
Nor least of thee for of a princely race,
And sex ill-form'd such pang to undergo,
That thou hast won in history a place
Is proof thy spirit quail'd not from the blow.
Would not the conquerors of the earth could trace
Such proud escutcheon, such desert might shew.

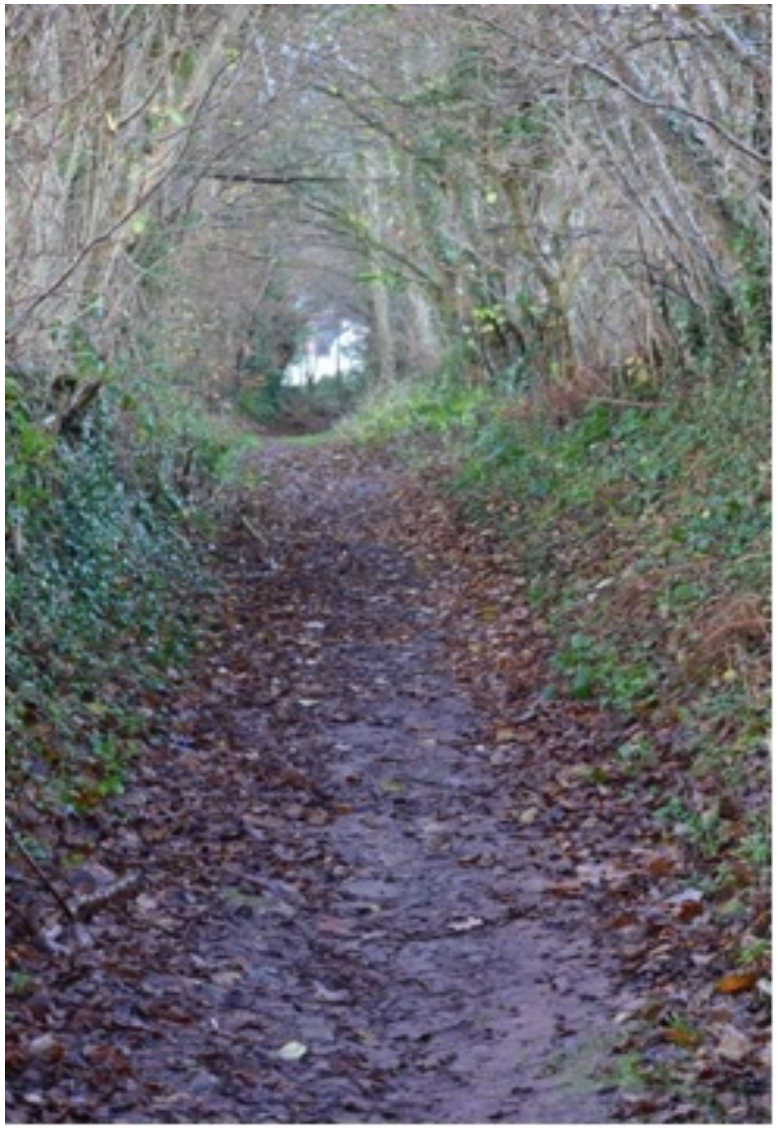
Gwenllian E. F. Morgan (1852–1939)

- Personal interest in Brychan tradition
- Coronation mayor of Brecon 1910–1911
  - Brecon Guildhall
  - City coat of arms
- Support of Brecon Cathedral
  - *Brecon Cathedral* (Brecon Cathedral Publication, 1903, 9th rev. 1944)
  - Donated window of St Alud, St Brychan, and St Cynog to the Cathedral
- Antiquarian and historian
  - 'Forgotten Sanctuaries', *Archaeologia Cambrensis,* vol. III, sixth series (1903), pp. 205–223.
  - *Theophilus Jones, F.S.A. historian his life, letters & literary remains*, ed. by Edwin Davies (Brecon: Davies & Company, 1905).



Portrait by Isaac Cooke
Brecon Guildhall

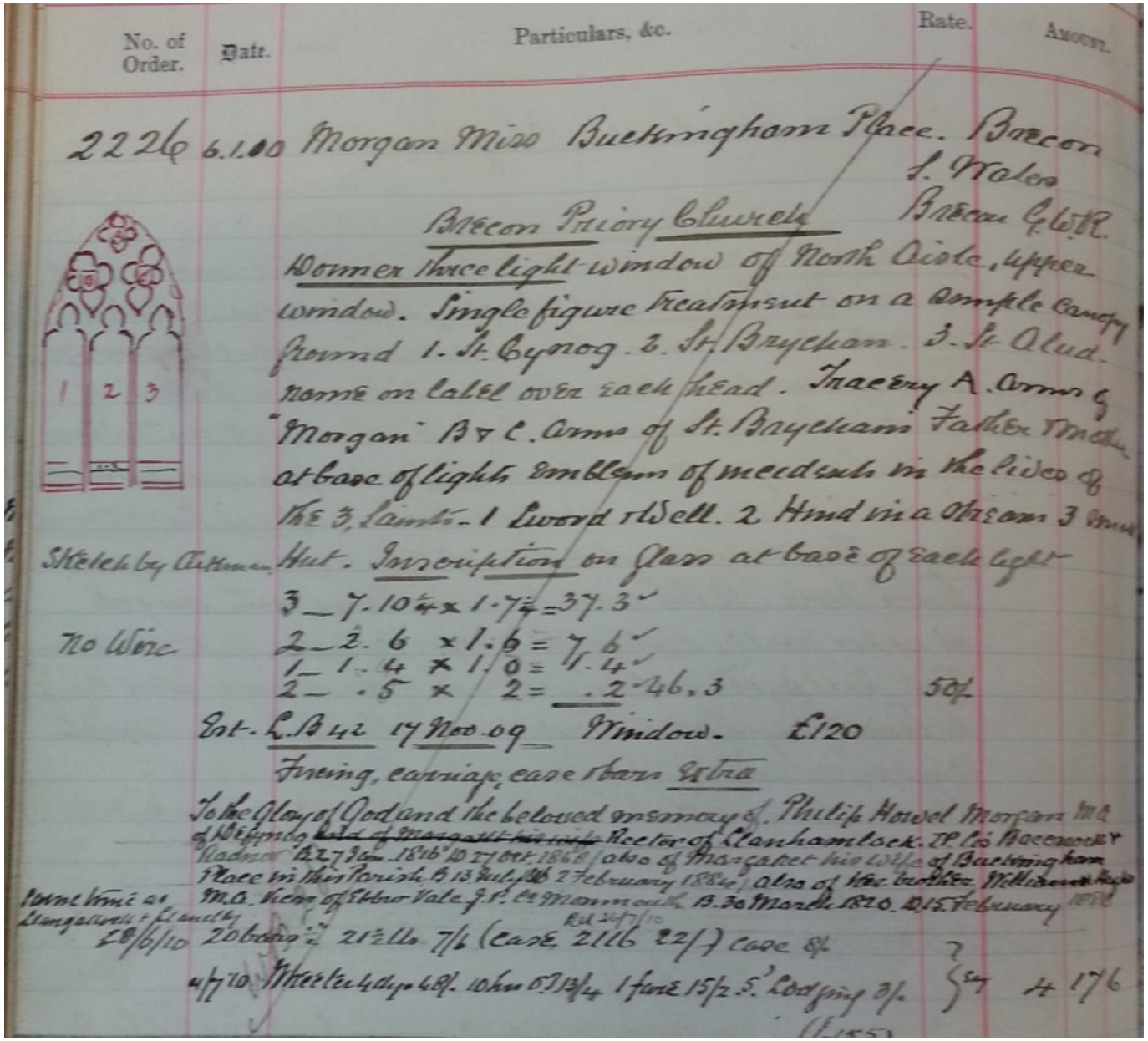
Gwenllian Morgan, ‘Forgotten Sanctuaries’



St Alud’s Chapel is little more than one mile from the town of Brecon, and is reached by Cerrig-cochion Lane, which, as its name suggests, is a rugged walk out in the red rock, overhung with oaks and hazels, bordered with blackberry brambles and ferns and harebells. This ancient “Pilgrims’ Way” leads to the site of the chapel, and was the “St. Euan Layne” mentioned in an account of the revenue of the Priory, 28 Hen. VIII. It was the direct route from St. Alud’s by what is now Wellington Place and King Street to the Monastery. The land now belongs to Lord Tredegar, and on the Ordnance Map is marked as “Site of St. Elyned’s Chapel.”

Gwenllian Morgan, ‘Forgotten Sanctuaries’, *Archaeologia Cambrensis,* vol. III, sixth series (1903), pp. 205–223.

Brecon Cathedral



No. of Order. | Date. | Particulars, &c. | Rate. | Amount.

2226 6.1.00 Morgan Miss Buckingham Place. Brecon
S. Wales
Brecon G.W.R.

Brecon Priory Church

Dormer three light window of North Aisle, upper window. Single figure treatment on a simple canopy
Ground 1. St. Cynog. 2. St. Brychan. 3. St. Aud.
name on label over each head. Tracery A. Arms of "Morgan" B & C. Arms of St. Brycheiniog Father Mother
at base of lights emblem of medals in the likes of
the 3 Saints - 1 Sword & Well. 2 Hind in a Stream 3 Bird

Sketch by Artist. Hut. Inscription on Glass at base of each light

3 _ 7. 10¼ x 1.7½ = 37.3 ✓
No Wire 2 _ 2. 6 x 1.6 = 7.6 ✓
1 _ 1. 4 x 1.0 = 1.4 ✓
2 _ .5 x 2 = .2 46.3 50%

Est. L.B 42 17 Nov. 09 Window. £120
Freight, carriage, case Extra

To the Glory of God and the beloved memory of Philip Howel Morgan M.A. of Llangattock Lingoed & Llantilio Rector of Llanhamlach. & Pertholey Radnor B 27 Dec. 1816 D 27 Oct 1868 also of Margaret his Wife of Buckingham Place in this Parish B 13 July 26 2 February 1884 also of the brother William Lloyd M.A. Vicar of Ebbw Vale J.P. Co Monmouth B. 30 March 1820. D 15 February 1892

Some time at Llangattock & Llantilio £8/6/10 20 boxes @ 21½ lbs 7/6 (case 2116 22/-) case &

4/7/10 Wheeler 4 days 48/. John 6/13/4 1 horse 15/2.5. Carting 3/. 5 cwt 4 17/6



Local saints integrated with the landscape



A. Founders of the Faith: Cynog, Brychan, and Alud



B. The Brecon Beacons from Slwch Tump facing south



C. St Alud on Slwch Tump, south view

Copyright 2015 by Eric Mehan

Continuing local interest

- Brecon Cathedral has sponsored a celebration on the feast day of St Eluned (2017–2019)
- Convivium organizes the event
- Community-based activities
  - Lectures
  - Walk to the chapel and well site
  - Food
  - Music and storytelling
  - Religious services



Break [20 min]



Brychan coat of arms, Hugh Thomas

3. Exercise: explore the tradition of St Maches

Research question: Was St Maches believed to be a daughter of Gwynllyw and Gwladys?

Task: Together, we will review a dossier of information of all kinds with the goal of planning research about the tradition of St Maches

1. Review the sources (see dossier in your handout) [20 min]
   - Trace the sources about Maches back in time. Which is the oldest? Which is the most recent?
   - What do the sources establish about Maches?
   - Where do the sources agree?
   - Where are the contradictions in the material?
   - Where is the missing information you need in order to draw conclusions?
2. Make a research plan: [30 min]
   - Where would you look for more information?
   - Where would you travel for fieldwork? What would you look for?
3. Discuss findings and plans [30 min]
   - How do you see the task?
   - What are your reactions to the process?

Sabine Baring-Gould and John Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints*, 4 vols (Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion: London, 1907–1913), vol. 3, pp. 392–393.

S. MACHES or MACHUTA, Virgin, Martyr

THE following notice of this Saint appears in the *Iolo MSS.*:[3] "S. Maches, at Merthyr Maches, where she was slain, was a daughter of Gwynllyw ab Glywys ab Tegid, and sister to Catwg of Llancarfan. S. Maches gave alms to every poor person who asked it; and a pagan Saxon, in the guise of a beggar, went to the place where he knew she gave alms, and stabbed her in the breast with a knife."

Her father, Gwynllyw Filwr, was *regulus* of Gwynllywg, the district lying between the Usk and Rumney rivers, and was married to Gwladys, daughter of Brychan, by whom he had a large family.

The place at which she suffered martyrdom is now known as Llanvaches, near Caerwent, in Monmouthshire, but the church is usually said to be dedicated to S. Dubricius. The grant to Llandaff of Merthyr Maches, made during the episcopate of Catguaret, the reputed seventeenth bishop, occurs in the *Book of Llan Dâv.*[4]

The virgin martyr Machuta, mentioned in the *Life of S. Tathan*,[5] is, no doubt, to be identified with S. Maches, though the story of her death is differently related. It is not stated whose daughter she was. She shepherded a flock of sheep, and a couple of thieves were desirous

[1] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 255. [2] *Celtic Britain*, 1904, p. 308. [3] P. 131.
[4] P. 211. Tomos Derllysg, in a poem to S. Margaret (*Llanover MS.*, B. 1, fo. 59 *a*), associates that Saint with Llanvaches :—

"Llyma verch lle mae i vêdd
Llann vaches llaian vychedd."

[5] *Vita S. Tathei*, ed. H. Idris Bell, Bangor, 1909, pp. 10–11; *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 261–2. With the name cf. Machutus = Malo.

to steal a fine three-year-old ram belonging to it, but were unable to effect their purpose without her knowledge. One day they constrained her to enter with her flock into a forest, and there they smote off her head, so that it might not be made known who had committed the theft. S. Tathan hearing of this was much grieved; but the two thieves, struck with compunction, came to him and confessed all. They described the place of murder, and on the spot Tathan raised a church in her honour. He caused her body to be "borne unto Caerwent, and it was buried there in the floor of the church."

Williams, Taliesin, *The Iolo Manuscripts* (Llandovery: William Rees, 1848).

Enghenedl, the son of Cynan Garwyn, the son of Brochwel Ysgithrog.

Tegvedd, the daughter of Tegid, the son of Cadell Deyrnllwg, and wife of Cunedda Wledig. Her church is in Gwent, where she was slain by the Saxons.

Gwynlliw, lord of Gwynllwg in Morganwg, the son of Glywys, the son of Tegid, the son of Cadell Deyrnllwg.

Saint Cattwg, of Llancarvan, the son of Gwynlliw, the son of Glywys, the son of Tegid, the son of Cadell Deyrnllwg. He was principal of the college which Saint Germanus, the son of Ridigius, caused to be founded in Llancarvan, in the room of Saint Dubricius, when he was made Archbishop of Llandaff, which college, together with that of Illtyd, was founded by Saint Germanus and Saint Lupus, when they came to the Island to renovate the Christian religion.

Cammarch, the son of Gwynlliw, the son of Glywys, the son of Tegid, *ut supra;* his church is in Buallt.

Hywgi, the son of Gwynlliw, the son of Glywys, the son of Tegid.

Beuno, the son of Hywgi, the son of Gwynlliw, *ut supra*, who founded Bangor Beuno, in Clynog Vawr in Arvon; and that was the most celebrated of all the Bangors in Gwynedd for knowledge and piety, and afterwards it was made a Monastery as it is at present.

Glywys Cerniw, the son of Gwynlliw, the son of Glywys, the son of Tegid, the son of Cadell Deyrnllwg; brother of Cattwg, of Llancarvan; his church is Coed Cernyw in Gwynllwg.

Saint Gwodloyw, the son of Glywys Cerniw, was bishop in Llandaff, and before that, a confessor to the saints in the college of Cattwg.

Cynvyw, the son of Gwynlliw, the son of Tegid, the son of Cadell Deyrnllwg, another brother of Cattwg of Llancarvan, and a saint of his college.

Gwyddlew,[1] the son of Gwynlliw, the son of Glywys, the son of Tegid, the son of Cadell Deyrnllwg, another brother of Cattwg, and a saint in his college.

Cyvlewyr, the son of Gwynlliw, the son of Glywys, another brother of Cattwg, and a saint in his college.

Saint Cannen, the daughter of Gwyddlew, the son of Gwynlliw, the son of Glywys, *ut supra.*

[1] Evidently the same person as Gwodloyw, here given as his brother.

Saint Maches, of Merthyr Maches, where she was slain, the daughter of Gwynlliw, the son of Glywys, the son of Tegid, and sister of Cattwg of Llancarvan. Saint Maches gave alms to every poor person who asked it; and a pagan Saxon went in the guise of a beggar, where he knew she gave alms, and stabbed her in the breast with a dagger.

Edeyrn, the son of Gwrhydr Drwm, the son of Gwrhydrog, the son of Geraint, the son of Carannog, the son of Cleddyvgar, the son of Cynan Glodrudd, the son of Cadell Deyrnllwg, a saint of the college of Illtyd.

Eldad, the son of Geraint, the son of Carannog, the son of Cleddyvgar, the son of Cynan Glodrydd, the son of Cadell Deyrnllwg a saint of Illtyd's college, and Archbishop of Gloucester; he was slain by the pagan Saxons.[1]

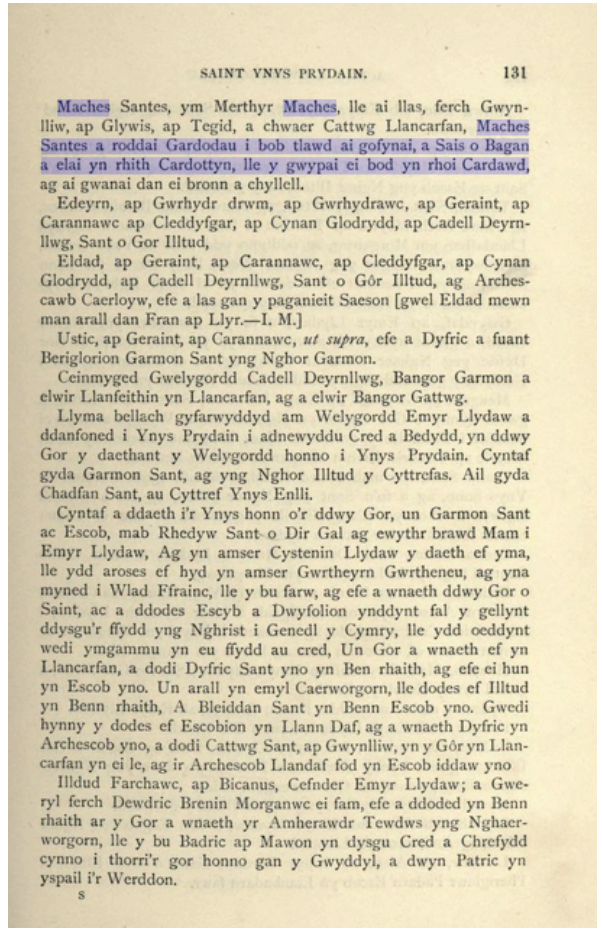
Ustic, the son of Geraint, the son of Carannog, *ut supra;* he and Dubricius were confessors to Saint Germanus, in the college of Germanus.

The most celebrated establishment of the race of Cadell Deyrnllwg, was Bangor Garmon, called Llanveithlin in Llancarvan, and is called Bangor Cattwg.

Here follows a notice of the lineage of Emyr Llydaw, which was sent to the Island of Britain to restore Christianity. That race came in two congregations to this Island; the first came with Saint Germanus, and settled in Illtyd's college; the second with Saint Cadvan, and fixed themselves in Bardsey.

The first of the two congregations that came to this Island, was that of Germanus, a saint and bishop, son of Ridigius, a saint of the land of Gaul; and uncle, mother's brother to Emyr Llydaw; and in the time of Cystennyn Llydaw he came here, where he remained till the time of Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau, after which he went to France where he died. He founded two colleges of saints, and placed in them bishops and pious men, in order that they might instruct the race of the Cymry in the Christian faith, where they had erred in their doctrine. He founded one college in Llancarvan, and placed Dubricius there as principal, and he himself was bishop. Another in the vicinity of Caerworgorn, where he placed Illtyd as principal, and Saint Lupus chief bishop there. After that he placed bishops in Llandaff, and made Dubricius

[1] See Eldad, in another place, under Brân, the son of Llyr."—*Iolo Morganwg.*



Maches Santes, ym Merthyr Maches, lle ai llas, ferch Gwynlliw, ap Glywis, ap Tegid, a chwaer Cattwg Llancarfan, Maches Santes a roddai Gardodau i bob tlawd ai gofynai, a Sais o Bagan a elai yn rhith Cardottyn, lle y gwypai ei bod yn rhoi Cardawd, ag ai gwanai dan ei bronn a chyllell.

Edeyrn, ap Gwrhydr drwm, ap Gwrhydrawc, ap Geraint, ap Carannawc ap Cleddyfgar, ap Cynan Glodrydd, ap Cadell Deyrnllwg, Sant o Gor Illtud,

Eldad, ap Geraint, ap Carannawc, ap Cleddyfgar, ap Cynan Glodrydd, ap Cadell Deyrnllwg, Sant o Gôr Illtud, ag Archescawb Caerloyw, efe a las gan y paganieit Saeson [gwel Eldad mewn man arall dan Fran ap Llyr.—I. M.]

Ustic, ap Geraint, ap Carannawc, *ut supra*, efe a Dyfric a fuant Beriglorion Garmon Sant yng Nghor Garmon.

Ceinmyged Gwelygordd Cadell Deyrnllwg, Bangor Garmon a elwir Llanfeithin yn Llancarfan, ag a elwir Bangor Gattwg.

Llyma bellach gyfarwyddyd am Welygordd Emyr Llydaw a ddanfoned i Ynys Prydain i adnewyddu Cred a Bedydd, yn ddwy Gor y daethant y Welygordd honno i Ynys Prydain. Cyntaf gyda Garmon Sant, ag yng Nghor Illtud y Cyttrefas. Ail gyda Chadfan Sant, au Cyttref Ynys Enlli.

Cyntaf a ddaeth i'r Ynys honn o'r ddwy Gor, un Garmon Sant ac Escob, mab Rhedyw Sant o Dir Gal ag ewythr brawd Mam i Emyr Llydaw, Ag yn amser Cystenin Llydaw y daeth ef yma, lle ydd aroses ef hyd yn amser Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu, ag yna myned i Wlad Ffrainc, lle y bu farw, ag efe a wnaeth ddwy Gor o Saint, ac a ddodes Escyb a Dwyfolion ynddynt fal y gellynt ddysgu'r ffydd yng Nghrist i Genedl y Cymry, lle ydd oeddynt wedi ymgammu yn eu ffydd au cred, Un Gor a wnaeth ef yn Llancarfan, a dodi Dyfric Sant yno yn Ben rhaith, ag efe ei hun yn Escob yno. Un arall yn emyl Caerworgorn, lle dodes ef Illtud yn Benn rhaith, A Bleiddan Sant yn Benn Escob yno. Gwedi hynny y dodes ef Escobion yn Llann Daf, ag a wnaeth Dyfric yn Archescob yno, a dodi Cattwg Sant, ap Gwynlliw, yn y Gôr yn Llancarfan yn ei le, ag ir Archescob Llandaf fod yn Escob iddaw yno

Illdud Farchawc, ap Bicanus, Cefnder Emyr Llydaw; a Gweryl ferch Dewdric Brenin Morganwc ei fam, efe a ddoded yn Benn rhaith ar y Gor a wnaeth yr Amherawdr Tewdws yng Nghaerworgorn, lle y bu Badric ap Mawon yn dysgu Cred a Chrefydd cynno i thorri'r gor honno gan y Gwyddyl, a dwyn Patric yn yspail i'r Werddon.

s

Welsh version, p. 1

‘The Life of St Tatheus’, Celtic Literature Collective [online]. Available at https://www.maryjones.us/ctexts/tatheus.html <Accessed 21 October 2020>

§13. Of the martyrdom of a maid.
A maid, Machuta by name, kept sheep committed to her care. Whilst she kept them, two robbers, and the two of them brothers, had often come, desiring to steal a three-year old ram, great and very fat, and they had not been able. When they could not take it away without her knowing, they drove the maid by force to a wood together with her flock. The ram being stolen and killed, they beheaded the innocuous girl, lest she should make known the robbery and rapine. Afterwards the flock, unguarded and dispersed, returned at the evening hour to the sheepfold, which the meek holy man heard had arrived without maiden and ram. On hearing these things he grieved, and all condoled with him for the loss of the most faithful virgin. Next night, as they kept vigil, praying that God would declare of what they doubted, whither the maid had gone, the two brothers, the murderers, came to the door of the habitation, confessing that they had stolen the ram, and what was worse, that they had committed the murder. Stricken by grief they cried aloud, requesting him to grant absolution for their crimes, saying, ‘We disclose the place of the martyrdom, that ye be no longer in doubt.’ Having heard these things, he bade them go to the bishop, and after confession to fulfil the penance imposed. As dawn arose, he proceeded, the clergy accompanying him, to the place which they had indicated, and they found the martyred virgin, as they had foresaid. In that same place he founded a church built in honour of the virgin Machuta. He refused to allow there the virgin’s body, but only in the place where alone it ought to lie. Therefore it was carried to Caerwent, and buried in the floor of the church, and may her soul rest in eternal rest.

David Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials* (Aberystwyth: University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2013), p. 88.

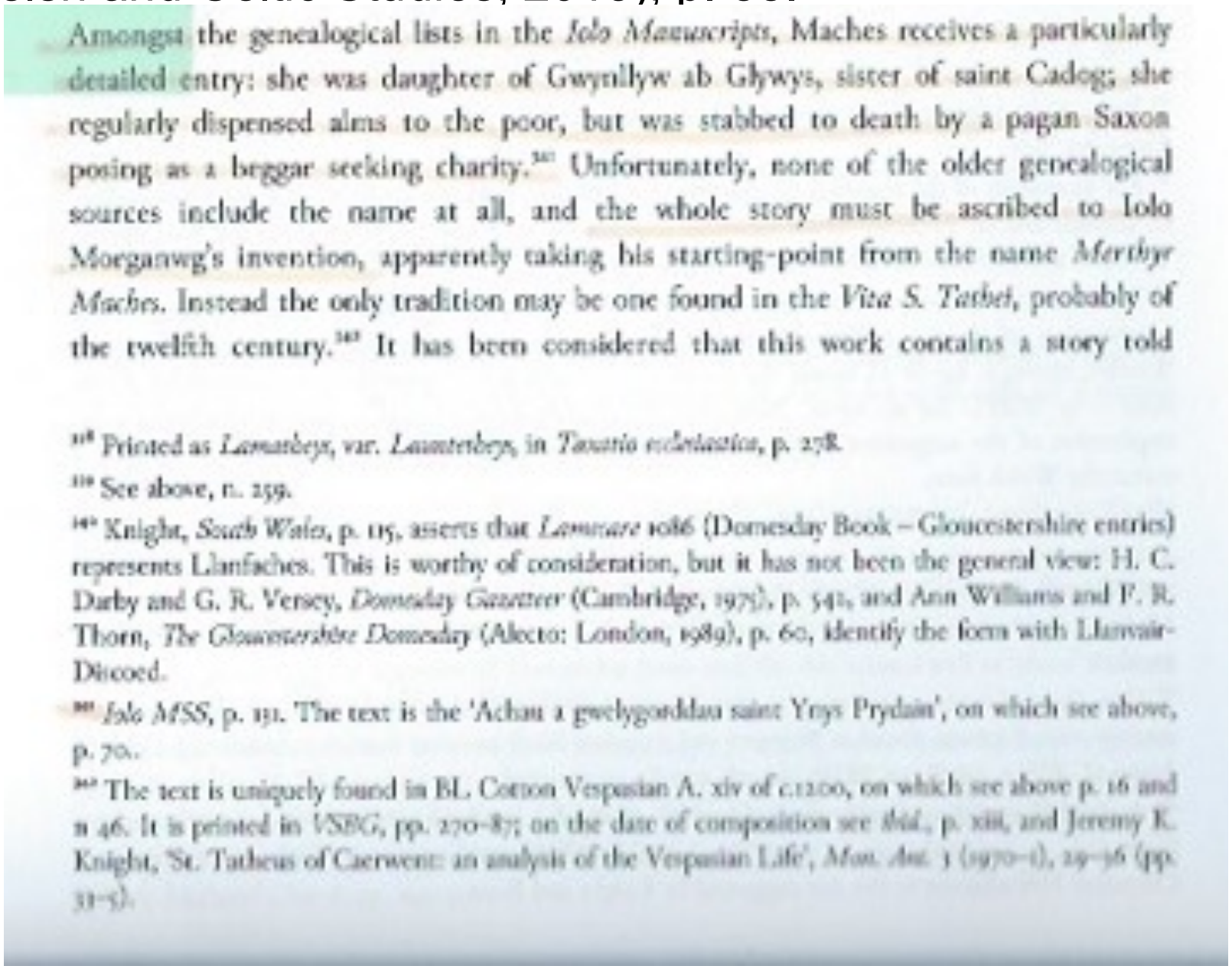
22. *Merthyr Maches* ?MON

ecclesiam merthir maches 'c.775' [c.1130] (LL chart. 211b, p. 211), *Merthirmaches* c.1130 (LL chart. rubric, p. 211)

Generally identified, because of the dedication, with *Llanfaches* MON (ST434917). There is nothing in charter 211b, in which the church is granted to Llandaf, to aid identification, save that it belongs to a group which ranges across south-east Wales. PNBLl (s.n. Merthir Maches) observes that it largely shares a witness-list with charter 206, granting *lannauen*, and that if this is correctly identified with Llangofan (SO456054) – which itself is not certain – this would add weight to the conventional identification. The places are around 8½ miles apart.

Llanfaches was a Llandaf possession. Early forms include *Lannaues* 1193×1218 (*LlEA*, no. 40, p. 39), *Lannaes* 1254 (*VN*, p. 321), *Lannaubeis* 1291×2 (*Tax LL*, no. 66),[108] *Lanagbois* 1310 *IPM*, IV, 294, no. 434), *ecclesia de Lannauchys* c.1350 (LL list of churches, p. 322),[109] *Llanvaches* 1533×5 (*ECPW*, p. 239, no. 1365/54).[110]

David Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials* (Aberystwyth: University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2013), p. 88.



Amongst the genealogical lists in the *Iolo Manuscripts*, Maches receives a particularly detailed entry: she was daughter of Gwynllyw ab Glywys, sister of saint Cadog; she regularly dispensed alms to the poor, but was stabbed to death by a pagan Saxon posing as a beggar seeking charity.[361] Unfortunately, none of the older genealogical sources include the name at all, and the whole story must be ascribed to Iolo Morganwg's invention, apparently taking his starting-point from the name *Merthyr Maches*. Instead the only tradition may be one found in the *Vita S. Tathei*, probably of the twelfth century.[362] It has been considered that this work contains a story told

[358] Printed as *Lamatheys*, var. *Lamatheys*, in *Taxatio ecclesiastica*, p. 278.

[359] See above, n. 259.

[360] Knight, *South Wales*, p. 115, asserts that *Lamarc* 1086 (Domesday Book – Gloucestershire entries) represents Llanfaches. This is worthy of consideration, but it has not been the general view: H. C. Darby and G. R. Versey, *Domesday Gazetteer* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 541, and Ann Williams and F. R. Thorn, *The Gloucestershire Domesday* (Alecto: London, 1989), p. 60, identify the form with Llanvair-Discoed.

[361] *Iolo MSS*, p. 131. The text is the 'Achau a gwelygorddau saint Ynys Prydain', on which see above, p. 70.

[362] The text is uniquely found in BL Cotton Vespasian A. xiv of c.1200, on which see above p. 16 and n 46. It is printed in *VSBG*, pp. 270–87; on the date of composition see *ibid.*, p. xiii, and Jeremy K. Knight, 'St. Tatheus of Caerwent: an analysis of the Vespasian Life', *Mon. Ant.* 3 (1970–1), 29–36 (pp. 31–5).

David Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials* (Aberystwyth: University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2013), p. 89.

about *Merthyr Maches*.[343] Machuta is presented as a shepherdess, beheaded by two thieves intent on stealing a fine ram. Overcome by guilt the thieves disclosed their crime to St Tathews, who then founded a church in Machuta's honour at the place where she was killed, though he had her body removed to Caerwent for burial.[344] That there is an association with *Merthyr Maches* is suggested by the *Mach-* name-form, the vicinity of Caerwent and the repeated insistence of the Latin text that this was a case of *martirium*, 'martyrdom'.[345]

A personal name Maches is unusual. It could contain W *mach*, 'surety',[346] with the feminine suffix *-es* < Brit **-issā*, but that suffix is not generally used in personal names.[347] Sims-Williams noted that Rhys suggested Maches was a hypocoristic form of attested *Aches* (apparently 'sea' < Lat *aequus*), that is to say an instance of honorific *My-* (see below, p. 90),[348] but he also drew attention to an (unexplained) instance of *Maches* in a Roman inscription from Gaul.[349]

David Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials* (Aberystwyth: University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2013), p. 89.

[164] *LBS*, II, 392–3; *WCD*, p. 433; Knight, 'St. Tatheus', p. 32; Knight, *South Wales*, p. 115. Jane Cartwright, 'Dead virgins: feminine sanctity in medieval Wales', in her *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales* (Cardiff, 2008), pp. 67–94 (p. 80), also accepts the identification implied by the Life; in addition she notes that a fifteenth-century poet made a further *Ma-* association, by locating at Llanfaches the martyrdom of the international St Margaret of Antioch, also a shepherdess.

[165] *VSBG*, pp. 280–3.

[166] *Martirium* in this text clearly has this abstract sense; the place is specified as the *locus martirii*, 'place of martyrdom', a sense that elsewhere we have seen *martyrium* render on its own. The detail that the maiden was martyred in one place (by implication at *Merthyr Maches* / Llanfaches), but then taken to Caerwent for burial, may possibly be a response to an anomaly that is evident now and could already have existed at the time of composition: Llanfaches church is not dedicated to Maches, but to Dubricius/Dyfrig.

[167] *GPC* *mach*; *GPN*, p. 365; for possible personal-name parallels (Machno, Machraith), with no suggested etymology, see R. J. Thomas, 'Enwau afonydd â'r ôddodiad *-ar*', *BBCS* 7.2 (1934), 117–31 (p. 122), and *BBCS* 8.1 (1935), 17–41 (p. 36).

[168] *GPC* *-ed*; Cane, 'Personal names of women' has no instances in her corpus. Nor, it should be noted, does she have any instances of *mach*, either here or in her 'Personal names of men'.

[169] *CIB*, 138 and n. 807; J. Rhys, 'The Goidels in Wales', *Arch. Camb.* 5th ser. 12 (1895), 18–39.

[170] *OPEL*, III, 42; the inscribed form is actually MAHES.

‘Home’, Llanfaches Community Council [online]. Available at http://www.llanvachescommunitycouncil.org.uk/Llanvaches-CC/Default.aspx <Accessed 21 October 2020>

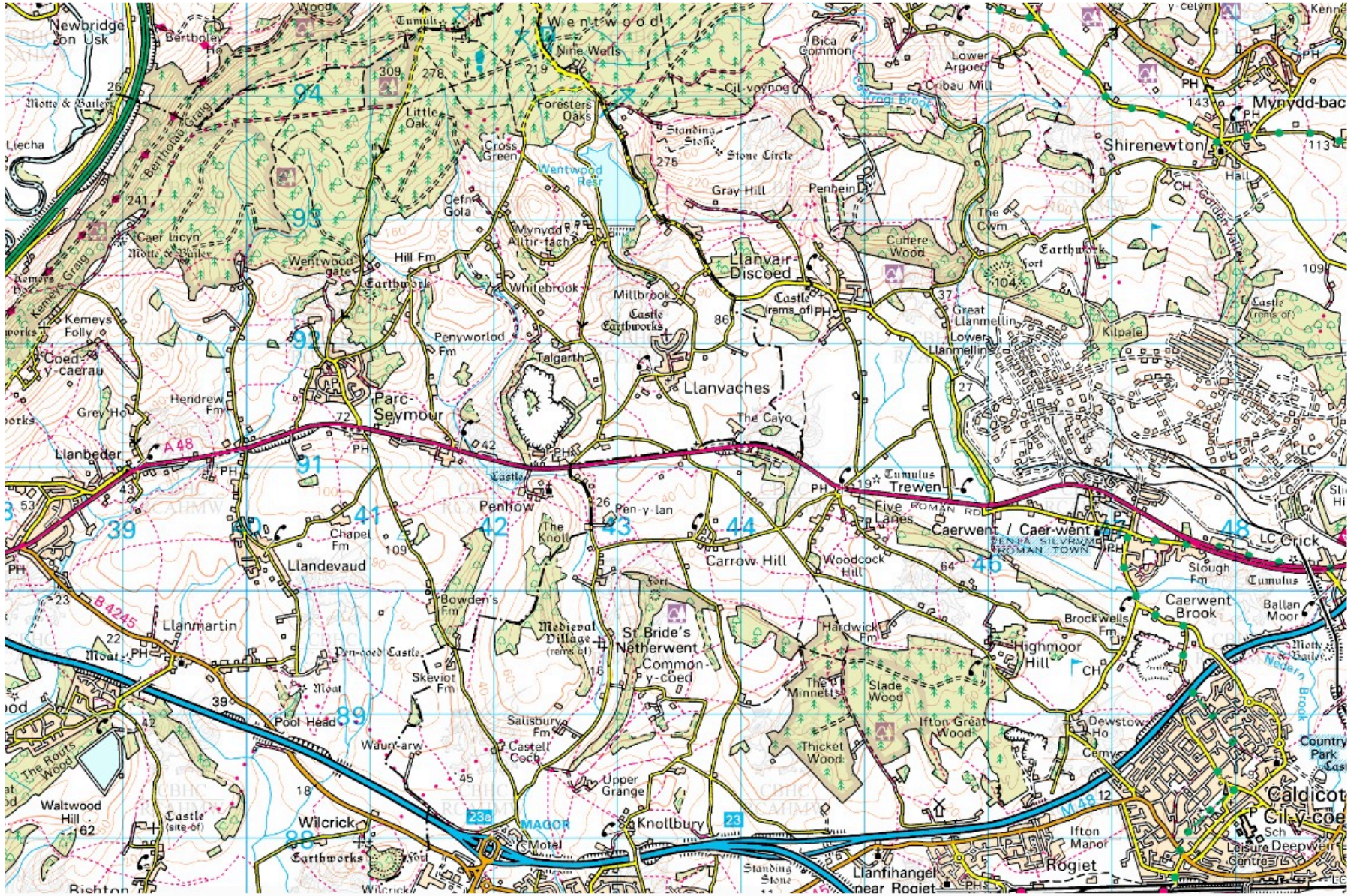


Ordnance Survey map of Gwent



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‘St Oudoceus and St Machuta’, ed. by Martin Crampin, Stained Glass of Wales [online]. Available at http://stainedglass.llgc.org.uk/image/5404#largeimage <Accessed 21 October 2020>



1929 Two-light window with standing figures of the two saints
firm/studio: C.E. Kempe & Co Ltd, Church of **St** Oudoceus, Llandogo, Monmouthshire

Photo © Martin Crampin

‘St Maches’, Early British Kingdoms [online]. Available at http://www.earlybritishkingdoms.com/bios/machegg.html <Accessed 21 October 2020>

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St. Maches

(Born c.AD 501)
(Latin: Machuta; English: Madge)

St. Maches was the sister of **St. Cadog**. She lived the humble life of a shepherdess in the early 6th century, but was killed by robbers who wished to steel her finest ram. **St. Tathyw** built a church on the spot where she was killed in Merthyr Maches (Llanfaches, Gwent) and had her body removed to his monastery at **Caerwent**.



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Research Plan

- Where would you look for more information?
- Where would you travel for fieldwork? What would you look for?

Conclusions

- How do you see the task?
- What are your reactions to the process?

4. Questions



Site of St Eluned’s Holy Well, Slwch Farm

Thank you





Brychan coat of arms on ceremonial chair, Brecon Guildhall