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SAINT TEILO¹

THE earliest and most trustworthy evidence which we possess about the cult of S. Teilo is derived from the *Book of Saint Chad*.

This famous manuscript is a gospel-book containing the whole of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark and part of that of St. Luke, apparently written in Ireland before the year 700.² It became the property of a church of S. Teilo, and while there a certain number of entries of considerable historical value were made on the margins of its pages. One of these entries tells us how it was given to this church and gives the name of the donor, but unfortunately does not tell us the date of the gift. It afterwards passed into the possession of the cathedral church of St. Chad at Lichfield, where it still is—hence its name, but in this case we know neither how nor when, except that it must have been after the middle of the ninth century, because it contains the names of Bishop Nobis and other persons mentioned in the *Annales Cambriae* as living about that time, and not later than the latter half of the tenth century, since the name of Bishop Wynsi (974-992) is found on the margin of p. 1.

The *Book of St. Chad* is a document absolutely sincere and reliable, not doctored to suit later ideas and claims, like the *Book of Llandaff*. Unfortunately its Welsh entries are few.

The first marginal entry tells us that the book was given to God by being offered "on the altar of Teilo" (*sancti Teliaui super altare*). The second records the composition of an ancient feud, and *Teliau* is the first witness. Then come the names of three important personages followed by "the whole family of Teilo" (*tota familia Teliaui*), i.e. the monks of the monastery bearing

his name. The third entry records a gift "to God and to Saint Eliud" (another name for Teilo). God is the first witness. Then come the names of four clerical witnesses (the second being *Nobis*), the rest being laymen. The next entry describes a transaction in which the first clerical witness is *Nobis episcopus Teiliav* and the second *Saturnguid sacerdos Teiliav*.

It will be seen that the *Book of Saint Chad* does not tell us anything whatever about S. Teilo himself. But the entries show that in the ninth century, long after his death, he was venerated in South Wales as the founder of a monastery in which the altar is called the Altar of *Teliau*³ and the monks of which are the *familia Teliaui*, governed by an abbot-bishop called the 'Bishop of Teiliau'.⁴ The saint is represented as being, with God, a witness to a gift to the monastery, which is described as "offered to God and to saint Eliud", and also as a witness to a solemn agreement made in the monastic church. The gospel-book belongs to the saint and the curse of God and of S. Teilo⁵ is invoked on those who violate agreements recorded in it. The site of the monastery is not mentioned. Till recently it was supposed to be Llandaff, but it is now generally accepted that this is a mistake and that the Altar of *Teliau* was at Llandeilo Fawr in Carmarthenshire. The name of this church of course implies that it was the most important of several others called after Teilo, and the *Liber Landavensis* mentions no less than twenty-one places named *Lann Teliau*, all or most of which were probably once connected in some way with 'Great Llandeilo'. But, while it is clear that the 'Bishop of Teiliau' did not rule at Llandaff, it is equally clear that the traditions of his monastery and most of its property and rights were eventually transferred to Llandaff, and the 'Book of Llandaff' is described by its author as *Gref Teliau*.⁶

Our next source of evidence for the cult of S. Teilo, the *Liber Landavensis*, is about three hundred years later than the

¹ *Published in 1942, Caxton Hall Printing Company, Lampeter, in the 'Welsh Saints' series, No. 3.]

² *The influence of Irish calligraphic tradition can certainly be traced in it: nevertheless its place of origin could have been Welsh. Cf. Edward Swansea and Brecon, 'The Gospels of St. Chad' (NLWJ iv. 46-49.)]

³ The monastery of Nantcarfan is called *Altare Catoci* both in the *Vita Catoci* (c. 61) and the *Book of Llandaff* (p. 180).

⁴ It looks as if, in Bishop Nobis's time, the office had become hereditary, as a clerical witness is called *Cuhelin filius episcopis* (sic).

⁵ *Sit maledictus a Deo et a Teiliav in cujus evangelio scriptum est.*

⁶ *sicut in isto gref Teliau reperitur* (p. 248). On p. 258 *Ruid*, apparently a priest of Llandaff, is called *presbyter sancti Teliaui*.

Book of St. Chad. S. Teilo has a very important role in this great *plaidoyer* in favour of the claims put forward by the see of Llandaff as recently re-organized by the Normans. It is impossible not to admire the enthusiasm, patience and literary skill shown by its author in his re-arrangement of old documents and insertion of new matter derived from his reading and his travels, though it has resulted in a huge series of falsifications of history—it will take a very long time before they are all detected.

The *Book of Llandaff* contains a long and elaborate *Life* of S. Teilo. A very able critical edition of this *Life* by the late M. Joseph Loth, of which full use will be made here, appeared in the *Annales de Bretagne* in 1893,⁷ but a great deal of fresh material for the study of the Celtic saints of Wales, Cornwall and Brittany has since been discovered, and the criticism of the *Life of S. Teilo* can now be carried much further.

To understand the *Vita Teliavi* it is essential to bear in mind the fact that there is another recension of it, in the British Museum MS. Vesp. A. xiv, which is identical with the version in the *Book of Llandaff* except for certain important differences, consisting mainly of a number of significant omissions. A complete list of these omissions and of every variant reading was given by the late Mr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans on pp. 360-2 of his admirable edition of the *Liber Landavensis*.

The version in Vesp. A. xiv. begins by telling us that it was written by Geoffrey, brother of Urban, bishop of Llandaff (d. 1133), and over the name Geoffrey has been interlined "i.e. Stephen".⁸

It has been assumed by many scholars that Geoffrey was the author of the longer version of the *Life of S. Teilo* in the *Liber Landavensis* and also of most of the rest of the book, and that the version in Vesp. A. xiv. is an abridgement of his work. It seems possible, however, that Geoffrey may have written a little before the compilation of the *Book of Llandaff* and that the writer of the latter may have been another Norman clerk of Llandaff, more thorough-going than Geoffrey, who included Geoffrey's work in his own, but inserted into it some passages

⁷ Tom. ix. pp. 81-85, 278-86, 438-46. Tom. x. pp. 66-77.

⁸ INCIPIT VITA SANCTI TELIAVI EPISCOPI. A MAGISTRO GALFRIDO [i. *Stephano* interlined above] FRATRE URBANI LANDAVENSIS ECCLESIAE EPISCOPI DICTATA.

(including one of great length) containing several of his favourite ideas—the insertions have remarkable parallels in the *Vita Oudocei* and in the charters of the *Liber Landavensis*. This is the view which will be taken in the following pages.⁹

⁹ It is strange that those who have hitherto dealt with the *Liber Landavensis* do not seem to have observed that the question of these passages is of vital importance for the solution of the problem of the authorship of the book. *Note now the references in p. 12, n. 70.]

Are these passages omissions made by a reviser abbreviating a longer original, or insertions made by someone expanding the original?

It seems impossible reasonably to maintain that the *Life* in Vesp. A. xiv. (which we will call V) is an abridgement of the longer *Life* in the *Lib. Land.* (which we will call L). Internal evidence is all against it.

First, L is much too long to be read in church, yet it has the homiletic exordium with which V begins and the homiletic comments which come further on. V therefore must be the original, of which L is an expanded form.

Again, L omits certain words which are found in V. Now these are all important words, the omission of which makes nonsense of the text, e.g. on p. 98, l. 8, V rightly reads *corda*. L has carelessly written *doctrinam*; on p. 99, l. 6, L has accidentally omitted *nullo*; on p. 101, l. 14, L has omitted the verb *discuterent*; on p. 102, l. 28, L reads *uouerunt*, while V has rightly *uouerent*; on p. 103, l. 8, L has carelessly omitted *parvum* before *curriculum*. It is much more likely that these mistakes have been made by the writer of the *Liber Landavensis* copying another document than that they were in the original.

Further, what object could the author of V have in omitting the passages contained in L? It could not have been to shorten the *Vita Teliavi*, for he has copied the whole of the much longer *Vita Cadoci*. It might be suggested, in favour of those who regard the passages in question as having been purposely omitted by V, that the scribe who wrote Vesp. A. xiv was not a Llandaff but a Brecon writer, who lived in the diocese of St. David's, had included Rhigyfarch's *Vita David* in his collection, and was free from the prejudices of the author of the *Lib. Land.* Yet he has, in his version of the *Vita Teliavi*, copied the whole of the Jerusalem story (except six words), with its glorification of S. Teilo at the expense of David and Padarn, and in another part of his MS. he has given the whole of the *De primo statu Landavensis ecclesiae* in the *Lib. Land.*, with the Dubrician charters and the *Vita Dubricii* which follow. (It is remarkable that in this case the differences between the two versions are mostly insignificant.)

It seems to me certain that the passages not in V are additions to V, not omissions made by V. But I do not regard the suggestion I have made that they were added to Geoffrey's *Vita Teliavi* by a later writer as by any means certain. I only offer it tentatively as a working hypothesis. The question of the authorship and composition of the *Lib. Land.* is one of the most difficult in the whole sphere of historical criticism. Urban died in 1133 and Geoffrey cannot have died very long before, which does not leave much time for another writer of the same school to revise his work, for after Urban's death it would have been useless to continue the contest for Erging and Carmarthenshire. It is possible that Geoffrey himself may have revised his own work and made the additions in question when writing the *Lib. Land.* It may also be possible that the writer of Vesp. A. xiv is mistaken in asserting that Geoffrey was the author of the shorter version. The latter may have been written by an earlier writer. The Brecon scribe may have had a copy of it and assumed it was by Geoffrey, who in this case would be the author of the *Lib. Land.* The copy the Brecon scribe used was not the same as that

DE VITA SANCTI TEILIAVI LANDAVENSIS ECCLESIAE

ARCHIEPISCOPI

The opening sentences of the *Vita* show that it is a sermon composed to be read on the saint's festival in Llandaff cathedral. He begins *Sanctus iste, fratres karissimi*, and the first page is in the typical homiletic vein. We observe that Geoffrey simply remarks that Teilo was "born of noble parents". The *Vita Oudocei* in the *Book of Llandaff* adds considerably to this statement, giving us a long story of his father *Ensic* and his mother *Guenhaf* and introducing *Budic*, prince of *Cornugallia*, who married Teilo's sister *Anauued* and became the father of *Ismael*, *Tyfei* (who "lies in Pennalun") and *Oudoceus*. *Budic*, *Ismael*, *Tyfhei* and *Oudoceus*, it is to be observed, all appear in the passages inserted into Geoffrey's work by the author of the *Book of Llandaff*. Further, Geoffrey does not tell us where S. Teilo was born, but in the *Book of Llandaff* we are twice¹⁰ told that he was born at *Ecchuis Gunniau*, which is near Penally, and a passage inserted further on into the *Vita Teliavi* by the author of the *Liber Landavensis* says that at his death *Pennalun* claimed his body "on the ground of the sepulture of his fathers being there and of his hereditary rights in the place".¹¹

Geoffrey then informs us that the saint, whose name he has not yet mentioned, "was, because of his virtue and wisdom, called by the wise *HELIOS*,¹² which in Greek means the sun", but he sorrowfully admits that "illiterate men have corrupted the last syllable into *ud*." Like the author of the *Vita Iltuti*,¹³ Geoffrey finds a classical explanation for a Celtic name. The saint's original name was *Eliud*. It was quite a common name at the time. The son of a king of *Brecheinmiae* mentioned in the *Book of Llandaff*¹⁴ was called *Eliud*, and an *Eliud filius Guerith* (a layman) signs a charter a little further on (he may be the *Eliudus*

used by the latter, since V omits a part of a sentence given by L, and which was obviously in the original form of V,—*frequentate . . . pauperibus* on p. 117, 11. 22-23. A scribe has been misled by the *ate* in which *frequentate* and *erogate* both end—a clear case of homoioteleuton.

¹⁰ *Ecchuis Gunniau ubi natus est sanctus Teliavus*.

¹¹ p. 116.

¹² In the BLD (p. 98) *ELIOS*.

¹³ *videlicet ille ab omni crimine tutus*.

¹⁴ p. 146.

who signs a charter in the *Vita Cadoci*¹⁵). The name, as M. Loth has shown, is made up of two elements: *el* (found in such names as *El-ci*, *El-cu*, *El-gnou*, *El-guarui*, *El-haern*, etc.) and *iud* (found in *Margetiud*—later *Maredudd*; *Grip-iud*—later *Gruffudd*; *Iud-hail*—later *Ithael*, *Ithel*, in Breton *Iuthael*; *Iudguallaun*, etc.). *Eliav* is derived from the first element with the suffix *-avo*, and is found in the *Book of Llandaff* both as a personal name and as a place-name.¹⁶ *Teliav* is a hypocoristic form of the same (*T-eli-avos*), like *Ty-suliau*. Usually the hypocoristic name is derived from the first element, with suffix *aco*, like *To-wed-oc*,—here a different suffix is employed.¹⁷ Both forms of our saint's name, as we have seen, appear in the *Book of St. Chad* (*Eliud* twice and *Teliav* and *Teiliau* each three times) and both are found in Rhigyfarch's *Vita David*.¹⁸

Geoffrey then begins the story of *Eliud*'s life by saying that he was a pupil of S. Dubricius :

We read that as a child he was taught the Holy Scripture by Saint Dubricius the archbishop (*archipresul*), whose immediate successor he afterwards became.

The word *legimus* brings us at once to the question of the materials which Geoffrey had at his disposal for writing a *Life* of S. Teilo. Does it mean that he had an older *Life* of the saint before him? It is not an easy question to answer. The reader cannot fail to be struck by the fact that the great part of his *Vita Teliavi* consists of, or is based on, extracts (often very lengthy ones) from the *Life* of another Welsh saint, and the author of the *Book of Llandaff* has added an extremely long story, the idea of which he had obtained from the *Life* of a Breton saint. It is true that in a further insertion by the later author another claim to follow written records is made, as we shall see, but only to introduce some exceedingly brief references to five traditional miracles of S. Teilo in Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire, two of which are prefaced by the word *dicunt*, showing that they

¹⁵ c. 65.

¹⁶ BLD 227, 255-7.

¹⁷ *El* with the suffix *aco* is found in the names *Elioc*, *Eloc* and *Eluc* (BLD 178, 202, 205).

¹⁸ In the list of St. David's disciples he is called *Eliud*. In the story of the journey to Jerusalem he is "Eliud, who is now commonly called Teliav."

are oral legends. If there was an older *Life* of Teilo, it must have been a very short and imperfect one, or very little of it has survived in Geoffrey's work—nothing in fact except perhaps the vague traditions of Teilo's relations with Paulinus and David, the story of the Yellow Plague and of the emigration to which it led and the legend about the multiplication of the saint's body after his death.¹⁹

In a previous study of S. Dubricius we have seen the reason why those who were labouring in the twelfth century to build up the see of Llandaff were so anxious to claim S. Teilo as his pupil. The author of the *Liber Landavensis* names Teilo first among the disciples of Dubricius at *Hennlann*, and in the charter purporting to grant *Penn Alun* to Dubricius Llandeilo Fawr is referred to as the place "where Teiliaus the *alumnus* and disciple of Saint Dubricius lived". He repeats the assertion that Teilo and Samson were both disciples of Dubricius in his long addition to the *Vita Teiliavi* (p. 109). Geoffrey does not say *where* Teilo studied under Dubricius, but he tells us that he was such a promising pupil that :

Dubricius not only recognised him as his own equal, but saw that, guided by the Holy Ghost, he could unravel the mysteries of the Scriptures by himself better than if any human teacher were to instruct him, and consequently made up his mind that he should be his successor in the *magisterium*. But such grace was upon him and so much was he on fire with the love of sacred learning that he who could have been master decided to place himself under the guidance of another. Therefore,²⁰ having heard of the fame of a certain wise man named Poulinus, he went to him and stayed with him for some time. Thus whatever secrets of the Scriptures had hitherto been hidden from him [the two saints] by discussion together now understood perfectly.

¹⁹ It seems just possible that the very long story on pp. 127-9 of the BLD comes from a Llandeilo Fawr *Life* of Teilo. It certainly cannot have been in any charter. But it may be a local legend of Llanddowror.

²⁰ It looks as if the sentences between *intelligere* on p. 98 and *audita sibi Poulini* on p. 99 were an insertion, as they interrupt the thread of the story. Before *audita* Vesp. A. xiv reads *Beatus Thelians*, which the author of BLD has changed to *Deinde* because he sees how awkward the insertion makes the sentence which goes on with the story. It is possible that the reference to *stultorum philosophorum* may be, like that to *figmenta poetarum* two pages later, a sly hit at the literary tastes of the contemporary bishop of St. David's—Bernard.

Poulinus is an old Welsh form of *Paulinus*, a saint who plays an important part in the *Vita David*. It is possible that, in making Teilo a disciple of Paulinus, Geoffrey may be simply imitating the *Life of S. David*, which he certainly has before him, as we shall see. On the other hand there are reasons for thinking that the story of Teilo studying with Paulinus may really have been part of the original legend of Teilo (whether written or oral). Paulinus was a great figure in Welsh tradition. Wrmonoc, writing in Brittany the *Vita Pauli Aureliani* in 884, identifies him with the founder of the see of Léon, and seems to quote a lost *Life* of Paulinus, which represented him as belonging to a noble family established at *Brehant Dincat*, and, after studying under the famous *Iltut*, founding in a lonely spot near his home a monastery, which in the ninth century bore the name of his two brothers, *Notolius* and *Potolius*. *Brehant Dincat* is clearly Llandingad, now usually called Llandovery, and the unnamed monastery must be Llanddeusant ("the Llan of the Two Saints"), seven and a half miles to the south-east of Llandovery and nine miles north-east of Llandeilo Fawr.²¹ This is surely very significant. It is not impossible that both the *Vita David* and the *Vita Teiliavi* may have been following independent and perhaps genuine traditions in making their heroes disciples of Paulinus, though in that case the Glamorgan tradition, followed by Wrmonoc, which made Dewi and Paulinus disciples of Iltut, would have to be abandoned. Rhigyfarch says that Paulinus was a disciple of S. Germanus, and this may prove to be the truth. Neither Rhigyfarch nor Geoffrey say where their respective heroes studied under Paulinus (Rhigyfarch states vaguely that it was "in a certain island", which may mean 'monastery'), but Wrmonoc has given us a clue, which has, I think, enabled us to solve the problem. It was evidently at Llanddeusant.

On the whole, the connection between the two Carmarthenshire saints, Paulinus and Teilo (who are both, as we shall see, honoured in Brittany close to other saints of Carmarthenshire), seems better supported than the story of Teilo having been a pupil of Dubricius, and Geoffrey's not very convincing account of

²¹ I have given the evidence which proves this in *S. Paul of Léon* ('Cornish Saints' series, No. 46) and in *S. Paulinus of Wales*. *See now SC i. 10-60, especially pp. 33-34, and pp. 146-61 of this volume.]

his having studied under both may be merely an attempt to reconcile two traditions by combining them.²² This would not necessarily be inconsistent with the traditional connection between Teilo and Dubricius. The statement of the writer of the *Book of Llandaff* (p. 69) that Dubricius was appointed *summus doctor* and bishop by S. Germanus may prove, after all, not to be all pure fiction, and if (as Rhigyfarch says) Paulinus was a disciple of Germanus, it would not be impossible for Teilo to have been the 'successor' of Dubricius and rightly associated with him in Welsh tradition.²³

Geoffrey says little about Teilo's sojourn with Paulinus, but he tells us that while "there [he does not say *where*] he associated with himself David, a man of most perfect life." He proceeds to make a long series of plagiarisms from the *Life of S. David*, which make up altogether about a third of the *Vita Teiliavi*.

This *Life* is known to us in two versions—Rhigyfarch's *Vita David* (written about 1090) and a *Life* in Welsh, *Buchedd Dewi Sant*, written (or copied) in the fourteenth century.²⁴ It would seem that Geoffrey did not copy Rhigyfarch, but an older *Life* containing substantially the same material, since every story he relates differs in detail from Rhigyfarch's account even where there could be no motive for altering it.²⁵

The portions of the *Life of S. David* utilized by Geoffrey are, first, the traditions of David's connections both with Paulinus and with Teilo, the story of *Baia* and his wife, followed by one about David's disciple (or associate) *Maidoc* and another about wells which ran wine, and finally the legend of the journey of David, Teilo and Padarn to Jerusalem. In each of these the

²² Just in the same way Wrmonoc combines two traditions by identifying S. Paul of Léon both with Paul of Penychen and with Paulinus.

²³ The list of the churches of Erging, compiled early in the eleventh century (BLD 275), mentions an oratory called *Telïau ha Dibric* in the cemetery of *Lann Guern* (Llanwarne), and states that *Hennlann Dibric* and *Lann Telïau* were "in one cemetery" (at Hentland). It seems impossible that the writer should have invented these names.

²⁴ *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, 102-43. *Also D. S. Evans, *Buchedd Dewi* (2nd ed. Caerdydd, 1965).

²⁵ *Here cf. now J. W. James, *Rhigyfarch's Life of St. David* (Cardiff, 1967), in which is printed the text of the twelfth century B.M. MS. Nero E 1. The basic text is accompanied by an introduction, critical apparatus and translation; note especially the section of the introduction entitled "The Vespasian Recension" (xxxiii-xxxvii). Cf. also N. K. Chadwick, SEBC 149.]

Vita Teiliavi, as we have said, differs in greater or less degree from the account given in the *Lives* of S. David which have come down to us. In the first case Rhigyfarch's version differs not only from Geoffrey's but from the much older *Vita Pauli Aureliani*. There David and Paul are fellow-disciples of Iltut. In the *Vita David* Paulinus is David's master, not his fellow-pupil, and *Eliud* is "one of the three most faithful disciples of David". In the *Vita Teiliavi* Teilo has already been the disciple of Dubricius and of Paulinus before living with David in Carmarthenshire and Menevia. Geoffrey of course wished to represent his hero as David's equal, not his inferior. Rhigyfarch is naturally just as anxious to make David the leader of the group of famous South Wales saints whom he is going to introduce into his story. Geoffrey here contents himself with telling us in three rhetorical sentences that Teilo and David had *idem velle et non velle*.²⁶

The passage about the Picts which follows is intended as a preface to the story of *Baia*. Rhigyfarch tells us that *Baia* was *Scottus* (i.e. an Irishman). Geoffrey regards the Picts and Scots as identical. He draws on his reminiscences of several historical works he has read to describe them—he refers the reader to "the History of Gildas, the historiographer of the Britons", but does not tell us that he has also used Bede, from whom he has copied the information that the Picts came "from Scythia", and Isidore of Seville.²⁷ He then relates how "a certain leader of that wicked race [he means *Baia*, but does not name him²⁸] had disembarked at the *civitas Minuensis* to slaughter the wretched inhabitants and burn their houses and the temples of the saints, and had there constructed a palace for himself." The story of the method employed by *Baia* and his wife to drive

²⁶ A reminiscence of Sallust's *Catilina*, c. 20.

²⁷ M. Loth has pointed out that the expression used by Geoffrey, *oculorum stigmata*, should read *aculeorum stigmata*. Isidore of Seville who also confounds the Scots with the Picts, says *Scotti propria lingua nomen habent a picto corpore, eo quod ACULEIS ferreis cum stramento variarum figurarum STIGMATA annotentur*. Loth says that this legend is a dim remembrance of the fact that the Scots had made settlements both in North and South Wales.

²⁸ To tell a story and omit the name of the person concerned is frequently a sign that a writer is making a plagiarism from some well-known source.

away David's monks²⁹ is considerably shortened, and Geoffrey adds a detail not found in Rhigyfarch—the slave-girls go mad as a punishment for their conduct, and this leads to the conversion of “the aforesaid persecutor and all his house,” on which Geoffrey enlarges in his usual rhetorical manner.

Geoffrey now passes abruptly to another incident borrowed from the *Life of S. David*, which he represents as happening not long after that just described :

For when the blessed Teliaus and Maidocus [were reading³⁰] in the *atrium* of the monastery, not the figments of the poets nor the histories of the men of old,³¹ but rather the Lamentations of Jeremiah, that they might be enkindled with love of the heavenly country, a certain servant came saying that there was no fuel to prepare the supper for the brethren.

They set out at once to the woods, anxious because of the short notice they had received, yet hoping to find a supply sufficient to leave them free for a considerable time to devote themselves to prayer and study. Two stags appear and offer to carry the faggots, and without needing to be driven, follow Teilo and Maidoc to the monastery, while the natives of the place look on in amazement. After this the stags continue to fetch the wood day after day, so that the monks' prayers are not interrupted. Geoffrey adds some pious reflections, and continues the story :

Meanwhile S. David, coming out from his tabernacle, finds a book, which the brethren had inadvertently left open just outside the door, perfectly dry in spite of heavy rain which had come on.

Geoffrey introduces Maidoc without telling us who he was, which is a sure mark of literary larceny. When a writer is telling his own story, he explains who the characters in it are, but, if he is copying another book, he often forgets that his reader is not

²⁹ In the *Revue celtique* for 1929 M. Vendryes suggested another explanation of this incident. He observed that among the Gauls a procession of naked women was regarded as having a magical effect and quotes Caesar's story of its being employed at the siege of Gergovia.

³⁰ The author of the *Book of Llandaff* in copying Geoffrey has accidentally omitted the important word *discuterent*.

³¹ Again, as Duine points out (*Memento*, No. 117), in all probability a covert gibe at Bernard, the bishop of St. David's, with whom Geoffrey's brother was engaged in litigation. Giraldus Cambrensis tells us that Bernard was *facetis*, as well as *copiose litteratus*, and so not likely to be specially fond of the Lamentations of Jeremiah.

(like himself) familiar with the context in the original. Maidoc plays an important part in the legend of S. David. Rhigyfarch tells us that his hero arrives at “Vallis Rosina, which the Britons commonly called Hodnant”, accompanied by a band of disciples, the three chief of whom are *Aidan*, *Eliud* and *Ysmael*,³² Later on he tells us a number of stories about the first of these. He does *not* tell us that he came from Ireland, but he says that when his training under David had been completed he went to Ireland and constructed a monastery at Ferns. One of these stories is about *Aidan* being sent by the *prepositus* to fetch wood.³³ He takes a couple of oxen to carry the wood, but he goes alone—no mention being made of *Eliud* or of any other companion. On his return he finds the book he had left open uninjured by the rain. Further on Rhigyfarch refers to this disciple again and calls him “Maidoc, who also from infancy is Aidanus”.³⁴ The late Dr. Plummer, in his *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*,³⁵ printed a *Vita Sancti Edani siue Maodhog, ep. et conf.*, which states that *Sanctus Edanus, qui vulgo appellatur Maodhog*,³⁶ was born in Ireland. In c. 11 we are told that Saint *Moedhog* sailed to Britain, to blessed David, bishop of the city which is called *Ceall Muni*, and remained there with him a long time. In c. 12 the miracles of the two “untamed oxen” and of the book are related, with details differing from both Rhigyfarch's and Geoffrey's accounts. The Brecon compiler of Vesp. A xiv added to his legendary an abbreviated version of this *Vita*, headed *Vita S. Aidui episcopi. ii Kal. Mart.*³⁷ which Plummer³⁸ considered an earlier recension. John of Tynemouth saw a copy of

³² LCBS 124. *James, op. cit. 9.]

³³ Ib. pp. 130-1. *James, op. cit. 15.]

³⁴ Ib. 133, *ubi fuit Maidoc, qui et Aidanus ab infantia* (everywhere else he calls him *Aidanus*). *But see James, op. cit. 18, where it is stated that c. 42 which contains these words is found only in Vespasian A xiv and derived MSS.]

³⁵ Oxford, 1910, vol. ii, pp. 141-63.

³⁶ In the rest of the *Vita* he is invariably called *Moedhog*. Other MSS. give *Moedoc* and *Medocius*. The *Vita* was written at Ferns.

³⁷ This statement has puzzled scholars considerably, as the Irish versions of the *Life* say that the saint died ii Kal. Feb. It is repeated, however, at the end of the *Vita Aidui*, where we are told that “the day of the Festival of S. Aidus is ii Kal. Mart” (28 Feb.). The kalendar in Vesp. A. xiv, which internal evidence shows to have been composed at Monmouth priory (a little-known Saumur saint is given on 8 July), has *Sci. Maidoci epi. et conf.* on 28 Feb.

³⁸ op. cit., I. lxxv. In II. 295-311, he has given a new edition of this *Vita*, an immense improvement on the poor edition in LCBS.

this *Vita* at St. David's in the fourteenth century and analyzed it. At the end of his version, printed in *Nova Legenda Angliae*³⁹ he observes that "this saint is called *Aidanus* in the Life of S. David, but *Aidus* in his own Life, and at Menevia in the church of St. David [i.e. the cathedral] he is called *Moedok*, which is Irish, and there his festival is observed with great honour".

It is possible that these *Lives* of *Aidus*, *Aidan* or *Moedhog* are really a contamination of two different legends, one Welsh, the other Irish. So far, modern scholars have not questioned the identification of the two saints, which was already accepted in the eleventh century, and have regarded the *Maidoc* of the *Vita David* and the *Vita Teiliavi* and the kalendar in Vesp. A. xiv as a form of *Mo-aed-oc*, the Irish hypocoristic form of *Aidus* or *Aidan*, anxiously warning us that it is necessary carefully to distinguish this saint from the *Madoc* who is honoured at Llanmadog in Gower and elsewhere in South Wales. Nevertheless the number of dedications to Madoc in Pembrokeshire would seem to point to there being a Welsh saint of this name who was associated with S. David in the evangelisation of South Wales, and who afterwards visited Cornwall and (perhaps) Brittany.⁴⁰ It is not likely that a bishop of Ferns, who is represented as being in his youth a pupil of S. David, should have churches dedicated to him in Wales. The idea that the name *Madoc*, spelt *Maidoc*, might be a hypocoristic form of *Aidan* led to his identification by some early hagiographer with the well-known saint of Ferns, a monastery with which St. David's was closely connected,⁴¹ and to the insertion of Menevian traditions about

³⁹ I. 22 (Oxford 1901).

⁴⁰ In Pembrokeshire S. *Madoc* is patron of Nolton (where there is also a *Madoc's Haven*) and Haroldston West in the deanery of Rhos. There is a S. *Madoc's Well* at Rudbaxton in the deanery of Dogleddy (Daugledddyf), and a *Ffynnon Fadog* (Mr. Wade Evans says it is now *Faeddog*) between St. David's and Porth Mawr. There is a *Carn Madog* in Llanllawer. The church of St. Twinnel's in the deanery of Castlemartin is dedicated to S. Winnoc, and it is remarkable that in the *Vita Winnoci* S. Madoc and S. Connoc (who are honoured together in Brecon and who have dedications in Cornwall not far from St. Winnoc) are given as his companions (see Doble, 'Cornish Saints' series No. 44, pp. 16, 17, 32, 58 and 60). *Maidocus* appears in the *Vita Cadoci* as a companion of S. Keneder (Cynidr), another Brecon saint. (There were chapels of S. Cadog and S. Cynog in the parish of Llawhaden in Pembs., where the church is dedicated to S. Aidan).

⁴¹ In the Irish *Vita S. Edani* already referred to, S. David is made to say to Moedhog: *firmissima fraternitas in celo et in terra inter me et te, et inter posteros nostros semper sit.* (Plummer, op. cit., ii. 153).

Madoc into the *Life* of the Irish saint, where they have all the appearance of excrescences.

We have seen that the story about *Maidoc* utilized by Geoffrey differs in its details from the version of the same story in Rhigyfarch's *Vita David* and that that version differs in turn from the one in the *Vita Edani*. It is remarkable that Geoffrey's version resembles much more closely a similar story in the *Vita Cadoci*, though there the personages are all different. Two saints (*Finian* and *Macmoil*) instead of one are sent to fetch the timber, and there are stags instead of oxen. Moreover there are some striking verbal parallels between the stories in the *Vita Cadoci* and the *Vita Teiliavi*. In the former we have *pergentes prae magna festinatione . . . suae ferocitatis obliti mansuetius colla jugo submitunt . . . Vir Dei librum a pluvia penitus illesum*⁴² *nimis admiratus invenit.* In the *Vita Teiliavi* we read *nimia festinatione perrexerunt . . . colla prebentes ad subjugandum . . . exuit nobis ferocitatem nostram et fecit nos mansueta pecora . . . Sanctus David librum invenit a pluvia prorsus immunem . . . Quod admirans . . . librum eorum illesum ab imbribus.* It would seem that Geoffrey is copying the *Vita Cadoci*. The word *mansuetus* has taken his fancy and he repeats it no less than four times. The story, however, is essentially the same in all these different versions, especially the part about the open book. We have here a very curious literary problem.

Geoffrey next inserts a story which, he says, was a local tradition he had collected on the spot (i.e. at St. David's),⁴³ about some holy wells near the monastery, which ran sweet wine. In reality it is taken from the *Life of S. David*. Rhigyfarch places the story before the one we have just been considering. In his version the fountain (he only speaks of one) is due to the prayers of S. David, who had been asked by the brethren to procure them a better water supply, and it provides wine for the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood. But afterwards, he says, the disciples imitate their master and cause other sweet waters to flow. This detail is much more explicit in the Welsh

⁴² So in Vesp. A. xiv. The author of the *Book of Llandaff* has omitted *illesum*, which was in Geoffrey's version, and has altered *seruauerat* to *liberauerat*.

⁴³ *ut a veteribus illius loci incolis accepimus.*

Life, which says that "afterwards Bishop Gweslan [i.e. Guistilian⁴⁴], brother in the faith to David, and a disciple to David who was called Eliud . . . obtained from God two fountains, which are called to this day Ffynnawn Gweslan and Ffynnawn Eliud". This seems to prove conclusively that Geoffrey did not use Rhigyfarch's edition of the *Life of S. David*, but some other version of it.

Geoffrey concludes his series of plagiarisms from the *Life of S. David* with a lengthy version of the story of the visit of Teilo, David and Padarn to Jerusalem.

The reason for the invention of this famous legend seems clear: it was no doubt due to the wish of the Welsh churches to find an answer to the claims of Canterbury,⁴⁵ the need for which had become more urgent since the Norman Conquest, while the first Crusade had made the *motif* of a journey to Jerusalem a frequent theme in Celtic hagiography at this period.⁴⁶ But the fact that there are three different versions of it, inspired by the conflicting interests of the three principal churches of South Wales, represented by David, Teilo and Padarn, reveals the weakness of the Welsh church, which suffered from the disunion that has so often been fatal to the independence of the Celtic peoples. They could not agree as to which church should have the primacy, and Llandaff was already in friendly relations with Canterbury.

The story must have been invented at St. David's. It cannot have formed part of the original *Vita Paterni*, although Rhigyfarch, in introducing Padarn into his narrative, refers to that *Life* as already existing.⁴⁷ The story as we have it now in the *Life of S. Padarn* must be later than the *Life of S. David*. It is written from the point of view of David instead of from that of Padarn, and indeed seems to be partly copied from Rhigyfarch. Writing at Llandaff about forty years later, Geoffrey could not deny the legend, which was already accredited, but he takes care

⁴⁴ For this saint see Wade-Evans, *Life of St. David*, 9, 84-5, 101. He is found in the kalendar in Vesp. A. xiv on 2 March, *Sci. Gistliani, epi. et conf.*

⁴⁵ LBS iv. 45.

⁴⁶ Duine has called attention to this, see *La Métropole de Bretagne*, p. 59. A pilgrimage to Jerusalem appears in the *Lives* of SS. Cadog, Cyngar and Cybi in Wales, Budoc and Tudual in Brittany, and Petroc in Cornwall.

⁴⁷ *cujus conversatio atque virtutes in sua continentur hystoria.*

to insert into his version of it a number of details which will show that throughout Teilo was accorded the pre-eminence among the three pilgrims.

According to Rhigyfarch, an angel appears to David and commands him to undertake the journey, accompanied by Eliud and Padarn. Rhigyfarch says that their pilgrimage was on terms of equality, but he gives us plainly to understand that David is the leader. It is he who, when they reach Gaul, is endowed with the apostolic gift of tongues to help them on their journey. The patriarch of Jerusalem, informed of their approach by an angel in a dream, prepares three honourable seats for them and places them therein when they arrive. He then promotes Saint David to the archiepiscopate. The three saints preach to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and at their departure David is presented with four gifts by the Patriarch,—an altar, a bell, a staff and a tunic wrought of gold. The Patriarch arranges that these gifts shall be sent after them. The story here shows signs of having been afterwards altered by Rhigyfarch. He first says that all four gifts are made to David, but a few lines further on the three saints "receive their gifts in their respective monasteries," David receiving his at Llangyfelach. This must have been the original story, but Rhigyfarch has clumsily inserted a correction in the interests of the see of Menevia.

The reviser of the *Vita Paterni*, who is anxious to get the former episcopal see of Llanbadarn restored, tells the story shortly, following the version in the *Vita David*, but he takes care to state that while gifts were bestowed on all three saints, Padarn received a double gift, viz., a staff and a tunic, and he does not mention what the other gifts were. The significance of his receiving the staff, the sign of episcopal jurisdiction, is obvious.

Geoffrey has given the most elaborate version of all. He retells the story in flowery language, using the rhetorical amplifications characteristic of his style, adding suitable texts from Scripture and a story of robbers being converted by the saints' patience and disinterestedness, which he seems to have borrowed from Palladius's *Paradise of the Fathers*⁴⁸ (though it may have been suggested by the notorious dangers of the passage

⁴⁸ e.g. vol. ii. p. 42, No. 187 (ed. Budge).

of the Alps at this period), and pointing out that the number of the pilgrims recalls the mystery of the Trinity. The divine command through the angel to set out is addressed not to David in the first place, but to [all three of] 'the saints'. On their arrival at the Holy City, instead of reposing, after their fatigues, on soft beds, they pass three days prostrate on the bare pavement of the Temple in prayer. The story of the seats is greatly elaborated. Using a well-known folklore theme, Geoffrey says that two of the chairs were of magnificently worked metal while the third was of plain cedar, and that it had been previously decided that the choice of the latter should be the test to indicate which of the three pilgrims they were to regard as the leader (*quem illorum ceteris prelatum constituerent*). Eliud's humility in choosing the least ornamented of the three proves his superior sanctity, and all present prostrate themselves before him, saying :

Salve, sancte Dei Teliave, may thy prayers prevail for us before the Lord, for today thou art exalted above thy fellows and dost sit in the chair from which our Lord Jesus Christ preached to our fathers the kingdom of God.

Teilo in turn prostrates himself, repeating a suitable text from the Psalms (Ps. i. 1) and pointing out that the chair was composed of the same material as the Cross. He preaches to the people, and all present hear him speaking in their own tongue. Then, at his suggestion, David and Padarn are invited also to speak. After this they are all three, by the choice of the whole assembly (*ab universa plebe electi*) raised to the episcopate, and, to increase still further the impression we are to feel of the special honour accorded to S. Teilo, the author of the *Book of Llandaff* heightens the effect by inserting a statement that "Telias is regarded as the successor of Peter and David of James." In the story of the gifts David receives only the altar, Padarn being represented with the staff and "choral cope in recognition of his excellent singing", and Teilo with a bell. The description of the bell is long and detailed in the *Vita Teiliavi* (in the *Vita David* it is dismissed in a short phrase) and no doubt contains genuine traditions about the bell which Teilo, like other Celtic saints, must have possessed, and which was probably at Llandaff when Geoffrey wrote. It was not large nor handsome, but was

sweet-sounding and was greatly venerated.⁴⁹ It condemned the perjured (i.e., those who took a false oath upon it) and healed the sick, and at one time it used of its own accord to sound the hours of the day, till, touched by polluted hands, it ceased to perform this useful function. Geoffrey in his usual way finds it an edifying likeness to Teilo's preaching powers.

The intention of a large number of Geoffrey's improvements on the story as told by Rhigyfarch to increase the prestige of the church of Llandaff is obvious.

Geoffrey finishes the story of the Jerusalem pilgrimage by saying that "they returned happily to their own country, but they could not stay there very long, owing to a pestilence, which nearly destroyed the entire nation". The author of the *Liber Landavensis*, while copying this, realized the existence of a most serious omission in Geoffrey's work—he had actually written a *Life* of Teilo without anywhere stating that he ever became bishop of Llandaff. It was of vital importance to remedy this, so the reviser inserted into the middle of the sentence, after the words "to their own country," the following statement :

and S. Telias received the pastoral care of the church of Landavia, to which he was consecrated, together with all the diocese (*parrochia*) adjoining it, which had been that of Dubricius his predecessor.

At the same time he altered, in the second part of the original sentence, the words "they could not" to "he could not". With this short addition, the *Life* now contained in essence what the author of the *Book of Llandaff* wished the world to believe about Teilo, but the mere fact that the addition had to be made shows how different the original Teilo tradition must have been.

Geoffrey describes the famous plague as follows :

It was called the Yellow Pestilence, because it made everyone it attacked yellow and bloodless. It appeared to men in the form of a column, consisting of a watery cloud passing over the whole region. Everything living that it touched with its pestilential breath either died straightway or became sick unto death.

⁴⁹ *magis famosum quam sit magnum, magis pretiosum quam pulchrum.*

The author of the *Book of Llandaff* here inserts a statement that "it attacked Mailcon, king of Guenedotia, and destroyed his country," which he borrowed from the *Annales Cambriae*⁵⁰, a book with which he was well acquainted, as we have observed when dealing with his statements about S. Dubricius.⁵¹ Teilo, Geoffrey says, pleaded with the Lord in fasting and prayer⁵² and the violence of the plague abated for a time, but, warned from heaven, he took the survivors and, with them "departed into distant regions". The reviser supplemented this statement by adding a short passage saying that "some went to Ireland and some, under his guidance, to France (*in Franciam*)," but, on second thoughts, he determined to enlarge on this yet further and introduced a much longer passage (it covers seven pages in the printed edition of the *Book of Llandaff*), consisting of a romantic story of a visit to Brittany. It is much the longest, most original and most characteristic episode in the whole book.

He begins by expanding Geoffrey's *celitus ammonitus* into an angelic vision, and then says:

S. Teliavus arose, taking with him certain of his suffragan bishops and clergy of different ranks, with many others, both men and women, and went first to the region of Cornwall (*ad Cornubiensem regionem*), and was well received by Gerennius, the king of that country, who treated him and all his party with every mark of honour. And while they were enjoying his hospitality, King Gerennius spoke in homely fashion to S. Teliavus the bishop, saying: 'Father and Lord, I pray you to receive my confession and to be my confessor in the Lord.' And the pontiff consented, and received his confession, and made him a solemn promise . . . that he should not see death till he had first received the Body of the Lord consecrated by himself. After this the saint continued his journey, with his companions, and coming to the peoples of Armorica was well received by them. And when Samson, archbishop of the church of Dol, heard of the arrival of his old associate (*confratris sui*) in the country, he went to meet him rejoicing. For they had been born in the same region and were men of the same language, and had been instructed together

⁵⁰ A.D. 547. *Mortalitas magna fuit in Britannia in qua pausat Mailcun rex G[u]enedotae.*

⁵¹ Misled by the *Ann. Camb.*, he says that Dubricius died in 612.

⁵² His prayer is based on Joel ii. 17 (*perditionem* instead of *opprobrium*), together with a reminiscence of the second prayer at the benediction of the Ashes on Ash Wednesday.

under⁵³ the blessed Archbishop Dubricius, by the imposition of whose hands Saint Samson had been consecrated bishop, as we learn from his Life. And he asked S. Teliavus to live with him. And Teliavus consented and abode with him for a long time and left there certain benefits due to his sanctity (*patrocinia suae sanctitatis*), namely the health-giving fountain called Cai, which his merits obtained from the Lord. And not only do many sick persons receive from it healing, in the name of God and of Teliavus, but a further striking manifestation of his miraculous power continues to be shown forth there even to this present day. For the Armorican sailors, when they are waiting for a favourable wind, are accustomed to clean out that health-giving fountain, and in this way constantly obtained from the Lord, by the intercession of the holy pontiff, the wind they desire. He also left in that country yet another benefit, which still reminds men of his sojourn there. For he and the aforesaid S. Samson planted a great grove of fruit-bearing trees, three miles long, reaching from Dol to Cai, and it is still called after them 'The orchard of Teliavus and Samson'. And ever since that time the prestige of the bishopric of Dol has been greatly increased among the Armorican Britons through the reverence paid to S. Teliavus.

Meanwhile the Yellow Pestilence had, by the mercy of Christ, ceased everywhere in the island of Britain. When the news of this arrived, the faithful leader Teliavus was exceeding glad and sent messengers to gather together the scattered exiles in France and Italy and wherever they had gone, in order that they might all return home, and he prepared three very large ships to transport them across the Channel.

The saint then proceeded to "the maritime port" (the name of which is not mentioned), amid the tears and lamentations of the Bretons.

The writer here inserts a long story, of a purely legendary character, which has all the appearance of an afterthought, clumsily added to a narrative previously completed. While Teilo is waiting at the port for a favourable wind, "behold, the king of the country, Budic by name, comes to meet him with a great army of Amoricans." They all kneel before him and beseech him to save their land from a huge viper, which has almost destroyed a third part of the kingdom. Encouraged by an angel, the saint then proceeds to deal with the viper in the

⁵³ *simul cum beato Dubricio.* The language in this section is affected and obscure.

traditional way and with his stole fastens him to a rock in the midst of the sea. The Armoricans then ask "the pontifex Samson" to persuade Teilo to remain with them, for fear the viper may renew its ravages. Teilo is unwilling to do so, but the angel again appears and bids him stay, telling him he will next day be offered the bishopric of Dol. He gives him a long and highly coloured account of what will happen (some of the details look as if they were borrowed from a fairy tale). The pontifex and the king and a great multitude of people will come to lead him to the episcopal see. He is to accept the offer and to remain at Dol for a time until the whole party of exiles is complete. The Armoricans will offer him a noble horse to ride on, but he is to refuse, for the angel himself will bring a magnificent horse from heaven, on which he is to ride to the bishopric of Dol. All this duly comes to pass on the following day. After his enthronement Teilo presents the celestial horse to the king and prays that the Armorican soldiers may always excel all others when mounted on horseback, and in this manner defeat their enemies and protect their native land. And this privilege, granted by S. Teilo, has, the author says, endured right down to the present day, as the writings of all their chroniclers testify. For the Armoricans are seven times more successful when mounted on horses than if they were fighting on foot.

The writer then comes back very awkwardly to the story of the return to Wales, which he begins all over again. One day the bishop *S. Teliaus* called to him his family, that is, the people (*plebem*) of his country, and reminding them of his promise to King *Gerennius* on the way to Brittany, said to them :

Know ye, my children, that our king *Gerennius* is grievously afflicted with a painful disease . . . and will shortly depart from this life . . . Therefore prepare for us our ship

(the writer seems to have forgotten that *three* very large ships (*maximas*) had previously been prepared, which, it might be assumed, were still available). A large bark having accordingly been prepared, *S. Teliaus* entered into it, exactly seven years and seven months after his first coming to Armorica, accompanied by many learned teachers and certain other bishops, by whose labours the British nation might be renewed in holiness

after the pestilence. They were much surprised when Teilo commanded them to bring with them a huge sarcophagus, which ten yoke of oxen could scarcely move, wherein to place *Gerennius's* body. It was, however, by his direction cast into the sea before the prow of their ship and floated in front of them.

As they were sailing and were half-way across the sea, another ship met them, and as the sailors of one were conversing with those of the other, a bishop sent by *Gerennius* announced that the king was dying but was awaiting the coming of S. Teliavus and the fulfilment of his promise. The two ships, sailing on together, arrived at the port called Dingerein [King *Gerennius's* capital had not been named before]: and lo! the aforesaid stone, which had been cast into the sea, appeared between them. S. Teliavus went straight to where the king lay, and found him still alive. Having received the Lord's Body from his hand, the king departed unto the Lord. His body was carefully placed by his blessed confessor in the aforesaid sarcophagus, and commended to God. After this the holy man, accompanied by the clergy and people in great numbers, made his way back to his episcopal see⁵⁴, and abode there unto the end of his life.

The source of the story about King *Gerennius*, which plays such an important part in the *Vita Teiliavi*, has only recently been revealed, thanks to the discovery in 1912 by the late M. l'abbé Duine of a long-lost *Life of S. Turiau*, sixth bishop of Dol, in the public library of Clermont in Auvergne.⁵⁵ This manuscript is a thirteenth century copy of a *Vita Turiavi* which must originally have been composed at Dol in the second half of the ninth century. The forms of the personal names and place-names it contains are very archaic and it shows every sign of an early date. It contains a great deal of material not found in any other *Life* of the saint, including a story about a friend of *S. Turiau*, called *Geren*. In c. 9 we read :

Now it came to pass that a certain friend of his, named *Geren*, whom he had beyond the sea, who rested after a spiritual manner in his love (*qui in ejus spiritaliter requiescebat visceribus*), had departed this life; and [one day] when the blessed Turiavus was, with the clergy and people, carrying crosses [in a procession], the saint

⁵⁴ Here ends the very long passage inserted by the reviser into the *Book of Llandaff*, which began on p. 108.

⁵⁵ He printed it in the *Bull. de la société arch. d'Ille-et-Vilaine* in that year (pp. 1-48).

lifted up his eyes and saw his soul being borne by angels, who were surrounded by malignant spirits. Calling for silence, he said: 'Pray, all of you, to the Lord for my friend, because I see him being borne by angels, and enemies following him.' And when they had all prayed . . . the demons were driven away from that soul. Then they launched a vessel in the sea, with the aid of sailors, to find out the truth about the miracle, and in the middle of the sea they met men who brought the news of the death of the friend of the man of God.

Now it is clear, I think, that we have here the origin of the similar story which we read in the *Life of S. Teilo*. The form of the name, *Geran*, latinized by the author of the *Book of Llandaff* as *Gerennius*, is precisely the same in both documents and seems to be found nowhere else. The meeting of the two ships in mid-channel is related in almost exactly the same words in the *Life of S. Teilo* and in the *Life of S. Turiiau*. The author of the *Liber Landavensis* was obviously specially interested in Dol. He must have paid the little city a prolonged visit. He had seen the holy well at *Cai* (Carfantain⁵⁶) and learned on the spot about the superstitious practices in use there to obtain favourable winds, and on the way he had observed the orchards which stretch up the valley from Dol to Carfantain. At Dol he had seen the *Vita Samsonis*, to which he refers in the *Vita Teiliavi* and of which he has made good use in his *Vita Dubricii*.⁵⁷ At Dol he must also have seen the *Vita Turiavi*. He has taken from it the incident of the death of *Turiau's* friend *Geran*, and skilfully adapted it for his *Life of S. Teilo*. In the *Vita Turiavi* it is just a scrappy anecdote, badly introduced and badly told. In the *Vita Teiliavi* it has been worked up into a coherent and attractive story. The phrase *qui in ejus spiritaliter requiescebat visceribus* is developed into an account of the relations between King *Gerennius* and the confessor S. Teilo.

Unfortunately the identity of this *Geran*, and the exact nature of the relations between him and S. *Turiau* are not at all clear. It is not even stated in the *Vita Turiavi* that he was a

⁵⁶ La Borderie suggested that *Cai* was *Lairgué*, which till the seventeenth century was spelt *Ergai* and *Argai*, near Carfantain, in a valley full of apple trees.

⁵⁷ Another hand has copied into the *Lib. Land.* his extracts from the *Vita Samsonis*.

king.⁵⁸ There was a chapel of *Saint Geran* in Dol cathedral and there is a parish of *Saint-Gerand* in Brittany between Loudéac and Pontivy, but no traditions about the saint have survived either there or at Dol. There is a parish called *Gerrans* on the south coast of Cornwall, where the eponym is a S. *Gerendus*,⁵⁹ whom tradition in the eleventh century described as a king.⁶⁰ It is probable that the author of the *Book of Llandaff* identified this Cornish *Gerent* with the Geruntius, king of Domnonia, to whom Aldhelm's famous letter was addressed in 705. He may have visited *Gerrans* and seen a large sarcophagus there. He says that the residence of King *Gerennius* was called *Dingerein*. No such place, however, can be found at *Gerrans* or anywhere else in Cornwall,⁶¹ but it can be found in Wales, at the mouth of the Teifi, below the town of Cardigan (near which is a place called *Cilgerran*). It is possible that our author may have come across some tradition of Teilo and a Welsh king called *Geraint*. Having read the *Vita Turiavi* and visited, or heard of, *Gerrans*, he may have turned the Welsh king into a Cornish one.

The discovery we have made as to the source of the story told by the author of the *Liber Landavensis* about Teilo and *Gerennius* will throw light on other details in his account of Teilo's visit to Brittany. It explains the otherwise amazing statement that Teilo became bishop of Dol. A further examination of the *Vita Turiavi* shows that S. *Turiau* was associated with the holy well mentioned in the *Life of S. Teilo*. This is the *Fontaine Saint-Samson*, north-east of the church of Carfantain.⁶² Near it, standing by the side of the ancient way leading to the bishop of Dol's palace at Les Ormes, was a chapel of S. *Turiau*.⁶³

⁵⁸ The author was familiar with Cornish traditions. He has an interesting reference to Constantine, king of Cornwall.

⁵⁹ *Gerendus* 1302, 1322, 1327, *Seynt Gerent* 1360.

⁶⁰ The Exeter martyrology says that a *filius regis Gerenti* was "healed by the merits of S. Berriona," the eponym of Veryan (the next parish to *Gerrans*). See Doble, *The Original Exeter Martyrology*, in *Ord. Exon.* (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1941), vol. iv, pp. 10, 34, 41, 42.

⁶¹ See Doble, *S. Gerent* ('Cornish Saints' series, No. 41), pp. 17-19. *SC iii 86-88.] The name *Dingerein* now printed in the Ordnance Survey Map of Cornwall as that of a barrow in *Gerrans* is due to the influence of nineteenth century antiquarians misled by Dr. Whitaker.

⁶² Banéat, *Le Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine* (Rennes, 1927), I. 518. The village of course owes its name to the fountain.

⁶³ *ib.* 519.

In c. 8 of the *Vita Turiavi* there is a story of how the saint went by night to "a certain chapel by the well of the blessed Samson"—clearly the same chapel. The author of the *Book of Llandaff* had seen these places and he had found Samson and *Turiau* honoured there together. He had also read at Dol the *Vita Turiavi* with its story of *Geren*. The difference between the names *Turiau* of Dol and *Teliau* of Wales is not very great, and he jumped to the conclusion that they were the same saint. He was not the only person who thought so. Geoffrey of Monmouth, who was writing his *History of the Kings of Britain* at this very time, tells us (Lib. ix. c. 15) that "in the place of the holy Samson, archbishop of Dol, was appointed Theliau,⁶⁴ an illustrious priest of Llandaff". Hitherto this statement has been regarded as a purely gratuitous invention, no less ridiculous than shameless. We see now how the idea arose. Whether it first occurred to Geoffrey of Monmouth or to the writer of the *Liber Landavensis* (as seems more probable) it is impossible to say. But we can see why it was welcomed by the latter. It was, as M. Loth has pointed out (op. cit., p. 74), "an answer to a legend which the chapter of St. David's were trying to get accredited. In a letter addressed to Pope Honorius (1125-1130) they asserted, as we learn from Giraldus Cambrensis,⁶⁵ that S. Samson had been archbishop of Menevia and had taken the pallium of S. David with him to Dol." It is clear that our author was much perplexed by the difficulties presented by his story. He has invented the detail of Teilo's temporary acceptance of the see of Dol in order to try to gloss over the patent absurdity of his being bishop there in the lifetime of S. Samson, though nobody will agree that he has succeeded in his object. The incidents in this section are, indeed, so unconvincing that one wonders if they were really intended to be taken seriously.

It is remarkable that Breton topography, as we shall see, indicates the existence of an association of S. Teilo with S. *Turiau* which can hardly be due entirely to the influence of the *Vita Teliavi*.

⁶⁴ Mis-spelt *Chelian* in the English translation.

⁶⁵ *De Invect.* (Opera, iii. 59, 60). Geoffrey of Monmouth has a story of a plague in Britain causing an emigration to Armorica (Bk. xii. cc. 15, 16).

Budic is not mentioned in the *Vita Turiavi*. This *Budic rex terrae* is not an historical character, but the name was a common one, especially in Brittany. Three counts of Cornouaille are said to have been called *Budic*. Our author was aware of this, and he begins his *Vita Oudocei* with a story of a *Budic natus de Cornugallia*—he seems to have taken him from the *Cartulary of Landévennec*. It is significant that there are several dedications both to Teilo and to *Turiau* in Cornouaille, and that the cult of S. Teilo is more deeply rooted there than anywhere else in Brittany, as we shall see.

The reference to the prowess of the Breton cavalry is one more proof of our author's knowledge of, and interest in, Brittany. He seems to refer to the decisive effect it exercised in the defeat of Charles the Bald at the battle of Ballon in 845.⁶⁶

In conclusion, the use of the word *plebs* to describe Teilo's party of ecclesiastics and laity—both men and women, is interesting because of the light it seems to throw on the vexed question of the origin of the Breton *plous*. True, the *Vita Teliavi*, as M. Largillière says,⁶⁷ is much too late for us to base on it an argument as to the circumstances of the Breton immigration six hundred years before. Still, this picture of a party of exiles, under the guidance of their clergy, crossing the Channel to find a new home in Armorica may possibly correspond to the facts. Plédeliau near Dinan certainly seems to be at any rate the settlement of a little Christian community from Carmarthenshire led by its priest.

"After this the holy man returned to his episcopal see [Geoffrey says "his native soil"], and remained there to the end of his life". The reviser here (at the words "remained there"⁶⁸) returns to the text he is copying.

Geoffrey passes over the rest of the *Life* of S. Teilo very rapidly. He says that the saint "held dominion over all the

⁶⁶ Geoffrey of Monmouth also speaks of the efficiency of the Armorican cavalry and the author of *Vita Iltuti* begins his work with a panegyric on Brittany,—*provincia victoriosa, potens in armis*, etc.

⁶⁷ *Les Saints et l'org. chrét. prim. dans l'Arm. bret.*, pp. 198-9.

⁶⁸ Geoffrey, instead of the long story we have dealt with, simply has a couple of sentences in which he says that "by God's mercy Eliud, the faithful leader, collecting the remnants of his nation, returned from exile to his native soil," etc.

churches of the whole of Southern Britain according to the tradition of the fathers who had consecrated him at Jerusalem. The nation, decimated by the pestilence, very quickly increased in numbers, because implicit obedience was rendered to all the saint's commands, and the holy church, so long dispersed, was, by the intervention of Teliavus, the most holy of the saints, exalted". He then hurriedly concludes his narrative. He does not mention the saint's death, but passes at once to the story of the dispute which followed it. The author of the *Liber Landavensis* has felt how awkward this abrupt transition is and has made a fresh long insertion, covering a whole page.

He tells us, first, that on his return he was joined by the former disciples of the blessed Dubricius, viz., *Iunapeius*, *Gurmaet*, *Cynmur*, *Toulidauc*, *Juhil*, *Fidelis*, *Hismael*, *Tyfhei*, *Oudoceus* and many others. Of these he consecrated *Hismael* bishop and placed him in charge of the church of Menevia, for S. David had since departed to the Lord (this is a final shot at the claims of Menevia to the primacy). He also made others bishops and assigned dioceses to them.

It is remarkable that none of these "disciples of Dubricius", except the first (and perhaps, the third), appear in the list of his disciples in the *Vita Dubricii*.

Gurmaet is the eponym of *Lann Guruaet*, *quae antea fuerat in primo tempore sanctorum Dubricii et Teliavi*, granted, with all its territory, by *August*, king of *Brecheniauc*, to S. Oudoceus.⁶⁹ It is mentioned again in the list of Teilo churches on p. 255 of the *Book of Llandaff*. It is now *Llandeilo'r-Fân*, west of Brecon. He must also be the patron of the *Ecclesia de Sancto Wormeto* which appears in the *Liber Landavensis* among the churches of the deanery of Nether Went paying annually *synodalia seu cathedratice* (p. 323), now Howick, near Itton (north-west of Chepstow).

Cynmur may be the eponym of the church of Bishopston in Gower, called in the *Book of Llandaff* *Ecclesia Cyngur Trosgardi* (p. 145) and *Monasterium Sancti Cinuuri* (p. 239), also of *Llangynnwr*, adjoining Carmarthen, and of *Capel Cynnor* in Pen-bre. (The next name, it is to be observed, is of a saint honoured in the town of Carmarthen.)

⁶⁹ BLD 154.

Toulidauc is the eponym of the *Lan Toulidauc ig Cair Mirdin*⁷⁰ mentioned in the list of churches in the bull of Pope Innocent II. copied on p. 62 of the *Book of Llandaff* (all of them, except one, being near Carmarthen).⁷¹ The Augustinian priory of S. John in the town of Carmarthen, which replaced this ancient Celtic monastery, is called in its cartulary the 'Priory of S. John the Evangelist and of S. Theulacus'.⁷² The original monastery (*Llan Teulydawc*) was one of the more important of the "seven bishop-houses in Dyfed" mentioned in the Laws of Howel the Good—its abbot had to be "graduated in literary degrees."

Juhil and *Fidelis* reappear in the charter in the *Book of Llandaff* (p. 126) which grants *Tref Carn* and *Laith ti Teiliau* to S. Teilo. The clerical witnesses to this charter are "Saint Teliaus, Iouil and Fidelis his disciple". In the next charter (*Cil Tutuc* and *Penn Clecir*) the clerical witnesses are again *Teliaus cum suis discipulis*, *Iouguil et Fidelis* (this charter describes the murder of *Tyfhei*, who is the next but one in this list of "disciples of Dubricius and Teilo"). Nothing is known of either of these two saints and neither has left any trace in Welsh topography.

The names of *Hismael*, *Tyfhei* and *Oudoceus*, which conclude the list, are a further proof that the additions to Geoffrey's *Life* of S. Teilo are by the author of the *Book of Llandaff*. They are all taken from his *Vita Beati Oudocei*, which was clearly written after Geoffrey's *Vita S. Teiliavi* since it quotes several pages from it verbatim. In the *Life of S. Oudoceus* "Ismael and Tyfei, the martyr who lies at Pennalun", are the children of *Budic*, count of Cornouaille, born during his exile in Wales, while *Oudoceus* is their brother, born after *Budic*'s return to Brittany. They are nephews of S. Teilo, their mother *Anaumed* being Teilo's sister.

Hismael or *Ismael* (an older form would be *Osmail*) must once have been a prominent figure in Welsh hagiography.

⁷⁰ Other forms of the full name will be found on pp. 124, 254, 287.

⁷¹ Among the churches in this list is *Lann Isann* (also mentioned on pp. 56, 124 and 255), which is probably the *Eglwys Ysmael* found in the list of seven bishop-houses in Dyfed, again as one of the more important. It will be observed that *Hismael* follows closely in our author's list of disciples of Dubricius and Teilo.

⁷² LBS iv. 252.

He may have had a *Life*, which is now lost, and the entry *Sci. Ismaelis epi. et conf.* is found in the kalendar in Vesp. A. xiv on 16 June. We have already seen how he appears in the *Life of S. David* as one of the three chief disciples of that saint. He is patron of several churches in Carmarthenshire and Pembroke-shire; viz. Llan Ishmael near Cydweli; St. Ishmael's in Rhos, on the north side of Milford Haven (the *Eglwys Ysmael* of the "seven bishop-houses in Dyfed" already referred to); Camros and Rosemarket (also in the deanery of Rhos); and of Uzmaston, near Haverford (close to the last three parishes). It has been thought that he may have been the original patron of Haroldston St. Issels (adjoining Uzmaston).

Tyfhei is also taken, as we have seen, from the *Life of S. Oudoceus*. In the charter of *Cil Tutuc* (near Tenby), on p. 127 of the *Book of Llandaff*, there is a story of how "a certain infant named Tyfhei, the nephew of Saint Teliavus" was murdered by a "rich man" named *Tutuc*. This would of course make it impossible for *Tyfhei* to have been a disciple of S. Dubricius. No doubt it is a pure legend. *Tyfhei* is the eponym of Lamphey (formerly *Llandyfei*) between Tenby and Pembroke, and of Llandyfeisant in Dynevor Park, west of Llandeilo Fawr. The position of both these churches supports the tradition of their eponym being connected with Teilo. There was also formerly a chapel at Lampha in Ewenni (Glamorgan), called *Lan Tiuei* in the *Book of Llandaff* (p. 212).⁷³

The writer then adds five stories of miracles worked by S. Teilo, "which we have learnt from written records".⁷⁴ Each is summarized in a single sentence. Three of them are stated to have happened at places in Carmarthenshire or Pembrokeshire whose names are given. In the case of the other two no names of persons or places are mentioned.

He had three beasts of burden, and they used to go to the forest without anyone to drive them, and, after being loaded by the woodcutters, they used to return in the same way of their own accord, and thus they served the brethren daily. For they say

⁷³ LBS iv. 290. Martletwy in Pembrokeshire (pronounced locally *Martel Twai*) = Merthyr Tyfai.

⁷⁴ *Nunc quae scripto cognovimus facta per eum miracula ea litteris et memoriae commendemus.*

that he raised to life by the river Couin⁷⁵ a dead man called Distinnic. And they say that a paralytic was healed by him one Sunday before all the people in the church of Radh,⁷⁶ and the sick were cured of whatsoever disease they had by the imposition of his hands. But those who were guilty of disrespect towards him either died straightway, like the rash woman who sinned against him and was liquefied before all the people, [the rest of the sentence is missing].

Also a certain nobleman (*regulus*), named Guaidan, violated his sanctuary (*refugium*) in a certain church of his, commonly called Lantelieu Bechan,⁷⁷ and in consequence went raving mad and died immediately a shameful death in the cemetery of the same [church]. But those who acknowledged their fault forthwith recovered health and pardon by his prayers.

It has been suggested that these stories came from a *Life* of S. Teilo kept at the monastery of Llandeilo Fawr. This might conceivably be true of the first. It is to be observed that it contains a repetition of a theme already utilized in the story of the two stags.⁷⁸ The two following are introduced by the word *dicunt*. The fourth story is only referred to in the vaguest language—the writer seems to have borrowed the expression *liquefacta est* from the *Life of S. Cadog*.⁷⁹ The last is a local legend, like the stories about *Distinnic* and the paralytic healed in the church of Radh, and all three seem to belong to the class of verbal traditions picked up by the author of the *Book of Llandaff* in his travels through South Wales, of which we shall have many examples in the charters dealing with Teilo churches which will be examined later.

The *Vita* ends with the famous story of the multiplication of the saint's body to satisfy the claims of three churches connected with him. It was in Geoffrey's version, but the author of the *Book of Llandaff* has added to and embellished

⁷⁵ R. Cywyn in Carmarthenshire.

⁷⁶ Amroth in Pembrokeshire, cf. BLD 124, 255, *Lan Rath et Lann Cronnguern cum tribus territoriis Amrath*.

⁷⁷ *Lann Teliau Bechan in Diffrin Teiui* is mentioned twice in the *Book of Llandaff* (pp. 124 and 254). But Mr. J. G. Evans and Professor William Rees think that Llandeilo Abercywyn is meant. There is a *Llanfechan* in Llanwenog (Cardiganshire).

⁷⁸ BLD 102, *multo tempore post . . . ligna eis amministrabant.*

⁷⁹ c. 40, *conspetu totius exercitus liquefactus est, prout cera ante faciem ignis.* The author of the *Vita Iltuti* has also copied this expression (c. 17), and so has the writer of the *Vita Congari* (*Nova Legenda Angliae*, I. 253).

it, inserting several of his favourite ideas. Numerous *Lives* of Celtic saints contain stories of disputes following the death of their heroes and of methods adopted for settling them—the commonest being to place the body on a cart drawn by oxen and leave them to take the direction they chose. The claim to possess the *whole* body reminds us, as M. Largillière has pointed out,⁸⁰ that it was not the custom of the Celtic Christians to disperse the bones of saints among different churches. A similar story was related by popular tradition of another Welsh saint.⁸¹ It is possible that there may have been more than one primitive saint of Wales named *Eliud* or *Teilo* and that they were afterwards amalgamated by hagiographers. Our author tells us in his *Life of S. Oudoceus* that that saint removed from *Lan Teliaumaur* “some of the relics of the disciples of his uncle Teliau”, and that his action was resented by the natives.⁸² It is certain that Llandeilo Fawr was robbed in more ways than one to benefit Llandaff. A possible explanation of the fact that Penally claimed to possess the body of S. Teilo will be considered when we come to deal with the saint’s cult there.

Teilo’s death is not described. The author of the *Liber Landavensis* tells us, in the longer of the two passages he has inserted here in Geoffrey’s work, that it took place *super ripam Tyui*,⁸³ i.e. at or near Llandeilo Fawr. He also tells us, what Geoffrey had omitted to specify, which were the three churches whose clergy claimed his body, the first being *Penn Alun*, the second Llandeilo Fawr (though he has accidentally omitted the name, while giving the grounds for its claim), and the third Llandaff, for five reasons which he proceeds to state. Later on he cannot refrain from inserting, after the story of how each party carried home a body of S. Teilo, to the satisfaction of all concerned, a definite assertion that “miracles proved that Teilo’s body was undoubtedly brought to Llandaff”. Geoffrey had merely said that “at his tomb [he does not say *which*, but must

⁸⁰ op. cit., p. 143, (Note 24).

⁸¹ *Lives of the British Saints*, i. 220 and iv. 237.

⁸² BLD 135. *Also pp 217-9 of this volume.]

⁸³ *ibi vitam gloriose finierat*. It is worth noting that someone has written in the margin of the *Book of Llandaff*, where *Finis territorii Lann Teliau Maur* begins on p. 78, the words *ubi corpus Sancti Thelyai sepultum fuit*.

have meant that at Llandaff] the sick are frequently healed of all their diseases, the blind receive their sight and the deaf hear”.

The *Life* then ends in the usual homiletic style.

The author of the *Book of Llandaff* has omitted the EXPLICIT VITA VENERABILIS *confessoris* THELIAWI with which Geoffrey had finished his work, and instead has inserted a sentence stating that in Teilo’s time the church of Llandaff not only increased in holiness but was enriched by gifts from Welsh kings who were his contemporaries—he names seven. This serves as a transition from the *Life* to the Charters which are to follow, several of the kings mentioned (*Idon* and *Aircol*) being the donors who sign them. But first he inserts, in Latin and Welsh, “the Privilege of S. Teilo, which the aforesaid kings have granted to his church of Llandaff”. The Welsh of this document, says M. Loth is “a mixture of Old Welsh and Middle Welsh”,⁸⁴ and “cannot be older than the end of the eleventh century or the first half of the twelfth”. As it stands, it obviously cannot have been granted by kings of Dyfed and Gwynedd to a Llandaff which probably did not exist in their time. In fact it deals largely with the relations between “the king of Morgannwg”, i.e. Glamorgan, and “the church of Llandaff and its bishops”, and so presumes a political situation not very much older than the Norman Conquest. But the point to notice for our present purpose is that throughout it identifies the cathedral and see of Llandaff with S. Teilo, as being *par excellence* the Llandaff saint, no other saint being mentioned in it. It speaks of the “bishop of S. Teilo”, “the lands of S. Teilo”, “the people of S. Teilo” and “the *gundy* of Teilo at Llan Dav”.

The author of the *Liber Landavensis* had placed the charters purporting to grant lands to Dubricius before his *Life* of that saint. He has arranged the Teilo charters, however, after the *Vita Teiliavi*. Unlike the Dubricius charters, a great number of them contain biographical details about the saint, handed down by local tradition,—often whole stories (one being of considerable length).

He begins with three charters dealing with Teilo churches in Monmouthshire.

⁸⁴ He says, “c’est une langue de transition, au point de vue orthographique”.

The first relates how *Idon*, son of *Ynyr*, king of Gwent, granted "to the church of S. Peter of Llandaff and Archbishop Teilo" one of his houses, viz. *Lanngarth* [Llanarth], which had formerly belonged to S. Dubricius the archbishop, with all its territory and its sanctuary (*refugium*). The king, carrying on his back the gospel-book and accompanied by the clergy, bearing crosses in their hands and sprinkling holy water and dust from the pavement of the church and of the sepulchre (we are not told *whose* sepulchre), perambulated the boundaries. Four of the clerical witnesses appear in the list of the disciples of S. Dubricius in the *Vita Dubricii*.

In the next charter the same king grants *Lann Maur*, *id est Lann Teliau Porth Halauc*, "where Biuan with his four companions lie" with its sanctuary. Three of the clerical witnesses are the same as in the first charter.

The third is also a grant by King *Idon* and contains a story of how he defeated a Saxon invasion, thanks to the prayers of S. Teilo. He went to the saint, who was then abiding in his *podum* (monastery) of *Langarth*, with his clerks, and asked the aid of his prayers. Teilo came with him to a mountain in the middle of *Crissinic* by *Trodi* (the river Trothy), where he stood and prayed to Almighty God for His people who had been spoiled, and God gave them the victory. In gratitude the king granted to the saint the land surrounding the *cumulus* on which he had stood.

The writer here adds, without any introduction, a list of Teilo churches and estates. They are all in Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire. As Llandeilo Fawr is not mentioned among them, it looks as if the original list had been written there. After eight Carmarthenshire churches (all, except *Lann Toulidauc*, being called *Lann Teliau*), comes the heading *I Pennbro*, followed by the names of twelve churches in that district, including "Eccluis Gunniau, where S. Teliaus was born". After the heading *In Ros* come four churches, including *Lann Issan*.

The charter of *Mainaur Brunus* (Llandeilo Rwnws in Llanegwad, Carmarthenshire) relates how "Margetud, son of Rein, king of Dyfed, in a fit of passion slew Gufrir, a man of S. Teliau, in the saint's refuge, before his altar", and, in order to obtain pardon, gave to God and to S. *Teliau Mainaur Brunus*,

with its church, fish and woods, together with *Telichclouman* and *Tref Canus*—all places near Llandeilo Fawr. It may have been copied from a document at Llandeilo Fawr resembling the *Book of St. Chad*. *Margetud* seems to be an historical character,⁸⁵ and the incident related may well be historical.

The remaining three sections belong to a different category. They are not really charters at all, but local legends, two of them about places near Penally and Tenby and one about Llanddowror, and are closely connected with the *Vita Oudocei* which follows. In all three of them *Aircol Lauhir*, son of *Tryfun*, king of Demetia, appears. We have met with him already in the list of royal benefactors of Llandaff, and shall find him again in the *Life of S. Oudoceus*. Unlike *Margetud*, he is not mentioned in the *Annales Cambriae*, but only in a Welsh pedigree of the tenth century.⁸⁶ He looks like a legendary figure of the type of *Grallon*, king of Cornouaille, who plays such an important part in the *Vita Winwaloei*.

Tref Carn, *Laith ti Teiliau* and *Menechi* are the only lands in this section mentioned in the list of Teilo estates just referred to, where they appear in the same order.⁸⁷ Our author tells us an interesting story about them. They were given to Teilo by *Aircol* in gratitude for his assistance in putting an end to drunken brawls among his soldiers and courtiers, which occurred nightly and always led to murders. "The king sent to S. Teliaus, who was then residing at his *podum* of Pennalun, asking him to come quickly to bless him and his court and to cause these constant murders to cease." Teilo came and gave his blessing and sent "his two disciples Iouil and Fidelis" to superintend the distribution of food and drink in the king's household. That night nobody was killed and the evil custom ceased. The king recognized that this was due to the prayers of S. Teilo and offered him the three estates *de propria hereditate sua*. Their bounds are given in Welsh. The clerical witnesses are *sanctus Teliaus testis*, *Iouil*, *fidelis discipulus suus*. Instead of the list of lay

⁸⁵ The death of *Morgetiud*, *rex Demetorum* is entered for the year 796 in the *Annales Cambriae*. He had a son called *Rein* (d. 808).

⁸⁶ In Harleian MS. 3859 he is the son of *Triphun map Clotri*, of the line of Constantius and Helen, and father of *Guortepir*, father of *Cincar*.

⁸⁷ BLD 124.

witnesses which usually follows that of the clerical witnesses, the words *testantibus rege Aircol cum suis principibus* are inserted before *De clericis*, etc. It is clear that the author of the *Liber Landavensis* added all this out of his own head.

The next story is an attempt to account for the name *Cil Tutuc*. It comes, we are told, from "a rich man named Tutuc", whose corn was ravaged by the pigs of a *Penn Alun* man. In a fury he killed with his lance "a certain infant named Typhei, the nephew of S. Teliaus". We have already pointed out the inconsistency of this legend with what is said about *Tyfhei* in the *Vita Teiliavi*, and have noted the fact that "Tyfei the martyr who lies in Pennalun" is found in the *Vita Oudocei*. *Tutuc*, we are told here, repented and asked Teilo's forgiveness, and by the advice of King *Aircol* he gave himself and his two *villae* of *Cil Tutuc* and *Penn Clecir* to Teilo and to the church of Llandaff. The clerical witnesses are again "Archbishop Teilo, with his disciples Iouguil and Fidelis". In this case the usual list of lay witnesses follows, beginning with King *Aircol*.

Finally, we have a long story to explain the origin of the name of an important Teilo church—Llanddowror, on the Taf near St. Clears in the west of Carmarthenshire. We are told that the *Dybrgyr* . . . *id est aquatici viri*, were the seven sons of a poor man of *Douledif*⁸⁸ called *Cynguaiu*, born at one birth. The father in despair was pretending to drown them in the Taf at *Rytsinetic*, when (as he had foreseen) Teilo, at whose advice he had abstained from intercourse with his wife for seven years, happened to pass by. The saint rescued them and baptized them, and afterwards had them brought up "in his *podum* of Lanteliau, which by some is called after them *Lanndyfrgyr* [=The Monastery of the Watermen⁸⁹] because they lived solely on seven fish taken out of the water and placed daily on a stone in the Taf called *Lechmeneich* [=The Monks' Stone], also because they were found in the water and escaped drowning in the water". On one occasion, when Teilo came to visit them, eight fish instead of seven were found on the stone. After a long

⁸⁸ *Cantref Douledif*, now *Daugleddyf* in Pembrokeshire. (Index to BLD, p. 396).

⁸⁹ The place is called by both names on p. 254 of the BLD, *Lannteliau Lanndybrgyr mainaur*.

sojourn in this place they lived for some time with blessed Dubricius, who sent them to their other place, which is called *Marthru*, in *Pepitiauc* [between Fishguard and St. David's], and there they are called "The Seven Saints of Mathru".⁹⁰ From whence they went to *Cenard Maur* [near Cardigan], where they lived for the rest of their lives. They bequeathed *Mathru* and *Cenarth Maur* to their holy patron and master *Teliavus* and to the church of Llandaff.

We have here a typical topographical legend. The author of the *Liber Landavensis* must have learnt it at Llanddowror. He has added some of his usual formulae to claim the churches mentioned for Llandaff. The real explanation of the name *Lanndyfrgyr*⁹¹ may be that it was a daughter house of Mynyw, the monastery of 'David the Waterman'.⁹² The mention of the stay of the seven Watermen "with blessed Dubricius" reminds us of the statement in one of the Dubrician charters (that of *Penn Alun*) that "Lan Maur on the bank of the Tyui with its two territories, where *Teiliaus* the *alumnus* and disciple of S. Dubricius lived, and the territory of the *Aquilentos* on the bank of the river Tam", was given to Dubricius by "Noe, son of Arthur", and the statement is repeated in the *Vita Oudocei*.⁹³ Our author must have found traditions of Dubricius surviving in the whole of this district.

It remains to examine the evidence afforded by Welsh and Breton topography.

The traces of the cult of S. Teilo are very widespread throughout South Wales. Few local saints have so many dedications. The industry of the late Dr. Fisher and other Welsh antiquaries has collected a very large number of them.⁹⁴ It is the most eloquent testimony to the real greatness of this

⁹⁰ The scribe spells the name in two different ways in the same sentence.

⁹¹ There was another church of this name in Edeligion (Monmouthshire, the site is unknown), stated in the *Vita Cadoci* to have been given by that saint to *S. Doguinnus* (c. 22). In the *Vita Kebii* (CBS 184; *VSBG 238) it is said to have been given to *Kepius* by *Ethelic*. It may be *Capel* in Llangybi.

⁹² It is to be observed that the name *Dubricius* is derived from *dwfr* = 'water'.

⁹³ BLD 133. *Also p. 217 of this volume.]

⁹⁴ See *Lives of the British Saints*, iv. 237-240. *Also Bowen, SCSW 56-58. Cf. also C. Lewis, *Llên Cymru* vii. 149, J. Conway Davies, EAWD i. 152-3.]

old-time leader of religion in Wales and to the extent of the influence exercised by him, though, as we have seen, the true story of his career and actions has perished.

There are twenty-one places called *Lann Teliau* in the *Book of Llandaff*, besides several others containing his name with some other prefix. It will be convenient to give these first, printed in capitals, arranged according to the counties in which they are situated, afterwards giving places in each county dedicated to Teilo which are not mentioned in the *Liber Landavensis*.

The centre of Teilo's evangelistic work was, as we have seen, Llandeilo Fawr, on the river Tywi in Carmarthenshire. LANN TELIAU MAUR is mentioned ten times in the *Book of Llandaff*, the words *cum pertinentiis suis* or *cum duobus territoriis suis* being frequently added. It is the place *ubi conversatus est Teiliaus alumnus Sancti Dubricii et discipulus*.⁹⁵ It claimed his body at his death *ob conversationem suam et solitariam vitam quam inibi duxit per tempus super ripam Tyui, et quod ibi vitam gloriose finierat*.⁹⁶ The bounds of the monastery land are given on p. 78. The present parish church, standing on the site of his monastery, has been rebuilt, except the tower. It contains the heads of two large Celtic crosses. In the churchyard, east of the church, is the ancient holy well called Ffynnon Deilo (now covered in), and there are (or were) three other places in the parish called after him; Carreg or Sedd Deilo (at Glynmeirch, on the edge of Llandybie parish), Ynys Deilo and Maenor Deilo.

Somewhere in the valley of the Teifi was LANN TELIAU BECHAN [=Little] IN DIFRIN TEIUI. LANN TELIAU MAINAUR BRUNUS, now Llandeilo Rwnws, was on the Tywi between Llandeilo Fawr and Carmarthen, in Llanegwad,—the stones of the chapel have been used to build the modern farmhouse. LANN TELIAU PIMPSEINT KAIR CAIAU, LANN TELIAU GARTH TEUIR (now Capel Teilo in the parish of Talley, "on a farm called Brondeilo, where, from under the hill hard by, gushes out Pistyll Teilo"⁹⁷) and LANN TELIAU NANT SERU were all on the banks of the Cothi, a tributary of the Tywi from the north.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ BLD 77.

⁹⁶ *ib.* p. 116.

⁹⁷ LBS iv. 238.

⁹⁸ *super ripam Cothi*. The reader will remark how often the writer notes that a Teilo church or estate is on the bank of a river.

LANN TELIAU LANNDIBRGUIR on the Taf and LANN TELIAU APER COUIN on the Cywyn are in the south-west of Carmarthenshire—both rivers are the scenes of stories recorded in the *Liber Landavensis*. LANN TELIAU PENN TYUINN is thought to be Pendine, in the same neighbourhood, on the coast south of Llanddowror.

S. Teilo is the patron of Brechfa⁹⁹ on the Cothi, and of Trelech on the Cywyn. Llanpumsaint north of Carmarthen is called, on Professor William Rees's map, *Llan Teilo Pumpsaint*, and the Five Saints are the same as at the place of the same name in Caerleon already referred to.¹⁰⁰ Browne Willis mentions a Llandeilo Welfrey in the deanery of Carmarthen, which may be Castellwyran under Cilymaenllwyd. There is a Capel Teilo in Pen-bre, near Cydweli, of which the south wall still stands.¹⁰¹ Professor Rees's map shows a Ffynnon Deilo on a mountain north-west of Llandeilo Fawr.

Pembrokeshire is full of places associated with S. Teilo.

First of all comes Penally, between Tenby and Caldy. It was, after Llandeilo Fawr, the chief centre of his cult. Near it was the traditional place of his birth.¹⁰² It was the "place of burial of his fathers", and he possessed hereditary rights there.¹⁰³ The body of "the martyr Typhei", his nephew, "lay at Pennalun",¹⁰⁴ and the body of another saint, believed in the eleventh century to be that of Teilo himself, was buried in its church. A story related of him in the *Liber Landavensis* describes him as "residing in his *podum* of Pennalun".¹⁰⁵ All round it were estates asserted by the same authority to have been given him by kings of Dyfed: such as LANN RATH HALANN CRONNGUERN (i.e. Cronware, called in 1479 *Cornwere*, *alias dicta Landeylow*

⁹⁹ The author of *Lib. Land.* must have known of a place of this name, since he inadvertently writes *Brecua* on p. 255 when he means *Brecheniauc*.

¹⁰⁰ We have an interesting parallel to this at Llan-gors, which contains a *Finnau Doudec Seint* and a *Lann i Doudec Seith*, while the parish is dedicated to S. Paulinus, whose twelve disciples are mentioned several times in his *Life*.

¹⁰¹ LBS iv. 239.

¹⁰² BLD 124.

¹⁰³ *ib.* 116.

¹⁰⁴ *ib.* 130.

¹⁰⁵ *ib.* 126.

*Gronewern*¹⁰⁶ "with the three territories of Amrath", in whose church he was said to have worked a miracle,¹⁰⁷ *Tref Carn*, LAITH TI TELIAU and *Menechi*, LUIN TELIAU, which was "only a villa", and ECCLUIS GUNNAU (*Luin Teliau* is Trefloyne near Penally, close to which is a field called Castle *Gwynne*).¹⁰⁸ It is clear that there was once an important monastery at *Penn Alun*. Two charters in the *Liber Landavensis* purporting to grant land to S. Oudoceus are signed by an abbot of *Penn Alun* called *Guencat*, *princeps Aluni Capitis* (a latinization of *Penn Alun*), who signs after the abbots of the three chief monasteries of Glamorgan. There was a tradition that both Dubricius and Teilo had lived here, and the explanation of the story that Penally claimed to possess the body of Teilo may be that the body of an unknown saint was venerated in the church¹⁰⁹ and that the Teilo tradition was so strong there that an idea arose, and was finally accredited, that it was *his* body. For some reason, of which we are ignorant, the monastery of Penally ceased to flourish and finally disappeared, and with it the cult of S. Teilo at Penally. The dedication of the church is now unknown.

There was another very important centre of the cult of S. Teilo in Pembrokeshire—at LANN TELIAU LITGARTH IN DOUCLEDIF (=Daugleddyf). It is the fifth in the list of the "seven bishop-houses in Dyfed" in the Laws of Howel the Good, and one of the more important ones—"the abbot of Teilaw should be an ordained scholar". It is in the parish of Maenclochog. In 1898 the Cambrian Archaeological Association visited "the ruined chapel of Llandeilo, close by which is St. Teilo's well and a farmhouse, in which a skull—traditionally called *Penglog Teilo*—has been kept from time immemorial."¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ *Chronicon Monasterii S. Albani*, ii. 192.

¹⁰⁷ BLD 115, 116.

¹⁰⁸ For this, and for "the three territories of Amrath", see *Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Wales, Inventory of Pembrokeshire*, pp. 5, 6.

¹⁰⁹ We have an interesting parallel in the story of the body of the unknown saint in S. Iltut's cave at Llwynarth in Gower (*Vita Iltuti*, c. 22, Nennius, *Hist. Brit.* c. 71).

¹¹⁰ "The family in whose possession the skull has remained (it may be for centuries) is named Melchior. It is of a dark colour, and polished by continual handling . . . It is used as a cup for drinking water from St. Teilo's well . . . Mrs. Melchior remembered being taken to the well and made to drink water from it when, as a little girl, she suffered from whooping-cough. She said that many people used to come up there from

It is really the skull of a young person, and is "probably a pre-Reformation relic". There are two ancient inscribed stones in Llandeilo churchyard. After *Lann Teliau Litgarth* comes, in the list of churches and estates belonging to Teilo on p. 124 of the *Book of Llandaff*, LANN TELIAU CILRETIN IN EMLYN. This is Cilrhedyn, the most easterly parish in Pembrokeshire. Earlier in the list is mentioned LANN TELIAU LUIN GAIDAN, described as "a villa only, in Euelfre". These last words indicate the position of this estate. It must have been in the parish of Llanddewi Felffre, east of Narberth and near the Teilo church of Cronware, where there is a place called Henllan. It has been suggested¹¹¹ that LANN TELIAU TREF I CERNIU in the list I have referred to may have been in Crinow, near Narberth, the dedication of which is unknown. In the parish of Crinow is a holy well, called *Ffynnon Deilo* in the Tithe Schedule. It rises in the field "directly S. of Llwyn Gwathan farmstead, on the boundary line between this parish and that of Llanbedr Velfrey. Traditions of its healing powers are still current in the district, and a number of place-names testify to the former popularity of the spring".¹¹²

The *Liber Landavensis* contains references to four places in Glamorgan called after S. Teilo.

The list of churches in the bull of Calixtus II¹¹³ mentions, first, SANCTI TEILIAUI DE MERTHIR MYUOR¹¹⁴, now Merthyr Mawr, near Bridgend. The stepping-stones across the Ogmore here were called *Stepsau Teilo*. Next to it comes SANCTI TEILIAUI DE LANN MERGUALT, where there was a monastery of S. *Cinuur*.¹¹⁵ It is now *Llandeilo Ferwallt* or Bishopston in Gower. The site of

Haverfordwest, and more distant places, on horseback." AC xv, 1898. It is to be observed that there are three inscribed stones in Llandysilio churchyard, south of Maenclochog, and the famous 'Votipore' stone was discovered in Castellldwyran churchyard (already mentioned), close to Llandysilio (cf. p. 24). The persons commemorated on these stones may have been contemporaries of Teilo.

¹¹¹ BLD 409.

¹¹² *Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Wales. Inventory of Pembrokeshire*, p. 84.

¹¹³ BLD 90.

¹¹⁴ For the name *Myuor* see Doble, *S. Gudwal*, p. 19.

¹¹⁵ BLD 239. Such names as *Lann T. de Lann Mergualt* may indicate that the cult of S. Teilo has superseded an older cult.

LANN TEILIAU PORTULON seems to be Caswell Chapel in Bishopston,—it was therefore closely connected with the last-named church. LANN TELIAU TALYPONT was a *villa*, now Llandeilo Tal-y-bont, on the river Llwchwr, north of Gower. At Llandaff is a small Celtic cross (*Croes Deilo*), and a *Ffynnon Deilo* on the steep hill near the cathedral. The legend of the butter washed in this well and changed into a gilt bell which was preserved in Llandaff cathedral in the Middle Ages, related by the author of the *Liber Landavensis* and by him ascribed to S. Oudoceus, is ascribed to S. Teilo in the Middle English metrical *Life* of S. Teilo in the British Museum (Egerton MS. 2810)¹¹⁶

a maide clene

clansede her boter. bi a welles streme
sein telyou her bed. him zuf drink anon

.....
& in forme of a belle. ye boter togader clonge

.....
in ye church of landaf. thulk uessel is.

There is a figure of Teilo over the great west door of the cathedral. 'S. Teilo's Tomb' is on the south side of the presbytery; solemn oaths were taken *super tumbam S. Theliawi*. Till the Reformation his silver shrine was in the Lady Chapel, on which was a statue of the saint.¹¹⁷

The three Teilo churches in Monmouthshire mentioned in the *Liber Landavensis* have been dealt with already. They are now respectively Llan-arth, Llantilio Pertholey and Llantilio Crossenny (Llandeilo Bertholau, Llandeilo Gresynni). As the second of these bore the alternative title of LANN MAUR, it must have been the chief of the little group.

In Breconshire Llandeilo'r-Fân, on the site of *Lann Guruaet*, has already been mentioned. Teilo is also, with David and Llywel, the patron of the church of Llywel in the same county.

¹¹⁶ This manuscript is "an early 14th century copy of the South English Legendary (which is generally supposed to have been put together by monks of Gloucester towards the end of the 13th century). It is the only copy which contains the *Life* of S. Teilo. Gloucester held various churches in S. Teilo's diocese." (Note kindly sent me by Mr. Robin Flower). There is a *Ffynnon Deilo* in the parish of Pendoulwyn (Pendoylan), east of Cowbridge.

*Cf. also 'Saint Oudoceus', pp. 219-20 of this volume.]

¹¹⁷ LBS iv. 241-2.

He is the eponym of Llandeilo Graban in Radnorshire, and the patron of Llanfechan in Llanwennog in Cardiganshire.

The festival of S. Teilo is found on 9 February in the kalendar in Vesp. A. xiv. and later Welsh kalendars, including that of Tewkesbury abbey. A fair called 'Ffair Wyl Deilo' was held at Llandaff and at Llandeilo Fawr on that day (it is still held at the latter place on 20 February). On this day the treasurer of Llandaff cathedral received the oblations made there.

The study of the cult of S. Teilo in Brittany is of special interest, in view of the important place occupied in his *Life* by the story of his visit to Dol.

Cornouaille is the district which has the greatest number of churches dedicated to him and where his cult is most deeply rooted.¹¹⁸

He is the eponym and patron saint of Landeleau (spelt in the cartulary of Quimper *Ecclesia Sancti Deleui* in 1220 and *Landeleu* in 1313, *Lanteleau* 1368), on the Aulne, east of Chateauf-neuf-du-Faou. It is here that he is best remembered by the people. Popular tradition explains the great size of the parish by a story that the seigneur of Landeleau proposed to S. Teilo that the boundaries should embrace all the land he could go round between sunset and cockcrow. The saint chose a stag as the swiftest mount on which to travel, and so covered a considerable distance in the time, to the surprise of the seigneur, who, however, kept his word.¹¹⁹ Hence statues of the saint (such as that in the évêché at Quimper) and the picture of him in ancient stained glass at Plogonnec, represent him in cope and mitre, carrying his staff and riding on a stag. A famous *troménie* (procession) follows each year the course he took, starting at 7 a.m. and finishing at 5 p.m.¹²⁰ A halt is made at 'S. Elau's

¹¹⁸ "Thélo, Etern and Herbot are the three great saints of the *Montagne de Cornouaille*" (L. Le Guennec, *La Légende de Saint Etern*, in *Vieux souvenirs bas-bretons*, 1938.)

¹¹⁹ Duine in *Rev. des trad. pop.*, 1905, pp. 283, 399.

¹²⁰ A very interesting article by a distinguished antiquary and scholar, the late Canon Peyron of Quimper, entitled *La Légende de S. Theleau et la troménie de Landeleau*, was printed in the *Mém. de l'association bretonne* (Congrès de St-Brieuc) in 1906. Cf. also Anatole Le Braz, *Les Saints bretons d'après la tradition populaire en Cornouaille*, 1937, c. 4. Duine was told "The Troménie

'Tree', where a sermon is preached. There are several other places in the parish to which his name is attached: a dolmen is called 'Ty Sant Heleau', two fields are called respectively 'Parc Sant Elau bras' and 'bihan', and there is a 'Goarem Sant Elau'. In the church is a sarcophagus, formerly in the churchyard, with which a local legend about him was connected, referred to in the seventeenth century (though it must be much older) by Albert Le Grand, in his *Vie de S. Yves* [1253-1303]. He says:

On one occasion, when, in the same chamber with a man named Maurice du Mont, he was sleeping in the bourg of *Land-Elleaw*, in Cornouaille, the latter was wakened by a voice which told him that the saint was lying on the cold stone, and finding Saint Yves was not in the room, he went out to the churchyard and found him there in the stone [coffin] in which Saint Elleaw had done his penance.

15 kilometres south-west of Landeleau is the parish of Leuhan, of which S. Théleau is patron, according to the 1935 *Ordo* of Quimper (p. 31).¹²¹

16 kilometres east of Landeleau, but still in Cornouaille, in the parish of Plévin, is a village called Landélieu, where there was a chapel, which fell into ruins about 1880. Now it is remarkable, in view of the confusion of S. Teilo with S. Turiau made, as we have seen, by the author of the *Liber Landavensis*, that the patron saint of this chapel was S. Turiau, whose aid was invoked against fever, and the pardon was on his festival, 13 July.¹²² It is very significant that at Plogonnec, also in Cornouaille (north-west of Quimper), where the eponym is the Welsh saint Cynog¹²³, the parish church is dedicated to S. Turiau,

is so important that all the Saints attend it, though they are rarely seen. On one occasion a peasant who was on his way to market, instead of attending the Troménie, met S. Anne and S. Joachim and asked them where they were going. They replied, 'Why, to the Troménie of Landeleau, of course'. A *gwerz* in honour of the saint is sung during the procession.

¹²¹ The statements in *Lives of the British Saints*, iv. 234, that he is patron of Châteauneuf-du-Faou (where Baring-Gould says he has a statue) and of Lennon, seem incorrect. The diocesan *Ordo* gives St. Julien as the patron of the former place and says Lennon is dedicated to the Trinity. The information about the cult of Teilo in Brittany in LBS needs checking before it can be relied on.

¹²² Duine, *Vie antique et inédite de S. Turiau*, Rennes, 1912, pp. 22 and 23.

¹²³ Llangynog adjoins Llandeilo Abercywyn in Carmarthenshire, cf. Dobie, *S. Winnoc*, pp. 17, 18, 60. *Toquonocus* was one of the disciples of S. Paul (Paulinus) of Léon.

while there is a large and beautiful chapel of S. Teliau in the parish. Further, just south of Plogonnec is the parish of Guengat, in which is a granite 'Chair of St. Délo', in which fever patients are placed.¹²⁴ Now it surely cannot be a mere coincidence that the *Liber Landavensis* shows us a *Guencat* abbot of Teilo's monastery of *Penn Alun* in the time of S. Oudoceus.¹²⁵ He may have been the founder of Guengat church, and have introduced the cult of St. Teilo in this part of Brittany.

Teilo is also patron of St.-Thélo (in 1181 *San Theliant*) on the Oust, north-west of Loudéac. Not far away, in Noyal, there is (M. Couffon tells me) a place called St-Theleu. As Saint-Gerand is the next parish this dedication might be due to the influence of the *Vita Teliavi*. The name of Monterthelot (also on the Oust) may perhaps be derived from *Monasterium Teliavi*.

M. Loth considers Saint-Hilio in Saint-Pabu (in Léon) to be dedicated to our saint.¹²⁶

There is a Lande-de-Saint-Eliau in the parish of Bubry, (not far from Lorient, in the extreme west of the Dep. of the Morbihan), with a village of the same name.

Finally, there is the parish of Plédéliac¹²⁷ (*Pludelieu* 1219, 1234, *Pludelia* 1248, 1298, *Pledelia* 1286), west of Dinan, not far from St-Thélo. The next parish is Landébia. Again, it cannot be a mere coincidence that Llandybie adjoins Llandeilo Fawr in Carmarthenshire exactly as Landébia adjoins Plédéliac in Brittany. Our study of Breton place-names shows that there have certainly been emigrations from Wales to both Cornouaille and north-east Brittany. The author of the *Liber Landavensis* found the cult of S. Teilo firmly established in both districts in the twelfth century—he seems to have got the story of *Budic natus de Cornugallia*, with which he begins the *Vita Oudocei*, from the list of the counts of Cornouaille in the *Cartulary of*

¹²⁴ Diverres, *La commune de Guengat* in *Bull. de la soc. arch. de Finistère*, T. xviii, 1891. The same *Bulletin* in 1900 described the Chapelle St. Théleau in Plogonnec.

¹²⁵ cf. p. 200. BLD 149.

¹²⁶ *Noms des ss. bretons*, p. 117.

¹²⁷ The final *c* is not sounded. The church is now dedicated to S. Malo. (Landébia, which possesses a holy well of S. David, was an enclave of Dol). Between Plédéliac and Pleneuf are two adjacent parishes dedicated to S. Alban and S. Aaron, whose cult must have been brought from Gwent.

Landévennec.¹²⁸ It is possible that Teilo, like his master Paulinus (Paul) of Léon,¹²⁹ may have laboured in Brittany. It is possible, too, that daughter establishments of his monasteries, and perhaps even whole communities surrounding them, forced for some reason to leave Wales, may have carried his cult to Brittany at a later (but still early) period. Such communities may even have taken with them the names of the places from which they came and given them to their new homes.¹³⁰ In any case the connection between Brittany and Carmarthenshire is evident.¹³¹

¹²⁸ In the line which follows the names *Budic et Maxenri, duo fratres*, comes an enigmatic entry, *Iahan Reith. Huc rediens Marchel interfecit et paternum consulatum recuperavit.*

¹²⁹ *Paule* adjoins *Plévin*. Cf. p. 204.

¹³⁰ Besides *Landébia*, we have interesting examples of Welsh place-names in Brittany at *Langolen*, *Lanedern*, etc.

¹³¹ For *Llandyfân*, in the parish of *Llandeilo Fawr*, see *Loth, Noms*, pp. 31, 32, 131. *Rosenzweig, Dict. Top. and Dép. du Morb.*, also *Duhem's Églises du Morbihan*. *Merthyr Dyfan* in Glam. lies between *Nantcarfan* and *Cadoxton*, while *Llandyfân* is near *Llangadog*. There is a *Llandefand* in *Llanmartin* in Monmouthshire, while the parish church of *Landevant* in Brittany (on the Sea of Etel, which contains the famous island monastery of *S. Cadoc*) is dedicated to *S. Martin*. See *LBS* ii. 394. *Note *A Gazetteer of Welsh Place-names* (Cardiff, 1957), p. 58, where the name of the Monmouthshire parish appears as *Llandeivaud*. On *Merthyr Dyfan* see *Pierce, The Place-names of Dinas Powys Hundred* 133-5.]