THE ENDURING MEME OF THE SAINTLY DAUGHTERS OF BRYCHAN BRYCHEINIOG

JEANNE EVANS MEHAN, BA, MA

SUPERVISED BY PROFESSOR JANE CARTWRIGHT AND DOCTOR DAVID N. PARSONS

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This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

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Abstract

This thesis explores the veneration of the twenty-four saintly daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog, the eponymous fifth-century Breconshire ruler. Traditions of Brychan's daughters were not documented during their purported lifetimes, but evolved over centuries of social and religious change. Many dedications remain in the British Isles and Brittany, not only to well-known daughters of Brychan such as Dwynwen, Cain, and Eluned, but also to those much less well known, such as Tybïe, Tudwystl, and Gwendoline. These women were reputed to be saints, martyrs, and mothers of early kings, heroes, and saints, but no previous study has explored their veneration, in part because evidence is fragmentary and contradictory even for the best known of the daughters. The thesis evaluates traditions, explores their evolution in response to changing attitudes, and assesses their continuing relevance. A wide variety of sources are involved, and maps illustrate the geographical extent and adjacencies of the cults.

Chapter 1 introduces the thesis objectives, methodology, and structure, and Chapter 2 reviews evidence during political and social change; specifically, during the medieval, post-Reformation, Celtic Revival, and the twentieth-century timeframes. Chapters 3 and 4 discuss Nicholas Roscarrock and Hugh Thomas, two recusant antiquarian authors whose work about the Brychan family remains largely unpublished. Chapters 5 through 7 are case studies of the most-well-known daughters of Brychan; namely, Eluned, Cain, and Dwynwen. Chapter 8 discusses lesser-known daughters, such as Tudful, Gwladys, Meleri, and daughters with extant traditions outside Wales. Chapter 9 presents findings related to the research questions outlined in chapter 1 and explored in the other sections. Appendix A is a gazetteer of dedications to the Brychan family. As a result of this study, the daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog emerge from the shadows for the first time to reveal the nature and extent of traditions now part of the cultural memory in the places where they are remembered.

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Abbreviations

AC	*Archaeologia Cambrensis*
AS	*Acta Sanctorum*
AyS	Achau y Saint
BD	Wade-Evans, A. W., 'The Brychan Documents', *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. 19 (1 January1906), pp. 18–50.
BL	British Library
ByS	Bonedd y Saint
CB	'Cognacio Brychan' in London, BL, MS Cotton Domitian i, fols 157v–158v
CoA	London, College of Arms
CPAT	Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust
CUP	Cambridge University Press
DSB	'De Situ Brecheiniauc' in London, BL, MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv, fols 10v–11v
DWB	Dictionary of Welsh Biography [online]. Available at https://biography.wales/ <Accessed 18 December 2019>
EWGT	Peter Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts* (Cardiff: UWP, 1966).
GPC	Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru [online]. Available at http://www.geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html <Accessed 1 December 2019>
HER	Historic Environment Record
HWW	Francis Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales* (Cardiff: UWP, 1954),
Iolo MSS	Taliesin Williams, *The Iolo Manuscripts* (Liverpool: I. Foulkes, 1848).
JC20	'Plant Brychan' in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Jesus College 20, fols 33r–41r
LBS	Sabine Baring-Gould and John Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints*, 4 vols (London: Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1907–1913)
NLA	John of Tynemouth, *Nova Legenda Anglie*, 2 vols, ed. by C. Horstmann (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901)
NLW	National Library of Wales

NPN	no page numbers
OS	Ordnance Survey
OUP	Oxford University Press
PB	Plant Brychan
PRO	Public Records Office
PW	A. W. Wade-Evans, *Parochiale Wallicanum* (Stow-on-the-Wold, J. H. Alden, 1911)
RCAHMW	Royal Commission for the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales
TAAS	Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society
TYP	Rachel Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, 4th edn (Cardiff: UWP, 2013)
UWP	University of Wales Press
VSBG	A. W. Wade Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogie*, new edn, ed. by Scott Lloyd (Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press, 2013)
WCD	Peter Bartrum, *The Welsh Classical Dictionary* (Aberystwyth: National Library, 1993)
YC	*Y Cymmrodor*

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Chapter 1: Introduction and methodology

This thesis traces the memory of royalty and sanctity in the Celtic-speaking regions for a large group of related women said to have lived during the legendary time after the Romans left Britain. Using hagiography, genealogies, historical accounts, poetry, art, and geographical data, this study explores the veneration of the daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog, who is described by Gerald of Wales (*c.* 1146–*c.* 1223) as the eponymous ruler of Breconshire:

> In ancient times a man called Brychan was the nobly born and powerful ruler of this county of Brecknock. Indeed, it is from him that it is called Brycheiniog. The Welsh annals bear witness to the fact that he had twenty-four daughters. From their youth upwards they were all dedicated to the religious life, and they ended their days blissfully in this state of sanctity. There are still many churches in Wales which have the honour of being named after them.[1]

Traditions of Brychan's daughters were not documented during the time when they were said to have lived, but rather traditions evolved over centuries, particularly during times of social and religious change. Gerald of Wales referred to the many churches in Wales dedicated to the daughters of Brychan, and at the present time churches, chapels, and holy wells in Wales, Cornwall, Brittany, and England are still dedicated not only to well-known daughters of Brychan such as Dwynwen, Cain, Tudful, Gwladys, and Eluned, but also to those much less well known, such as Tybïe, Tudwystl, Gwendoline, and Ilid. Brychan was also said to have eleven sons whose dedications are found in Wales, Cornwall, England, Brittany, Scotland, and Ireland. The most well known of the sons are Cynog, Dingad, and Arthen.

Rationale and methodology for the study

The spread of Christianity in Britain during the fifth and sixth centuries has been the subject of much speculation, but no previous study has focused on Brychan's daughters, who were reputed to be saints, martyrs, and mothers of early British kings, heroes, and saints. This thesis analyzes family relationships and views of sanctity from the context of a number of geographic regions and a large group of women, and seeks evidence of veneration from the

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

earliest accounts to the present time. The status given them as royal women offers an opportunity to investigate attitudes toward them in secular as well as religious life.

The article 'The Daughters of Brychan: their importance in the history of Breconshire' by T. Thornley Jones published in *Brycheiniog* in 1976 is the only work devoted to the daughters of Brychan; however, it addresses the formation of the kingdom of Brycheiniog, including migrations of peoples, marriage alliances, landowner roles, and a connection Jones sees between the Brychan and Arthurian legends.[2] Jones minimally addresses the individual women. His interest in the subject is historical rather than hagiographical; for example, he begins his discussion by saying, 'Obviously the first suggestion that has to be examined is that the traditional daughters were actual daughters.'[3] His discussion omits mention of the documented cults and dedications to the daughters, focusing instead on the likelihood that they were local female landowners unrelated to the Brychan family.[4] The article's aims make it peripheral to this study except as it reflects the author's attitude toward his subject.

Historicity is not a fruitful avenue of study for these women, if only because the first known mention of them was recorded during the twelfth century, many centuries after the legendary time after the Roman departure from Britain, the time during which they were said to have lived. Instead, the goal of this thesis is to explore the veneration of the daughters of Brychan to determine the extent to which they were considered saints and to record the indications of this status, whether by an exemplary life, performance of miracles, or martyrdom. The thesis considers the saints as a cultural phenomenon and discusses the beliefs recorded in a wide variety of sources and over a long period.[5]

Objectives of the study

The presence of the daughters of Brychan in genealogies, hagiography, folklore, legends, and dedications demonstrates their valued contribution to stories about the origins, heroes, and sacred places in which they were said to have lived. Their inclusion also reveals a culture that

[2] T. Jones, 'The Daughters of Brychan: Their importance in the history of Breconshire', *Brycheiniog*, vol. 17 (1 January 1976), pp. 17–58 [online]. Available at https://journals.library.wales/view/1380216/1383503/24#?xywh=-1842%2C-218%2C6650%2C4323 <Accessed 12 April 2020> See also J. Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales* (Cardiff: UWP, 2008), p. 212 n. 12.
[3] Jones, 'The Daughters of Brychan', p. 21.
[4] Jones, 'The Daughters of Brychan', p. 25.
[5] On the concept of the saints as a cultural phenomenon, see *Medieval Welsh Poems to Saints and Shrines*, ed. and trans. by B. Lewis (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2015), p. 11.

attributed some traditionally heroic qualities to holy royal women, such as adventure, leadership, and martyrdom, and defined some traditionally womanly qualities as heroic, such as marriage and motherhood.

With so many interesting aspects to this tradition, why have the daughters of Brychan not been the subject of a study before? The answer, at least in part, is likely rooted in the combination of fragmentary and conflicting documentary sources of the Brychan tradition with the many, also largely undocumented, dedications. In *A History of Wales* (1911), the historian John Edward Lloyd (1861–1947) identified Brychan as 'one of the most shadowy figures of Welsh legend', although he noted Brychan's dynastic importance.[6] The hagiographical scholar Gilbert Doble (1880–1945) repeated the sentiment:

> I think, then, that we must agree that Brychan is a very shadowy character indeed. The stories about him are not only mutually irreconcilable, but are obviously legendary and full of typical folk-lore themes.[7]

In *Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints: Cornwall and Devon*, Nicholas Orme described the same aspect of the Brychan tradition in terms that are less dismissive than Doble's:

> Lists survive of the names of these children in Welsh texts, containing discrepancies which puzzled Roscarrock but which are simply variants or developments of a widespread legend.[8]

Even without a single narrative of the daughters of Brychan, useful results are achievable: an analysis of the fragments, a description of the locations where cults of the daughters of Brychan are found, a report about those people who venerated these women and those who documented their veneration, and a discussion of the ways in which the stories were shaped by cultural forces, including present attitudes.

This study comprises three areas of research. The first objective is to document the sources of information about the daughters of Brychan found in genealogies, saints' Lives, martyrologies, poems, charters, and a variety of other texts to identify which of them were considered saints. The second objective is to trace the extent of their cults in terms of the geographic regions where dedications are found, the nature of those dedications, and the

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[6] J. Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the earliest times to the Edwardian conquest*, 2 vols (London, New York, Bombay, and Calcutta: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1911), vol. 1, pp. 270–271.
[7] G. Doble, *Saints of Cornwall*, 6 vols (Felinfach: Llannerch Press, 1970), vol. 6, p. 105.
[8] *Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints: Cornwall and Devon*, ed. by N. Orme (Exeter: BPCC Wheatons Ltd, 1992), p. 45.

changes to them over the centuries. In addition to exploring dedications, a third objective is to identify changing attitudes toward the daughters of Brychan and assess their continuing relevance. These objectives and the methods used to achieve them are discussed in the following sections, followed by a description of the structure of the thesis.

The many dedications indicate a wide geographic reach for these cults, and the genealogies and saints' Lives suggest a strong tradition of veneration; however, the evidence is both fragmentary and contradictory for the best-known daughters and practically nonexistent for the lesser-known daughters. For these reasons, the thesis explores the meme that 'Brychan Brycheiniog had twenty-four daughters and all of them were saints', which allows an exploration of the ways in which this specific cultural memory has been transmitted and how it has changed over time. The methodology used for this study, therefore, must accommodate variation and yield conclusions that respond to the varying facets of the evidence without attempting to synthesize the data into a pseudo-historical account. The following sections address the methods used to meet the specific research objectives through analysis of the evidence, extent, and enduring relevance of veneration with respect to the daughters of Brychan. As a note, multiple spellings are used for the names used in the thesis, and forms used are spelled as found in each text.

Methodology

Recent studies about feminine sanctity in Wales provide a framework for this thesis that analyzes a wide variety of types of evidence to answer the research questions. The first component of the framework relates to sources. In *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales* (2008), Jane Cartwright emphasizes the value of using sources in multiple disciplines to mitigate the difficulties of disparate and fragmentary sources.[9] For this thesis, the applicable disciplines include genealogy, hagiography, ecclesiastical history, literature, folklore, and toponomy.

Using varied sources to explore patterns

In Wales, sanctity in Wales was bestowed locally, and none of the Welsh saints were ever formally canonised, but, when available, Lives of the saints and liturgical documents such as

[9] Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales*, pp. 1, 3–4, and 68. See also J. Cartwright, 'Introduction', in *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults*, ed. by J. Cartwright (Cardiff: UWP, 2003), pp. 1–9, p. 1.

prayers, services, and calendars provide valuable insights into veneration of the saints.[10] A great deal of secular and religious poetry, such as poetry found in collections now known as the Poets of the Princes (Beirdd y Tywysogion) and the Poets of the Nobility (Beirdd yr Uchelwyr), includes references to the daughters of Brychan and, while most poems are written by Welsh poets, some poets lived well away from the geographic regions where dedications are found, including the English poets Michael Drayton (1563–1631) and Robert Southey (1774–1843).[11] The publication of *Medieval Welsh Poems to Saints and Shrines* in 2015 by Barry Lewis has added considerably to our understanding of the devotional poems written in medieval Wales, including poems that refer to members of the Brychan family.[12]

Iconography can establish an image of a saint along with symbols related to that saint, such as a martyr's palm. Figure 1 illustrates religious and secular images of St Mabyn from St Mabyn's Church and St Mabyn's Inn in Cornwall, where the pub sign repeats the image of the saint in the stained glass window of the church, adding the figure of a youth who holds a shepherd's crook. The youth is pictured with a halo; St Mabyn is not:



Figure 1. Religious and secular uses for the image of St Mabyn, Cornwall

[10] Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales*, pp. 1, 3–4, and 67.
[11] 'The Poets of the Princes', CAWCS [online]. Available at https://www.wales.ac.uk/en/CentreforAdvancedWelshCelticStudies/ResearchProjects/CompletedProjects/ThePoetsofthePrinces/IntroductiontotheProject.aspx <Accessed 12 April 2020 and 'The Poets of the Nobility', CAWCS [online]. Available at https://www.wales.ac.uk/en/CentreforAdvancedWelshCelticStudies/ResearchProjects/CompletedProjects/PoetsoftheNobility/IntroductiontotheProject.aspx <Accessed 12 April 2020>; see also M. Drayton, *The Complete Works of Michael Drayton*, intro. and notes by R. Hooper, 2 vols (London: John Russell Smith, 1876) and *The Poetical Works of Robert Southey, collected by himself*, 10 vols (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1838).
[12] *Medieval Welsh Poems to Saints and Shrines*, ed. by Lewis, pp. 75–76, 102–106, and 125–126.

The position of a saint's image among other images can also reveal variations in attitudes toward that saint.

The patterned Lives of female saints

The seminal work on Welsh saints by Elissa Henken has, to a large extent, influenced the study presented in this thesis. *The Welsh Saints: A Study in Patterned Lives* (1991) maps the patterned Lives and common themes in the legends of Welsh saints, which she associates with those found in the hero archetype.[13] Henken previously followed this approach in *Traditions of the Welsh Saints* (1987) where she analysed traditions peculiar to specific saints, including several members of the Brychan family.[14] Her approach to the patterned Lives for both male and female saints in Wales (fig. 2) provides a method for comparing Welsh accounts of the daughters of Brychan with those of daughters whose dedications are found in Cornwall, England, and Brittany.[15] Figure 2 shows that a Welsh male saint's Life follows a pattern similar to that of the hero archetype, while the pattern for women saints in Wales surrounds the successful defense of their virginity:

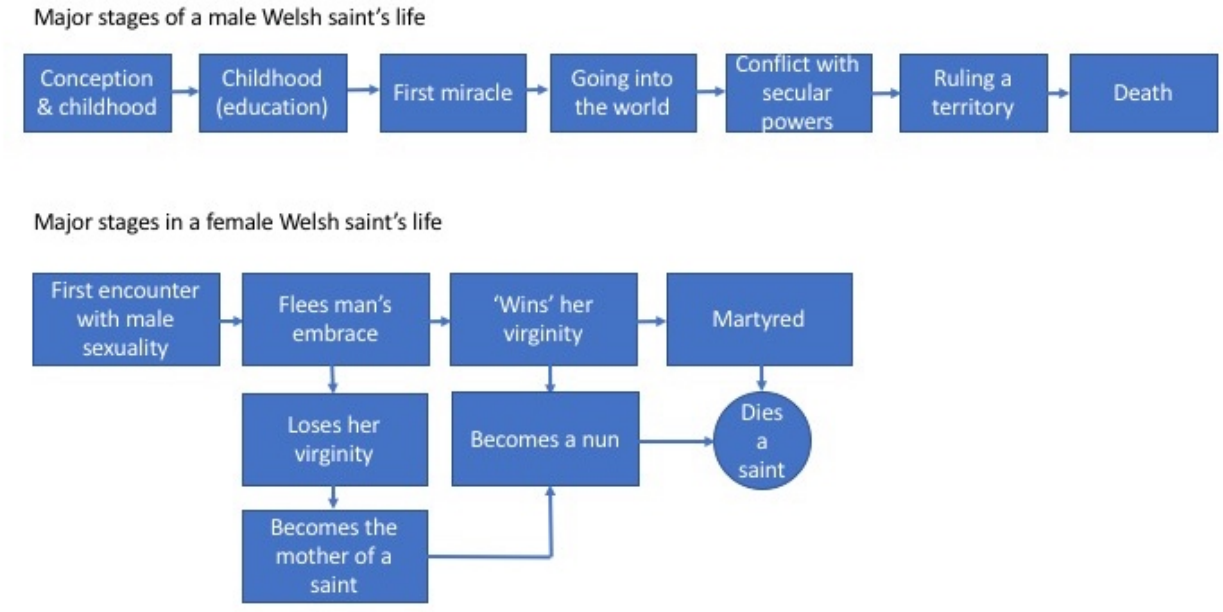


Figure 2. Summary of patterned Lives for Welsh male and female saints per Elissa Henken[16]

[13] E. R. Henken, *The Welsh Saints: A Study in Patterned Lives* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1991).
[14] E. R. Henken, *Traditions of the Welsh Saints* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987), pp. 1–4. Members of Brychan's family include grandson Cadog, pp. 74–88; son-in-law Gwynllyw, pp. 104–105; son Cynog, pp. 178–184; and daughter Dwynwen, pp. 227–232.
[15] Henken, *A Study in Patterned Lives*, pp. 2–9.
[16] Henken, *A Study in Patterned Lives*, pp. 2–9.

Jane Cartwright also writes about the patterned Lives of female Welsh saints, and she adds details to Henken's model (fig. 3). Cartwright's pattern focuses more on the woman's choice at puberty than on the woman's reaction to her first encounter with male sexuality:

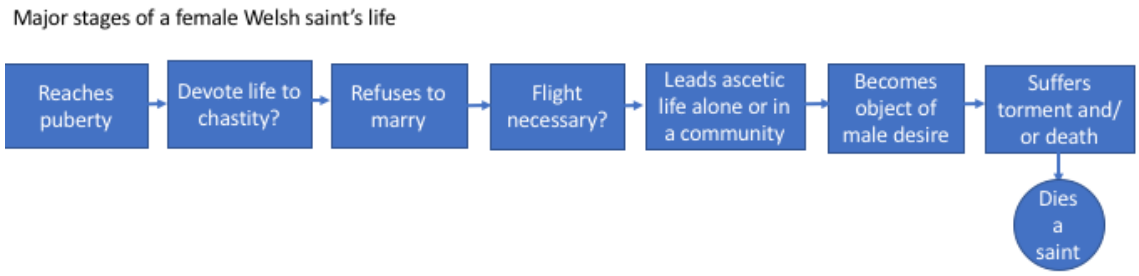


Figure 3. The patterned life of female Welsh saints, updated by Jane Cartwright[17]

Both patterns establish the defence of virginity as an essential proof of sanctity for holy women in Wales.

Iconography

The images and symbols related a saint can express the reasons for that saint's veneration, and sometimes images provide the only description of a lesser-known saint. Images may take a number of forms in both religious and secular carvings in stone and wood, windows of painted stained glass, paintings, and icons. This study follows the methodology established by Martin Crampin for his comprehensive catalogue of the stained glass of Wales, which emphasizes fieldwork and photography, supported by the study of archival sources and relevant literature.[18] The online Stained Glass of Wales Catalogue (2011) published through University of Wales CAWCS established a valuable resource for subsequent research, such as this thesis.[19]

Tracing the geographic extent of the cults

The many traditions of the Brychan family tend to stand alone and rarely reference each other; for example, the Welsh genealogies do not refer to the Life of St Keyna or *vice versa*. The resulting textual references can be like a crazy quilt, meaningful in the complexity of its

[17] Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales*, p. 85–87.
[18] M. Crampin, *Stained Glass from Welsh Churches* (Talybont: Y Lolfa, 2014), The Stained Glass of Wales Catalogue, ed. by M. Crampin, CAWCS, Aberystwyth, 2016 [online]. Available at http://stainedglass.llgc.org.uk/main.php?func=search <Accessed 12 April 2020>, and M. Crampin, 'Stained Glass in Wales', in *Vidimus*, Issue 57, (February 2012) [online]. Available at https://vidimus.org/issues/issue-57/feature/ <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[19] Stained Glass of Wales Catalogue, ed. by Crampin, CAWCS, Aberystwyth, 2016 [online].

separate story pieces, but lacking an overall pattern. To demonstrate the extent and nature of the veneration of these women, a mechanism is needed to provide an equivalent to the whole-cloth backing that supports a patchwork quilt, and the thesis relies on the extensive dedications to the daughters of Brychan to connect and bind together the places where these women have been venerated over the centuries. These churches, chapels, holy wells, and other geographic features, some found only as recorded place-names, are a significant aspect of this thesis, documented as a dictionary of dedications and place-names. For this reason, the body of the thesis discusses individual daughters using as evidence the dedications and place-names that indicate their veneration. Appendix A is the dictionary of dedications and place-names related to the Brychan family, which includes parents, sons, daughters, and those in-laws and grandchildren whose dedications relate to the traditions of the daughters of Brychan. This approach enables an examination of the cults of the individual daughters to be supported by a comprehensive collection of place-names and dedications for the larger body of family members listed by geographic region.

Geographic distribution maps

As discussed previously, the daughters of Brychan were said to have lived during the legendary period after the Roman departure from Britain, while the earliest attested dates for their dedications are found centuries later. The earliest use of a place-name does not establish the antiquity of the dedication. In 1954, E. G. Bowen (1900–1983) set out a methodology for geographical distribution maps that remains influential:

> Enough has already been said to show that it is possible by an examination of place names and local historical material to list all the known churches and chapels in Wales which are now, or were in former times, dedicated to Celtic saints. The list can then be scrutinized carefully to investigate the antiquity of the dedications. In its final form it is likely to present those churches and chapels whose sites were originally associated with a settlement made by the particular itinerant saint whose name they bear. From lists of this kind the geographer can prepare maps to show the distribution of all the known dedications to either an individual saint or a group of saints, thus marking his, her or their 'patria' or 'sphere of influence' in the Dark Ages. Such work, which has not previously been attempted on a comprehensive scale, is able to provide new clues to the interpretation of the proto-historic period in the West.[20]

[20] E. Bowen, *The Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales* (Cardiff: UWP, 1954), pp. 3–4.

Bowen himself was aware of a number of the issues later posed as criticisms of his work; that is, that (a) more than one saint may have the same name, (b) there are no sources that can trace saints back to the purported 'Age of the Saints', (c) geographical distribution maps cannot denote the disappearance or revival of cults, and (d) these maps cannot address dual dedications.[21] Bowen's map of dedications to the sons of Brychan in *The Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales* demonstrates most of these concerns.[22] His map uses crosses to represent dedications, making it impossible to associate a data point with a name or place, verify the data, identify any adjacencies, or establish the earliest attested uses of the place-names.[23] As John Reuben Davies noted in 2002, Bowen's geographical distribution maps were flawed by the absence of references establishing the historicity of dedications, leaving early dates to be assumed from the presence of the dedication.[24] Using Bowen's map of dedications to the sons of Brychan again as an example, he superimposes data points on a map that shows only Roman roads, which create the impression that these dedications relate to early journeys of the sons of Brychan, although this assumption is not substantiated by the data shown. By restricting the dedications to only the sons, the map also fails to consider a valuable and substantial aspect of the data; that is, the dedications to Brychan himself, his daughters, grandchildren, and sons-in-law.

Rather than dismissing mapping out of hand, the limitations of the geographic distribution maps in *Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales* highlight the need to carefully define their content and restrict the conclusions that can be drawn from them. In this thesis, these maps are used to illustrate the geographic extent of veneration of a saint, but not the historicity or activities of the saint. All the dedications that are data points shown in geographic distribution maps are also documented in appendix A in articles that include (a) the name, location, and global positioning system (GPS) coordinates; (b) the earliest uses of the name in original orthography with dates and sources; (c) the type of dedication; (d) a description of the dedication; (e) any historical information and traditions relevant to the Brychan family; (f) adjacent dedications, if applicable; and (g) photographs of sites, when available.

[21] Bowen, *Settlements of the Celtic Saints*, pp. 6–10.
[22] Bowen, *Settlements of the Celtic Saints*, p. 26.
[23] J. R. Davies, 'The Saints of South Wales and the Welsh Church', in *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, ed. by A. Thacker and R. Sharpe (Oxford: OUP, 2002), pp. 361–396, pp. 394–395. Davies states that Bowen's maps were 'not supported with any references by which the reader could scrutinize his evidence for the antiquity of a dedication'.
[24] Davies, 'The Saints of South Wales and the Welsh Church', p. 364.

The gazetteer follows the model used by Bernard Tanguy (1940–2015) in his dictionaries of the place-names of Finistère and Côtes d'Armor.[25] The gazetteer also mitigates some of the limitations of the geographic distribution map by providing a forum for discussing uncertain dedications, conflicts regarding multiple saints with the same name, dual dedications, and periods during which a cult languished, disappeared, or reappeared.

Adjacencies

The search for patterns also extends to adjacent dedications, where dedications to a particular saint are in close proximity. A related concept is that of recurrent adjacencies, a phenomenon in which 'two saints with adjacent dedications in one country may often turn up again adjacent, in another part of the Brittonic world'.[26] For example, St Cadog dedications are often found near dedications to his mother, St Gwladys daughter of Brychan, as shown in the examples in Figure 4, where both St Cadog's Church in Gelligaer, Wales, and chapelle de l'Ile Saint-Cado in Belz feature stained glass windows of Gwladys (see ch. 8 and app. A). The churches and windows do not resemble each other, but in both cases, the churches are medieval while the windows date from the mid or late twentieth century and in both Gwladys has yellow hair, and is robed in red and crowned as a queen. It is interesting that the window in Brittany is labelled with the Welsh form of the saint's name:

[25] The gazetteer is modelled on two dictionaries of Breton place-names by Bernard Tanguy. See B. Tanguy, *Dictionnaire des noms de communes tréves et paroisses du Finistère* (Chasse-Marée: ArMen, 1990) and *Dictionnaire des noms de communes tréves et paroisses du Côtes d'Armor* (Chasse-Marée: ArMen, 1992).
[26] B. Olson and O. Padel, 'A Tenth-Century List of Cornish Parochial Saints', *CMCS*, vol. 12 (1986), pp. 33–71, p. 67.



A. Chapelle d'Ile Saint-Cado, Belz, Brittany

B. St Catwg's Church, Gelligaer, Wales

©2008 www.petit-patrimoine.com, © 2016 Eric Mehan, and © 2020 CatholicSaints.Info

Figure 4. Example of a recurring adjacency[27]

Questioning Bowen's view that dedications reveal the travels of the saints, Karen Jankulak in the article 'Adjacent saints' dedications and early Celtic history', urges instead a focus on establishing the context for dedications, such as their historical and linguistic backgrounds, viewed through time and geographical space, while considering the devotional aspect of the dedication of primary importance.[28] She believes that church and place-name dedications are not necessarily stable anchors that can be used to connect less certain evidence, because dedications are uncertain, as well. She concludes that 'in a world of obscure dedications, we welcome patterns as much as the synthesising historians of the middle ages'.[29] The study of a family of saints offers potential pitfalls in terms of projecting patterns for family roles, relationships, and conflicts using subjective and inaccurate criteria.

[27] 'La chapelle de l'Ile Saint-Cado à Belz (56)', www.petit-patrimoine.com [online]. Available at http://www.petit-patrimoine.com/fiche-petit-patrimoine.php?id_pp=56013_1 <Accessed 12 April 2020>; 'Les vitraux de la chapelle de l'île Saint Cado à Belz (56)', www.petit-patrimoine.com [online]. Available at http://www.petit-patrimoine.com/fiche-petit-patrimoine.php?id_pp=56013_3 <Accessed 12 April 2020>; and St Gladus', CatholicSaints.Info [online]. Available at http://catholicsaints.info/saint-gladys/ <Accessed 12 April 2020>

[28] K. Jankulak, 'Adjacent saints' dedications and early Celtic history', in *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World*, ed. by S. Boardman, J. Davies, and E. Williamson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), pp. 91–118, p. 93.

[29] Jankulak, 'Adjacent saints' dedications and early Celtic history', p. 93.

Determining attitudinal changes and present relevance

Richard Dawkins defined the term 'meme' in *The Selfish Gene* as a unit of cultural information transmitted from person to person by imitation; for example, tunes, ideas, catch-phrases, clothes fashions, and ways of making things.[30] Dawkins considered cultural transmission to be a kind of evolutionary process in which memes analogous to genes, and he attributed the success of memes to their longevity, fecundity, and copying fidelity. He found the longevity of the meme less important than its fecundity because a meme only lasts for the life of the person or written text that holds it unless the meme is transmitted. Copying fidelity, which refers to the inevitable mutations and blending that occur as memes are passed on, directly affects the meme of the daughters of Brychan, because its survival after the Reformation relied on different transmission methods than existed previously, adding uncertainty, risk, and, inevitably, mutations to the process. What happened to the meme when its transmittal was forbidden? When the meme could be transmitted again, what form did it take? Do people still know the name of the meme while being unable to recall the meaning it once had? Dawkins stated that a meme must have enough copying fidelity for it to be passed on; that is, it must preserve the essence of the meme, but need not be a pure replica of it.

In *The Meme Machine* (1999), Susan Blackamore clarified and restricted Dawkins' argument, differentiating between the replicator (i.e., the unit of cultural data to be transmitted) and the vehicle (i.e., the medium for transmission that interacts with the environment).[31] Her examples of vehicles included words, stories, skills, habits, games, songs, and rules. She separated learning by imitation (meme) from classical conditioning (conditioned response) and operant conditioning (rewards and punishment) in that learning by conditioning cannot be passed on. In his recent study of place-names as memes, Gwilym Eades downplayed the analogies between the genetic and memetic processes of replication, variation, and selection.[32] He defined vertical transmission as cultural practices transmitted intergenerationally from parents to children, as opposed to horizontal transmission, which takes place spacially from peer to peer, perhaps reaching a great number of people, and then quickly dying out. For example, the association of Dwynwen with love and lovers (see ch. 7) may be found first in the fourteenth-century medieval poem 'Galw ar Ddwynwen' by Dafydd

[30] R. Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene*, 2nd edn (Oxford: OUP, 1989), p. 249.
[31] S. Blackmore, *The Meme Machine* (Oxford: OUP, 1999), pp. 44–45.
[32] G. Eades, *Maps and Memes: Redrawing Culture, Place, and Identity in Indigenous Communities* (Montreal & Kingston, London, and Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), p. 29.

ap Gwilym, in which the poet asks the saint to act as love-messenger between him and his married lover, but the connection between Dwynwen and lovers has continued to find expression over time; for example, when Lewis Morris referred to her as 'the Venus of the Welsh' in the eighteenth century, and when St Dwynwen's Day was introduced as a Welsh version of Valentine's Day during the late twentieth century. See chapter 7 for a discussion of Dwynwen.

One useful way to explore the synthesis of past veneration with present attitudes can be found in the modern secular explanation of ancient religious practices; for example, the modern signs placed at historical monuments. While hagiography is inspired by veneration of the saints and designed to extend that veneration, this 'civic hagiography' is secular, narrative rather than persuasive, and designed to increase a general audience's understanding of past religious concepts. Its content may or may not match actual evidence from the time described; at times it may not match any earlier evidence on the subject at all. For example, figure 5 shows an information board for visitors at Ynys Llanddwyn in Anglesey, the site of the medieval ruins of St Dwynwen's Church and holy wells (see ch. 7). The board includes a wide range of information about the landscape and the wildlife as well as the story of St Dwynwen, shown in figure 6:



Figure 5. Sign at Ynys Llanddwyn[33]

[33] 'The Story of Ynys Llanddwyn–Island of the Blessed', Maps and Signs, Newborough Angelesey [online]. Available at https://newboroughanglesey.files.wordpress.com/2013/07/0617llanddwynsign.jpg <Accessed 29 March 2020> © hortographical, 2020



© hortographical, 2020

Figure 6. Detail of civic hagiography at Ynys Llanddwyn[34]

The image of Dwynwen is a modern icon of the saint surrounded by symbols that represent qualities of the saint, which are derived from a tale that first emerged during the nineteenth century. In this tale, Dwynwen renounced the world after an unhappy love affair and moved to Anglesey.[35] The symbols shown of the saint are selective. The sign does not refer to the historical accounts and poems about the once-popular medieval shrine where pilgrims were said to have prayed at the saint's golden statue and sought miracles at her holy wells or where political intrigue helped to put Henry, Earl of Richmond, on the throne as Henry VII. The sign also omits mention of the destruction of the shrine after the Reformation. Instead, the symbols focus on passion and romance, and the fifth symbol calls her an enchantress. The image of eels is likely taken from legends of divination that appeared only after the Reformation, not divination by Dwynwen, but said to be by her devotees. The lovespoon is a familiar symbol of lovers in Welsh culture, but it is not mentioned in any of the legends about St Dwynwen. The sign shows us a meme of Dwynwen as a saint (based on her dress, cross,

[34] 'The Story of Ynys Llanddwyn–Island of the Blessed', Newborough Anglesey [online]. Available at https://newboroughanglesey.files.wordpress.com/2013/07/0617llanddwynsign.jpg <Accessed 28 March 2020>
[35] *Iolo MSS*, pp. 473–474.

halo, and the church she holds in her left hand) who is associated with love, passion, distress, devotion, and enchantments based on the symbols of the lovespoon, the rosary with its cross, the heart aflame, the heart broken, and the entwined eels. Whatever visitors conclude about the female saints of Wales, they will likely believe they are reading an official explanation because the sponsors who authorized the sign include the Welsh Government, Cadw, the Isle of Anglesey City Council, and Natural Resources Wales (see fig. 5). The sign cannot be called inaccurate, because it does refer to some of the legends told of Dwynwen, but the selection of some elements and omission of others speaks to the mutation of the meme of the saint over time and the role that may be played in that change by secular descriptions of the religious past.

With regard to research about the daughters of Brychan, where some daughters are well documented and others are not, memes greatly aid research by increasing the kinds of sources that may be considered evidence, including many small bits of information that mention the daughters of Brychan, increasing the granularity of the search. For example, figure 7 connects the town of Keynsham in Somerset in 1930 with the veneration of St Keyna (see ch. 6) by showing a local business that has been named St Keyna Motor Works:



© 2012 Paul Townsend

Figure 7. St Keyna Motor Works, Keynsham (1930)[36]

If this thesis only used traditional hagiographical evidence, this connection could not be made because no church in Keynsham has ever been dedicated to this daughter of Brychan. But this dedication is only one of a number that connect Keynsham with St Keyna. Another example is the logo and code of conduct for St Keyna Primary School in Keynsham (fig. 8), which combines the saint's name with the image of an ammonite. Their behaviour code links the school's ethics with the saint and her miraculous transformation of venomous snakes to stones, performed somewhere near Keynsham, an area known for its deposits of ammonites:[37]



© 2020 St Keyna Primary School

Figure 8. St Keyna Primary School, Keynsham, logo and behaviour code[38]

These images demonstrate that the meme of St Keyna's transformation of venomous snakes to stone ammonites, recorded first in the fourteenth century by John of Tynemouth, continues to be transmitted as a meaningful symbol of the town of Keynsham.

Structure for the study

[36] 'c1930 St Keyna Motor Works', Paul Townsend, Flickr [online]. Available at https://www.flickr.com/photos/brizzlebornandbred/7567912140/in/album-72157604877993072/?ytcheck=1&new_session=1 <Accessed 12 April 2020> The author adds: 'Walter Beak ran a motor engineering business here c.1919 succeeded by Henry Jagues *c.* 1923, and then Bailey and Maddicks from *c.* 1926 when it became known as St Keyna Motor Works'.
[37] NLA, vol. 1, pp. 102–104.
[38] 'Our Behaviour Code', St Keyna Primary School [online]. Available at https://www.stkeynaprimary.co.uk/copy-of-our-curriculum <Accessed 12 April 2020>

The structure of the thesis reflects the variety of topics and evidence required to discuss twenty-four women with dedications in multiple regions. Figure 9 shows the plan for the thesis, which is grouped by specific areas:

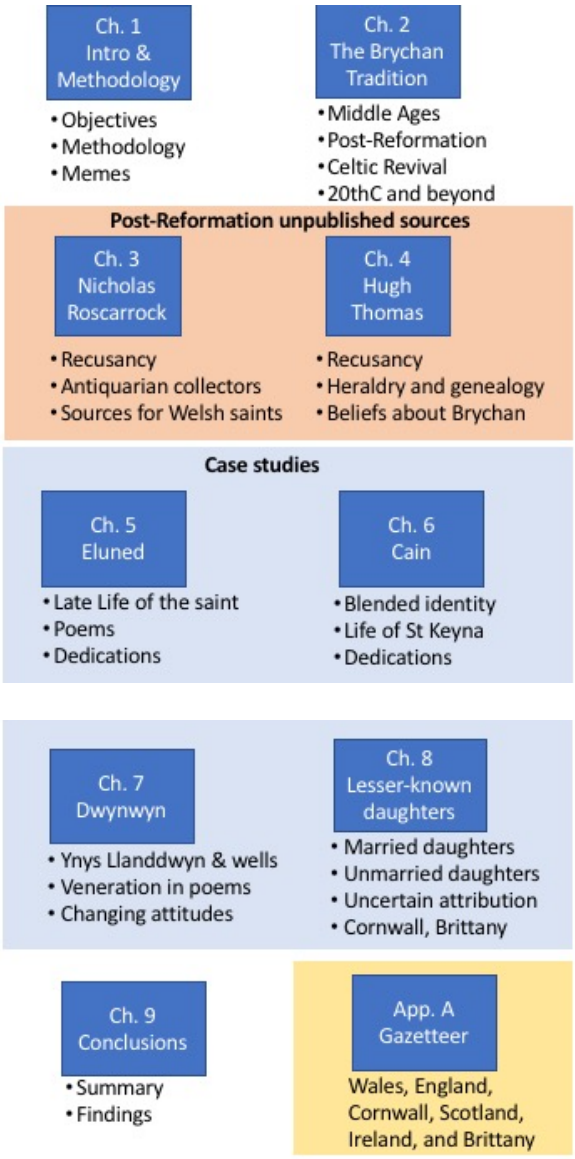


Figure 9. Thesis roadmap

Chapter 2 reviews sources for the Brychan tradition according to timeframes during which political and social changes resulted in new, changed, or deleted memes. Chapters 3 and 4 continue to examine the sources by discussing in detail the work of two recusant authors of largely unpublished work about the Brychan family. These two recusant antiquarians did not write formal martyrologies, but made private collections of saints' Lives and legends that were hidden during the years after the Reformation, when saints' shrines, relics, and other dedications were destroyed. Chapters 5 through 8 are case studies of the daughters of

Brychan, and chapter 9 presents conclusions, which include findings and evaluation of the methods used. Appendix A is a gazetteer of all the dedications and other places associated with the Brychan family, which includes parents, sons, daughters, and those in-laws and grandchildren whose stories are connected to the daughters of Brychan. These places are found in Wales, Cornwall, Brittany, England, Scotland, and Ireland. This combination of hagiographic sources and dedications and place-names provides a structure to fit the various and distinctive types of evidence of the cults of the daughters of Brychan. The next chapter establishes the components of the Brychan tradition and discusses the effects of political and social change on the overall tradition of the Brychan family.

Chapter 2: The Brychan tradition

Although this thesis about the daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog is based on the study of female saints, these women are depicted within the context of a family said to be founded by a king of a small kingdom in present-day south-east Wales. In this story, Brychan is born during the legendary time after the Romans departed, the son of an Irish king and his wife, the heiress to the kingdom of Garthmathrin in Britain. Brychan becomes the eponym of his kingdom and progenitor of many extraordinary children, but he is not generally considered a saint. He is described as if he were a historical figure, but he is given attributes that are improbable, life events unverified by historical records, and portrayals that change over time and space. If the concept of the daughters of Brychan is a meme, then the narrative of Brychan Brycheiniog himself more closely fits a politico-heroic myth:

> When an historical event or the behaviour of a great man or woman seems to interrupt the passage of time or the normal pattern of human behaviour, when an area of shadow and incomprehensibility suddenly floods over them, concealing them from science and the intellect, groups of people and entire nations defy the laws of everyday life, and use their imaginations in a quite natural way to metamorphose, distort and elaborate these phenomena and to invest them with their own colours.[39]

Brychan's story is not mythic because of his heroic deeds, but because the story of his formation of a British kingdom after the departure of the Romans touched old dreams, hopes, and hatreds that were waiting for an opportunity to attach themselves to a real figure, so when Brychan emerged and was invested with power of kingship and the function of a progenitor, he immediately crystallized these hopes, hatreds, and dreams.[40] By examining the historical forces in play during critical periods of this myth's development, it is possible to trace changes to the role Brychan's story has played since it first emerged. Even though Brychan's particular myth may have been the result of unexplainable historical forces, a catalyst was needed to bring the story into being, and it may well have developed because it fitted political needs (i.e., as propaganda).[41] This chapter introduces the tradition of Brychan Brycheiniog, which has been changed, restored, and transformed as a result of times of social and political change: after the Norman Conquest in 1066, after the Reformation in the 1530s, during the

[39] N. Ferrier-Caverivière, 'Historical Figures and Mythical Figures', in *Companion to Literary Myths, Heroes and Archetypes*, ed. by P. Brunel (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 578–585, p. 578.
[40] Ferrier-Caverivière, 'Historical Figures and Mythical Figures', p. 580.
[41] Ferrier-Caverivière, 'Historical Figures and Mythical Figures', p. 580.

period known as the Celtic Revival (roughly 1750 to 1900), and during the formation of a modern Welsh national identity (from the early twentieth century to the present time).

Elements of the Brychan tradition

Before discussing the textual sources of the Brychan tradition, the elements of the story are needed. The earliest and most complete version of the Brychan genealogies, the twelfth-century DSB, examined in the Medieval Sources section, is a short genealogical tract comprising two parts, a hagiographical narrative followed by genealogical lists.[42]

The Brychan story

The hagiographical narrative identifies Brychan as the eponym of Brycheiniog, stating that Teuderic, king of Garthmathrin in central Wales, sent his daughter Marchell to Ireland with a retinue of waiting women and soldiers to marry Anlach, king of Ireland. Anlach swore that if she bore him a son, they would return to Britain so the boy could inherit his ancestral kingdom. Marchell gave birth to a son and they returned to Britain, where Brychan was trained by Drychan, whose prophesy was that the boy would achieve great wealth. Brychan was fostered as a youth in the court of Banadl, king of Powys, and Brychan violated Banadl's daughter, Banadlinet. Banadlinet gave birth to a son, Cynog (later, a saint), who received a torque for his arm as a token from Brychan, and the torque later became a relic of Cynog's own land. In time Brychan became king of Garthmathrin, which became known as Brycheiniog. This ends the narrative. The genealogical lists begin the pedigree of Cynog through Brychan's British mother Marchell back to Annhun, king of the Greeks. This list is followed by a list of Brychan's eleven sons and a list of his twenty-five daughters. After these lists are locations of the graves of Brychan, his sons Rein and Cynog, and his father Anlach. The next list names Brychan's three wives. DSB concludes with a pedigree that connects Brychan to St David by listing the children of Ceredig, said to be the husband of Meleri, daughter of Brychan. One of their sons was identified as Sant, the father of St David.[43]

The earliest historical context for the tradition

Based on this outline of the story, the discussion begins with the history of the geographic region of which Brychan Brycheiniog was said to be the eponym. According to Thomas

[42] B. Guy, 'Gerald and Welsh Genealogical Writing', in *Gerald of Wales: New Perspectives on a Medieval Writer and Critic*, ed. by G. Henley and A. McMullen (Cardiff: UWP, 2018), pp. 47–61, pp. 49–50.
[43] For the account of Brychan's birth, youth, and family summarized in this paragraph, see BD, pp. 31–34.

Charles-Edwards, Brycheiniog was likely to have been part of a Silurian territory that broke away, 'perhaps as a result of Irish settlement in the immediately post-Roman period'.[44] He bases his theory on the many inscriptions of Irish names found in the area, and he also refers to the story of Brychan Brycheiniog:

> The occurrence of Irish names in inscriptions presumably reflects Irish incomers like those mentioned in the early medieval semi-historical accounts of the kingdom of Brycheiniog.[45]

Factors such as the story of Brychan Brycheiniog and the Irish inscriptions in Breconshire suggest the plausibility of a half-Irish, half-British king. Certainly assimilation and intermarriage of ethnic groups was the case in south Wales in the early Middle Ages:

> The Irish settlers who penetrated into various parts of south Wales, and other parts of western Britain, during the fifth and sixth centuries, clearly did so in sufficient numbers to leave a not insignificant impression on the archaeological and onomastic records. Individuals who were commemorated in bilingual Irish ogham and Latin inscriptions were clearly socio-economically and politically important local figures, leaders of, in many cases, culturally mixed communities. In south Wales, the Welsh side of the equation was eventually to dominate the process of assimilation, whereas in western Scotland the opposite appears to have prevailed.[46]

The Brychan story was plausible and it could well have found a new audience after the invasion of the eleventh-century Norman Marcher lords who, like the Romans before them, created an infrastructure of church and state to add stability to their rule.[47] The politico-heroic myth of the eponym Brychan Brycheiniog and his many saintly children may have existed before the Norman Conquest, but the tradition was transmitted widely during the twelfth century in a variety of texts composed in Britain, Ireland, and Brittany, and particularly by monks of the priories of St John the Evangelist in Brecon and of St Mary in Monmouth, both located in the ancient kingdom of Brycheiniog.[48] The audience for these texts primarily

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[44] T. Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons 350–1064* (Oxford: OUP, 2013), p. 20.
[45] M. Redknap and J. Lewis, *A Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales*, 3 vols (Cardiff: UWP, 2007), vol. 1, p. 74. Redknap and Lewis reference P. Sims-Williams, 'The Provenance of the Llywarch Hen poems: a case for Llan-gors, Brycheiniog', CMCS, vol. 26 (1993), pp. 39–42; and P. Sims-Williams, 'The Five Languages of Wales in the Pre-Norman Inscriptions', CMCS, vol. 44 (2002), pp. 1–36.
[46] D. Thornton, 'Communities and Kinship', in *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages: Britain and Ireland c.500–c.1100*, ed. by P. Stafford (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), pp. 91–106, p. 94. See also M. Richards, 'The Irish settlement in Wales', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. 90 (1960), pp. 133–162.
[47] Ferrier-Caverivière, 'Historical Figures and Mythical Figures', p. 580.
[48] Guy, 'Gerald and Welsh Genealogical Writing', pp. 49–50.

comprised clergy, scholars, and courtiers who read and in some cases copied them into their own collections.

Persuasive aspects of Brychan's tradition

The myth of Brychan Brycheiniog possessed elements that would have been appealing to both Welsh and Norman audiences and to both political and religious figures. The account of Brychan's parents' return from Ireland with the infant Brychan is a familiar one that echoes the Biblical account of the Holy Family's flight into Egypt and eventual return from Egypt to Nazareth.[49] The story is also one of migration and assimilation, in which a child of mixed race arrives from another country and is known immediately to be the rightful heir, after which, as king, he populates the country with heroes, kings, and saints. Brychan does not replace the local people, but he redefines the royal bloodlines and his rule results in a people who are multi-cultural, royal, and saintly.

Another familiar biblical concept is that of the patriarchs, leaders such as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who led the early tribes of the Israelites and helped them identify as a people.[50] These leaders lived in the time before written records and yet their roles as progenitors are beyond dispute. In the same way, the story of Brychan Brycheiniog is used to establish the identity of his people without any historical evidence that he ever lived. What purpose is served by genealogies that include non-historical characters? In an essay about the ubiquity of genealogies that include non-historical and non-biological ancestors, Sara Trevisan notes that non-historical characters are, by definition, incorporated into genealogies whenever named ancestors lived during a time before written records.[51] She identifies two purposes of genealogies: the first is to create a family tree that reconstructs kinship between individuals related by filiation or marriage and the second is to build a socially constructed and mythical genealogy that creates the appearance of biological and historical linearity and kinship. The goal of the mythical genealogy is to claim high status or political or ethnic power with a 'presumed biological link with a hero, founder, or even a deity' who had usually lived in remote times and whose memory lingered in oral traditions and on the prestige and privilege derived from this ancestor[52] According to Trevisan, this mythical ancestry served to shape the

[49] Matthew 2.13–16.
[50] For the form used for the Biblical genealogy, see Genesis 5.1–32. For the role of the patriarch with many children, see Genesis 17.4–6.
[51] S. Trevisan, 'Introduction: Mythical Ancestry and Genealogy', in *Mythical Ancestry in World Cultures, 1400–1800*, ed. by S. Trevisan (Brussels: Brepols, 2018), pp. 1–14, p. 1.
[52] Trevisan, 'Introduction', p. 3.

imagined past, project a glorious future, and provide new interpretations of the present political situation.[53]

Using this goal as the motivation for the Welsh genealogies of Brychan Brycheiniog, the imagined past would be one in which a child with claims to both Irish and British thrones migrated with his parents from Ireland to Wales, came of age, and had many saintly children and grandchildren. The glorious future proclaimed by the story of Brychan, then, would be of a king whose arrival heralded a golden age, as described previously, in which a king from another country arrives to forge a new nation with continuity back to the previous line of kings. The political situation at the time when accounts of Brychan Brycheiniog first appeared is the next subject for discussion, but interpretations of the political climate in Brycheiniog after the Norman Conquest must address a political environment that was both complex and evolving.

The Norman Conquest of 1066 resulted in the migration west of the Norman lords and clergy appointed to hold the Marches on the borders of Wales and England and extend their influence into Wales.[54] The Normans were met with some defiance, but also with efforts by both the Welsh political and ecclesiastical powers to prove ownership of their titles and lands in efforts to defend their holdings.[55] Within this context, the genealogical tract now called DSB was copied in the kingdom of Brycheiniog during the twelfth century.

Medieval sources

Throughout the medieval period, but beginning in the twelfth century, references to Brychan Brycheiniog are found in Wales in genealogies, Lives of the saints, tales, triads, poems, and historical records. Brychan also appears in an Irish pedigree and Lives of the saints written in Devon and Brittany, although he is not the subject of these accounts. All of these accounts have as their focus a family in which a marriage of royal heirs representing two races results in an eponymic kingdom and many holy children, most of whom are daughters. These traditions are explored in this section, beginning with DSB, whose contents have been

[53] Trevisan, 'Introduction', p. 3.
[54] K. Hughes, 'British Museum MS Cotton Vespasian A. XIV ('Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium'): its purpose and provenance', in *Studies in the Early British Church*, ed. by N. Chadwick, K. Hughes, C. Brooke, and K. Jackson (Cambridge: CUP, 1958), pp. 183–200, p. 184.
[55] Hughes, 'British Museum MS Cotton Vespasian A. XIV', p. 184.

discussed earlier in this chapter. The most significant version of this tract is DSB, copied on fols 10v–11v of the manuscript now known as London, BL, MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv.

DSB is included in the 'Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium' (Lives of the Welsh saints), the first manuscript bound into a collection now known as London, BL, MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv, produced *c.* 1100 at St Mary's Priory in Monmouth for the Abbey of St Peter in Gloucester.[56] The Brychan family appears in three texts found in this manuscript. The most important of these is DSB, the genealogical tract previously summarized, which includes the narrative of Brychan parents' marriage and his own birth, education, youth, coming of age, and kingship, followed by the names of his sons, his daughters, his wives, locations of family graves, and a list of the sons of Ceredig.[57] Another significant copy of a related text is *Plant Brychan*, found in the fourteenth-century manuscript now known as JC20.[58] A later version of the Brychan genealogies now known as CB is discussed among the sources written after the Reformation.[59] Many later copies of these texts were produced after the Reformation, and they are discussed in subsequent sections, highlighting changes in attitudes toward the daughters of Brychan.

MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv also contains the Life of St Cadog and the Life of St Gwynllyw, both of which refer to Brychan Brycheiniog and other family members. In these Lives, Brychan must approve Gwynllyw's demand for his daughter Gwladys's hand in marriage.[60] In the Life of St Cadog, Gwynllyw sent messengers to 'resolutely demand' Gwladys and Brychan 'was indignant and full of anger, refused to bestow his daughter on him, and slighted the messengers, and dismissed them without honour', with the result that Gwynllyw, 'raving with excessive fury, armed with all possible speed three hundred of his young men to take the aforesaid girl by force' from Brychan's court at Talgarth.[61] Brychan pursued Gwladys, now in the possession of Gwynllyw and his war band, and in the resulting battle Gwynllyw defeated Brychan because of last-minute support offered by Arthur, Cai, and Bedwyr. After Brychan's defeat, Gwynllyw married Gwladys and eventually Cadog was born. In the Life of

[56] Hughes, 'British Museum MS Cotton Vespasian A. XIV', p. 183.
[57] EWGT, pp. 15–16. Bartrum describes the genealogy of Ceredig as an appendix to DSB and lists it separately as 'Prodigies Keredic' in EWGT, p. 20. See also London, BL, MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv, fols 10v–11v.
[58] EWGT, pp. 41–44. See also JC20, fols 33r–41r.
[59] Guy, 'Gerald and Welsh Genealogical Learning', p. 50. See also E. Jones, 'Price (or Prys), Sir John (1502?–1555), notary public, the king's principal registrar in causes ecclesiastical, and secretary of the Council in Wales and the Marches', DWB [online]. Available at https://biography.wales/article/s-PRIC-JOH-1502 <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[60] 'The Life of St Cadog' and 'The Life of St Gwynllyw', VSBG, pp. 24–141 and pp. 172–193.
[61] For the details summarized in this section, see the 'Life of St Cadog' in VSBG, pp. 24–141.

St Gwynllyw, Brychan accepted Gwynllyw's proposal, and the marriage of Gwynllyw and Gwladys took place immediately, followed by the birth of Cadog in due time.[62] The Life of St Cadog also included another episode featuring Brychan, in which Cadog ended a famine in Brycheiniog, and in thanks Brychan gave Cadog the land of Llanspyddid, where Cadog built a monastery.[63] A church dedicated to St Cadog remains in Llanspyddid, where a cross-carved stone in the churchyard dating from the eighth or ninth century is said to mark the grave of Anlach, Brychan's father (see fig. 10):



A. St Cadog's Church, Llanspyddid

B. Stone said to be Anlach's grave

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Figure 10. Cross-Carved Stone, St Cadog's Church, Llanspyddid[64]

Social and political circumstances in the Welsh Marches during the twelfth century are reflected in the texts of three scholars who shared a knowledge of the Brychan story: Geoffrey of Monmouth, Gerald of Wales, and Walter Map. All three describe an eponymous British king with many extraordinary children.

[62] For details of the 'Life of St Gwynllyw', see VSBG, pp. 172–193.
[63] VSBG, pp. 49–51.
[64] Redknap and Lewis, *A Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones*, vol. 1, pp. 222–224. See also Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarth 251 for Edward Lluyd's sketch and description of the stone.

Geoffrey of Monmouth (*c.* 1095–*c.* 1155) appears to have used elements of the Brychan tradition in his pseudo-historical *Historia Regum Britanniae* (*c.* 1136), but he applies them to Ebrauk of Eboracum rather than Brychan Brycheiniog.[65] These elements relate to names and attributes, and a number of similarities exist. First, both men are rulers. Second, the names *Ebrauk* and *Brychan* are similar, as are those of a number of the children, such as daughters Chein and Cain, Mailure and Meleri, Gorgon and Gurycon Goddeu, Kambreda and Ceinbreit, Claudus and Gwladys, and Guaurdid and Gwawr.[66] Third, both kings are eponyms. Fourth, both men were said to have had multiple wives. Fifth, each man was said to have sired an extraordinary number of children. Geoffrey regularly reshaped source materials to fit his purposes. Differences also exist. First, Geoffrey's Eboracum is not in the middle of modern Wales, but in area now associated with York. Second, Ebrauk's children are not described as saints. Third, Ebrauk's parents are not part of the story, nor is his racial identity. Fourth, Ebrauk's children leave Britain and so are not associated with British place-names and genealogies. These differences demonstrate a less complex adaptation of the Brychan story told in DSB, and they are not an obstacle to an argument that Geoffrey knew the tradition of Brychan Brycheiniog.

Gerald of Wales (*c.* 1146–*c.* 1223) read *Historia Regum Britanniae* (along with works by Gildas and Bede), but he based his account on his personal experience as well as his reading.[67] As an archdeacon, Gerald lived in the bishop's palace at Llanddew on the outskirts of Brecon.[68] From this vantage point, he could easily walk to the Priory of St John the Evangelist in Brecon as well as to churches dedicated to Brychan's daughters; for example, St Eluned's Chapel at Slwch Tump, St Bilo's Church at Llanfilo, and St Gwendoline's Church at Talgarth (see chs. 5 and 8). Also, circumstantial evidence suggests that DSB likely originated in the Priory of St John the Evangelist and, thus, would have been familiar to

[65] K. Jankulak, 'La matière de Bretagne que Geoffrey de Monmouth n'a pas utilisée: les mythes d'origine des royaumes gallois médiévaux', in *Histoires des Bretagnes: 1. Les mythes fondateurs* (Brest: Centre de Recherche Bretonne et Celtique, 2010), pp. 59–79. See also Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. by L. Thorpe (London: Penguin Classics, 1973).
[66] A. Hutson, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth', *Y Cymmrodor* (1937), pp. 361–373, pp. 361 and 364–367. See also Jankulak, 'La matière de Bretagne', pp. 76–80. For recent analysis of the pedigrees from which the names of Ebrauk's children were derived, see B. Guy, 'Medieval Welsh Genealogy: Texts, Contexts and Transmission', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, Pembroke College, 2016), vol. 1, p. 28. For a further development of the Ebrauk story, doubtless based on Geoffrey of Monmouth, see 'King Ebrauk with All His sons', Lost Plays Database, 2005 [online]. Available at https://lostplays.folger.edu/King_Ebrauk_with_All_His_Sons <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[67] J. Smith, 'Gerald of Wales, Walter Map and the Anglo-Saxon History of Lydbury North', in *Gerald of Wales: New Perspectives on a Medieval Writer and Critic*, ed. by G. Henley and A. McMullen (Cardiff: UWP, 2018), pp. 63–77, p. 68.
[68] Guy, 'Gerald and Welsh Genealogical Writing', p. 49.

Gerald of Wales, even if he did not view the specific copy now called MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv.[69]

Gerald of Wales read the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but he knew Walter Map (*c.* 1130–*c*. 1209) personally.[70] The two men were both Welsh, courtiers of Henry II, and appointed canons of Hereford Abbey by Gerald Foliot; therefore, they moved within the same ecclesiastical and political circles and knew the geography of the Welsh Marches. They were colleagues and perhaps friends, and Gerald wrote his account of Brychan within two decades of Walter's account. Walter's collection of satirical tales called *De Nugis Curialium* (Courtier's Trifles) includes an episode in which King Brychan Brycheiniog responded to a cattle raid by the rival king of Deheubath with rage, including a savage slaughter of the enemy.[71] The episode contains a memorable scene in which Brychan's warriors feared to inform him of the raid because he attacked anyone bringing bad news, but when one of his warriors told Brychan, Brychan threw a spear at the warrior, then armed and went out to defeat the enemy, after which he celebrated the slaughter by building mounds over the severed hands and penises of the vanquished.[72] *De Nugis Curialium* was likely written in the early 1180s, although some passages are later than 1182.[73] The portrayal of Brychan in this tale as a savage king may be a satire on conventional views of the Welsh, whom Map in a subsequent section described as 'prodigal of life, greedy of liberty, neglectors of peace, warlike and skilled in arms, and eager for vengeance', all attributes of Brychan as portrayed in this episode.[74] *De Nugis Curialium* also echoes the description of conflict between Brychan and Gwynllyw in the story of the abduction of Gwladys in the Life of St Cadog.[75]

Temperamental, changeable, and given to warring against his neighbours, Brychan Brycheiniog as described in the medieval accounts fulfilled the stereotypes of a British king, as introduced by Tacitus (*c.* 56–*c.* 120) in *Agricola* (*c.* 68): 'At one time they owed

[69] Guy, 'Gerald and Welsh Genealogical Writing', p. 50.
[70] For details of this discussion, see Smith, 'Gerald of Wales, Walter Map and the Anglo-Saxon History of Lydbury North', pp. 68–69.
[71] W. Map, *De Nugis Curialium: Courtier's Trifles*, ed. and trans. by M. James, rev. by C. Brooke and R. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. xiii.
[72] Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, pp. 152–155.
[73] Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, p. xxv.
[74] Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, p. 183.
[75] EWGT, pp. 81–84, 82, and 148, where Bartrum states: 'Tynwedd Faglog was one of the three 'powerful shepherds' See also 'Triad 16', *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* (hereafter *TYP*), 4th edn, ed. with intro., trans., and comm. by R. Bromwich (Cardiff: UWP, 2014), p. 31. There is perhaps some connexion between him and Triunein Uagelauc mentioned by Walter Map as having led a foray against Breauc or Brehein, king of Breheniauc.' Triulein Vagaluc is also reminiscent of the Tynwedd Vagloc who was said to have violated Gwrgon verch Brychan, wife of Cadrod Calchfynydd (see ch. 8).

obedience to kings; now they are divided into factions and groups under rival leaders. Ineed, nothing has helped us more in war than their inability to cooperate'.[76] Gildas largely repeated Tacitus's assessment in *De Exidio Britanniae* in the sixth century, and he expanded their failures to include the wickedness of despotism:

> Britain has kings, but they are tyrants; she has judges, but they are wicked. They often plunder and terrorize – the innocent; they defend and protect – the guilty and thieving....[77]

Gerald of Wales copied this stereotype about the dishonesty of the Welsh, saying that 'The only thing they really persist in is changing their minds' and 'It is the habit of the Welsh to steal anything they can lay their hands on and to live on plunder, theft and robbery, not only from foreigners and people hostile to them, but also from each other'.[78]

Walter Map employed these stereotypes to comic effect in his portrayal of the King of Deheubarth's attack on Brychan:

> There is no province or realm under heaven out of which I could not easily fetch spoil and return without a battle, for who is there that could resist my greatness, and without trouble?' When Triunein heard this and reflected on the prowess and ruthlessness of his own countrymen, he said: 'Lord King, saving your royal majesty, Brychan our king so excels in his own valour and that of his men that neither you nor any other king could take away spoil from him by force on any day when at the dawn the tops of the mountains are clear and cloudless and the rivers in the valleys covered with this.' At these words the king was enraged, and commanded him to be bound and cast into prison.[79]

The bragging, hair-trigger temper, eagerness for war and plunder, and lack of self-control made for an amusing story, but was Map mocking his Welsh countrymen or mocking the racial prejudice of the Normans, who were his masters? As a courtier, perhaps he was wise to leave the point ambiguous.

Other appearances by Brychan Brycheiniog are brief; for example, the fourteenth-century Life of St Keyna in *Sanctilogium Angliae Walliae Scotiae et Hiberniae* (London, BL, MS

[76] Tacitus, *Agricola and Germania*, trans. by H. Mattingly, rev. with intro. and notes by J. B. Rives (London: Penguin Books, 2009), p. 9.
[77] Gildas, *The Ruin of Britain and other works*, ed. and trans. by M. Winterbottom (Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 1978), p. 29.
[78] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales*, pp. 256–257.
[79] Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, p. 151.

Cotton Tiberius E.i), written by John of Tynemouth (*fl. c.* 1350), identifies Brychan as the saint's father.[80] John of Tynemouth was said to have based his Lives of the Welsh saints on the material in MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv, but the Life of St Keyna is not included in that manuscript.[81] Even though his source of the Life of St Keyna is not known, John of Tynemouth's familiarity with MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv could explain both his knowledge of the Brychan tradition and the similarities between the Life of St Cadog and the Life of St Keyna, discussed further in Chapter 6.

Brychan appears in an Irish genealogical tract called *The Mothers of Irish Saints*, copied in a number of early manuscripts, the earliest of which is the Book of Leinster (*Lebor Laignech*) (*c.* 1160).[82] In this pedigree, Dína, daughter of the king of the Saxons, married Brachan, king of Brachineoc of the Britons, and had ten sons, all of whom had churches dedicated to them near Waterford in Leinster (see app. A).[83] This pedigree does not name any other family members. As with the other texts, the union is between royal houses of different races, Brychan is identified as the eponym of Brycheiniog, and Brychan and his wife have many children, all of whom choose a religious life.[84] The differences are that all their children are sons, the sons emigrate to Ireland, and Brychan is British and Dína is Saxon, rather than Brychan being the child of Irish and British royal parents.[85]

The *Cartulary of the Abbey of the Holy Cross of Quimperlé*, the only copy of which is known as London, BL, MS Egerton 2802 (fols 106v–117r), includes the Life of St Nennoc, daughter of Brychan of the lineage of Gurthien (i.e., Vortigern) and his wife Meneduc, daughter of the Roman emperor Constantine (*c.* 280–337).[86] In this Life, Nennoc seeks to found a monastery in Brittany, opposing her parents' desire for her to be their heir; however, supported by St Germanus, she was able to convince them that her religious vocation was more important,

[80] London, BL, MS Cotton Tiberius E.i.
[81] VSBG, p. xii.
[82] EWGT, pp. 32–34. See also Dublin, Trinity College, MS H 2.18. Bartrum states that, in addition to the Book of Leinster, the Mothers of the Irish Saints tract is found in (a) the Book of Ballymote (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy (RIA) MS 23 P 12, Leabhar Bhaile an Mhóta) (*c.* 1400), (b) the Great Book of Lecan (Dublin, RIA MS 23 P 2, Leabhar (Mór) Leacain) (1416–1418), and (c) the Book of Ui Maine (Dublin, RIA, MS D ii 1, Leabhar Ua Maine) (1394).
[83] EWGT, pp. 32–34.
[84] EWGT, pp. 32–34.
[85] EWGT, pp. 32–34.
[86] 'Vita Sainte Ninnoce', *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye Saint-Croix de Quimperlé*, ed. by L. Maitre and P. de Berthou 2nd edn (Rennes and Paris: Plihon et Hommay and H. Champion, 1904), pp. 50 and 55–68, Gallica [online]. Available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1138272/f66.item.r=Ninnoca <Accessed 12 April 2020> See also London, BL, MS Egerton 2802, fols 106v–117r and 'Detailed Record for Egerton 2802', BL Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts [online]. Available at http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8632 <Accessed 15 February 2020>

and they funded her trip to found an abbey in the Morbihan region of Brittany at a place now known as Lanenec (see ch. 8 and app. A).[87]

The twelfth-century Life of St Nectan (Gotha, Ducal Library, MS M n 57) was likely composed in Devon at Hartland Abbey, centre of the cult of St Nectan.[88] In this account, Brychan married his wife Gladwisa, but did not consummate the marriage and instead travelled to Ireland, where he spent twenty-four years carrying out good works.[89] He returned to Wales to find his wife alive, returned to her, and became the father of twenty-four children, all of whom emigrated to Cornwall and Devon to become hermits.[90]

Many references to Brychan, like those of Walter Map, are not found in a religious context. The Welsh triads address aspects of Brychan's pedigree, including his family's identification as one of the three holy families of Britain (Triad 81).[91] The other two holy families are those of Cunedda Wledig and Caw of Prydain.[92] Joseph of Arimathea is sometimes listed instead of Caw of Prydain, while Brychan Brycheiniog and Cunedda Wledig are constants.[93] Triad 96 names Brychan's wives and Triad 70 speaks of the multiple births of his daughter Nefyn.[94] Several other triads relate to purported family members and others who were said to be involved with the family.[95] The earliest copy of the Triads is found in a manuscript of the thirteenth century now known as Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarch 16.[96]

One of the indications that Brychan Brycheiniog was never a historical character is the absence of entries about him in the *Annales Cambriae*, although several entries mention people who were said to be associated with his family, such as St Cynog, Brychan's oldest son.[97] The *Annales Cambriae* also record the deaths of Gabran ap Domangart and Ceredig ap

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[87] 'Detailed Record for Egerton 2802', BL Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts [online].
[88] N. Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), pp. 197–200. See also P. Grosjean, 'Vie de S. Rumon, Vie, Invention et Miracles de S. Nectan', *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. 71 (1953): pp. 359–414; R. Chope, *The Book of Hartland* (Torquay: The Devonshire Press, 1940), pp. 213–214; W. Worcestre, *Itineraries*, ed. by J. Harvey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 62–65; and J. Leland, *Antiquarii de Rebvs Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. by T. Hearne, 4 vols (London: Benj. J. White, 1774), vol. 4, p. 153.
[89] Chope, *The Book of Hartland*, pp. 213–214.
[90] Chope, *The Book of Hartland*, pp. 213–214.
[91] TYP, pp. 211–213.
[92] TYP, pp. 211–213.
[93] TYP, pp. 211–213.
[94] TYP, pp. 195–198, 243–245, and 294–295.
[95] TYP, pp. 294–295.
[96] TYP, p. xvi.
[97] 'The Annales Cambriae and Old Welsh Genealogies from Harleian MS. 3859', ed. by E. Phillimore, *Y Cymmrodor*; vol. 9 (1888), pp. 141–183, pp. 155–157, Internet Archive [online]. Available at https://archive.org/details/ycymmrodor09cymmuoft/page/140/mode/2up/search/Annales <Accessed 12 April 2020>

Cunedda, identified in DSB as the husbands of Luan and Meleri, respectively. Entries also exist for several men identified in DSB as sons of Brychan's daughters, including Gurgi and Peredur (sons of Nyuein), Aidan (son of Luan), and Brochwel (son of Tudwystl) (see ch. 8).[98]

Most medieval sources present a view of the Brychan family from a single source; however, the *Itineraries* (1478) written by William Worcestre (1415–1485) mention dedications based on the various places he visited rather than a single tradition from the place where he lived.[99] He includes entries about St Eluned's grave in Usk, St Dwynwen in Anglesey, and the children of Brychan in Cornwall and Devon.[100]

Medieval poems about the daughters of Brychan are discussed in the chapters relating to their veneration, but poems about Brychan himself describe his attributes. The first mention of Brychan is found in the fourteenth-century Book of Taliesin (Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarth 2) , which includes some the oldest Welsh poems, many of them attributed to the poet Taliesin, who was said to be active towards the end of the sixth century.[101] Taliesin mentions Brychan in a poem 'In Praise of Cynon Garwyn, son of Brochfael', dedicated to a ninth-century prince of Brycheiniog, which is called the 'gwlad Brachan' (land of Brychan).[102] Centuries later, the fifteenth-century praise poet Lewys Glyn Cothi (*fl.* 1447–1489) also described Breconshire as 'the land of Brychan'.[103] Dafydd ap Gwilym includes this lorica for Brychan in his plea to Dwynwen in 'Galw ar Ddwynwen' (see ch. 7), noting Brychan's strength:

> Er enaid, be rhaid yrhawg,
> Brychan Yrth, breichiau nerthawg;
> Eiriol er dy greuol gred,
> Yr em wyry, roi ymwared.
>
> [for the sake of the soul (if need be now),
> of Brychan Yrth of the mightly arms;
> intercede, by your bleeding faith,
> chaste darling, for my deliverance].[104]

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[98] 'The Annales Cambriae and Old Welsh Genealogies from Harleian MS. 3859', ed. by Phillimore, pp. 155–157.
[99] Worcestre, *Itineraries*, p. ix. See also Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 210.
[100] Worcestre, *Itineraries*, p. ix.
[101] *The Book of Taliesin: Poems of Warfare and Praise in an Enchanted Britain*, trans. by G. Lewis and R. Williams (London: Penguin Classics, 2019), pp. 3–5.
[102] *Book of Taliesin*, p. xiv.
[103] *Gwaith Lewys Glyn Cothi*, ed. by D. Johnston (Cardiff: UWP, 1995), pp. 204–205, p. 205.
[104] Dafydd ap Gwilym, 'Galw ar Ddwynwen', www.dafyddapgwilym.net [online]. Available at http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net/eng/3win.htm <Accessed 3 September 2019>

A number of medieval Welsh poems speak of Brychan's lineage; for example, the poem by Hywel Dafi (*fl. c.* 1440–*c.* 1485) 'St Cynog of Merthyr Cynog' emphasizes Cynog's role as chieftain of the country, calling him 'a rightful lord and son of Brychan', asked Cynog to protect Breconshire with his prayers:

> Defend the land of your father,
> With your prayers, words from God.[105]

Dafydd Epynt (*fl. c.* 1460) also stresses the importance of royal kinship in his description of Cynog's father and grandmother:[106]

> I consider Cynog's ancestors to be famous,
> Old Brychan, he was the noblest;
> He is a kinsman through Marchell too
> Of heaven's Mary, through the right lineage.[107]

These poems demonstrate that Brychan is remembered as a secular figure deeply connected to the land of which he is eponym, 'gwlad Brychan', a guardian of the land and people, and venerated because of his royal and holy lineage.

The names and locations of the medieval churches, shrines, and holy wells dedicated to children of Brychan can be difficult to identify. Medieval genealogies, Lives of the saints, triads, tales, and poems, give the names and describe activities attributed to Brychan and his family; others identify dedicated churches and other place-names. Of those medieval records of dedications and place-names, the earliest is the Domesday Book, a record of the tax assessment carried out on behalf of William the Conqueror in 1086.[108] The *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of Pope Nicholas IV was an extremely thorough and detailed assessment conducted from 1291 to 1292 of the value of English and Welsh parish churches and prebends; for nearly two-hundred-fifty years this data was used for ecclesisastical taxation in England and Wales.[109] Collections of medieval date provide records that are often limited; for example, those kept at Margam Abbey and Llandaff Cathedral in Glamorgan, Hartland

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[105] H. Dafi, 'St Cynog of Merthyr Cynog', in *Medieval Welsh Poems to Saints and Shrines*, ed. by Lewis, pp. 373–376, p. 373.
[106] R. Looker, 'Dafydd Epynt', DWB (1959) [online]. Available at https://biography.wales/article/s-DAFY-EPY-1460 <Accessed 3 September 2019>
[107] Dafi, 'St Cynog of Merthyr Cynog', p. 377.
[108] Kew, National Archives, Liber de Wintonia, and *Domesday Book: a complete translation*, ed. by A. Williams and G. Martin (London: Penguin, 2002). Data regarding Welsh districts under Norman control can be found in Domesday accounts for Cheshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and Shropshire.
[109] *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV*, ed. by T. Astle, S. Ayscough and J. Caley (London: Record Commission, 1802). For the dioceses of St Asaph, Bangor, St Davids, and Llandaff, see also Taxatio Database [online]. Available at https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/ <Accessed 12 April 2020>

Abbey in Devon, the Abbey of the Holy Cross in Quimperlé, and St David's Cathedral in Pembrokeshire all provide useful information about place-names and dedications, but dates are difficult to verify.[110] Appendix A documents these place-names.

In 1535, Henry VIII ordered a similar assessment, now known as the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, to assess the value of religious houses before they were ordered to be dissolved.[111] Assessments of manuscripts were conducted by representatives of the Crown, some of whom amassed large collections of medieval texts; most manuscripts, however, along with art, liturgical documents, and shrines were destroyed. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* forms a kind of natural boundary between medieval and post-Reformation sources, although the border between these historical periods is fluid. These sources can document dedications before the Dissolution of the Monasteries and destruction of shrines, but it is more difficult to identify what happened to the properties and other material after that time.

Post-Reformation sources

Replacement of the Roman version of Catholicism by the Anglican religion, resulted in generations of religious turmoil in Britain, for periods of which Catholicism was outlawed. The desire to remove all traces of Catholic beliefs (e.g., the veneration of saints, pilgrimages, miracles, feast days) was opposed by an equally fervent desire by the Roman Catholic Church to restore the old faith. This religious battle was often conducted in parallel with political battles between absolute monarchy and parliamentary government. In this often violent and contradictory evolution of the means and expressions of power, what role does the tradition of Brychan Brycheiniog play? Because politico-heroic myths remain closely associated with current circumstances, and they may be changed, restored, and transformed as a result of current events, the tradition of Brychan Brycheiniog does provide insight into the changes taking place after the Reformation.[112] In *The Reformation of the Landscape*,

[110] For Margam Abbey, see 'Margam Abbey, Margam Abbey charters, *c.* 1157–1441. West Glamorgan Archive Service. GB 216 A/MA', Archives Hub [online]. Available at https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb216-a/ma <Accessed 12 April 2020>. For Hartland Abbey, see Chope, *The Book of Hartland*; for the Abbey of the Holy Cross at Quimperlé, see *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye Saint-Croix de Quimperlé;* and for St David's Cathedral, see *The Black Book of St David's*, ed. by J. Willis-Bund (London: Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1902).
[111] *Valor ecclesiasticus temp. Henr. VIII. Auctoritate regia institutus*, ed. by J. Caley and J. Hunter, 6 vols (London: George Eyre and Andrew Strahan, 1810–1834). See also D. Knowles, *Bare Ruined Choirs: The Dissolution of the English Monasteries* (Cambridge, London, New York, Melbourne: CUP, 1976), p. 121.
[112] Ferrier-Caverivière, 'Historical Figures and Mythical Figures', p. 581.

Alexandra Walsham notes that the conflicts arising after the Reformation 'served as agents of the invention as well as the destruction of a tissue of ritual and myth'.[113]

Interest in the saintly Brychan children was dangerous, especially for those daughters with pilgrimage shrines, and traditions could be approached in various ways. The first, safest approach was to reject the past veneration of the saints by referring to it as superstitious, designed by monks and priests to dupe the gullible public. By the seventeenth century, shrines to St Dwynwen in Anglesey and St Eluned in Brecon were in private hands and their churches were fast becoming ruins (see chs. 5 and 7).[114] Changes in the landscape were matched by attitudes with the goal, as Alexandra Walsham writes, to 'to dismiss aetiological tales about notable landmarks as 'vulgar errors' and 'popish fables' and to drive 'superstitious rituals conducted around them into extinction'.[115] Derision could be expressed in amusing tales, such as those of the English poets Richard Carew (1555–1620) and, a couple of generations later, Robert Southey (1774–1843), who each wrote humorous poems about the former holy well at St Keyne's Church near Liskeard in Cornwall, recasting legends of the well as the local superstitions of a gullible people (see ch. 6).[116]

Second, one could euphemize past veneration by dressing it as a classical reference, as Michael Drayton (1563–1631) does in his epic poem *Poly-Olbion* (1616), where Brychan's daughters are identified as virgins transformed by their beauty and love of purity into tributaries of the Severn River: [117]

> For *Brecan*, was a Prince once fortunate and great
> (Who dying, lent his name to that his nobler seat)
> With twice twelve daughters blest, by one and onely wife:
> Who for their beauties rare, and sanctitie of life,
> To Rivers were transform'd; whose pureness doth declare
> How excellent they were, by beeing what they are:
> Who dying virgins all, and Rivers now by Fate,
> To tell their former love to the unmaried state,
> To *Severne* shape their course, which now their forme doth beare;
> Ere shee was made a flood, a virgine as they were.

[113] A. Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), p. 472.
[114] H. Rowlands, *Mona Antiqua Restaurata* (Dublin: Aaron Rhames, 1723) and London, BL, MS Harley 4181.
[115] Walsham, *Reformation of the Landscape*, p. 472.
[116] R. Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall*, ed. by J. Chynoweth, N. Orme, and A. Walsham (Exeter: Short Run Press, Ltd, 2004), and *The Poetical Works of Robert Southey*, vol. 6, pp. 145–146.
[117] M. Drayton, 'Poly-Olbion: The Fourth Song', lines 95–106, The Poly-Olbion Project, Exeter University [online]. Available at http://poly-olbion.exeter.ac.uk/the-text/full-text/song-4/ <Accessed 12 April 2020> See also, *The Complete Works of Michael Drayton*, intro. and notes by R. Hooper, 2 vols (London: John Russell Smith, 1876), vol. 1, pp. 96–97.

> And from the *Irish* seas with feare they still doe flie:
> So much they yet delight in mayden companie.[118]

These daughters are not portrayed as saints, but as characters out of classical mythology. The story of Brychan's family must have been fairly widespread to have found its way into this English poem, and Drayton's approach demonstrates that the Brychan tradition was increasingly seen in a secular context.

A third option was to withdraw behind the screen provided by antiquarian studies to preserve and study past beliefs in the guise of genealogies and heraldry, which were not inherently religious in nature, even when they documented the saints. Two of the men who assessed manuscripts for the 1535 *Valor Ecclesiasticus* went on to amass significant antiquarian collections that included Brychan documents. The process by which their newly created collections were passed from antiquarian to antiquarian demonstrates the coordination and collaboration that enabled the remnants of the monastic libraries to survive in new libraries that eventually coalesced into large collections now primarily owned by universities and the nation. In the case of John Leland (*c.* 1503–1552), who was chaplain and librarian to Henry VIII, touring England and Wales from 1536 to 1542, Leland was rewarded by Henry VIII with a great deal of property, and his collection passed to Sir John Cheke, from him to Humphrey Purefoy, whose son Thomas gave them in 1612 to William Burton, who presented them to Bodley Library at Oxford University in 1632 and 1643–1643.[119] On one of these journeys, Leland copied an extract of the Life of St Nectan, which was eventually published in the fourth volume of his *Collectanea* (see ch. 8).[120] John Prise (1502?–1555), antiquarian for Henry VIII and associate of Thomas Cromwell, also toured the ecclesiastical foundations to assess and catalogue their holdings.[121] Like Leland, Prise secured grants from the king, including acquired leases of the rectory of Llanfihangel in Carmarthenshire in 1536–1537 and the Priory of St John the Evangelist in Brecon in 1537–1538; he also purchased the

[118] 'Poly-Olbion: The Fourth Song', lines 95–106, The Poly-Olbion Project, Exeter University [online].
[119] Leland, *Collectanea*, vol. 4, p. 153, the Internet Archive [online]. Available at https://archive.org/details/b30528100_0004/page/152 <Accessed 12 April 2020> The *Collectanea* comprises Leland's notes and transcripts from his catalogues of the monastic libraries during 1533–1536. The principal volumes are now known as Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Top. gen. c.1–3 and London, BL, MS Additional 38132. See also 'Leland Manuscripts', Bodleian Archives & Manuscripts [online]. Available at https://archives.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repositories/2/resources/589 <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[120] Leland, *Collectanea*, vol. 4, p. 153.
[121] J. Prise, *Historiae Britanniae Defensio: A Defence of the British History*, ed. and trans. with intro. and notes by C. Davies (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2015, and Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2015), pp. xxvii–xxviii.

Priory of St Guthlac in Hereford, where he lived for the rest of his life.[122] Prise's collection included both MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv and MS Cotton Domitian i, a manuscript said to have come from St David's Cathedral, into which Prise copied a version of DSB now known as CB.[123] Prise bequeathed the divinity texts in his collection to Hereford Cathedral and his Welsh books to Thomas Vaughan, fourth son of Sir William Vaughan of Portland near Talgarth in Breconshire.[124]

In London, William Camden (1551–1623) and his friend and colleague Sir Robert Cotton (1570–1631) collaborated with others who shared their antiquarian interests, eventually forming the Society of Antiquaries.[125] An antiquarian, historian, herald, and topographer, William Camden was the author of *Britannia* (1586), the first topographical survey of Great Britain and Ireland.[126] In 1574, Camden was appointed Clarenceux King of Arms, a post that enabled him to focus on research into genealogy and heraldry.[127] Camden left his books to Cotton; the Cotton Library also came to include MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv and MS Cotton Domitian i.

Camden's interests put him in contact with other antiquarians who collected or copied documents about the Brychan tradition, such as the recusant collector of saints' Lives Nicholas Roscarrock (see ch. 3) and also the Pembrokeshire landowner and antiquarian George Owen of Henllys (*c.* 1552–1613). A landowner in Pembrokeshire, George Owen of Henllys was considered 'the fount and origin' of the large body of local genealogical research that later became known as the Protheroe collection now held in the College of Arms.[128] Owen's circle of antiquarian colleagues and friends included George Owen Harry (*c.* 1553–1614), a clergyman from an ancient Carmarthenshire family, whose research included copying the Brychan pedigrees.[129] Two Welsh genealogists who documented and authenticated genealogies for the College of Arms were Deputy Herald at Arms Lewys Dwnn (*c.* 1550–*c.* 1616), whose published collection *Heraldic Visitations of Wales and Part of the Marches* (1846), which included the pedigree of Brychan, was based on visitations conducted

[122] Jones, 'Price (or Prys), Sir John (1502? –1555)', DWB [online].
[123] Guy, 'Gerald and Welsh Genealogical Writing', p. 50.
[124] Prise, *Historiae Britanniae Defens*io, p. xxix.
[125] Society of Antiquaries of London [online]. Available at https://www.sal.org.uk/ <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[126] W. Camden, *Britannia: or a Chorographical Description of Great Britain and Ireland*, rev., and pub. by E. Gibson, 2nd edn, 2 vols (London: Mary Matthews for Awnsham Churchill, 1722), vol. 2, p. 703.
[127] Camden, *Britannia*, vol. 2, p. 703.
[128] Jones, *Catalogue of Welsh MSS*, p. 9.
[129] See Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Brogynton I.15.

between 1586 and 1613.[130] The London-born herald Hugh Thomas (1673–1720), the subject of chapter 4, had strong family connections to Llanhamlach in Breconshire.[131] Thomas bequeathed his manuscripts to Sir Robert Harley, the Earl of Oxford, and they became part of the Harleian Collection in the BL.[132] One of Thomas's antiquarian colleagues was Edward Lhuyd (1660–1709), the scientist, scholar, and keeper of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford University who wrote the *Archaeologica Britannica*.[133] Lhuyd also had in his keeping the version of the Brychan genealogy now known as MS Jesus College 20, which he referred to as the *Book of Llewelyn Offeiriad* (1342).[134]

Any veneration was dangerous, but recusant Catholics might choose the fourth option, which was to continue to venerate the saints, openly or secretly creating or sharing hagiography that was hidden. More radical than the preservation of the past carried out by the antiquarians were the efforts of the Roman Catholic Church to reestablish Catholicism in Britain by means of the Counter-Reformation.[135] Where the antiquarian process of privately sharing manuscripts was similar to a bucket brigade at a fire, the Counter-Reformation was a water cannon. Some of the children of Brychan were included in these collections of saints' Lives, such as Richard Whytford's *The Martiloge in Englyshhe after the use of the chirche of Salisbury* (1526) and John Wilson's *Martyrology* (*c.* 1575–*c.* 1645?).[136] The martyrology by Thomas Dempster (1579–1625) called *Ecclesiastical History of the Scottish Nation* (1627) inspired the Franciscan hagiographer and historian John Colgan (*c.* 1592–1658) to offer a rebuttal to Dempster's assertion that many Irish and British saints were in fact Scottish.[137]

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[130] Jones, *Catalogue of Welsh MSS*, p. 17. See also L. Dwnn, *Heraldic visitations of Wales and part of the marches between the years 1586 and 1613*, ed. by S. Meyrick, 2 vols (Llandovery: William Rees, 1846), vol. 2, p. 14.
[131] Jones, *Catalogue of Welsh MSS*, p. 20.
[132] R. Jenkins, 'Thomas, Hugh (1673–1720), herald and antiquary', DWB [online]. Available at https://biography.wales/article/s-THOM-HUG-1673?&query=Theophilus%20Jones&lang[]=en&sort=score&order=desc&rows=12&page=1 <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[133] E. Lhuyd, *Archaeologia Britannica*, 2 vols (Oxford: The Theater, 1707) and *Archaeologia Britannica: Texts and Translations*, ed. by D. Evans and B. Roberts (Aberystwyth: Celtic Studies Publications, 2009).
[134] EWGT, p. 42. See also Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarth 120, pp. 71–77 (Edward Lhuyd); Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Panton 15, fols 121r–132r (Evan Evans); and London, BL, MS Harleian 4181, fols 27r–29v (Hugh Thomas).
[135] Walsham, *Reformation of the Landscape*, pp. 189–196.
[136] J. Wilson, *The English Martyrologe* (Saint-Omer: English College Press, 1608), and R. Whytford, *The Martiloge in Englysshe after the vse of the chirche of Salisbury and as it is redde in Syon with addiyons. Printed by Wynken de Worde in 1526*, ed. by F. Procter and E. S. Dewick (London: Harrison & Sons, 1893), p. v.
[137] T. Dempster, O. Gatti, and G. Coccini, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Scotorum*, 9 vols (Edinburgh: Excudebat Andreas Balfour Cum Sociis, 1829).

Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* (1645) mentions seven of the daughters of Brychan.[138] The Jesuit priest Michael Alford (real name *Griffith*) (1587–1652) produced a historical account, *Annales Ecclesiae Britannicae,* which included an essay about the Brychan family.[139] Ultimately, a number of the children of Brychan, including St Keyna and St Almedha, were included in the sixty-eight folio volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* (1643–1940), comprising critical essays, biographies, and legends of the saints produced by the Bollandist Order, a branch of the Society of Jesus.[140]

Whether the response was to denounce, redefine, adjust, or flout obstructions to veneration of the saints, all these reactions to political necessity demonstrate that Brychan Brycheiniog was a mythic character whose story changed according to circumstance:

> One feature of the politico-heroic myth is that during the course of time, it may be readopted or resurface, either in the same form or in a different one, but, in any case, in one that is specifically dictated by the needs of politics and devoted to them. Indeed, due to the distorting effect of variations on the myth, historical characters who were good often become wicked, while the wicked often become good.[141]

In these circumstances, the changed Brychan tradition does demonstrate efforts made to reshape the past, either by obliterating, discrediting, recasting, or forbidding it. The desired glorious future, and new interpretations of the Post-Reformation political situation are more difficult to identify.

The Celtic Revival

The term *Celtic Revival* is used in this thesis to describe the impulse stimulated by the Romantic movement during the early eighteenth to early twentieth centuries to restore the literature of the various Celtic peoples through publication of medieval manuscripts, which were held as manuscripts in private ownership.[142] Medieval texts with religious content were still either hidden or removed to the Continent.[143] The culture of lending and copying

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[138] J. Colgan, *The 'Acta sanctorum Hiberniae' of John Colgan* (hereafter, *Acta sanctorum Hiberniae*), intro. by B. Jennings (Dublin: OS, 1948). Facsimile edition of J. Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Leuven: De Witte, 1645).
[139] M. Alford, *Fides Regia Britannica sive Annales Ecclesiae Britannicae*, 4 vols (Liège: Ex Officina Typographica Jo. Mathiae Hovii, 1663), vol. 1, p. 624.
[140] J. Bolland, *Acta Sanctorum*, 68 vols (Paris: V. Palme, 1863–1913).
[141] Ferrier-Caverivière, 'Historical Figures and Mythical Figures', p. 581.
[142] M. Constantine, 'Antiquarianism and Enlightenment in the Eighteenth Century', in *The Cambridge History of Welsh Literature*, ed. by G. Evans and H. Fulton (Cambridge: CUP, 2019), pp. 264–284, pp. 268.
[143] P. Morgan, 'From a Death to a View: The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (Cambridge: CUP, 1983), pp. 43–100, p. 99.

manuscripts had been unwieldy at best, and by necessity was limited to only a few readers.[144] In this situation political expedience played a large role, although early in the eighteenth century, Lewis Morris attributed the dearth of publication to folly and envy:

> Things which very few English readers have any Knowledge of, except our Antiquaries, our MSS having never been made publick, and in a great measure destroyed, by the Folly of some, and the Envy of others.[145]

Publication of medieval manuscripts became a goal, but retrieval of the literary past would become part of a more radical goal to retrieve the past identities of the Celtic peoples, which were believed to be originally Celtic nations. Before discussing the reinterpretation of the Brychan myth in this environment, it is important to establish that publication of medieval manuscripts was always going to be problematic, if only because in the early eighteenth century no canon of Welsh literature existed and Wales lacked the infrastructure for a revival of the cultural past:

> Wales in the eighteenth century did not have an unbroken or a fortunate historical tradition; it did not have a glorious or heroic recent past. Hence the rediscovery of the remote past, the Druids and the Celts and the others, had an astounding effect on the Welsh. Wales did not have a network of learned or academic institutions to check and balance myths and inventions with criticism. The reader and the writer could not hunt for the past systematically together. The manuscripts for instance were nearly all locked up in private libraries, and few texts were published; hence it was easy for a forger of genius like Iolo Morganwg to bamboozle the Welsh (and English) public.[146]

Such weaknesses were not exploited by Iolo Morganwg alone. Earlier on, an equivalent weakness in Scotland could be seen in the hugely popular *Poems of Ossian* (1760) written by James Macpherson (1736–1796).[147] Macpherson claimed to have gathered his poems from ancient manuscripts, and although eventually it was revealed that the poems were largely his own adaptations of Irish mythological characters and stories, they were originally accepted as genuine.[148]

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[144] Constantine, 'Antiquarianism and Enlightenment in the Eighteenth Century', pp. 268–269.
[145] L. Morris, *Tlysau yr Hen Oesoedd* (Caergybi: Lewis Morris, 1935), p. 2. See also Constantine, 'Antiquarianism and Enlightenment in the Eighteenth Century', p. 269.
[146] Morgan, 'From a Death to a View', p. 99.
[147] J. Macpherson, *The Poems of Ossian*, 2 vols (Glasgow: Cameron & Murdoch, 1765).
[148] Morgan, 'From a Death to a View', p. 99.

Returning to the early eighteenth century, the influential Welsh antiquarian Lewis Morris (1701–1765) and his brothers William (1705–1763), John (1706–1740), and Richard (1703–1779) were at the centre of a group of poets and antiquarian colleagues who were catalysts of the Celtic Revival in Wales.[149] *Celtic Remains* (1878) by Lewis Morris was the earliest biographical and topographical dictionary to include the Brychan material, deposited as a manuscript in the library of the Welsh School after his death in 1756. Morris included brief entries for 25 daughters and thirteen sons, with some duplication (e.g., Ceinwen and Ceyna) and many names omitted (e.g., Belyau, Bethan, and Ilid).[150] Although unpublished, *Celtic Remains* was consulted by other authors, which Mary-Ann Constantine refers to as 'another potent instance of manuscript material exerting influence on subsequent generations'.[151]

The reputation of Edward Williams (1747–1826), also known as Iolo Morganwg, as a poet and antiquarian has been complicated by the eventual discovery of his skill as a forger, but his work has had a profound impact on Welsh literature and certainly on traditions of the Brychan family.[152] His impact can also be seen in the projects in which he participated, most notably the three volumes of *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* (1801–1807) (hereafter, *Myvyrian Archaiology*), a collection of material by medieval Welsh bards, hagiographers, and historians, which includes material about the Brychan family.[153] Volume 1 includes a transcription of *Bonedd y Saint neu Achau Saint Ynys Prydain*, an alphabetical list drawn from multiple sources, which includes *Enwau Plant Vrychan o Lyvyr Bodeulwyn* and separate entries for the individual daughters of Brychan. Volume 2 includes the same content under the same titles, as well as a list of Welsh parishes with churches dedicated to the daughters of Brychan.

Iolo MSS (1848), published posthumously by Iolo's son Taliesin Williams (1787–1847), includes more transcriptions of pedigrees, Lives of saints, and stories about individual

[149] *The Letters of Lewis, Richard, William and John Morris, of Anglesey, (Morrisiaid Mon) 1728–1765*, trans. and ed. by J. Davies, 2 vols (Aberystwyth: Fox, Jones & Co., 1907), vol. 1, p. xii.
[150] L. Morris, *Celtic Remains* (London: J. Parker, 1878).
[151] Constantine, 'Antiquarianism and Enlightenment in the Eighteenth Century', p. 269.
[152] G. Williams, 'Williams, Edward (Iolo Morganwg) 1747–1826 ; a poet and antiquarian', DWB [online]. Available at https://biography.wales/article/s-WILL-EDW-1747#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&manifest=https%3A%2F%2Fdamsssl.llgc.org.uk%2Fiiif%2F2.0%2F4672175%2Fmanifest.json&xywh=1184%2C787%2C1567%2C1265 <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[153] O. Jones, I. Morganwg, and W. Pughe, *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* (hereafter, *Myvyrian Archaiology*), explan. ch. on ancient music by J. Thomas, 3 vols (Denbigh: Thomas Gee, 1870). For details summarized in this paragraph, see vol. 1, pp. 417–431 and vol 2, pp. 26–56 and 606–628.

daughters of Brychan.[154] One daughter of Brychan, Dwynwen, is given two separate articles (see ch. 7). The *Genealogies of the British Saints* includes entries for Tudful, Tybïe, and Brychan Brycheiniog. An article about Brychan Brycheiniog with a list of twenty-six daughters is part of *The Three Holy Families of the Island of Britain*. *Genealogies and Families of the Saints* includes the story of the martyrdom of Tudful and other family members (see ch. 8). *The Genealogies of the Saints of the Island of Britain* presents Brychan's lineage and lists his children, with twenty-eight daughters. The third entry in the *Memoranda of the Saints* documents the lineage of Brychan, but does not mention his children. *Festivals of the Saints of Wales* lists feast days for Tudglid, Cain, and Cyngar. The article *The Names of Those Who Founded Churches and Choirs in Glamorgan* lists St Tudful and St Brychan.

The Cambrian Biography (1803) written by the antiquarian and scholar William Owen Pughe (1759–1835), one of the co-authors of the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, is derived in part from the 'Book of Thomas Truman' for entries about the Brychan family.[155] This 'Book of Thomas Truman' introduced the idea that a number of Brychan family members were killed by pagan Saxons (see ch. 8) but, as an earlier source for this document has not been found, it must be assumed that Iolo Morganwg composed it himself.[156] This introduction of pagan Saxons as the villains strikes a nationalistic note that focuses the Brychan tradition away from stories about individual saints and highlights instead Welsh victims who are attacked by Saxon perpetrators. At the time, the authenticity of the text was accepted without question, and later authors continued to use the Thomas Truman manuscript as a source. The following paragraphs note several contexts in which the Thomas Truman text was used.

In *An Essay on the Welsh Saints* (1836), Rice Rees (1804–1839) bases his essays about the Brychan family on 'the Truman manuscript' along with the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, *The*

[154] For the articles discussed in this paragraph, see *Iolo MSS,* pp. 83–84, 473–474, 253, and 653; 100–114 and 495–507; 111 and 510, 115–134 and 515–537; 135–146 and 538–551; 147–151 and 552–557; 152 and 558; and 219–222 and 635–638. See also G. Williams, 'Williams, Taliesin (Taliesin ab Iolo; 1787–1847), poet and author', DWB [online]. Available at https://biography.wales/article/s-WILL-TAL-1787 <Accessed 12 April 2020>

[155] W. O. [Pughe], *The Cambrian Biography* (London: E. Williams, 1803), and 'Pughe, William Owen (1759–1835), lexicographer, grammarian, editor, antiquary, and poet', DWB [online]. Available at https://biography.wales/article/s-PUGH-OWE-1759#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&manifest=https%3A%2F%2Fdamsssl.llgc.org.uk%2Fiiif%2F2.0%2F4671914%2Fmanifest.json&xywh=928%2C876%2C1808%2C1459 <Accessed 12 April 2020>

[156] Aberystwyth, NLW, MS NLW 13173A, 'Achau saint ynys Prydain', 160 pp, blank after p. 114, referred to as the 'Thomas Truman Manuscript', as being originally from Truman's library, but the manuscript is found only in this copy in Iolo Morganwg's handwriting and, therefore, is likely to be a forgery. For a copy of this manuscript from pp. 1–111, see also Aberystwyth, MS NLW 13126A, pp. 69–182.

Cambrian Biography, and *The History of Brecknockshire* (1805–1809) by Theophilus Jones (1759–1812),with separate topics about Brychan's ancestry, the 'Age of Brychan', family, sons, daughters, the legends of St Keyna and Brynach Wyddel, and the distribution of churches dedicated to the family.[157]

The first printed edition of the Welsh saints' Lives and some genealogical material from MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv was *The Lives of the Cambro British Saints* (1853), translated by W. J. Rees (1772–1855), son of Rice Rees, supported by other sources, identified in its preface as 'an appropriate sequel to the Essay by the late Professor Rees, on the Welsh saints'.[158] This collection includes the Life of St Cadog, the Life of St Gwynllyw, DSB from MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv, and pedigrees of the saints from London, BL, MS Harleian 4181 by Hugh Thomas (see ch. 4).[159]

An essay submitted to the Bangor Eisteddfod in 1832 by Angharad Llwyd (1780–1866) won the premier essay prize and was published as *A History of the Island of Mona* (1832).[160] A member of the London Cymmrodorion Society and a friend of W. J. Rees, Llwyd documented the post-Reformation history of Ynys Llanddwyn, and dedications on Anglesey to Ceinwen, Dyfnan, and Mechell.[161] Llwyd's local history of Anglesey is only one of many local histories of Welsh counties to be published during the nineteenth century, adding information previously unavailable, such as records of the churches and landscape features, local legends, and the unpublished work of past local historians. The two-volume *History of Brecknockshire*, introduced previously, was written by Theophilus Jones, a lawyer and historian living in Breconshire and grandson of the historian Theophilus Evans (1693–1767).[162] For the Brychan section in his history, Jones used as his sources the 'Book of

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[157] R. Rees, *An Essay on the Welsh Saints* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1836).
[158] S. Jones, 'Rees, William Jenkins (1772–1855), cleric and antiquary', DWB [online]. Available at https://biography.wales/article/s-REES-JEN-1772#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&manifest=https%3A%2F%2Fdamsssl.llgc.org.uk%2Fiiif%2F2.0%2F4671860%2Fmanifest.json&xywh=1201%2C1421%2C1340%2C1082 <Accessed 12 April 2020> and W. Rees, *Lives of the Cambro British Saints* (Llandovery: Longman and Company, 1853), p. xii.
[159] W. Rees, pp. 309–395, 309–395, 449–464, 272–275 and 602–608.
[160] E. Wright, 'Llwyd, Angharad (1780–1866), antiquary', DWB [online]. Available at https://biography.wales/article/s-LLWY-ANG-1780#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&manifest=https%3A%2F%2Fdamsssl.llgc.org.uk%2Fiiif%2F2.0%2F4670528%2Fmanifest.json&xywh=450%2C569%2C580%2C468 <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[161] A. Llwyd, *A History of the Island of Mona or Anglesey* (Ruthin: B. Jones, 1833).
[162] R. Jenkins, 'Jones, Theophilus (1759–1812), the historian of Brecknock', DWB [online]. Available at https://biography.wales/article/s-JONE-THE-1759?&query=Theophilus%20Jones&lang[]=en&sort=score&order=desc&rows=12&page=1#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&manifest=https%3A%2F%2Fdamsssl.llgc.org.uk%2Fiiif%2F2.0%2F4672942%2Fmanifest.json&xywh

Thomas Truman', the account by Hugh Thomas in his 'Essay towards a History of Brecknockshire' (see ch. 4), and genealogies collected by the Pembrokeshire antiquarian George Owen Harry.[163]

Brychan family dedications in Gwent and Monmouthshire are discussed in the multivolume *History of Monmouthshire*, written by Sir Joseph Bradney (1859–1933). In particular, the fifth volume, *The Hundred of Newport*, completed in 1993 by Madeleine Gray from Bradney's manuscripts, presents medieval sources related to Brychan family dedications at Bassaleg and Machen.[164] Gray writes in her Introduction to this fifth volume that 'Bradney belongs not with the synthesising, analytical historians who impose their own interpretation on their material but with the antiquarians, who are content to record their findings as interesting and worthwhile for their own sake'.[165] Bradney's work offers some difficulties for the reader, most of them inherent in the times during which he wrote. His volumes focus on smaller segments of the landscape, as opposed to the county histories written in the twentieth century, and he relied on Iolo Morganwg's sources.

Based on the local Breconshire traditions of Brychan Brycheiniog reported by Hugh Thomas and Theophilus Jones, the politician, antiquarian, and historian Gwenllian Morgan (1852–1939) reinvigorated memories of the family in Brecon by using the family coat of arms for the city's coat of arms and commissioning images of the family in stained glass (see chs. 1, 4, and 5) for the repurposed St Keyne's Chapel in Brecon Cathedral, formerly the Chapel of the Corvisors.[166] Her biography of Theophilus Jones and essay 'Forgotten Sanctuaries', published in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (1903), reflect her study of the unpublished

=353%2C782%2C1401%2C1131 <Accessed 12 April 2020> and E. Roberts, 'Evans, Theophilus (1693 - 1767), cleric, historian, and man of letters', DWB [online]. Available at https://biography.wales/article/s-EVAN-THE-1693 <Accessed 12 April 2020>

[163] T. Jones, *A History of Brecknockshire*, 2 vols, with notes by J. Bailey (Brecknock: Blissett, Davies & Co., 1909), vol. 1, p. xiii. 'He availed himself largely of Hugh Thomas's MS, "Essay towards a History of Brecknockshire," which is preserved at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and a portion of which is in the possession of Mr. George Hay, of Brecon.' He also refers to 'George Owen Harry in his book of pedigrees, intitled, 'The well-spring of true nobility'. p. 31. 'George Owen Harry was rector of Whitchurch in Kemeys, in the county of Pembroke, and lived in the reign of James the first. The Truman MS. hereafter often referred to, agrees with George Owen Harry in deriving Tewdrig, then called Tewdrig Vendiged, or the blessed king of Glamorgan, Gwent and Garth-madryn, from Teithall ap Teithrin ap Niniaw, etc.

[164] J. Bradney, *A History of Monmouthshire from the coming of the Normans into Wales down to the present time: Volume 5 The Hundred of Newport*, ed. by M. Gray (Cardiff and Aberystwyth: South Wales Record Society and NLW, 1993).

[165] Bradney, *A History of Monmouthshire*, vol. 5, p. ix.

[166] R. Jenkins, 'Morgan, Gwenllian Elizabeth Fanny (1852–1939), antiquary', DWB [online]. Available at https://biography.wales/article/s-MORG-FAN-1852 <Accessed 12 April 2020> See also G. Morgan, *The priory church of S. John the Evangelist (or, The Holy Rood) at Brecon*, 3rd edn (St Albans: Campfield Press, 1923)

manuscripts of Hugh Thomas. 'Forgotten Sanctuaries' presents a history of local Breconshire churches destroyed after the Reformation, including St Eluned's Chapel, interpreted through the romanticized attitudes of the Celtic Revival.[167] Figure 11 illustrates her influence, depicting (a) Gwenllian Morgan in her role as mayor of Brecon (top left), (b) the Brychan coat of arms drawn by Hugh Thomas in MS Harley 4181 (bottom left), (c) Morgan's order for the stained glass window, including specifications for images (centre), (d) Brychan coat of arms image (top right), and (e) Brychan coat of arms image (bottom right).

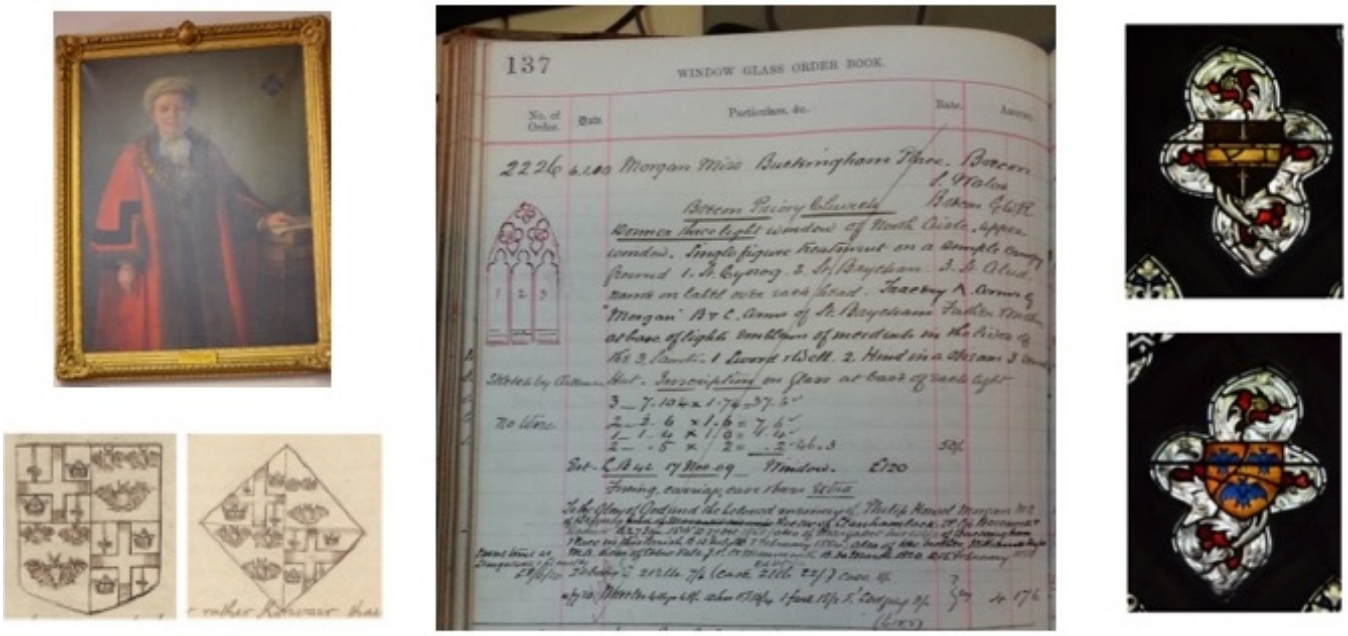


Figure 11. Miss Gwenllian E. F. Morgan (1852–1939), Coronation Mayor of Brecon (1910–1911)[168]

Another local historian, and postmaster of Merthyr Tydfil, Charles Wilkins (1831–1913), wrote the *History of Merthyr Tydfil* (1867) and *Tales and Sketches of Wales* (1879).[169] Both books include his interpretation of the death of St Tudful, using as his inspiration the Truman Manuscripts and William Owen Pughe's *The Cambrian Biography*.[170] The following section is from *The History of Merthyr Tydfil*:

[167] G. Morgan, 'Forgotten Sanctuaries', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, vol. 3, 6th series (1903), pp. 205–223. See also G. Morgan, *Biography of Mr. Theophilus Jones: author of 'The History of Brecknockshire* (Brecon: E. Davies, 1905?).
[168] 'Miss Gwenllian E. F. Morgan (1852–1939), Coronation Mayor of Brecon (1910–1911)', art.uk [online]. Available at https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/miss-gwenllian-e-f-morgan-18521939-coronation-mayor-of-brecon-19101911-178220# <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[169] E. Williams, 'Wilkins, Charles (Catwg; 1831–1913), writer', DWB [online]. Available at https://biography.wales/article/s-WILK-CHA-1831 <Accessed 12 April 2020> and C. Wilkins, *The History of Merthyr Tydfil* (Merthyr Tydfil: Harry Wood Southey, 1867), pp. 3–4.
[170] MS NLW 13173A, fols 1–111.

> Vivid the picture that greets the imagination; the care-worn chieftain, the fair Tydfil, her blooming sons, her warlike brothers, her husband too, was there. Sorrow must have fled at such a time. And near tranquilly-flowing Taff, unsullied then, the hills, the Beacons, their grand background, they lingered! While here a band of the Picts, Brachtyr Fichti, and Saxons poured down from the mountains, and an indiscriminate massacre began. Neither prayer nor beauty softened the heathen heart. Tydfil, her father, husband, and sons were at once slain; Rhawin and Rhun with others escaped for a while, but were pursued, and while desperately defending a bridge over the Taff, at Troedyrhiw, they fell mortally wounded. This filled the pagan soul with delight, but their triumph was brief. Nevydd, a son of Rhun, hastily gathered the natives together, and, rendered invincible by the terrible strength of their passion and of their revenge, poured down on the heathen Picts like a mountain flood, scattering them to the winds. And then, amid the sobs of a stern but loving race, we can imagine the bleeding remains gathered, and placed, with solemn affection, in the scene where the foul murder had been committed; and as Merthyr Tydfil, or Martyr Tydfil, the little hamlet became known and memorable.[171]

Other than local histories, references to the Brychan family could be found in topographical dictionaries. The antiquarian Nicholas Carlisle (1771–1847) published his *Topographical Dictionary of the dominion of Wales* in 1811, roughly the time when the *Myvyrian Archaiology* first appeared.[172] Some twenty years later, Samuel Lewis (*c.* 1782–1865) published his *Topographical Dictionary of Wales* in two volumes in 1833.[173] Lewis's collection also contains place-names, physical descriptions, and traditions, often adding information not easily found elsewhere.[174] Even when the descriptions of dedications duplicate those in earlier sources, these dictionaries carefully document features in the Welsh landscape during the first half of the nineteenth century, identifying surrounding structures and often giving the location of holy wells.

At the beginning of the Celtic Revival, the literary heritage of the Celtic nations had largely been forgotten; by the end of the nineteenth century, many manuscripts had been published, revealing a tradition of Brychan Brycheiniog that differed from those told previously. The Brychan family described in the Thomas Truman Manuscript became the version most repeated by other writers. In this account, Brychan's children were often martyred at the

[171] Wilkins, *The History of Merthyr Tydfil*, pp. 3–4.
[172] N. Carlisle, *Topographical Dictionary of the dominion of Wales* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1811), NPN.
[173] S. Lewis, *A Topographic Dictionary of Wales*, 3rd edn, 2 vols (London: S. Lewis & Co., 1849), vol. 2, NPN; entries alphabetical.
[174] Lewis, *A Topographic Dictionary of Wales,* NPN.

hands of pagan Saxons, Picts, and Gwyddel marauders. In the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, Dwynwen suffers the anguish of an unhappy love affair and is given three wishes. These stories do not feature the miracle-working saints of the medieval period, nor are they the imaginary tools of Roman Catholic manipulation described after the Reformation. Instead, they are more like the legendary characters in dramatic and emotional folk tales.

The twentieth century and beyond

The next stage relates to the efforts at the turn of the twentieth century not only to recover the past history of Wales, but also to form the Welsh nation, complete with language, history, religion, and literature. Prys Morgan assessed the accomplishments of this period:

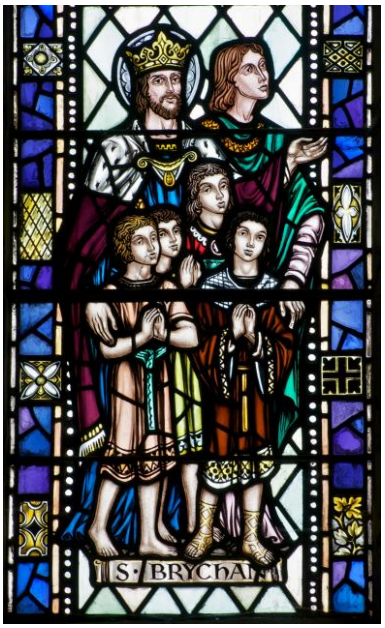
> It required a superhuman effort by a small number of patriots to force their fellow-countrymen to appreciate their heritage, to value what was their own. They felt that the only way to bring this about was to ransack the past and transform it with imagination, to create a new Welshness which would instruct, entertain, amuse and educate the people.[175]

The output of the Celtic Revival might seem to be a ransacking of the past and Mary-Ann Constantine states that 'attempts to recover the beginnings of Welsh literature begin to feel like a form of salvage'.[176] But what followed after the bleak situation at the beginning of the Celtic Revival was a period during which the needed infrastructure was put in place, which was followed by a flowering of scholarly work. What view of Brychan was chosen to fit into the largely invented past? One indicator is the stained glass windows installed during the twentieth century in cathedrals and large churches in Wales. Here, Brychan Brycheiniog is portrayed along with his children, but each window (see fig. 12) features different children.

[175] Morgan, 'From a Death to a View', p. 99.
[176] Constantine, 'Antiquarianism and Enlightenment in the Eighteenth Century', p. 269.



A. Brychan, St Keyne's Chapel, Brecon Cathedral, Brecon



B. Brychan with children, St Gabriel's Church, Brynmill, Swansea



C. Death of Brychan & St Tydfil, Llandaff Cathedral, Cardiff

© M. Crampin 2013

Figure 12. Views of Brychan Brycheiniog in stained glass in Brecon (1910), Swansea (1949 and 1959), and Cardiff (1910)[177]

View A depicts Brychan as a seasoned warrior, crowned, holding a staff with a cross in his left hand and a scepter in his right, girded with an unsheathed sword. Gwenllian Morgan gave this window in honour of her parents. In View B, Brychan is shown as a younger man, surrounded by his children, and wife (although DSB lists three wives). View C is one panel of a window featuring St Tudful in Llandaff Cathedral, and this panel illustrates the death of Brychan, St Tudful, and other family members as described in the Book of Thomas Truman by Iolo Morganwg.

Early in the twentieth century Sabine Baring-Gould (1834–1924) and John Fisher (1862–1930) analysed the story of Brychan in their hagiographical encyclopedia *Lives of the British Saints* (1907–1913). Their comprehensive essay about Brychan Brycheiniog approached the

[177] 'St Brychan detail from St Cynog, Brychan, and Alud', Stained Glass in Wales Catalogue, ed. by M. Crampin, CAWCS, Aberystwyth, 2019 [online]. Available at http://stainedglass.llgc.org.uk/object/3978 <Accessed 12 April 2020>; 'St Brychan and his children, detail from Welsh Saints', Stained Glass in Wales Catalogue, ed. by M. Crampin, CAWCS, Aberystwyth, 2016 [online]. Available at http://stainedglass.llgc.org.uk/object/2338 <Accessed 12 April 2020>; and 'St Teilo, St Tudful and St Elfan, Stained Glass in Wales Catalogue, ed. by M. Crampin, CAWCS, Aberystwyth, 2013 [online]. Available at http://stainedglass.llgc.org.uk/object/1868 <Accessed 12 April 2020>

family historically (i.e., trying to reconcile the inconsistencies of the accounts to make a single, credible narrative).[178] They introduced their topic gingerly:

> This great father of a saintly family is most difficult to treat of satisfactorily. He was not inaptly described by Skene as 'the mysterious Brychan'.[179]

Baring-Gould and Fisher used the available information about Brychan and his children, including sources by Iolo Morganwg, and they attempt at times to build a narrative to fill the gaps in the Brychan tradition, but their narrative is sometimes unconvincing. Just as Charles Wilkins' account of the death of Tudful is an emotional retelling of the material in the 'Book of Thomas Truman', with its emphasis on enraged Saxons delighting in mayhem, Baring-Gould and Fisher's account of the Brychan family's journey from Ireland to Brecon chooses to view the landscape from the perspective of its Roman ruins.

> The Goidel invasion came probably from one of the harbours of Pembrokeshire or Carmarthenshire, and the Irish made their way up the valley of the Towy. Perhaps to them may be attributed the stone camp at Garn Goch, on an isolated rock commanding the river. Beneath it lies Llys Brychan (fig. 2-5). Then pushing up to Llandovery, where the old Roman town of Loventium lay in ruins, they struck the Roman paved road, the Via Julia, that led over the pass of Mynydd Myddfai, above the River Gwydderig, to the Roman camp of the Pigwn; and so tramping on upon the road straight as a bow-line, looked down on the broad, richly-wooded basin of the Usk. Crossing the little stream Nanat Bran, they halted in the walled city of Bannium, with its stone gateways still standing, among the ruins of Roman villas and baths, and made that their headquarters. Here it was that Brychan was born; and a little further down the Usk, at Llanspyddid, before the doorway of the church, Anlach was buried.[180]

No medieval account describes this kind of journey of Anlach, Marchell, the child Brychan and their retinue after their return from Ireland to Britain, but Baring-Gould and Fisher seek to create a new view based on their own vision of the times. In some cases where the various sources do not agree, Baring-Gould and Fisher create a different one:

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[178] LBS, 'Sabine Baring-Gould', BBC Home [online]. Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/devon/discovering/famous/sabine_baring_gould.shtml <Accessed 12 April 2020> and E. Davies, 'Fisher, John (1862–1930), Welsh scholar', DWB [online]. Available https://biography.wales/article/s-FISH-JOH-1862?&query=%22Fisher,%20John%22&lang[]=en&sort=score&order=desc&rows=12&page=1 <Accessed 12 April 2020>

[179] LBS, vol. 1, p. 303.

[180] LBS, vol. 1, p. 308.

> It cannot be believed that the reputed children of Brychan were all really his. Welsh hagiography, as in the case of Cunedda and Caw, designates them his *gwelygordd*, a term which, in the Welsh Laws, means a tribe derived from one common ancestor ; and in the Welsh Tribal System, the *gwely* was the family-group, embracing sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons. Some of those reputed to be sons of Brychan are known to have been grandchildren; and allowance must also be made for duplications, of which there are clearly some, as also for blunders on the part of copyists. This will considerably reduce the number of his progeny, as they appear in, especially, the later lists.[181]

Their desire to redefine the sources to increase the credibility of the saints denotes a turning point in the analysis of hagiographic tradition, where the authors yearn to believe their material, but can only make varying accounts fit by speculating without facts. Baring-Gould and Fisher are correct in their assumption that the many reputed children of Brychan cannot be believed as historical characters, but the turning point arrives when this error in logic can be seen instead as a feature of the myth, to be explored as the point of the story rather than made to be the definition of its failure. During the twentieth century, hagiographers and historians increasingly seemed called to evaluate, judge, and rationalise their sources. As discussed previously in Chapter 1, Thornley Jones in his article about the daughters of Brychan stated that they were not daughters, but local landowners in Breconshire. In *And Shall These Mute Stones Speak?* (1994) Charles Thomas theorised that Brychan left Brycheiniog in old age and travelled to Lundy Island, where he became known as St Nectan.[182] Thomas's explanation required that he construct a story, only some of which is quoted here:

> We have to suppose that Brychan in his fifties or sixties handed his throne, with the consent of his *nobiliores*, to Rein and decided to adopt the existence of a *miles Dei*, a soldier of God in the nearest substitute for the deserts of Upper Egypt—the ocean.[183]

In 1911 John Edward Lloyd (1861–1947) published his monumental two-volume *A History of Wales*, which portrayed Wales as a single nation with its own identity, and seeking a historical narrative rather than a mythic foundation of beliefs about the Welsh people, he described Brychan as 'one of the most shadowy figures of Welsh legend', although he does note Brychan's dynastic importance:

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[181] LBS, vol. 1, p. 317.
[182] C. Thomas, *And Shall These Mute Stones Speak?* (Cardiff: UWP, 1994) pp. 178–180.
[183] Thomas, *And Shall These Mute Stones Speak?* p. 179.

> It was to Brychan, through his son Rhain Dremrudd (the Red-eyed), that the later kings of Brycheiniog traced their descent, and, notwithstanding the large element of fable in the usual accounts of him, he may perhaps be regarded as the real founder of the dynasty. The pedigree, however, has come down in a corrupt form, and it is not possible to fix with any certainty the place in it of the two or three historical kings of the country.[184]

Lloyd's grudging acceptance that Brychan 'may perhaps be regarded as the real founder of the dynasty' admits the power of Brychan's myth even though he does not trust the sources, which he refers to as 'fables' and a pedigree 'in a corrupt form'.[185]

It is not possible to consider all the theories put forward during the twentieth century to explain the 'mysteries' of the Brychan tradition, but their creativity is significant, because the story of Brychan by its nature draws readers into reinterpreting the story according to their own needs, and that, again, indicates a politico-historic myth:

> History tends to put a brake on the imaginary, and even when historical factors give a myth its impetus and dictate its transformations, the imaginary element can still be recognized by its remoteness from the actual events and by the distortion that it imposes on them through the glamour and creative properties of a dramatic structure, or a great work of fiction or of poetry.[186]

The variety of the Brychan stories, which appear dubious when considered as history, match well the criteria for folklore, where 'multiple existence and variation' are characteristic.[187] In this sense, the same factors that historians cite to deny credibility to the Brychan tradition are the factors that folklorists would use to validate the same tradition. Fortunately, approaches to the field of hagiography have also changed, allowing new analytical methods and treatments of these stories. One example is the following statement, which introduces new readers to the Society of Bollandists, the most conservative of hagiographers:

> Saints are inspirational, even when they seem to belong more to the realm of folklore or imagination. For two thousand years, aside from being the leading force of renewal in Christianity, they have been influencing our world, our culture and our thinking in ways few people realise. From the early martyrs whose exploits sustained generations of readers, to the great mystical authors, from pilgrimages and the trade in relics, to accounts of prodigious healings and other miracles: the saints

[184] Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, vol. 1, pp. 270–271.
[185] Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, vol. 1, pp. 270–271.
[186] Ferrier-Caverivière, 'Historical Figures and Mythical Figures', p. 583.
[187] A. Dundes, *Holy Writ as Oral Lit* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999), p. 4.

> have inspired innumerable writers and artists, their very names identify towns and villages all over Europe and America, their patronage still animates countless feasts and processions.[188]

This introduction speaks of saints as part of a shared cultural heritage, where they may influence and inspire, but this statement carefully leaves out reference to the intercession of saints on behalf of the living, the 'joining of Heaven and earth, and the role, in this joining, of dead human beings' described by Peter Brown in *The Cult of the Saints* (1981).[189] Some relevant trends in the study of hagiography are described by Patrick Geary in *Living With the Dead in the Middle Ages* (1994).[190] One trend is a tendency to move from the study of the saint to the study of society.[191] Another is that the hagiographer's perspective tends to extend from individual saints to many saints, which means broader documentary bases.[192] More types of evidence are considered; for example, a wider range than the elements of a saint's dossier as outlined in Hippolyte Delehaye's *The Legends of the Saints* (1955).[193] Recent analysis also tends to recognize and address the critical problems of genre, rhetoric, and especially of intertextuality (i.e., that hagiography reproduces hagiography rather than some generally believed reality).[194] As a result, there is 'a focus away from the saints and toward the society in which they were sanctified; a focus shifted from Lives to other sorts of hagiographic texts; a tendency to study collectivities and serial records; and a growing recognition that these texts are not transparent windows into the saints' Lives, their society, or even the spirituality of the age, but an important insight into the period when they were composed.[195]

Conclusion

The changing tradition of Brychan Brycheiniog is an integral aspect of the meme of the daughters of Brychan. One of the time periods discussed in this chapter has rarely been considered, and that is the period between the Reformation in the mid sixteenth century and

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[188] 'Joyful and rewarding work', Société des Bollandistes [online]. Available at https://www.bollandistes.org/research-centre/ <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[189] P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 1
[190] P. Geary, *Living With the Dead in the Middle Ages* (London and Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 9–29.
[191] Geary, *Living With the Dead*, p. 15.
[192] Geary, *Living With the Dead*, p. 17.
[193] Geary, *Living With the Dead*, pp. 13–15, and H. Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints*, trans. by D. Attwater, memoir of the author by P. Peeters, and new intro. by T. O'Loughlin (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1955), pp. 86–118.
[194] Geary, *Living With the Dead*, pp. 13–17.
[195] Geary, *Living With the Dead*, p. 17.

the Celtic Revival in the mid eighteenth century. During two centuries, documents about the daughters of Brychan would seem to have disappeared; however, as discussed earlier in this chapter, recusant writers by necessity hid their work. Two men from different regions, separated by generations, of different social backgrounds, and of different attitudes offer a rich body of hagiographical work that provides new information about the daughters of Brychan, and also reveals the authors' responses to the social changes underway at the time. During these years when accessing hidden manuscripts was the only way to study the saints, antiquarians transmitted the meme of the daughters from colleague to colleague (i.e., vertically). As mentioned previously in this chapter, ancient texts published during during the Celtic Revival increased readership from one author to many readers (i.e., horizontal transmission of the meme), but publications are scarce for the years after the Reformation when veneration of the saints was forbidden.[196] Some of these manuscripts, however, remained in archives, either undiscovered or rarely accessed. They play an important role in this thesis, as they help to illustrate the changes to the meme of the saintly daughters of Brychan during this time.

Chapter 3 reviews accounts of the daughters of Brychan recorded in the collection of Lives of the saints gathered by Nicholas Roscarrock. While the Lives he recorded for the saints of Cornwall were transcribed and published by Nicholas Orme in 1992, those related to Welsh saints have not, and so this chapter discusses the sources, colleagues, and work methods that enabled Roscarrock to document these daughters of Brychan in Wales. Chapter 4 then performs a similar task for the unpublished work by Hugh Thomas, who lived nearly a century after Nicholas Roscarrock. These two chapters address what has long been a gap in understanding of the veneration of the saints during this timeframe.

[196] Blackamore, *The Meme Machine*, pp. 44–45.

Chapter 3 Nicholas Roscarrock

This chapter explores the transmission of the meme of the daughters of Brychan (introduced in ch. 1) during the time between the Reformation in the mid-sixteenth century and the Celtic Revival in the mid-eighteenth century, a period of tumultuous and violent change in which the two powerful forces of the English crown and the Roman Catholic Church struggled to implement opposing views, with the people of Great Britain as their battlefield. In this struggle, the antiquarian scholar Nicholas Roscarrock chose an active role that shows transmission of the meme of the daughters of Brychan to be, not the passive pursuit of a gentleman of leisure, but one of a series of deliberate acts of political defiance. His work also demonstrates one characteristic of the meme that had not previously been identified—that the meme had already mutated. Roscarrock's critical awareness of this variation marks a transition from medieval to Enlightenment scholarship.

The veneration of the saints was suppressed as part of the Protestant Reformation in England, beginning in 1536 with the Dissolution of the Monasteries.[197] Shortly afterwards, the Roman Catholic Church gathered to address the crisis at the Council of Trent (1545–1563), resulting in a Counter-Reformation with the aim of overthrowing Elizabeth I and returning the people of Great Britain to the Catholic faith.[198] One strategy in this campaign was the deployment of newly ordained English priests as evangelists to the British Isles, where they would be protected and assisted by an underground of English recusants. English seminary colleges were opened in Europe for the purpose of ordaining large numbers of new English priests (e.g., at Douai in The Netherlands, Louvain in Belgium, St Omer in France, and St Isidore's in Rome). To oppose this effort, the English crown imposed increasingly harsh punishments for recusancy and especially for harbouring Roman Catholic priests.

As tensions escalated, Elizabeth's Parliament passed the Act of Supremacy in 1559. The Roman Catholic response came in 1570 when Pope Pius V issued the papal bull *Regnans in Excelsis* (Reigning on High), which excommunicated Elizabeth as a heretic, dissolved the allegiance of subjects to follow her, and excommunicated anyone who followed her orders.[199] Elizabeth's government responded with a statute 'making it high treason to publish or act

[197] A. Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, intro. by P. Payton (Exeter: Short Run Press, 2005), pp. 162–193.
[198] For a detailed discussion of the Counter-Reformation, see Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, pp. 342–380.
[199] 'Act of Supremacy 1558', legislation.gov.uk [online]. Available at http://www.legislation.gov.uk/aep/Eliz1/1/1/contents <Accessed 12 April 2020>

upon any such bull, to reconcile persons to Rome, or to bring in any bull whatsoever; while those who brought in hallowed tokens, such as agnos deus, incurred the penalties of premunire, i.e. loss of lands, goods and liberty for life'.[200]

The Catholics in Elizabeth's England were increasingly caught between being considered traitors by their government and being considered heretics by the Roman Catholic Church. Chapters 5 through 8 document that both sides employed the meme of the daughters of Brychan to further their arguments. In general, the Reformation resulted in the destruction of shrines, images, and liturgy and recast saints' miracles as superstitious tales for the gullible, while newly trained priests arrived in Britain, bringing with them newly written martyrologies that re-asserted the veneration of the saints, including some of the saintly daughters of Brychan. English language hagiographical texts from this time that mention the daughters of Brychan include works by Richard Whytford, John Wilson, Thomas Dempster, Michael Alford, and John Colgan (see ch. 2).[201]

The life and works of Nicholas Roscarrock offer insights into the tenacity exhibited by both Crown and Church and the changes to popular tradition that resulted from the conflict. His life demonstrated the danger for recusant activists, while his life after release from prison illustrates the ways that antiquarian scholars sought to preserve the traditions related to the saints.[202] After his death, Roscarrock's research dispersed along with most of a private library and the manuscript was lost until late in the nineteenth century.[203] Although the manuscript, now known as Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Additional 3041, has been consulted since that time, it has never been completely transcribed or published in a diplomatic edition, although a partial transcription was produced by Nicholas Orme when he published *Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints: Devon and Cornwall* (1992). Orme's edition includes an introduction to Roscarrock's life and work, transcriptions and commentary for the Devon and Cornish saints documented in the manuscript, lists of Roscarrock's sources, and a complete list of the saints' Lives found in the manuscript.

[200] Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, p. 342.
[201] Whytford, *The Martiloge in Englynde*; Wilson, *The English Martology*; Dempster, Gatti, and Coccini, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Scotorum*; Alford, *Fides Regia*; and *The 'Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae' of John Colgan,* pp. 311–314.
[202] Roscarrock, pp. 12–13.
[203] M. James, *Eton and King's: Recollections, Mostly Trivial, 1875–1925* (Cambridge: CUP, 1926), pp. 205–206.

Roscarrock's life and influences

Nicholas Roscarrock was born immediately before Mary Tudor's reign (1550–1558), which followed the initial schism between the newly formed Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church during the reigns of Henry VIII (1509–1547) and Edward VI (1547–1553).[204] Roscarrock's life spanned the reigns of Edward VI, Mary Tudor, Elizabeth I (1559–1603), and James I (1603–1625); he died during the reign of Charles I (1625–1649).[205]

The Roscarrock family derived their name from the manor they held in the parish of St Endellion in Cornwall, with the first mention made of a Walter de Roscaret in 1194–1195, according to the pipe rolls of Richard I.[206] Their coat of arms remains on the bench-end in St Endelienta's Church, and in the handstamp in Nicholas Roscarrock's books.[207] The Roscarrocks were an ancient, well-to-do Catholic family that held Roscarrockmeur and Roscarrockvean, two of the five manors in St Endellion.[208] The family line became extinct in the male line with the death of Chamond Roscarrock, who sold the manor of Roscarrock before his death in 1673.[209] The small manor house is built around a courtyard with farm buildings further off on the north-east coast of Cornwall between Port Isaac and Portquin (see app. A).[210]

Nicholas Roscarrock was part of a large family, having three sisters and six brothers, but only his younger brother Trevennor followed Nicholas to Oxford and then into radical Catholic political activity in London.[211] The prosperous family was part of a large, sociable community in Cornwall that included the Tregian, Grenville, and aristocratic Arundell families.[212] All of these families would later feature in Nicholas Roscarrock's fortunes.[213] Some, but not all, of those in their social circle were Catholics.

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[204] *Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. by E. Fryde, D. Greenway, S. Porter, and I. Roy, 3rd edn (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), pp. 42–43.
[205] *Handbook of British Chronology*, pp. 43–44.
[206] J. Maclean, *The Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor in the County of Cornwall*, 3 vols (London: Nichols & Sons and Bodmin: Liddell and Son, 1873–1879), vol. 1, p. 556.
[207] Roscarrock, pp. 1–2. Note: 'Roscarrock' means 'the high ground of the rock', and the family coat of arms is 'argent, a chevron between two roses in chief gules, and in base a sea-tench naiant azure'.
[208] Roscarrock, p. 1.
[209] Maclean, *The Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor*, vol. 1, p. 560.
[210] Roscarrock, p. 1. See also 'About', Roscarrock [online]. Available at https://www.roscarrock.co.uk/about <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[211] Roscarrock, p. 5.
[212] Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, p. 342.
[213] Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, pp. 342–344.

In 1564, Nicholas Roscarrock was enrolled at Oxford University, mostly likely attending the strongly Catholic Exeter College or its satellite Hart Hall, where he grew close to a number of Catholic intellectuals who would later leave Oxford for the English college at Douai. These mentors awakened in him a religious ardour that inspired his future activism during the Counter Reformation.[214] No evidence indicates that Roscarrock graduated from Oxford, and when he left Oxford, he moved to London. In 1572 he was admitted to the Inner Temple as a student, although he may have been at the Inns of Chancery three or four years earlier to begin his legal studies.[215] The evidence indicates that he lived in the parish of St Clement Danes, had a circle of both Protestant and Catholic friends, and pursued interests in antiquarian studies, genealogy, heraldry, and literature.[216] He wrote a dedicatory poem to *Workes of Armorie* (1572) by John Bossewell and wrote another verse dedication to a long poem published by George Gascoigne (*c.* 1535– 1577) called *The Stele Glas*.[217] During this time Roscarrock first formed a friendship with the antiquarian scholar and Clarenceux King of Arms William Camden (1551–1623), whose *Britannia* (see ch. 2) was the first topographical dictionary of Great Britain. Roscarrock also became friends with Richard Carew (1555–1602), whose *Survey of Cornwall* (1602) includes praise of Roscarrock.[218] Both Camden and Carew were Protestants, but neither found Roscarrock's Catholicism an obstacle to their friendship.[219]

Roscarrock's fortunes were drawn back to Cornwall when his father died in 1575, and he inherited farms at Newton and Penhale in St Cleer and at Delabole and at Ashwater in Devon, while his brother Trevennor inherited Trentinny farm in St Endellion.[220] During this time

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[214] For the following discussion, see A. L. Rowse, 'Nicholas Roscarrock and His Lives of the Saints', in *Studies in Social History: A Tribute to G. M. Trevelyan*, ed. by H. Plumb (London and Colchester: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd, 1955), pp. 1–31, pp. 3–6. Note: Roscarrock's mentors included Edward Lewkenor (went to Douai in 1577); Richard Bristow, president of Douai College in 1570; John Curry, priest and later chaplain to the Arundell family; John Neale, rector of the college (went to Douai in 1570); and Ralph Sherwin, ordained, then captured and imprisoned with Roscarrock in 1580 and executed in 1581.
[215] Rowse, 'Nicholas Roscarrock and His Lives of the Saints', p. 5.
[216] Roscarrock, p. 6.
[217] Roscarrock, p. 6. See also J. Bossewell, *Workes of armorie: deuyded into three bookes, entituled, the Concordes of armorie, the Armorie of honor, and of Coates and creastes* (London: Richardi Totelli, 1572), pp. iii–iv, and N. Roscarrock, 'N.R. in commendation of the author and his works', in G. Gascoigne, *The Stele Glass, Renascence Editions* [online]. Available at http://www.luminarium.org/renascence-editions/steel/steel.html <Accessed 12 April 2020> Note: This Renascence Editions text *of The Steel Glas & The Complaynte of Philomene* is based on the first edition of 1576. It was transcribed by Risa S. Bear at the University of Oregon during the fall of 1997. The text is provided to the public for nonprofit purposes only; content unique to this edition is copyright © 1997 The University of Oregon.
[218] R. Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall*, ed. by J. Chynoweth, N. Orme, and A. Walsham (Exeter: Short Run Press Ltd, 2004), p. 126.
[219] Roscarrock, p. 6.
[220] Roscarrock, p. 5.

Nicholas was increasingly drawn to activism.[221] At around the same time, young Francis Tregian inherited the Tregian estate, and one of his earliest acts was to bring into his home the newly ordained priest Cuthbert Mayne, who served openly as Tregian's steward.[222] In 1576, Richard Grenville was appointed as the new sheriff, and in June 1577 he and a large contingent of supporters searched Tregian's house, where they discovered Cuthbert Mayne and a number of illegal Roman Catholic documents. Mayne was tried and executed at Launceston, and subsequent investigations arising from the arrest led to further indictments of Cornish Catholics, including Nicholas and Trevennor Roscarrock.[223] From that time, the brothers likely lived in London and their incomes were greatly reduced by fines.[224] In 1580 Roscarrock joined an association of Catholic men, which included Anthony Babington, who swore to support the newly ordained priests who were beginning to return to England from the Continent, and Roscarrock's behaviour placed him in increasing danger.[225]

In September of 1580 Nicholas Roscarrock left for the Continent, arrived at the English Seminary at Douai, travelled from there to Rome, and then returned to England at the end of October.[226] After his departure, the queen's secretary of state, Sir Francis Walsingham, ordered two agents to discover him; in November his house was raided by the Lord Chamberlain Lord Hunsdon and his men.[227] Roscarrock was arrested while at mass with Ralph Sherwin, missionary priest and former fellow of Exeter College.[228] Sherwin and Roscarrock were taken to Marshalsea Prison.[229] On November 9, the Privy Council ordered them held, and on December 5, both were taken to the Tower of London. Sherwin was racked on December 15 and 16, and then executed.[230] On January 14, 1581, Roscarrock was racked, but he was not executed; instead, he remained a prisoner for six years.[231] During this time, he maintained his recusancy, and other prisoners wrote about his bravery and ingenuity while imprisoned.[232] In 1585, Roscarrock met two new prisoners, Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel (1557–1595) and his brother, Lord William Howard (1563–1640), sons of Thomas Howard,

[221] Rowse, 'Nicholas Roscarrock and his Lives of the Saints', p. 7.
[222] Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, p. 346.
[223] Roscarrock, p. 7.
[224] Rowse, 'Nicholas Roscarrock and his Lives of the Saints', p. 7.
[225] Rowse, 'Nicholas Roscarrock and his Lives of the Saints', p. 7.
[226] Roscarrock, p. 8.
[227] Rowse, 'Nicholas Roscarrock and his Lives of the Saints', p. 7.
[228] Roscarrock, p. 8.
[229] Roscarrock, p. 8.
[230] *Selections from the Household Books of the Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle*, ed. by G. Ornsby (Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons, 1878), pp. 5–19.
[231] *Household Books of Lord William Howard*, pp. 5–19.
[232] Roscarrock, p. 8.

Fourth Duke of Norfolk (1536–1572), who had died in the Tower.[233] Lord William Howard was released in 1586, as was Nicholas Roscarrock, but Philip Howard died in the Tower of London.[234] Roscarrock spent the next ten years in and out of prison (1593, 1594, 1598, and 1600) for continued recusancy.[235] When free, he seems to have returned to St Clement Danes Parish in London rather than the family estates in Cornwall. There is evidence that his friendships with Camden and Carew continued; for example, Richard Carew praised Roscarrock in *The Survey of Cornwall* (1602) 'for his industrious delight in matters of history and antiquity', while Camden shared with Roscarrock his notes about the Life of St Nectan taken at Merton College, Oxford University.[236]

Roscarrock's fortunes changed when Elizabeth 1 died in 1603 and James VI of Scotland became James I of England, because James followed a milder policy for aristocratic Catholics.[237] By this time, Lord William Howard had moved to Naworth Castle near Carlisle on the Scottish border, owned by his wife Lady Elizabeth Dacre, and by 1607 Roscarrock had joined Howard as his companion at Naworth. [238] Roscarrock continued to collect and compile Lives of the saints for the rest of his life, even though he was increasingly becoming blind.[239] In 1610 he was given an annuity of 200 pounds per year by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, and he was able to live a retired life of antiquarian and religious pursuits with Howard and his family circle. [240] He was visited at Naworth by his brother Trevennor. [241] Nicholas Roscarrock did not return to Cornwall before his death in 1633 or 1634. [242]

Loss and rediscovery of the manuscript

Roscarrock's extensive network of family, mentors, friends, and religious compatriots is emblematic of the flow of ideas, learning, and activism then taking place in England. This transmission of texts and thoughts kept the creative environment vibrant in spite of the atmosphere of destruction, confusion, and outright danger for recusant Catholics. [243] Roscarrock was involved in the preservation of the Catholic past and the reinstatement of the

[233] Roscarrock, p. 8.
[234] Rowse, 'Nicholas Roscarrock and his Lives of the Saints', pp. 8–9.
[235] Rowse, 'Nicholas Roscarrock and his Lives of the Saints', pp. 8–9.
[236] Roscarrock, p. 12.
[237] Rowse, 'Nicholas Roscarrock and his Lives of the Saints', p. 10.
[238] Rowse, 'Nicholas Roscarrock and his Lives of the Saints', p. 11.
[239] Rowse, 'Nicholas Roscarrock and his Lives of the Saints', p. 16.
[240] Roscarrock, p. 8.
[241] Roscarrock, p. 8.
[242] Roscarrock, p. 8.
[243] Roscarrock, p. 8.

Catholic religion, but he also had a love of heraldry, manuscripts, and poetry.[244] Rosscarrock's ability to follow his interests was made possible by his living situation in the home of Lord William Howard, where he was aided by Howard's own extensive collection of manuscripts and books and ability to find and borrow others from friends and antiquarian scholars, many of them also aristocrats.[245]

Still, during Roscarrock's life, some of the books and manuscripts that survived from the monastic libraries were being recombined into new collections, and new processes formed for the transmission of data, as described by M. R. James:

> Yet, whatever Henry VIII's or Mary's or Elizabeth's intentions may have been at times as to the foundation of a 'solempne library' where the ancient books of the realm might be stored, they got but a very little way. Leland did secure some MSS. for the Royal Library, perhaps most from Rochester, but upon the whole the work was left in Elizabeth's days to individual enthusiasts—Sir Robert Cotton, Archbishop Parker, and Dee and Bale themselves. Others who did good work were Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel; Lord William Howard; Long Harry Savile of Bank; Laurence Nowell, who rescued Anglo-Saxon books; Nicholas Brigam, who was interested in English literature and built Chaucer's tomb in the Abbey; the Theyers of Brockworth, near Gloucester.[246]

Roscarrock's home with Lord William Howard gave him the materials, sources, and support he needed. It cannot be overstated the extent to which Roscarrock's work is also the product of Howard's sponsorship and collaboration, as summarized in this biography:

> It is clear that he was a man of considerable learning, and that his library was valuable. He was a friend of Cotton, Camden, and Spelman, and a correspondent of Ussher, who collated one of his manuscripts of the letters of Abbot Aldhelm (*Veterum Epistolarum Sylloge,* p.129). His intimacy with Cotton led to the marriage of one of his daughters to Cotton's eldest son, afterwards Sir Thomas Cotton. Camden calls Howard 'a singular lover of valuable antiquity and learned withal.' When a proposal was made in 1617 to revive the Society of Antiquaries, which James I had for some reason suppressed, a memorial in favour of the project sets the name of Howard first in the list of its probable members (*Archæologia,* vol. i. xvii).[247]

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[244] Roscarrock, p. 8.
[245] Roscarrock, p. 8.
[246] James, *Eton and King's*, pp. 57–58.
[247] M. Creighton, 'Howard, William (1573–1640)', *DNB*, vol 28, p. 79. https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Howard,_William_(1563-1640)_(DNB00) <Accessed 12 April 2020>

At Roscarrock's death in 1633 or 1634, Roscarrock's manuscript, books, and other sources became part of the library of Lord William Howard at Naworth Castle.[248] The libraries in England at this time were privately owned and the provenence of ancient texts was known only by the memories of their collectors. Without sponsorship, manuscripts and the ideas they contained could disappear; for example, after the deaths of Roscarrock and Howard, a Cornish priest who identified himself as 'Ff. Webbe' wrote to Lord William Howard for information, saying that Trevennor Roscarrock had found the story of the 'children of Brechan' in an Oxford library and had sent it to his brother at Naworth Castle:

> Now some worthy Catholics of Cornwall being desirous to understand the full story, to the end they may the better honour these saints of their country, besought me to write into the North about this and to get out of Mr. Nicholas Roscarrock's writings this story, they knowing that he was wont to compile together such monuments for future memory.[249]

This correspondence establishes both the fragililty and the tenacity of the Brychan tradition, because, while Roscarrock's death, followed by that of Howard, ended the transmission of the meme at that time, the letter was kept with Roscarrock's manuscript and is now bound into MS Additional 3041 as fol. 313. It is not known whether the letter was ever answered, but Howard's death in 1640 ended the antiquarian research related to Roscarrock's work. The books and manuscripts surviving the Dissolution of the Monasteries that had been gathered in Naworth Castle were soon dispersed again.

The heir to the Howard library was Howard's grandson, Sir William Howard (1563–1642).[250] After negotiations with founding member of the Royal Society John Evelyn (1620–1706), Henry Howard, sixth Duke of Norfolk (1608–1652) gave four-hundred and forty-six manuscripts to the Royal Society.[251] At the same time, Garter King-at-Arms William Dugdale (1605–1686), arranged for sixty-eight volumes to be given to the College of Arms,

[248] Rowse, 'Nicholas Roscarrock and His Lives of the Saints', in *Studies in Social History: A Tribute to G. M. Trevelyan*, ed. by Plumb, p. 17.
[249] Rowse, 'Nicholas Roscarrock and his Lives of the Saints', p. 2.
[250] Roscarrock, p. 23.
[251] M. James, *The wanderings and homes of manuscripts* (London and New York: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and The MacMillan Company, 1919), p. 86. See also E. De Beer, 'John Evelyn, F.R.S.', The Royal Society Publishing [online]. Available at https://royalsocietypublishing.org/doi/abs/10.1098/rsnr.1960.0022 <Accessed 12 April 2020>

where they remain.[252] In 1831, the Royal Society sold the entire Arundel Collection to the British Museum, and that collection is now part of the BL.[253]

Nicholas Roscarrock's manuscript was not included in either of of these collections, although it is almost certain that some of the sources Roscarrock used for his research were relating to the saints.[254] The location of the manuscript is unknown from Howard's death in 1640 until 1700, when it was one of nine manuscripts bequeathed by Edward Colman to the parish of Brent Eleigh, two miles south-east of Lavensham in Suffolk.[255] The manuscripts remained there in the parish library, unremarked, until late in the nineteenth century.

In 1887, M. R. James (1862–1936) learned that Brent Eleigh Parish had sold two of the manuscripts in its library to the Bodleian Library at Oxford University, where it was discovered that one was a late collection of the Roman poet Martial and the other was the early-eleventh-century gospel book of St Queen Margaret of Scotland, a book that was itself said to be a source of miracles.[256] In 1890, when James received word from his friend F. R. Chapman, Archdeacon of Sudbury, that more manuscripts could be found at Brent Eleigh Library, he immediately went there and collected all the manuscripts to examine.[257] James writes:

> After a short negotiation they all became the property either of the University Library or the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1891, soon after which the whole library was dispersed. None of the MSS was without interest, but two were unique—a volume containing the long-lost life of St William of Norwich (a boy supposed to have been kidnapped and crucified by Jews in 1124) and a bulky but mutilated Register of British Saints, written in the early part of the seventeenth century by Nicolas Roscarrock—it has formed a mine of information to hagiologists.[258]

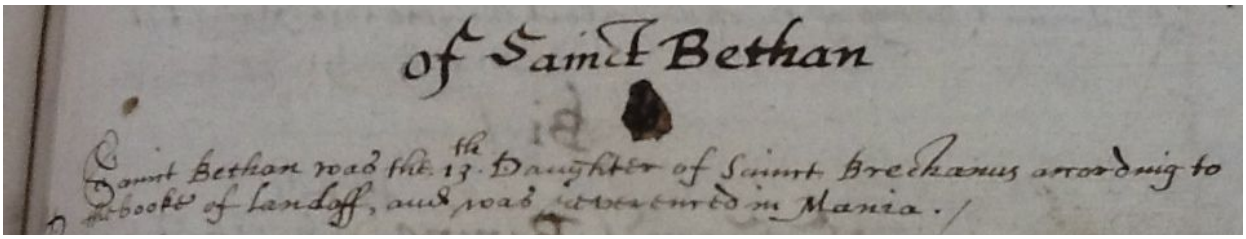
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[252] *Catalogue of the Arundel Manuscripts in the Library of the College of Arms*, ed. by W. Black (London: S & R Bentley, 1829) [Not published] [online]. Available at https://archive.org/details/CatalogueOfTheArundelManuscriptsIn/page/n13 <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[253] *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum, New Series*, vol. I, part 1, The Arundel Manuscripts (London: G. Woodfall, 1834), pp. i–iii [online]. Available at https://archive.org/details/CatalogueOfManuscriptsInTheBritish1834Vol1/page/n4 <Accessed 12 April 2020>.
[254] Roscarrock, p. 8.
[255] Roscarrock, p. 8.
[256] James, *Eton and King's*, pp. 205–206. See also *The Gospel Book of St Margaret of Scotland*, ed. by W. Forbes-Leith (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1896), p. 8.
[257] James, *Eton and King's*, p. 205.
[258] James, *Eton and King's*: pp. 205–206.

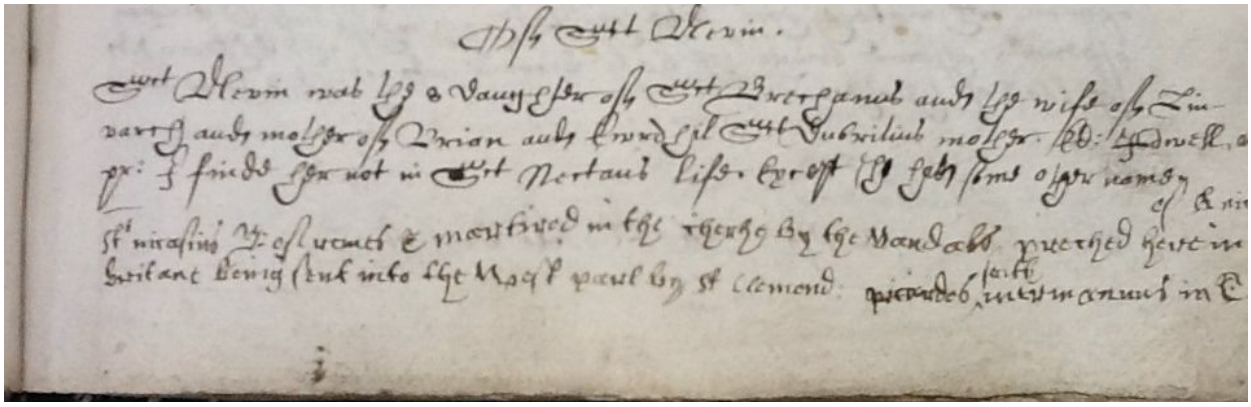
The manuscript became part of the Cambridge University Library collection, where it is now known as Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Additional 3041.[259]

Roscarrock's sources for the Brychan family

MS Additional 3041 originally comprised at least five-hundred twenty-one leaves, but a substantial number of pages are missing. Where leaves are torn away, stubs remain at the inner edge by the binding.[260] The missing material includes (a) the first ten leaves, (b) one leaf in the middle (fol. 253), and all the leaves after fol. 402.[261] The book was likely to have been copied by professional or semi-professional scribes who were most likely part of the Howard household:[262]



A. Of Sainct Bethan



B. Of Sainct Nevin

© Cambridge University Library

Figure 13. Scribal hands (MS Additional 3041)[263]

As described earlier in this chapter, Nicholas Orme's edition of *Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints of Devon and Cornwall* features transcriptions and commentary for that subset

[259] MS Additional 3041, fols 92r and 325r.
[260] Roscarrock, p. 14. Orme's calculation varies from that of Rowse, 'Nicholas Roscarrock and His Lives of the Saints', in *Studies in Social History:* p. 17, in which Rowse identifies 479 leaves of which 402 remain; he also states that 'there are small fragments of a considerable number of missing leaves at the end'.
[261] Roscarrock, p. 14
[262] Roscarrock, p. 16.
[263] MS Additional 3041.

of saints, as well as a list of all the saints listed in MS Additional 3041, in spite of the missing pages. The manuscript includes an introductory essay, title page, two poems, preface, and calendar, followed by the Lives of the saints in an alphabetical order, ending after the entry for 'Simon Sudbury'.[264] The daughters of Brychan are documented in separate entries, which are short, usually only a sentence or two, including the name of his sources. Longer essays address St Almedha (i.e., Eluned, discussed in ch. 5) and St Keyna (i.e., Cain, discussed in ch. 6). The next discussion relates to two Welsh pedigrees in the long essay 'St Brechanus or Breagan, king & Conf[essor]' that were not transcribed in *Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints of Devon and Cornwall*, as Orme explains:

> Roscarrock then proceeds to discuss the Welsh evidence about the children of Brychan taken from 12th and post 12th-century genealogies, which give different numbers and names for the children. His text is not worth reproducing here because the sources are available and better presented in Bartrum, 1966, whereas Roscarrock's spellings are frequently distorted or misleading.[265]

Orme reasonably leaves these pedigrees out; however, this study of the daughters of Brychan explores the mutation of a meme over centuries, making the content and provenance of these pedigrees valuable. Where did Roscarrock find them? Do they agree or disagree with DSB, CB, and JC20, and if so, to what extent? The Brychan essay presents a number of sources. The first is Richard Whytford's *Martiloge in Englysshe* (1526), which introduces Brychan in an article for 8 October about St Keyna (see ch. 6).[266] Second is the description of Brychan's grave on the island called Ynysbrachen near Anglesey, a name that appears in DSB, but not in CB or JC20.[267] Third, Roscarrock discusses the differences among the sources. Fourth, he refers to the description of Brychan and his saintly daughters in *The Journey Through Wales* by Gerald of Wales.[268] Fifth, he records the Life of St Nectan based on notes copied by his friend William Camden from a manuscript at Merton College at Oxford University, noting that Camden went back to borrow the text at his request and found it 'cutt out & imbessled, soe as I was therin frustrated of my wished desyre'.[269]

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[264] Rowse, 'Nicholas Roscarrock and his Lives of the Saints', in *Studies in Social History: A Tribute to G. M. Trevelyan*, ed. by Plumb, p. 20.
[265] Roscarrock, p. 60.
[266] Roscarrock, p. 58 and Whytford, p. 158.
[267] Roscarrock, p. 59, and EWGT, p. 16.
[268] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales*, pp. 91–92.
[269] Roscarrock, p. 59.

The discussion turns to the Welsh pedigrees, and Roscarrock refers to 'the manuscript boke of Landaff' (i.e., the Liber Landavensis, or Book of Llandaf now known as Aberystwyth, NLW, MS NLW 17110i-iiiE.[270] It was possible, but unlikely that Roscarrock saw the early-twelfth-century book of charters and saints' Lives that Bishop Theophilus Field loaned to the antiquarian John Selden sometime between 1619 and 1927, the Bodleian Library at Oxford received the manuscript in 1654 as a bequest, around twenty years after Roscarrock's death.[271] Orme notes that this material was 'probably seen by Roscarrock in a copy or viva second-hand notes' and this is also possible.[272] He did not, however, get his pedigree of Brychan Brycheiniog from the Book of Llandaf, because that text does not include it, so he was copying from something he believed was the Book of Llandaf, but was not.

'Book of Landaff' entries

The pedigree Roscarrock identifies as from the 'Book of Landaff' does not begin with Marchell's journey from Garthmathrin to Ireland to marry Anlach, king of Ireland. Instead, Roscarrock begins the account with Brychan's youth:

> But to return to Sainct Brechanus. I finde in the manuscript boke of Landaff, that he was the sonn of Anlack, wch Dauid Powell in his Annotations uppon Geraldus called Halaphos king of Ireland by Marchell Daughter of Teuderick or Theodore the sonn of one Teufall wch Powell calleth Teryphalt Duke of Garmathrin & that he was borne in great Brittaine in a towne called Benni, & brought up by one Drichan & came to Brechainauc at four years of his Age, being delivered for a pledge, by his ffather to the king of Powes.[273]

Roscarrock next notes the differences between this list and the Life of St Nectan:

> He had by his 3 wives 10 sons & 25 daughters, all whose names doe much differ from those wch are mentioned in the life of St Nectan, And therefore for yo^{e} better satisfaction I have layd them down.[274]

Lists of the wives, sons, and daughters follow. Brychan's son Cynog is included, but the text does not say that Brychan violated Banadlinet:

[270] 'File NLW MS 17110i-iiiE [RESTRICTED ACCESS]. - Liber Landavensis', NLW [online].
[271] 'File NLW MS 17110i-iiiE [RESTRICTED ACCESS]. - Liber Landavensis', NLW [online].
[272] Roscarrock, p. 203.
[273] MS Additional 3041, fol. 103r.
[274] MS Additional 3041, fol. 103r.

> Brechan had three wives. Praust, Ripraust, & wirefere; by wch he had Issue ten sonns & 25 Daughters, besides all wch he had one by Bardnadlinet the Daughter of Benadill, a sonn named St Kinanc.[275]

The names of the sons of Brychan follow:

> The names of his sonns were these: 1. Renim landelac, 2. Cligirn, who invaded south wales, 3. Arthen, 4. Papay, 5. Kinon in the region of Mannia, 6. Dingat, 7. Paschen, 8. Cholner, 9. Berwin in Cornwall, and 10. Ridoch, in Iuda in Ffranc.[276]

The daughters of Brychan are most important for this study, so table 1 compares the list of daughters from the list Roscarrock calls the 'Book of Landaff' with the three most important medieval pedigrees of Brychan Brycheiniog: DSB, CB, and JC20. Note that DSB and CB are in Latin and JC20 is in Welsh. It appears that Roscarrock used an exemplar, which he then translated into English. Two factors can show which of the pedigrees is likely to have been the exemplar. The first factor is the wording of the entries, and the second is the order of the names. For example, the nineteenth daughter of Brychan in the 'Book of Llandaff' was Belian, while the nineteenth daughter in the other lists is Belyau filia Brachan (DSB), Gwenn apud Talgarth (CB), and Tebieu verch Vrachan yn Estratewi (JC20). Belian and Belyau filia Brachan are similar enough to be a match, while Gwenn apud Talgarth and Tebieu verch Vrachan yn Estratewi are different daughters.

Table 1. Roscarrock's 'Book of Landaff' entries compared with DSB, CB, and JC20

No.	'Book of Landaff'[277]	DSB[278]	CB[279]	JC20[280]
1	Gladwyse	Gladus filia Brachan, mater sancti Cadoci.	Gluadus filia Brachan, vxor Gwenlluc filii Glywys Cornubiensis, mater sancti Cadoci.	Gwladus verch Vrachan, mam Cattwc sant.
2	Tudel	Tuduel filia Brachan, in Merthir Euineil.	Gloyv yn Llann Heskyn.	Urgrngen verchc Brachan, gwreic Ioroereth hirblaut.
3	Goleu	Goleu filia Brachan in Lan Eschin.	Hunid uxor Tutwal pefir, mater Cunin cof.	Marchell verch Brychan, gwreic Gwrhynt bramdrut.
4	Hined Methrie married Tudual the [Befr?] that had issue Cunin Coff, that is memorie.	Hunyd filia Brachan, que iacet sub petra Meltheu, que fuit uxor Tudual flaui, mater Cunin cof.	Tutbistyl, ab ea dicitur Merthyr Tutbystil.	Tutlith verch Vrachan yn [fo. 33^{v}] Llys Ronwy yGwlat Vorgan.
5	Tudhistick of wch is Merthur tudhistick	Tudhistil filia Brachan, inde dicitur Merthir Tudhistil.	Tvtuil, ab ea dicitur Merthir Tutuil.	Drynwin verch Vrachan, mam Vryen [ac] Erduduyl gwynn dorliud. Owein m. Vryen a Morud verch Vryen, [eil gwyn dorliud]. Gwrgi a Pheredur ac

[275] MS Additional 3041, fol. 103r.
[276] MS Additional 3041, fol. 103r.
[277] MS Additional 3041, fols 103r–103v.
[278] EWGT, pp. 14–16.
[279] EWGT, pp. 17–19.
[280] EWGT, pp. 42–44.

No.	'Book of Landaff'[277]	DSB[278]	CB[279]	JC20[280]
				Arthur penuche a Tonlut a Hortnan a Dyrnell, trydyth gwyn dorliud.
6	Tiberes in Canterborchan.	Tibyei filia Brachan in Cantre Bochan.	Tybïe apud Ystrayowy.	Kyngar verch Vrachan.
7	Kehingare that had issue, St Keneder of Glesburie	Kehingayr filia Brachan, mater sancti Kenider de Glesbyri.	Keyngair mater (mater) Kenyder sant.	Rinhidyr verch Vrachan.
8	Melery, the wife of kenidio, & mother of St Dauids ffather.	Meleri filia Brachan, uxor Keredic, et mater Sant. Sant autem pater fuit sancti Dauid.	Meleri vxor Keretici patris [Sant patris] sancti Dauit.	[M]eleri verch Vrachan, gwreic Keredic, man Sant, tat Dewi.
9	Tugled, the wife of Berwin the sonn of Kenware Cathcadoc, the mother of Cadell & Brocuail in the South, mother to Ionas & of Meith & of Sarand who was wife to Melhelgin king of North walles	Tutglid filia Brachan, uxor Kenken filii Kenwaur cadcathuc, mater Cadel et Brochuail schitrauc, et mater Ieuab, et mater Meigh, et mater Sanand, que Sanant fuit uxor Mahelgun regis Nordwalie.	Tuglit, vxor Kyngain, mater Cadell.	Gwawr verch Vrachan.
10	Aranwen in Powes, wife to Gereuerth king of Powes.	Aranwen filia Brachan in Powis, uxor Gereuerth regis de Powis, inde dicitur Ioruerthiaun.	Arganwen apud Powys.	Gutuyl verch Vrachan, gwreic Kynger mab Kynwawr, a mam Brochuael yscithrawc, a mam Veic mengwrac, a man (read *mam*) Sanant, gwreic Vaelgwn.
11	Bethania mannia	Bethan filia Brachan in Mannia.	Bechan apud Manav.	[G]rugon verch Vrachan, gwreic Katrawt vrenhin.
12	Luan of Haydon	Luan filia Brachan, mater Haidani bradouc.	Lluan, mater Aidan gratauc et uxor Gafran (vradavc).	[K]erdech verch Vrachan yssyd yGlan Tywi yMeiryonyd.
13	Kenilich whoo lieth in Thiwin in merioneth	Kerdych filia Brachan, que iacet in Thywin in Merioneth.	Kerdech apud Llandegwin.	Taghwystyl.
14	Ilinen wife of kenarth of Merchia, the mother of Arwin, the mother of Euerdel, the mother of Estedich, the wife of Elydar Costomaure, that is of great families & mother of Gurge & Peredwre.	Nyuein filia Brachan, uxor Kenuarch cul filii Meirchiaun, mater Vruoni, mater Euerdil matris Estedich. [Euerdil] uxor Elidir coscoruaur, et mater Gurgi et Peredur.	Nyuen, vxor Kynuarch filii Meirchyavn.	Tutuel verch Vrachan ym Merthyr.
15	Gaur wife of Lindonwin & mother of Loachs henne	Guaur filia Brachan, uxor Lidanwen et mater Loarch hen.	Gwawr, vxor Lledanwyn, mater Llywarth henn.	Goleudyd gwreic Tutwawl beper.
16	Godheu wife of Cathran Chalined.	Gurycon Godheu filia Brachan, uxor Gathraut Calchuynid.	Grucon Guedu, vxor Cradauc Calchuenit.	[Ll]van verch Vrachan honno oed vam Aidan [vredawc] mab Gwauream [vredawc).
17	Marchel, wife of Curond Cuthberd of Merioneth.	Marchel filia Brachan, uxor Gurind barmbtruch de Merionyth.	Marchell, vxor Gurgeynt.	Gwenn verch Vrachan yn Talgard.
18	Gula in Talgarth	Guen filia Brachan in Talgarth	Elyet in Monte Gorsauael, que pro amore castitatis martirizata est.	Felis verch Vrachan.
19	Belian.	Belyau filia Brachan.	Gwenn apud Talgarth.	Tebieu verch Vrachan yn Estratewi.
20	Eilmoth	Eiliueth filia Brachan yGrugc Gors Auail.	Koneidon apud Kydwely in monte Kyfor.	[K]einbreith verch Vrachan.
21	kein	Kein filia Brachan ythr auil Ogmore.	Kein breit apud Teraslogur.	Ryn-[fo 34^{r}]eidon verch Vrachan yg Kitweli yMynyd Kyuor.
22	keneythan in kedwelly	Keneython filia Brachan in y minid Cheuor in Kedweli.	Cledei apud Emlyn.	Cledei verch Vrachan yn Emlyn.
23	Clidwhie, wch lives in Elmilin	Clydei filia [fo. 11v] Brachan est in Emelin.	Vndin apud Moniam insulam	Gwenn verch Vrachan yMon Vam Gymry.
24	[none]	Duyn filia Brachan est in Monia.	Kenedlong apud Mynyd Kymorth.	Llud verch Vrachan yn Ruthun yGwlat Vorgant.

No.	'Book of Landaff'[277]	DSB[278]	CB[279]	JC20[280]
25	[none]	Ilud filia Brachan.	[none]	[none]

Table 1 demonstrates that is most likely that Roscarrock used MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv as his exemplar for copying a list from a text that he believed was the Liber Llandevensis (Book of Llandaf). The 'Book of Landaff' entries have many spelling errors, but overall they match the DSB entries from MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv almost word for word. The last two entries for Duyn and Ilud are missing from the 'Book of Landaff' list, but that is all. Entries also match for Brychan's wives and sons. In summary, it would appear that Roscarrock translated DSB from Latin to English, left out some of the information, and garbled the proper nouns. It is known that he borrowed manuscripts from Sir Robert Cotton's library, especially since Cotton was Lord William Howard's son-in-law.[281] MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv had been taken from the library at Gloucester Abbey by Sir John Prise, and after his death it went to the collection of Sir Henry Sidney (1529–1586), father of the poet Sir Philip Sidney, and from there to the library of Archbishop of Canterbury Matthew Parker (1504–1575).[282] From there, MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv found its way to the Cotton Library, 'most probably' by way of John Joscelyn, Parker's secretary, according to Scott Lloyd.[283]

After the 'Book of Landaff' pedigree, Roscarrock refers to Capgrave, as the source of Whytford's report the number of Brychan's children.[284] Roscarrock tries to reconcile the various accounts, referring to Capgrave's Life of St Keyna as the source of Whytford's Martiloge, but he concludes by introducing the next pedigree:

> Besides this, wch I have before signified, my fortune was to light on a Welsh Peddegre, collated by Edw. Powell Priest wch I will also lay downe as I find it.[285]

Edward Powell (alias Huis) pedigree

The pedigree that Roscarrock attributes to Edward Powell appears to be much later than the Life of St Nectan and the 'Book of Llandaff' list, with many more names and known elements combined with much more recent material. One example is the titles provided for Brechanus, which combines old and new elements:

[281] Roscarrock, pp. 11–14.
[282] VSBG, p. xii, and N. Ker, 'Sir John Prise', *The Library*, 5th ser., vol. 10, no. 1 (1955), pp. 1–24, p. 16.
[283] VSBG, p. xii.
[284] MS Additional 3041, fol. 103r.
[285] MS Additional 3041, fol. 103r.

> Brechanus saithe. he was Earle of Chester, Barron of Brecknock, and Stafford and the sonn of Eballac the sonne of a king of Ireland & of Marcella, the Daughter of Thraricus, the sonn of Tithfalt. the Sonn & Lord of Garmathrin in Brecnockshire. Some coppies affirme that his mother came from Greece.[286]

The titles 'earl of Chester' and 'baron of Brecknock and Stafford' refer to territories formed much later than the Norman Conquest. The usual father and mother of Brychan can be glimpsed in the corrupt spellings (i.e., Eballac rather than Anlach and Marcella instead of Marchell). Marchell's genealogy is garbled, as she is identified as from Greece rather than of Greek ancestry, as stated in both DSB and CB. The next excerpt lists the wives of Brechanus, followed by the numbers of sons and daughters, far in excess of the usual numbers:

> This Brechanus had three wives Eurbraust, Rhidhbraust, & Prioristri by wch he had Issue 32 sonns & 34 daughters. his first named are these.[287]

Performing the exercise used to analyse the 'Book of Landaff' pedigree, table 2 compares the 'Edward Powell' pedigree compared with DSB, CB, and JC20:

Table 2. Roscarrock's 'Edward Powell' entries[288]

No.	'Edward Powell' pedigree[289]	DSB[290]	CB[291]	JC20[292]
1	The first Gladus	Gladus filia Brachan, mater sancti Cadoci.	Gluadus filia Brachan, vxor Gwenlluc filii Glywys Cornubiensis, mater sancti Cadoci.	Gwladus verch Vrachan, mam Cattwc sant.
2	Gwawr	Tuduel filia Brachan, in Merthir Euineil.	Gloyv yn Llann Heskyn.	Urgrngen verchc Brachan, gwreic Ioroereth hirblaut.
3	Eleri	Goleu filia Brachan in Lan Eschin.	Hunid uxor Tutwal pefir, mater Cunin cof.	Marchell verch Brychan, gwreic Gwrhynt bramdrut.
4	Arianwen	Hunyd filia Brachan, que iacet sub petra Meltheu, que fuit uxor Tudual flaui, mater Cunin cof.	Tutbistyl, ab ea dicitur Merthyr Tutbystil.	Tutlith verch Vrachan yn [fo. 33^{v}] Llys Ronwy yGwlat Vorgan.
5	Tiduael	Tudhistil filia Brachan, inde dicitur Merthir Tudhistil.	Tvtuil, ab ea dicitur Merthir Tutuil.	Drynwin verch Vrachan, mam Vryen [ac] Erduduyl gwynn dorliud. Owein m. Vryen a Morud verch Vryen, [eil gwyn dorliud]. Gwrgi a Pheredur ac Arthur penuche a Tonlut a Hortnan a Dyrnell, trydyth gwyn dorliud.
6	wenefride called in some coppies Gurgon	Tibyei filia Brachan in Cantre Bochan.	Tybïe apud Ystrayowy.	Kyngar verch Vrachan.

[286] MS Additional 3041, fol. 103r.
[287] MS Additional 3041, fol. 103r.
[288] MS Additional 3041, fol. 103r–103v.
[289] MS Additional 3041, fols 103r–103v.
[290] EWGT, pp. 14–16.
[291] EWGT, pp. 17–19.
[292] EWGT, pp. 42–44.

No.	'Edward Powell' pedigree[289]	DSB[290]	CB[291]	JC20[292]
7	Cindreth of Sone Mechel	Kehingayr filia Brachan, mater sancti Kenider de Glesbyri.	Keyngair mater (mater) Kenyder sant.	Rinhidyr verch Vrachan.
8	Neuin	Meleri filia Brachan, uxor Keredic, et mater Sant. Sant autem pater fuit sancti Dauid.	Meleri vxor Keretici patris [Sant patris] sancti Dauit.	[M]eleri verch Vrachan, gwreic Keredic, man Sant, tat Dewi.
9	Neuidh	Tutglid filia Brachan, uxor Kenken filii Kenwaur cadcathuc, mater Cadel et Brochuail schitrauc, et mater Ieuab, et mater Meigh, et mater Sanand, que Sanant fuit uxor Mahelgun regis Nordwalie.	Tuglit, vxor Kyngain, mater Cadell.	Gwawr verch Vrachan.
10	Gleian	Aranwen filia Brachan in Powis, uxor Gereuerth regis de Powis, inde dicitur Ioruerthiaun.	Arganwen apud Powys.	Gutuyl verch Vrachan, gwreic Kynger mab Kynwawr, a mam Brochuael yscithrawc, a mam Veic mengwrac, a man (read *mam*) Sanant, gwreic Vaelgwn.
11	Macella	Bethan filia Brachan in Mannia.	Bechan apud Manav.	[G]rugon verch Vrachan, gwreic Katrawt vrenhin.
12	the 12 is lacking	Luan filia Brachan, mater Haidani bradouc.	Lluan, mater Aidan gratauc et uxor Gafran (vradavc).	[K]erdech verch Vrachan yssyd yGlan Tywi yMeiryonyd.
13	Gwendhydh in some I copies Gwawardhydh the mother of Kenedur	Kerdych filia Brachan, que iacet in Thywin in Merioneth.	Kerdech apud Llandegwin.	Taghwystyl.
14	Goleudhiel	Nyuein filia Brachan, uxor Kenuarch cul filii Meirchiaun, mater Vruoni, mater Euerdil matris Estedich. [Euerdil] uxor Elidir coscoruaur, et mater Gurgi et Peredur.	Nyuen, vxor Kynuarch filii Meirchyavn.	Tutuel verch Vrachan ym Merthyr.
15	Meldhu mother of Cinfin [See Meltheu, DSB, 4. Hunyd]	Guaur filia Brachan, uxor Lidanwen et mater Loarch hen.	Gwawr, vxor Lledanwyn, mater Llywarth henn.	Goleudyd gwreic Tutwawl beper.
16	[indecipherable] mother of St Kenedur December 8	Gurycon Godheu filia Brachan, uxor Gathraut Calchuynid.	Grucon Guedu, vxor Cradauc Calchuenit.	[Ll]van verch Vrachan honno oed vam Aidan [vredawc] mab Gwauream [vredawc).
17	Gwen, mother of Sannan the ~~mother of~~ wife of Malgo Venedotus	Marchel filia Brachan, uxor Gurind barmbtruch de Merionyth.	Marchell, vxor Gurgeynt.	Gwenn verch Vrachan yn Talgard.
18	Cenelim	Guen filia Brachan in Talgarth	Elyet in Monte Gorsauael, que pro amore castitatis martirizata est.	Felis verch Vrachan.
19	Clodfaith	Belyau filia Brachan.	Gwenn apud Talgarth.	Tebieu verch Vrachan yn Estratewi.
20	Hawistl	Eiliueth filia Brachan yGrugc Gors Auail.	Koneidon apud Kydwely in monte Kyfor.	[K]einbreith verch Vrachan.
21	Towen [See Thywin, DSB, 13. Kerdech]	Kein filia Brachan ythr auil Ogmore.	Kein breit apud Teraslogur.	Ryn-[fo 34^{r}]eidon verch Vrachan yg Kitweli yMynyd Kyuor.
22	Tibies	Keneython filia Brachan in y minid Cheuor in Kedweli.	Cledei apud Emlyn.	Cledei verch Vrachan yn Emlyn.
23	Enuael [See Merthir Euineil, DSB, 2. Tudeuel]	Clydei filia [fo. 11v] Brachan est in Emelin.	Vndin apud Moniam insulam	Gwenn verch Vrachan yMon Vam Gymry.
24	Elinedh, whom Geraldus calleth Almedha	Duyn filia Brachan est in Monia.	Kenedlong apud Mynyd Kymorth.	Llud verch Vrachan yn Ruthun yGwlat Vorgant.
25	Elida	Ilud filia Brachan.	[none]	[none]
26	Tideu	[none]	[none]	[none]
27	Diganwen	[none]	[none]	[none]
28	Dwinwen July 13	[none]	[none]	[none]

No.	'Edward Powell' pedigree[289]	DSB[290]	CB[291]	JC20[292]
29	Cendlon	[none]	[none]	[none]
30	Tudwistle	[none]	[none]	[none]
31	Maebie	[none]	[none]	[none]

Some place-names have been taken for saints' names in the case of Towen (Tywyn, said to be location of Kerdech), Meldhu (the Stone of Meltheu, grave of Hunyd), and Enuael (corruption of Tudful). The question is when these errors were first made with these spellings, by Edward Powell or far earlier. Unless an obvious exemplar for Roscarrock's 'Edward Powell' pedigree comes to light, it may hard to know. The addition of Winefrede appears completely out of place, but an entry in a pedigree of 'Mr. John Lewis of Llwynweney in Radnorshire wrote about the time of Queen Elizabeth' copied in MS Harley 4181 by Hugh Thomas includes the entry: 'Gwenvrewi gwraig Kadrod Kalch vynedh', the husband attributed to Gurycon Godheu in DSB, CB, JC20, and PB.[293]

The identity of 'Edward Powell' is not known and no other version of this pedigree has come to light, but Roscarrock identifies him as a Welsh priest who also went by the name Huis.[294] One possibility is that he could be Blessed Father Edward Powell (*c.* 1478–1540; beatified by the Roman Catholic Church in 1886), a former chaplain to Queen Catherine of Aragon.[295] Powell was imprisoned in the Tower of London, sentenced to death without trial, and executed in 1540, along with two other Catholic priests (also Catherine's chaplains) and three Protestants.[296] Powell died eleven years before Nicholas Roscarrock was born, but he was educated at Oxford University and was favoured for a time by Henry VIII for his dissertation *Propugnaculum summi Sacerdotii Evangelici*, published in 1523, which argues against Lutheran doctrines.[297] Powell's refusal to acknowledge the succession to the throne led to his imprisonment in 1534 and execution in 1540.[298]

Powell is a fair candidate for supplying the pedigree: he was Welsh, incarcerated in the Tower of London, and at Oxford. He would have been known by many who were later close

[293] MS Harley 4181, p. 32 and EWGT, pp. 82–83.
[294] Roscarrock, p. 205. Nicholas Orme points out that G. Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests*, 2 vols (Ware & Great Wakering: Mayhew-McCrimmon, *c.* 1967–1975), vol. 1, p. 178, lists no Catholic priest named Edward Powell, but two named Edward Hughes.
[295] *The Book of Saints*, ed. by B. Watkins, 7th edn, (London: A & C Black, 2002), p. 167.
[296] E. Jones, 'Powell, Edward (1478?–1540), Roman Catholic theologian', DWB [online]. Available at https://biography.wales/article/s-POWE-EDW-1478 <Accessed 19 November 2019>
[297] E. Jones, 'Powell, Edward (1478?–1540), Roman Catholic theologian', DWB [online]. Note: Powell was praised for his refutation of Luther's doctrines in the dissertation, *Propugnaculum summi Sacerdotii Evangelici*, published in 1523.
[298] E. Jones, 'Powell, Edward (1478?–1540), Roman Catholic theologian', DWB [online].

to Roscarrock. Powell died before Roscarrock's birth, but someone else could have given Roscarrock the pedigree. Also, Powell had no need for an alias and his known interest was theology, not genealogy. The pedigree has many errors where place names are confused with saints' names, inflating the number of children of Brychan. The pedigree does not seem to be the work of a scholar with Powell's reputation.

After the Welsh pedigrees, Roscarrock reaches his conclusions about Brychan, listing the numbers of sons and daughters in each version for Capgrave, Whytford, Gerald of Wales, 'The Book of Landaff', the Edward Powell pedigree, St Nectan's Life, and a song about St Mabyn in Cornwall (a song now lost).[299] He notes similarities and differences, and his final paragraph in the essay discusses the preference for local rather than universal saints in Wales and Cornwall and concludes that the mismatch in names also happens with dates, giving the examples of Tudful and her son Brochmail and Melery and her grandson St David. He presents a great deal of material, but he cannot make it come together or tell a single story; however, he did introduce a significant mutation of the meme that 'Brychan Brycheiniog had twenty-four daughters and all of them were saints' and that is that 'there are many lists of the daughters of Brychan and none of them agree'. Previous pedigrees did not acknowledge other versions, but Roscarrock carefully lays out the many versions and the variation and notes that he does not know what to make of it, but generously evaluates the discontinuity:

> Howsoever it bee, it is the best not to conceive the worst of mens vnvoluntarie errors if there be anie, and to labour to discover the truthe, that God maie <be> glorified in his Sainctes.[300]

The next section addresses the lasting contribution that Roscarrock has made to the study of the British saints and, in particular, to the tradition of the daughters of Brychan.

Assessments of Roscarrock's work

Nicholas Roscarrock's work came to light at the end of the nineteenth century, and shortly before his manuscript was found in 1890, several articles considered his work. W. Prideaux Courtney wrote a short biography of Nicholas Roscarrock published in *Notes and Queries* in 1875 and then republished in 1882 in *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*.[301] In 1878 George Ornsby

[299] For this discussion of the last sections of the St Brechanus essay, see Roscarrock, p. 60.
[300] Roscarrock, p. 60.
[301] W. Courtney, 'Nicholas Roscarrock', *Notes and Queries*, ser. 5, vol. 4 (1875), pp. 402–404, and C. Boase and W. Courtney, *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*, 3 vols (London: Publisher, 1874–1882), vol. 2, p. 591, and vol. 3, pp. 1131 and 1328.

included a biography of Roscarrock as an addendum to *Selections from the Household Books of the Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle*.[302] The essay on Roscarrock in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1897) by W. A. Shaw is largely based on Courtney's earlier articles.[303] Nicholas Orme's introduction to *Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints: Cornwall and Devon* (1992) is comprehensive, and the volume includes other valuable sources. Beyond recording the documented details of his life and the history of his manuscript, commentaries sometimes question the lasting value of his work, and these are usually authors whose interests are hagiographical than than historical.

Even those who honour his work do not recommend reading it. Admittedly, the bound manuscript is bulky, parts are missing, the structure is hard to follow, the handwriting is crabbed, and the content is usually found lacking. Nicholas Orme begins his 'Preface' with this evaluation:

> Roscarrock compiled his book from printed sources and manuscripts, most of which have survived and are readily available elsewhere. The saints he studied, too, have often been more fully and accurately investigated by later scholars. Much of his work is now of value only in showing what an English Catholic writer knew and felt about saints in the early seventeenth century, and what sources were available to him. For the saints about whom he wrote, we would do better to go to more recent literature, and Roscarrock's prose style (which is sometimes long-winded) is rarely memorable enough to make his book worth reading for that sake alone.[304]

Sabine Baring-Gould and John Fisher also state that his text is drawn from 'easily accessible works, and the bulk of his manuscript is, therefore, of little value'.[305] Gilbert Doble, who wrote a number of books about the Cornish saints, says nothing about Roscarrock or his work. Orme's critical assessment is that while Roscarrock lacked a critical approach to his subject, his intent and work methods were scholarly and he took saints seriously at a time when they were not much regarded, and as a result of his efforts, stories of the saints and related folklore would otherwise have been lost.[306]

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[302] Ornsby, 'Mr Nicholas Roscarrock', in *Selections from the Household Books of the Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle*, pp. 505–509.
[303] W. Shaw, 'Nicholas Roscarrock', in *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by S. Lee, 63 vols (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1885–1900), vol. 49, pp. 220–221.
[304] Roscarrock, p. ix.
[305] LBS, vol. 1, p. 78.
[306] Roscarrock, p. 23.

From Roscarrock we get (a), (b), and (c).

Orme is accurate in his conclusion that Roscarrock's value is not in his prose, but in the forces he brings to bear on his subject in terms of his character, friends, sources, and even in his obstacles. He set out to preserve the Lives of the saints, but he was the first to write a critical analysis of the sources of the Brychan tradition, and that was groundbreaking work. Baring-Gould and Fisher acknowledged this when dedicated their monumental work to the 'pioneers in Celtic hagiography' because their pioneers were not the medieval monks who copied MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv or wrote the Book of Llandaff; instead, they chose Nicholas Roscarrock, Rice Rees, Albert Le Grand, and John Colgan, all of whom wrote after the Reformation.[307]

Considering the sources that Roscarrock used, how critical was his approach? Roscarrock's bewildered response to the many conflicting versions he records in 'Of Sainct Brechanus or Breagan' contradicts the view that he repeats his sources without question:

> But in writing of him I am so perplexed with the differences of these who haue written before me, as I confess freelye I knowe not which opinion I maye moste saiflye followe, for remedye whereof I will truelye laye downe what I finde written of him and so refer it to the iudicious censure of my Reeder that they whoe ar able & can give better sentence then I maie enterpose there opinions & vse there best means & indeavours to profitt (if it maie bee) that of which I rest vncertaine.[308]

In the case of Brychan, he lays out the puzzle pieces and points out that they do not come together. His reasoning is a product, not of the scholastic Middle Ages, but of the Enlightenment, where orderly methods are applied to gather, analyse, and synthesise many sources into one account. In fact, Roscarrock's reaction supports the hypothesis for this thesis: that the Brychan family story is not one story copied in many manuscripts, but many stories copied in many manuscripts unified by a cluster of memes with mythic elements and that one of these memes is the twenty-four saintly daughters of Brychan.

His research revealed that one account was impossible, but his discovery did not inform the antiquarians who followed him because the manuscript disappeared from Roscarrock's death until its recovery from the parish library at Brent Eleigh. For this reason, this revelation had to be made all over again, gradually, by a number of unrelated antiquarian scholars, largely

[307] LBS, vol. 1, Dedication, NPN.
[308] Roscarrock, p. 59.

without collaboration and without access to the combined sources that Roscarrock was able to use for his work.

While his allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church is undeniable, Roscarrock is also committed to recording the veneration of local, British saints who were never canonised. Alexandra Walsh touches on this political issue in *The Reformation of the Landscape* (2011):

> Nicholas Roscarrock's 'Alphebitt of Saints' set aside the task of discrediting the 'pevishe pseudomarters' who filled the pages of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* in favour of commemorating more obscure saints of the British Isles, not all of whom were officially canonized or recognized in the Church's revised calendars.[309]

Roscarrock's preference for seeking out and documenting local saints places the battle where it belongs: in the much larger and more complex conflict between the centralized authority of the Roman Catholic Church and opposition by decentralized English authorities, the issue that created the first friction during the Synod of Whitby in 664 and finally forced the schism with Rome in 1536.[310] As Walsham points out, the Roman Catholic Church's approach to uncanonised (i.e., local) saints has been ambivalent at best:

> The urge to preserve such traditions was somewhat at odds with the universalism which the Tridentine Church aspired to assert. In an echo of the dialogue between centre and periphery that had shaped the medieval cult of saints, it reflected the tensions associated with the celebration of local manifestations of the sacred in an age of bold claims of Catholic internationalism.[311]

Roscarrock, although an ardent supporter of the Roman Catholic cause, clearly supported the view that formal canonization is no requirement for veneration, saying in his introductory essay that he included 'many ancient saints, especially of the Britons, who were not canonized, but have altars, churches, dedications and feasts observed, without contradiction of prelates or Pope'. In 'Of Sainct Brechanus or Breagan', he lists his criteria for including Brychan:

> I finde alsoe that there was a Feast in memorie of him in an Iland which beareth his name, called ynysbrachan, where his bodie was reserved with

[309] Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape*, p. 194.
[310] Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons,* pp. 396-398.
[311] Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape*, p. 195.

> due reverence not farr from the Ile of Anglesea in Wales, which reportes make serue for warrant sufficient to regester him as a Sainct.'[312]

Walsham also introduces the idea that 'a profound gulf divided the religious culture of the humble peasantry and that of recusant nobility and gentry who supported resident chaplains'.[313] Roscarrock's life and work tell a different story, that veneration of the saints crossed social boundaries. After Roscarrock's death, a letter from a 'Father Webbe' was received after Trevennor Roscarrock, brother of Nicholas, having found the story of 'the children of Brechan' in the Bodleian Library, which Webbe wants to study:[314]

> Now some worthy Catholics of Cornwall being desirous to understand the full story, to the end they may the better honour these saints of their country, besought me to write into the North about this and to get out of Mr Nicholas Roscarrock's writings this story, they knowing that he was wont to compile together such monuments for future memory.[315]

A. L. Rowse's view is that just those entries of Celtic saints increase the significance of the Roscarrock's work, because for these saints he uses his own sources and his recollection of traditions in Cornwall.[316] The most subtle assessment is that of M. R. James, who benignly refers to the manuscript as 'a mine of information for hagiologists' and makes no judgment of its contents.[317]

Conclusion

Roscarrock's Welsh Brychan material has not previously been transcribed because of its conflicting sources, which makes sense if one is seeking a single, easily followed thread from one text to the next, but variation has been the case—rather, is the hallmark—of the meme of the daughters of Brychan. More useful is to consider the sources Roscarrock was able to access, the community of antiquarian scholars sharing sources as they pursued their interests, and the inevitable process by which the books and manuscripts were gathered again into collections. Nicholas Roscarrock had the credentials of an ancient pedigree, some wealth, education at Oxford and the Inns of Court, a wide circle of antiquarian friends and

[312] Roscarrock, p. 59. Note: No evidence confirms the location of an island called Ynys Brachan, although Thomas, *And Shall These Mute Stones Speak?*, pp. 163–182, suggests that Lundy Island off the Cornish coast, could have been this place.
[313] Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape*, p. 154.
[314] MS Additional 3041, fol. 313.
[315] Rowse, 'Nicholas Roscarrock and His Lives of the Saints', in *Studies in Social History: A Tribute to G. M. Trevelyan*, ed. by Plumb, p. 17.
[316] James, *Eton and King's*, p. 206.
[317] James, *Eton and King's*, p. 206.

colleagues, and patronage by one of the most influential Catholic aristocratic families in England. He was perfectly placed to carry out this hagiographic research. The hardships and suffering caused by his recusancy only seem to have intensified his religious convictions and focused his resolve.

The next chapter describes continuing social and political changes and their effects on the previous practice of veneration of the saints. Chapter 4 discusses the life and work of Hugh Thomas, another recusant Catholic antiquarian, who also came from an ancient family, but who lacked the wealth, education, and patronage that Roscarrock enjoyed, but possessed other qualities and skills that illustrate changes to the meme of the daughters of Brychan, this time during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Chapter 4 Hugh Thomas

The suppression of the Roman Catholic faith in England which shaped the life and work of Nicholas Roscarrock during the first hundred years after the Reformation also created another witness who spoke eloquently about the daughters of Brychan one hundred years later. Hugh Thomas (1673–1720), known as the Breconshire Herald, had interests that united the study of genealogy and heraldry with a strongly Catholic sensibility that led him to write a history of the family of Brychan Brycheiniog, whom he believed to be his own ancestor.[318] A zealous collector of manuscripts, Thomas's collaborations with other antiquarians of his time, such as William Lewes (1652–1722) and Edward Lhuyd (1660–1709), reveal a network of collectors who enabled, not only the survival of ancient material, but the critical analysis of their collections and the addition of local legends and heraldic traditions.[319] This chapter introduces material in the unpublished collections of Hugh Thomas that offers previously unremarked insight about the daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog.

Although Hugh Thomas spent his life in London, he was part of an 'ancient but impoverished' family from the community of Llanfrynach in Breconshire.[320] By the time of his birth, the family wealth and prestige was as much in the past as the continuity of belief resulting from a shared religion, and Thomas mourned these losses:

> A scion of a family which claimed descent from the legendary king and 'father of saints', St Brychan, Hugh Thomas wrote from the viewpoint of a staunch Catholic for whom the sad tale of the decline and fall of the house of Thomas was the tale of the divine wrath meted out on those members of the family who had apostatised.[321]

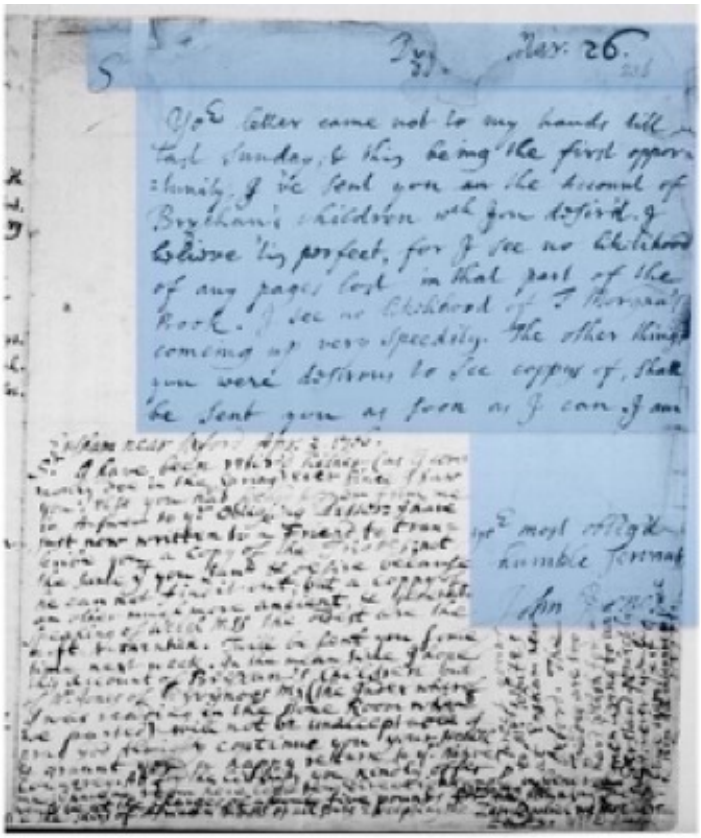
Hugh Thomas was apprenticed to a London engraver after the early death of his father, but his interests lay in genealogy and history.[322] He spent his life in these pursuits and was appointed Deputy Herald in Wales in 1703 by the Garter Principal King of Arms.[323]

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[318] M. Lewis, *From Darkness to Light: The Catholics of Breconshire 1536–1851* (Abertillery: Old Bakehouse Publications, 1992), p. 47.
[319] F. Jones, *A Catalogue of the Welsh Manuscripts in the College of Arms* (London: Alan Sutton Publishing, Ltd, 1988), p. 19.
[320] Jones, *Welsh MSS in the College of Arms*, p. 20.
[321] Lewis, *From Darkness to Light*, pp. 46–47.
[322] Jones, *Welsh MSS in the College of Arms*, p. 20.
[323] Jones, *Welsh MSS in the College of Arms*, p. 20. For a biography of Hugh Thomas, see F. Jones, 'Hugh Thomas, Deputy Herald', *The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, (1961), part 1, pp. 45–71.

Collaboration among antiquarians and heralds

While Thomas corresponded with a number of antiquarians, genealogists, and armorists, two of his most significant relationships were with Edward Lhuyd, archivist at the Ashmolean Museum and author of *Archaeologia Britannica*, and with William Lewes of Llwynderw.[324] Lhuyd's work at the Ashmolean Museum and research for the *Archaeologia Britannica* gave him access both to rare manuscripts and to collectors most likely to hold them, and Lhuyd provided copies to Thomas, as witness the following example in London, BL, MS Harley 6831, a collection of Thomas's correspondence and copied texts, which includes the following letter addressed to Edward Lhuyd from John Jones of Dyfynnog replying to a request by Lhuyd for information about the children of Brychan (fig. 14):



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Figure 14. Letter From Jones to Lhuyd[325]

[Dyfynog 26 March

[324] Jones, 'Hugh Thomas, Deputy-Herald', *The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, p. 48.
[325] London, BL, MS Harley 6831, fol. 236.

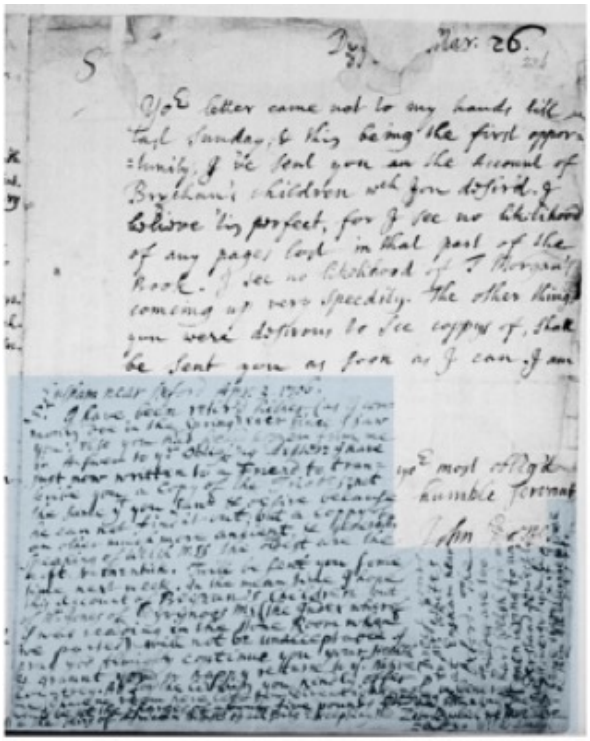
S[r]

Your letter came not to my hands till last Sunday, & this being the first opportunity I've sent you ~~an~~ the account of Brychan's children w[ch] you desir'd. I believe 'tis perfect, for I see no likelihood of any pages lost in that part of the Book. I see no likelihood of T. Morgan's comeing up very speedily. The other things you were desirous to see coppys of, shall be sent you as soon as I can. I am

yo[r] most oblig'd humble servant,

John Jones]

On the same page, after Jones' signature, appears the following message from Lhuyd to Thomas (fig. 15):



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Figure 15. Message From Lhuyd to Thomas[326]

[Ensham near Oxford Apr. 3 1706.

S[r]. I have been retird hither (as I commonly doe in the Spring) ever since I saw you; else you had heard sooner from me in answer to y[r]. obliging Letter. I have just now written to a Friend to transcribe you a copy of the

[326] MS Harley 6831, fol. 236.

> Triades; not the same y^{t} you saw & desire because he can not find it out; but a coppy of an other much more ancient, & generally speaking of Welsh MSS the oldest are the most Authentick. Twill be sent you some time next week. In the meantime I hope this account of Brychan's Children out of Mr. Jones of Dyvynogs MS (the index whereof I was reading in the Stone Room when we parted) will not be unacceptable. I pray God Almighty continue you in your Health & graunt you a happy return to y^{r}. native countrey. As for the civility you kindly offer me; I have no room here left for Directions, only in general would be at the charges of five pounds for the tanning for the skins of African Beasts of all sorts excepting the Zebra which we have already. Y^{rs}. E. Lhuyd][327]

Another version of this letter is found in MS Harley 4181.[328] A PB text appears again London, College of Arms, MS Protheroe II, by William Lewes, another collaborator with Thomas in the production of genealogies.[329]

William Lewes, described as 'the squire of Lhwynderw', was said to possess at his death the finest collection of pedigrees in Wales, including many of the manuscripts of George Owen of Henllys.[330] Working with Hugh Thomas, Lewes built the collection now known as the Golden Grove Pedigrees, the original of which is held in the Carmarthen Public Record Office while a copy is held in the College of Arms.[331] That the two genealogists shared manuscripts about the children of Brychan is evident from a note by Lewes that the text he has copied is 'by my worthy and ingenious friend Mr. Hugh Thomas, Silurian, Deputy Herald &'.[332] This example is one indication of the extent to which Thomas's collections reveal the working correspondence of a circle of antiquarian collectors who passed on and annotated the genealogies of the children of Brychan in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Some of Thomas's work can be found in the collections made by William Lewes and now held in the College of Arms and the Carmarthen Public Record Office, and several manuscripts are held at the National Museum of Wales and the Bodleian Library (see Bibliography). Most of Thomas's work, however, is in the BL, the result of the bequest of his collections of genealogies, histories, and other material to Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, which subsequently became part of the Harleian Collection (see MS Harley 6840, fol. 347, for the bequest).[333] Only the *Essay Towards a History of Breconshire*, written in 1698, was

[327] London, BL, MS Harley 6831, fol. 236.
[328] MS Harley 4181, fols 39–43.
[329] London, COA, MS Protheroe II.
[330] Jones, *Welsh MSS in the College of Arms*, p. 12.
[331] Jones, *Welsh MSS in the College of Arms*, pp. 12–13.
[332] MS Protheroe II, fol. 4; also see Jones, *Welsh MSS in the College of Arms*, p. 49.
[333] Jones, 'Hugh Thomas, Deputy Herald', *The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, p. 49.

published in 1967, edited by Josiah Jones-Davies.[334]

Hugh Thomas's manuscripts

In his will, Hugh Thomas (1623–1720) bequeathed his genealogical and historical collections to Robert Harley, earl of Oxford (see MS Harley 6840, fol. 347).[1] These collections became part of the Harleian Collection in the British Museum, now in the BL. The following sources have been reviewed for information related to the daughters of Brychan.

Thomas's Collections

The collections of Hugh Thomas include pedigrees and genealogies, histories, and his notes and correspondence. The random nature of these documents makes them challenging to catalogue and publish; however, some of them hold much interesting material related to the children of Brychan. Other manuscripts are strictly collections of pedigrees.[335]

The following manuscripts include material related to Brychan Brycheiniog and his family:

- MS Harley 6108 is a history of the county of Brecon by Hugh Thomas's great grandfather. The small book has aged badly and the text is unreadable both with the naked eye and with the aid of a light table.

- MS Harley 4181 is the best-known collection of Hugh Thomas's works. In addition to pedigrees, Thomas includes copies of these genealogical documents that include the children of Brychan:

    - AyS, fols 24–25b. 'Taken from an old Welsh Manuscrip wrote upon vellum about the year of our Lord 1250, late in the custody of Mr. Edward Lhuyd of the meuseum'.

    - The children of Brychan, according to Dr John Davies of Mallwyd, fols 30–32.

[334] H. Thomas, *Towards a 17th Century history of Brecknock*, ed. J. Jones-Davies (Brecon: The Brecon and Radnor Express and County Times Ltd., 1967).
[335] For additional manuscripts by Hugh Thomas, see London, BL, MS Harley 2288, which includes copies of pedigrees gathered from the Holme family and the collection of Lewis Dwnn (also found in London, BL, MSS Harley 1920–2180). London, BL, MS Harley 2300 is a collection of pedigrees of Brecknock families. London, BL, MS Harley 2300 is a collection of pedigrees of Carmarthenshire families. London, BL, MS Harley 5338 is a collection of monumental inscriptions and a religious poem in Welsh.

- CB, fols 34b–36b, from MS Cotton Domitian I. The source for this copy is now in the British Library.

- DSB, fols 32B–34A, from MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv with English translation. The source for this copy is now in the British Library.

- The descendents of Gwraldeg, king of Garthmarthen or Brecknockshire, fols 68–131b, the history Hugh Thomas wrote of his own family using a manuscript titled the History of Brecknockshire written by his great grandfather Thomas ap John 'wrote about the time of queen Elisabeth'. The following subsections relate to the children of Brychan:

    - Brychan, with the names of his children, fols 68b–70, from the book of Lhyuelin Offiriad.

    - Cynog ap Brychan, fols 70–71b, including the story of Cynog's battle with the Ormests.

    - The other children of Brychan, fols 71b–78b, including local legends undocumented elsewhere for Cyngar (i.e., Keyne) and Alud (i.e., Eluned).

    - The genealogy of Brychan, taken from JC20, fols 27–29b, followed by 'several genealogical extracts' from the same manuscript.

    - The Pedigrees of British Saints, fols 25b–27. 'Taken out of an old Welsh manuscrip of Mr. John Lewis of Lhuynweney in Radnorshire, wrote about the time of queen Elizabeth.'

- London, BL, MS Harley 6823 includes a copy of DSB, followed by a list of the children of Brychan in a different hand, fols 82–83b.

- London, BL, MS Harley 6831 is an oversize (roughly 12x17 inches) book that comprises at least 550 pages of script written in a number of hands. Some items appear to be rough notes on small scraps of paper; others are small manuscripts:

· Ancestors of Hugh Thomas, fols 198–199b. Items 4 through 7 comprise members of the immediate family of Brychan, from Tewdric to Rhaine, Lord of Commwnd.

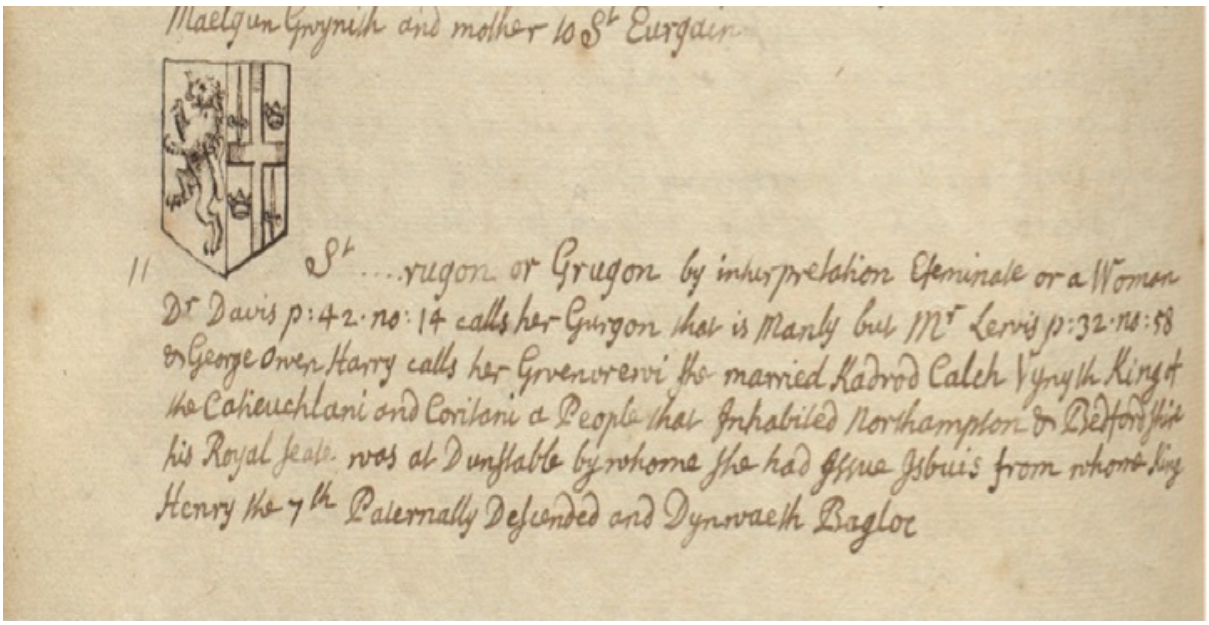
- Brecknockshire worthies (title by Edward Owen), fol. 21; this text begins with Tewder, Anfalach, and Brychan.
- Cognacio Brychan, fols 248–253, from MS Cotton Domitian I, with pencil notations. In a different hand, written in Latin only.
- The Daughters of Brychan, fol. 242, an incomplete list.
- Note about Brychan and his 34 children, fol. 298, with illustration and text inside 'by Llewelyn Offiriad from a Jesus College MS'.
- Plant Brychan ai Preswylona, fols 236–237, transcribed 'out of Mr Jones of Dyvynogs MS (the Index whereof I was reading in the stone room when we parted)'.

- London, BL, MS Harley 6870 includes Thomas's history of Brecknockshire, a partial transcript of MS Harley 6108 (fols 3–55b). These sections relate to Brychan Brycheiniog:
  - Notes on Brychan Brycheiniog, fols 119a–119b.
  - The children of Brychan, fol. 138. Includes five sons: Khwin, Rhain, Eirdaff, Clintane, and Cadoc and these daughters: St Kyni V, St Non, St Tidvall, Gwenllean, Gwenfrewi, and Rhiannon.
- London, BL, MS Harley 7001 is a collection of original letters from correspondents that include Edward Lhuyd, William Lewes, and Hugh Morgan to Hugh Thomas.
- London, BL, MS Harley 7017, fols 251A–259A, is a copy of the history by Hugh Thomas's great-grandfather, similar to the version in MS Harley 6108.

Hugh Thomas's contribution

Hugh Thomas's role as a collector of manuscripts is demonstrated by versions of DSB, CB, and PB found in MSS Harley 4181, 6823, 6831, 6870, and 7001; however, the history Thomas wrote about his own family includes features about the daughters of Brychan that demonstrate Thomas's unique contribution: coats of arms, analysis and synthesis of his sources, and new material, such as etymologies for saints' names, and legends not found in

other sources.[336] These qualities can be demonstrated in the following example for St Grugon (fig. 16). First, he illustrates the text with a coat of arms:



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Figure 16. 'St …..rugon or Grugon' from MS Harley 4181[337]

> [11. St ….rugon or Grugon by interpretation Efeminate or a Woman Dr Davis p:42˙no:14 calls her Gurgon that is manly but Mr Lewis p:32˙no:58 & George Owen Harry calls her Gwenfrewi She married Kadrod Calch Vynyth King of the Catiechlani and Coritani a people that Inhabited Northampton & Bedfordshire his Royal seate was at Dunstable by whome she had Issue Isbuis from whome King Henry the 7th Paternally Descended and Dynwaeth Baglor]

Like Nicholas Roscarrock (see ch. 3), Thomas not only copies, but he attempts to reconcile the material, choosing from his sources, and not using all of them (e.g., he leaves out DSB and CB, although he copied both tracts into MS Harley 4181). Looking at the sources Thomas uses (without George Owen Harry's text, which is not referenced and is not part of MS Harley 4181), line 58 of the version of Plant Brychan on page 32 is 'Gwenfrewi gwraig Kadrod Kalch vynedh'.[338] Line 14 of page 14 states 'Gwrgon merch Brychan gwraig Kadrot Calch Vynydh mam Dynvaedh Baglor'.[339] Thomas copies manuscripts, but he also compares versions and analyzes them to create a synthesized text, and that is a major change.

[336] MS Harley 4181, fols 129–143.
[337] MS Harley 4181, fol. 138.
[338] MS Harley 4181, fol. 32.
[339] MS Harley 4181, fol. 42.

This text also demonstrates the third unique contribution of Hugh Thomas, his introduction of new legends and tales about the daughters of Brychan. He adds the etymology for the saint's name, as he does for the other daughters of Brychan, but he also adds information, which is included in the other chapters of this thesis; for example, chapter 6 includes Thomas's version of St Cain's deathbed prophecy and his prediction that the saint's vengeance may be at hand (see ch. 6). Chapter 5 discusses Thomas's report of local traditions about the Life of St Eluned, which he calls 'Lhud, that is Anger'. Chapter 8 discusses the lesser-known daughters of Brychan, and it includes Thomas's comment that Henry VII can trace his descent from St Grugon, and Thomas contributes details about King Kadrod's royal seat and tribes that are not present in other texts. In summary, Hugh Thomas adds information not present in other versions of the genealogical lists, such the saint's coat of arms, etymology of name, cross-references to other manuscripts and additional details. Thomas delivers a commentary to the texts he has copied, rather than offering only the lists. In this his work resembles that of Nicholas Roscarrock (see ch. 3), who also compares versions and assesses the material he presents.

Thomas's continuing influence

Thomas's influence can be seen in the imagery still associated with the daughters of Brychan and in the repetition of elements he added to their legends. The coat of arms of Brychan documented by Hugh Thomas is still employed in local Breconshire government (fig. 17):



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Figure 17. Brecknock City Council and District Council Arms[340]

Daughters of Brychan are also included in the arms for Llanelli and Merthyr Tydfil. The Llanelli Borough Council arms include a figure of St Elli, described as a granddaughter of Brychan reputed to have been martyred by heathen Saxons.[341] There is some debate as to the identity of St Elli, who is also associated both with St Eluned and a bishop named St Elli (see ch. 5). The arms, however, indicate a woman saint (fig. 18). Both Elli and Tudful are considered daughters of Brychan:



Llanelli
Borough Council

Motto: Forward Llanelli

Blazon: Parted chevronwise argent and gules, in chief two ancient galleys sable and in base the figure of St Elli, silver.



Merthyr Tydfil
Borough Council

Motto: No strength but in fellowship

Blazon: Azure, the figure of St Tydfil between in chief two crosses paty pointed at the foot, all gold.

Copyright 2015 by Heralds of the World

Figure 18. Llanelli Borough Council Arms and Merthyr Tydfil Borough Council Arms[342]

Hugh Thomas's influence can be seen in Brecon Cathedral, where many of the stained glass windows show saints with coats of arms. As discussed in Chapter 2, the Corvizor's Chapel, renamed St Keyne's Chapel, features stained glass windows (fig. 7) of the Founders of the Faith in the parish donated in 1903 Gwenllian E. F. Morgan and her sister.[343] That same year, Morgan featured the legends about St Eluned as recorded by Hugh Thomas in an article

[340] The description of the arms for the Brecknock District Council can be found in C. Scott-Giles, *Civic Heraldry of England & Wales* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1933), p. 56. See also Brecknock District Council, Heraldry of the World [online]. Available at http://www.ngw.nl/heraldrywiki/index.php?title=Brecknock <Accessed 8 December 2019>
[341] C. Scott-Giles, *Civic Heraldry of England and Wales*, p. 70.
[342] 'Llanelli Borough County Council', *Heraldry of the World* [online]. Available at http://www.ngw.nl/heraldrywiki/index.php?title=Llanelli <Accessed 11 April 2020> and 'Merthyr Tydfil Borough County Council', *Heraldry of the World* [online]. Available at http://www.ngw.nl/heraldrywiki/index.php?title=Merthyr_Tydfil <Accessed 11 April 2020>.
[343] G. Morgan, *Brecon Cathedral* (Brecon: Brecon Cathedral Publication, 1903, 9th rev. 1944), NPN.

called ‘Forgotten Sanctuaries’ discussed in Chapter 2.[344] The windows feature detailed coats of arms above them that match the iconography Thomas created for the family of Brychan, a motif not repeated in Llandaff Cathedral, which also includes stained glass windows with images of the daughters of Brychan. These echoes of Hugh Thomas remain only in the Breconshire area.

Conclusion

Hugh Thomas was a catalyst during his lifetime, gathering manuscripts from the antiquarian scholars of his day, such as Edward Lhuyd and William Lewes. While his work helped to preserve the past, his greatest influence was to add his own stamp to the meme of the daughters of Brychan, using his vivid and dramatic writing style to contribute local traditions, documenting pedigrees and coats of arms, and reporting dedications to the daughters of Brychan. He weaves a thread in which the saints promise retribution, reflecting his own anger and sense of loss, but also his piety and pride in heritage. These factors later appealed to Gwenllian Morgan, affecting her historical reporting and her patronage of Brecon Cathedral. Thomas created visual imagery that fuses the identity of Breconshire with the holy family of Brychan Brycheiniog; in fact, Thomas’s work has helped to keep alive the politico-heroic myth that the earliest ruling families of Wales combined saintliness with royal lineage (see ch. 2). No comparable association of saintliness with the families of Cunedda Wledig and Caw of Prydain exists to the extent and with the documentation that can be found for Brychan Brycheiniog, and Hugh Thomas did much to keep the story alive.

Breconshire historians such as Theophilus Jones and Gwenllian Morgan have relied on Thomas’s accounts of the history, rulers, monuments, inscriptions, and landscape of the area, but to what extent does Thomas’s influence extend outside Breconshire? For the most part, his contributions have been hidden. Of the hundreds of pages he left behind, only a thin pamphlet has been published, his *Essay Towards a History of Brecknockshire*.[345] His work deserves more attention. These collections come from a turbulent time, reflected in Thomas’s clinging to continuity and heritage after terrible loss. The gentle way of life his family once pursued in Llanfrynach was gone along with its security and prestige; the family estate was sold and his father driven to London to become a merchant. Catholicism was illegal, and many of his family had fallen away from that faith. Others were persecuted for recusancy; for

[344] Morgan, ‘Forgotten Sanctuaries’, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, pp. 205–223.
[345] Thomas, *Towards a 17th Century history of Brecknock*.

example, his beloved aunt, Mary Thomas, was denied burial in the Parish Church of Llanddew because of her faith, but after community protest she was buried instead in the College Chapel next to her parents.[346] With so much tradition in ruins around him, Thomas's passion for gathering ancient genealogies and histories, working with colleagues like Edward Lhuyd and William Lewes, and ultimately his insistence on weaving the Brychan stories into his own family's history, made him a formidable contributor to the cultural identity of Breconshire. No other source has done as much to ensure that the legends of the daughters of Brychan were collected, studied, and even redefined.

Thomas's influence is seen in the next subject, Chapter 5 St Eluned, the first of the daughters of Brychan discussed in this thesis, where Thomas's Life of the saint presents her tradition from a seventeenth-century perspective, which complement the medieval sources about her cult.

[346] Lewis, *From Darkness to Light*, pp. 55–56.

Chapter 5 Eluned

The first of the daughters of Brychan discussed in this thesis is Eluned daughter of Brychan, said to be a local saint martyred next to her oratory near the town of Brecon during the legendary time after the Romans left Britain. A holy well emerged at the place of her martyrdom, and a chapel was built over her oratory, which later became a popular medieval shrine. The tradition of St Eluned focuses on the centre of her cult, located at her shrine and holy well, not only during the time of Gerald of Wales, whose description of her feast day remains a vivid glimpse into medieval piety, but also in the present time, when the feast of St Eluned has begun once more to be celebrated with an annual community event sponsored by Brecon Cathedral. The evidence from the historical stages discussed in chapter 2 (i.e., medieval, post-Reformation, Celtic Revival, and twentieth century and beyond) reveals the evolution of traditions related to the veneration of this local saint.

The cult of St Eluned

Eluned is not well known outside Breconshire, but since the twelfth-century medieval writers have referred to her martyrdom, the church built over her oratory and grave, and the holy well that emerged at her death. Medieval sources are brief, but Hugh Thomas wrote a late Life of the saint based on a local legend. In Thomas's account, the martyr whose death Gerald of Wales described as 'triumphant', becomes the tale of a helpless victim, rejected by family and persecuted by the communities where she sought sanctuary.[347] During the Celtic Revival, her cult site becomes a symbol for lost medieval traditions, and during the early twentieth century, Eluned becomes one of the 'founders of the faith' in Breconshire, stressing the origins of the original kingdom and its saints. Most recently, Eluned's feast day has been renewed, once again becoming one of the local community's festivals. The RCAHMW maintains records of her former chapel and well, as shown in figure 19, an aerial photograph of the site in 1999, which is located at Slwch Farm, owned at the time of writing by Mr Gwyn Williams, near the Iron Age hill-fort of Slwch Tump.

[347] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales*, pp. 92–93.



Figure 19. Aerial View of St Eluned's Chapel and well[348]

This chapter discusses the cult of St Eluned, including the history of her chapel and holy well and also other places that may have been associated with her. Eluned's story is compared with those of two other women saints decapitated by angry suitors, Gwenfrewy in Holywell and Arild in Gloucestershire. Efforts to connect Eluned with the Luned and Lunette of Arthurian romance, while far fetched, reflect changing attitudes toward her identity and are included for that reason. The chapter closes with traditions of the saint's feast day, along with poems and art dedicated to her.

Medieval sources

Medieval evidence for the cult of St Eluned relate chiefly to her chapel, located on the outskirts of Brecon near the Iron Age fort called Slwch Tump on land now part of Slwch Farm. Charters establish and confirm that St Eluned's Chapel was attached to the Priory of St John the Evangelist in Brecon. Gerald of Wales confirms the location of the chapel and

[348] 'AP_2005_1895', RCAHMW Colour Oblique Digital Aerial Photographs, Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/archive/6191332/details/504 <Accessed 6 March 2020>

documents The medieval sources related to Eluned are found in Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales*, DSB and related Welsh genealogies, and charters that document the chapel dedicated to Eluned. A late medieval source, William Worcestre, also mentions Eluned, whom he refers to as 'St Elevetha' and 'St Elevesa'.[349]

The account of the Brychan family by Gerald of Wales (see chs.1 and 2) includes a memorable account of the feast day of St Almedha (a Latinised version of *Eluned*). Gerald describes the location of her chapel, her status as a virgin martyr, the date of her feast day, and the miracles achieved at her chapel:

> There are still many churches in Wales which have the honour of being named after them. One is on the top of a hill not far from the main castle of Brecon. It is called the church of Saint Eluned, after the name of the saintly virgin who on that spot refused the hand of an earthly ruler and married instead the King Eternal, thus triumphing in an ecstasy of self-denial.[350]

The text hints that her refusal to accept an earthly spouse may be related to her death, but Gerald does not describe her martyrdom. Instead, he writes much more about Eluned's feast day, on which he said that celebrants gathered in the graveyard at the chapel. There, in a trance-like state, they began to mime the work previously performed on the Sabbath. After this, still in the trance, the celebrants entered the chapel, where they returned to their senses, forgiven for their lapses.

The location of St Eluned's Chapel does not vary in descriptions, although the spelling of the saint's name varies. For example, DSB describes the twenty-third daughter of Brychan as 'Eileueth filia Brachan y Grugc Gors Auail'; that is, the 'Eileueth daughter of Brychan of the Mound of the Bog (or Pond) of the Holding'.[351] This boggy, but hilly land is also referred to by an equivalent English phrase, Slwch Tump, and the area around the chapel (fig. 20) is marshy hill country.[352] View A shows Slwch Lane, leading south from Slwch Manor (now

[349] Worcestre, *Itineraries*, pp. 154–157.
[350] For this discussion of St Eluned's Chapel and her feast day, see Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales*, pp. 92–93.
[351] VSBG, p. 315 and EWGT, p. 16. Bartrum explains his translation: 'Crug = mound, Cors = bog, but lacus = pond, gafael = a holding.' For CB, see VSBG, p. 318: 'Eluned is called 'Elyuet in Monte Gorsauael, que pro amore castitatis martirizata est' (Elyuet in Monte Gorsauael, who is martyred for love of chastity). For JC20, see EWGT, pp. 38 and 138, where she is 'Felis verch Vrachan' (Felis daughter of Brychan). In the PB documents, see EWGT, pp. 83–84, where she is named 'Elinedd verch Vrychan yNghorsabawl' (Elinedd daughter of Brychan in Gorsabawl), with variations among manuscripts that include Elinet, Elived, and Elined.
[352] The term 'Slwch Tump' is from ME *slo(u)gh* (from OE *slóh*), 'slough', 'quagmire' and *twmpa*, or hill according to R. Morgan and R. Powell, *A Study of Breconshire Place-Names* (Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 1999), pp. 137 and 151.

Slwch Farm) through the marshy farmland toward Slwch Tump and then downhill to the town of Brecon. View B shows the site of St Eluned's Chapel and holy well on the edge of Slwch Tump, shown in views C and D.



Figure 20. Slwch Lane looking from Slwch Farm to Slwch Tump

Earliest mentions of St Eluned's Chapel occur in two charters relating to the Priory of St John the Evangelist, a cell of Battle Abbey founded in 1093 by Bernard Newmarch (also known as Bernard de Neufmarché), and now known as Brecon Cathedral.[353] The first charter dated 1115 states that David, Bishop of St Davids, on the petition of Ralph the Prior, dedicates the Church of St. Haillilde to the Church of St. John.[354] The second charter of 1147 by Bernard, Bishop of St David's, confirms the donations of Bernard Newmarch and his followers and

[353] *Cartularium Prioratus S. Johannis Evangelistae de Brecon*, ed. by R. Banks (London: Whiting & Company, Ltd., 1884), pp. 1–3.
[354] *Cartularium Prioratus S. Johannis Evangelistae de Brecon*, Contents B. For another variant spelling, see p. 62 n.1, where Banks notes that in the second charter the name 'Aissilde' is also written, but crossed through. A later section in the Medieval sources for Eluned introduces the cult of St Arild in Gloucestershire. Might the similarity of names indicate a conflation of these adjacent saints?

gives the Chapel of St. Huellilde situated in the parish of St. John to the Church of St. John the Evangelist.[355]

Two fourteenth-century poems by Lewys Glyn Cothi also record the veneration of St Elwedd, said by some to be another name for Eluned. Elwedd is named among a number of other Welsh saints and the form of the adjective suggests that she was a female saint, although little else can be gleaned from the contact. The poem 'Moliant Elfael' (Praise of Elfael) has the quality of an incantation, repeating the names of the (mostly local) saints who protect the land of Elfael:

> Moliant Elfael
>
> Pedr wyn o'i dir, Padarn deg,
> Dewi lwyd, hen Deilo wyn,
> Duw'n ei wlad, Deiniel Iwydwyn.
> Da Elwedd fawr, delw oedd fwyn,
> da Fariaith, San Ffraid forwyn.[356]
>
> [Praise of Elfael
>
> Holy Peter of his land, fair Padarn,
> David holy, old Teilo white,
> God in his land, Deiniol fair and holy.
> Good Elwedd great, image was mild,
> Good Mariaith, San Ffraid virgin]

A second poem by Lewys Glyn Cothi, 'Moliant Sion ap Rhys ac Elsbedd', ends with this quatrain:

> Nawdd Mair, nawdd ei mab ar Elsabedd,
> nawdd Ilar, nawdd Mair a nawdd Elwedd,
> nawdd Caron ar hon, rhinwedd—cerddorion,
> nawdd yr engylion ar Non Glyn Nedd.[357]
>
> [Mary's blessing, her son's protection of Elsabedd,
> Ilar's protection, Mary's and Elwedd's protection,
> Caron's blessing on this, virtue—musicians,
> the angels' protection of Neath.]

[355] *Cartularium Prioratus S. Johannis Evangelistae de Brecon*, pp. 62–63.
[356] *Gwaith Lewys Glyn Cothi*, ed. by Johnston , pp. 317–318, p. 317.
[357] *Gwaith Lewys Glyn Cothi*, ed. by Johnston, pp. 233–234, p. 234.

William Worcestre recorded two notes about St Eluned in *Itineraries*. Her name does not appear in the list of the children of Brychan that he derived from a copy of the Life of St Nectan, and he does not identify his source for the entry:

> St Elevetha, virgin and martyr, one of the 24 daughters of the petty king of Brecknock in Wales, 24 miles [36 m.] from Hereford; she lies in the church of Virgin nuns of the town of Usk and was martyred on a hill one mile from Brecon where a spring of water welled forth, and the stone on which she was beheaded remains there, and as often as someone in honour of God and the holy saint shall say Lord's prayer or drink of the water of the spring, he shall find each time a woman's hair of the saint upon the stone; a great miracle.[358]

No other account suggests the translation of the saint's body to Usk, the presence of a stone where she was beheaded, or the miracle of her hair appearing on the stone when one drinks of the well. The miracle of the woman's hair echoes a similar miracle of St Gwenfrewy, the more-well-known Welsh saint whose popular cult is at Holywell.[359] In a second entry, Worcestre repeats his note about the saint's grave: 'St. Elevesa, Virgin, lies in the church at Usk'.[360]

Post-Reformation sources

At the time of the Reformation, St Eluned's Chapel was considered important enough that the Priory of St John the Evangelist sought to keep the chapel among the priory's holdings, as demonstrated in an agreement found in Carte's Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford between Prior Robert Sadler of the Priory of St John the Evangelist of Brecon, and Sir Thomas ap Jenkin Groge, the vicar of the same church on 1 August 1527.[361] The agreement conveyed to the vicar tithes and property related to the church, but it also specified exceptions, one of which is the chapel of St Eylet.[362] The priory was dissolved ten years later.

It is uncertain when St Eluned's Chapel ceased to be used as a chapel. An Augmentation Office roll of possessions of religious houses forfeited by the Duke of Buckingham to the crown at the time of his execution in 1521 includes 'the Curate's stipend for celebrating Divine Service in the Chapel of St. Alice in the parish of Brecknock'.[363] It would appear,

[358] Worcestre, *Itineraries*, pp. 154–155.
[359] LBS, vol. 3, pp. 185–196.
[360] Worcestre, *Itineraries*, pp. 156–157.
[361] G. Roberts, 'Priory of St John the Evangelist, Brecon', AC, New Series, no. 17 (Jan. 1854), pp. 19–30, p. 29.
[362] Roberts, 'Priory of St John the Evangelist, Brecon', pp. 19–30.
[363] Morgan, 'Forgotten Sanctuaries', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, pp. 205–223.

however, that by 1551, at least Slwch Manor was in private hands, as indicated by an inquisition after the death of Thomas James, lord of the manor, which refers to 'the Manor of Slough (Slwch) and Saint Aylett' close to the town of Brecon, where the estate is described as 'the Manor or capital messuage of Slough or Slozthe and Saint Aylett, 2 messuages, 150 acres of land, 50 acres of meadow, 80 acres of pasture, 14 acres of wood, 12 acres of furze and heath, and 8d. rent with the appurtenances in Brecon in the county aforesaid.[364] By the end of the seventeenth century, Hugh Thomas reported that the chapel was in ruins, so services likely ended during the second half of the sixteenth century.

The Counter-Reformation texts produced in Europe for English Catholics relied on well-known sources, and a number of accounts repeat Gerald of Wales's story of St Almedha's feast day. Although Richard Whytford and John Wilson do not include Almedha/Eluned in their martyrologies, Michael Alford does tell the story of Almedha along with brief mentions of Gladus, Melari, Tuduael, and Keyna.[365] The later *Acta Sanctorum* includes a commentary, 'De S. Almedha Virg. et Mart. in Wallia' (Of Saint Almedha Virgin and Martyr in Wales), where the Bollandist author notes that the saint had been neglected in English martyrologies in spite of her large cult and important shrine, using as evidence Gerald of Wales, William Camden, and Michael Alford.[366]

Nicholas Roscarrock, writing in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, repeats the account of Almedha from *The Journey Through Wales*, but he also refers readers to his entries for Brechanus and Saint Nectan. By the end of the seventeenth century, Hugh Thomas recorded in MS Harley 4181 a local tradition with the elements of a Life of St Eluned, discussed in the following section.[367] Thomas confirms the location and condition of the chapel in his *Essay Towards a History of the County of Brecknockshire 1698*,'…St. Tayled, now vacant and not made use of, but all untiled.[368]

[364] J. Lloyd, *Historical Memoranda of Breconshire*, 2 vols (Brecon: Ellis Owen, 1903), vol. 1, p. 42.
[365] Alford, *Annales Ecclesiae Britanniae*, pp. 623–626.
[366] AS, vol. 4, pp. 275–277.
[367] MS Harley 4181, fol. 143.
[368] Thomas, *Essay Towards a History of Brecknockshire 1698*, p. 24.

'The Life of St Eluned' as a local tradition

In MS Harley 4181, Hugh Thomas documents a Life of St Eluned, whom he calls 'St Lhud that is Anger', the name used in JC20.[369] After paraphrasing Gerald of Wales' description of the chapel of Almedha, the martyr, he explains why he has included this legend in his account:

> But [Gerald of Wales] gives us no farther account of the manner to supply which defect the county thereabouts gives us all the particulars which will not be amiss to subjoin in this Place as a Testimony of God's Providence to preserve the memory of his servants and the undeniable Credit of the traditions of the innocent country people which is thus briefly or obscurely touched by authors.[370]

Following the patterned life for a woman saint, as defined by Elissa Henken and augmented by Jane Cartwright (see ch. 1), one would expect that Eluned's story would begin at puberty, with a (a) decision to embrace chastity, (b) refusal to marry, (c) need to flee, (d) search for ascetic lifestyle, (e) encounter with male desire, and (f) torment and/or death as a saint. That pattern does match the story that Thomas records of St Lhud (i.e., Eluned).

The story addresses the saint's ordeals, martyrdom, subsequent miracles, and the abuse her chapel suffered since the Reformation.[371] The story begins in a burst of drama:

> It seemes that having from her Infancy dedicated her selfe wholy to the service of God in her riper years It is said being violently prest by a young Prince to marriage, to free herselfe from his solisitations and those of her Family she secretly stole away from her Fathers house in a disguise resolving for a time to conceale her sefe in the neighbouring Vilages, not Doubting but that God for whose sake she had renounced the World would support her.[372]

With this statement, Thomas creates an atmosphere of danger, introducing the violence of her suitor, the pressure from her family, and her secret departure in disguise. Her expectation of God's protection increases her vulnerability to the dangers of human cruelty, which Thomas builds up:[373]

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[369] According to the GPC, the definition of 'llid' is 'anger, wrath, ire, indignation, fury, furiousness, ferocity; passion, ardour, inordinate love', GPC [online]. Available at http://www.geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html <Accessed 14 December 2019> For JC20, see EWGT, p. 44.
[370] MS Harley 4181, p. 141.
[371] MS Harley 4181, p. 141.
[372] MS Harley 4181, p. 141.
[373] MS Harley 4181, p. 141.

> But behold the great Patience & Victory of the Holly Royall Maid! all Bowells of human goodness were shut up against her so that her name Lhed or Anger seems to have been given her by Divine Inspiration as well as those of all her brothers and sisters Anger being powered out against her like a Flood, weight added to weight and burthen to burthen till her life was taken away with great violence.[374]

Having announced the theme of the story to be 'Anger', this introduction pits her against a rageful world, as represented by suitor, family, and neighbors. Lhud/Eluned seeks and is denied sanctuary in three local parishes. Her first stop was the village of Llanddew, where she is taken for a harlot:

> The first place she retired to was the village of Llanthew or Trinity Church about a mile from Brecknock where hoping to be free from the allurements of men she fell again into the Snair, for giving no account of her self such Beauty in Raggs was the cause she was here treated as a common Harlot who knew no love but God.[375]

From Llanddew, she escapes and travels to Llanfilo, where she is branded a thief:

> From hence fleeing again she retired to a village called Lhanvillo 3 miles farther to live in greater obscurity which joined with her poverty was cause she was treated as a common theife who despised all human good or riches but heavine or rather God.[376]

From Llanfilo, Lhud/Eluned journeys to Llechfaen, where she found that gossip had reached the village ahead of her, and so she was rejected again:

> From hence fleing back again to another village called Lhechvain within a mile of Brecknock where the former Scandalls had reached before her. She was treated with such scorne and condemed that no body would receive her but forced her to lay in the trees on the high road which ever since is called of her name in Welsh Heol St Aled.[377]

Eluned's next journey led her to safety. The manor whose lord gives her permission to build her oratory could refer to Brecon Castle, but the description more closely fits Slwch Farm:

> After which she resolved to retire to some solitude never more to converse with mortalls & such a solitude she found upon a hill call'd the Slough now Penginger Well, near the towne of Brecknock which ws then all over growne with wood here that she might receive no further insults she retired. The Lord of the Manner to give her leave to dwell

[374] MS Harley 4181, pp 141–142.
[375] MS Harley 4181, pp 141–142.
[376] MS Harley 4181, pp 141–142.
[377] MS Harley 4181, pp 141–142.

> which was very courtously granted with a promise of other charity upon which she there built her a little sell or oratory to enjoye the delights of her heavenly spouse & was used often to goe downe to the castle of the Slough to begg her bread where she was very hospitably relieved for which she prayed that the blessing of God& Plenty might always be there.[378]

Figure 21 illustrates some of the places described by Thomas. The 'castle of the Slough' is ambiguous, as the only castle is the Norman Castle in Brecon, although the former Roman site Y Gaer could have served that function. Still, this castle most likely refers to house on what is now Slwch Farm, shown in view D. The farmhouse dates from the time of Hugh Thomas, and Coflein reports that it was once moated:



Figure 21. Views of Eluned's sanctuary

Thomas delivered a prophesy by the saint, in which Eluned essentially cursed those who rejected her:

[378] MS Harley 4181, fols 141–142.

> And when her thoughts were settled in a like tranquility after all these stormes by way of prophesey she said that by the secret judgment of God the village of Lhanthew is a chastisment of the injuries done to her would be continually plaged with harlots as it is to this day above any other part of the county and the village of Lhanvillo by thieves as they were to this day above all others and the village of Lhachvain with Envy was indeed as they are continually in contention & law with one another.[379]

Figure 22 shows views of the three villages, now hamlets, mentioned in Thomas's story. All three have wells said to be related to St Eluned. Two wells are shown as views B and C:

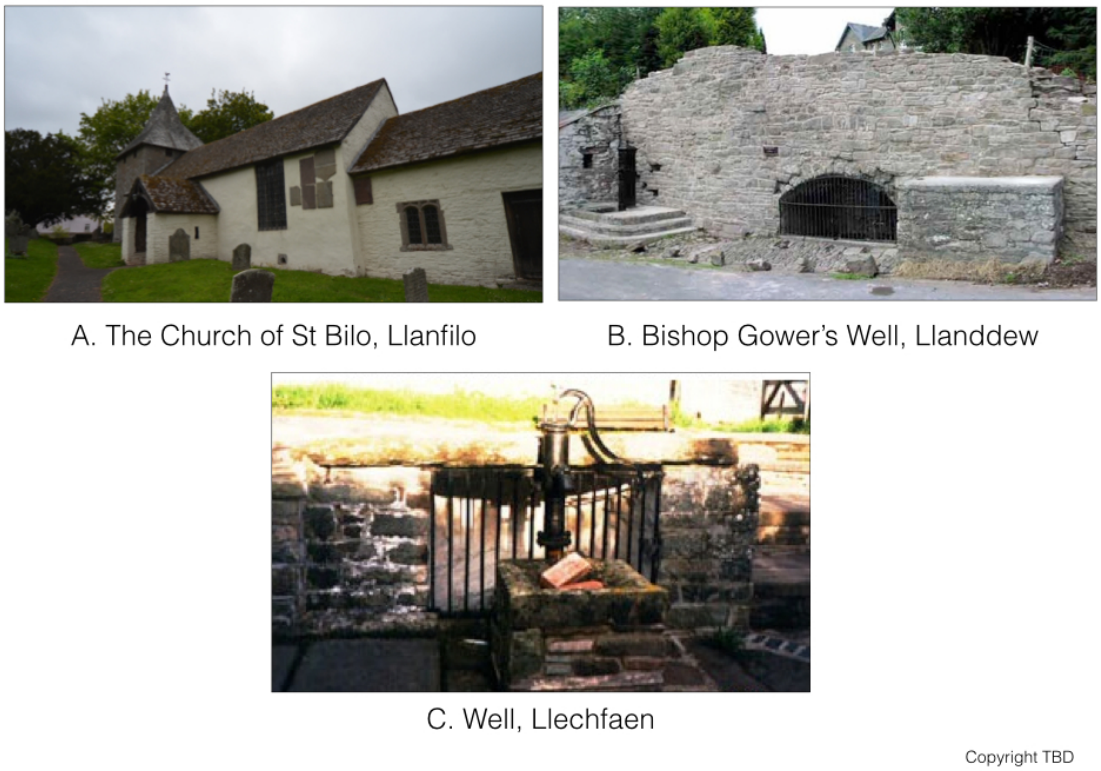


Figure 22. Views of Llanfilo, Llanddew, and Llechfaen

As soon as Eluned gained a sense of acceptance and safety, she was martyred:

> But this sweetness did not last long nor could any place give her security from the persecutions of our common enimey the Devile for the faime of her great patience and piety begining to be reported in the neighbourhood her importunate lover impatient to know if it were not his lost mistress went to her retirement to see where finding her alone at prayers a violent fear sirprised her soule at the danger of the place & perforce to that she thought to flee downe to the Lords house at the

[379] MS Harley 4181, fols 141–142.

> bottom, which the young Prince perceiving mad with rage & despair persues her & cut of her head which rowling a little downe the hill a cleare spring of water issued of the rock where it rested.[380]

The site of the present well-house is downhill from the chapel site. The well emerges where her head fell, but her chapel is built over the oratory that became her grave:

> Which [her martyrdom] being preferably knowne she was taken up and buried in her owne little cottage which was there upon turned into a chappell & the secret history of her life by this cruell death revealed to the whole world & her innocency made to outshine the sund God working many miracles by her intensionns in testimony of his greate favour for her in the eyes of all those that so much injured her.[381]

Hugh Thomas then repeats Gerald of Wales's account of her feast day, and follows it with a diatribe against the Reformation:

> But since this generally profanation of all Holy feasts and the destruction of her church and alter where she received those whome she chastized this miracle has seased but not her indignation or anger.[382]

Anger is certainly the theme of Thomas's Life of St Eluned and one of the aspects that make his story compelling. His own anger is not concealed his description of the shrine's desecration after the Reformation:

> For Mr. James Thomas now Lord of the Slough who gave me this tradition of the saint's suffering & martirdom told me this church was under the protection of the monkes of the Priory of Brecknock and that there was settled upon a priest for saying Divine Service there two medones adjoyning to the North side of the churchyard & his diner every Sunday at the Priory of St John Evangelist & a can of beere every day and that when Religion went to Rack and the Lord of the Priory lands in the time of K. H the 8th that went off amongst the rest & the church stript of all its ornaments & coffer and left to tumble to the ground.[383]

Thomas's description of the gradual destruction of the chapel is carried up to the time of Cromwell's rule and once again he describes the ways in which those who abuse the saint are brought to justice:

> ...that therefore in the time of the Parliaments Rebellion as K Charles the first his father Thomas James of Slough made it a barne to & built a

[380] MS Harley 4181, fols 141–142.
[381] MS Harley 4181, fols 141–142.
[382] MS Harley 4181, fols 141–142.
[383] MS Harley 4181, fols 141–142.

> beaste house at the end of it till he found himself almost ruined by an insensible decay of fortune for the punishment of his sacrilege & that the family had never prospered since that therefore he cleaned it out and left it empty and pulled downe the beast house & often promised to repair it. But the top is now quite fallen to the ground & the walls will shortly follow it. [384]

Thomas considers attempts to placate the saint as hollow, and he sees no way to restore the church. The end of the account reflects sorrow and resignation:

> To this place the young people of the towne did use [sic] to come every May day and have many sports & diversions I suppose from an abuse of the Devout customs of visiting the church in former times but this is now quite laid aside.[385]

Hugh Thomas describes the May Day gatherings at the chapel as having ceased. With one gathering described as taking place on May Day and the saint's feast day taking place on 1 August, or Lammas Day, the chapel's site seems to reach back to a time before Christianity, but that is supposition.

Celtic Revival

During the Celtic Revival, the lost chapel of St Eluned was mourned because it was seen as gone beyond retrieving. Nearly a century after Hugh Thomas's account of the ruined church, Sir Richard Colt Hoare (1758–1838), visited the ruined chapel and wrote that 'some small vestiges of this building may still be traced, and an aged yew tree, with a well at its foot, marks the site'.[386] In 'Forgotten Sanctuaries', Gwenllian Morgan notes that stones shown to Mr. Butcher and Mr. George Hay during a walk to nearby Slwch Farm were said to have come originally from the chapel.[387] Similarly, the Breconshire historian Theophilus Jones (see ch. 2) reported that the chapel and well had been reduced to a heap of stones in his discussion of St Eluned.[388]

John Lloyd of Dinas (1797–1875) was father of the John Edward Lloyd who wrote *Historical memoranda of Breconshire*, in which he mentions 'a sonnet by my father to the memory of fair Elined (the name is variously given as Alud, Elud, Elyned and Aluned, and here we have

[384] MS Harley 4181, fols 141–142.
[385] MS Harley 4181, fols 141–142.
[386] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales*, trans. by R. Colt-Hoare, rev. and ed. by T. Wright (London: George Bell & Sons, 1905), p. 347.
[387] Morgan, 'Forgotten Sanctuaries', p. 222.
[388] Jones, *History of Brecknockshire*, vol. 1, p. 43.

it as Aylett), a daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog'.[389] Gwenllian Morgan quotes Lloyd's poem about St Eluned, adding that Lloyd wrote it by a window that overlooked the site of her chapel and well:

> Elyned
>
> 'Fair Elyned, this window doth command
> A low flat hill, whereon tradition says
> Thy life was freely rendered, in the days
> When yet the cross on this benighted land
> Had feeble hold, by persecutions hand
> Fiercely assailed: oh! while secure we raise
> Temple and altar, well become us praise,
> And recollections of the martyred band:
> Nor least of thee for of a princely race,
> And sex ill-form'd such pang to undergo,
> That thou hast won in history a place
> Is proof thy spirit quail'd not from the blow.
> Would not the conquerors of the earth could trace
> Such proud escutcheon, such desert might shew.'[390]

With others of the daughters of Brychan, Lives of the saints, poems, and traditions are often limited to medieval sources, but this poem to Eluned demonstrates a continuing interest, although Lloyd appears to respect her for her courage rather than venerate her as a saint.

The two volumes of Theophilus Jones' *History of Brecknockshire* published in 1805 and 1809 collects earlier material to document the story of St Eluned and her chapel, largely relying on MS Harley 4181 by Hugh Thomas. Gwenllian Morgan's later article, 'Forgotten Sanctuaries', remains, especially in attitude, a product of the Celtic Revival based on its romantic and melancholy reflection on the lost past. Morgan evokes the atmosphere of melancholy and loss in Hugh Thomas's work, but without his sense of helpless rage. Her conclusion, for example, illustrates how she carefully creates a mood of isolation, reflection, and distance:

> So, to-day, not one stone is left upon another to tell us of the faith and devotion of a past age. A yew-tree alone marks the spot where the sainted martyr gave her soul to God; a green mound alone recalls the

[389] R. Jenkins, 'Lloyd, John (1833–1915), political reformer and antiquary', DWB [online]. Available at https://biography.wales/article/s-LLOY-JHN-1833 <Accessed 12 April 2020> See also Lloyd, *Historical Memoranda of Breconshire*, vol. 1, p. 41
[390] Morgan, 'Forgotten Sanctuaries', pp. 221–222.

> memory of the chants of praise and prayer, which, ascending to Heaven through the long centuries, broke the silence of that lonely height.[391]

One reason that Morgan's essay does not reflect despair is because she worked effectively to reintroduce the Brychan tradition into the consciousness of the Brecon community. At the end of the Celtic Revival she published historical articles derived from her antiquarian research, such as 'Forgotten Sanctuaries', and as mayor of the town of Brecon, Morgan incorporated the Brychan family coat of arms, as drawn by Hugh Thomas, as the crest of the city council. Morgan's portrait hangs in the city hall with the Brychan coat of arms painted on the canvas. In 1910 she commissioned the Brychan stained glass windows for the newly decorated St Keyne's Chapel that took the place of the Chapel of the Corvizers in Brecon Cathedral. The combination of windows honouring the 'Founders of the Faith' included an enigmatic image of St Eluned (as St Alud) in a three-light panel along with Brychan and St Cynog designed by William Aikman of James Powell & Sons.[392] Figure 23 shows the three figures standing on verdant ground, with farmland in the foreground and the Brecon Beacons in the background.[393]

[391] Morgan, 'Forgotten Sanctuaries', p. 223.
[392] 'St Cynog, St Brychan and St Alud', Stained Glass in Wales Catalogue, ed. by Crampin, CAWCS, Aberystwyth [online].
[393] Crampin, no page numbers.



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



B. The Brecon Beacons from Slwch Tump facing south



C. St Alud on Slwch Tump, south view

Copyright 2015 by Eric Mehan

Figure 23. The family of Brychan shown against the Brecon Beacons

St Alud wears a knee-length black cowl over a white gown that reaches to her feet. The hood of the cowl is raised, concealing her hair. Her face is downcast, young, and beautiful. She holds in both hands the blade of a sword, the instrument of her martyrdom, its blade pointed downward. By her left foot is the stone against which her severed head rolled after death and by her right foot is the pool of water that emerged to become her holy well. Behind St Alud is a bank of white lilies. This image exemplifies the qualities associated with Eluned, of a local martyr who is recalled in the context of her family connections and the Breconshire landscape, her family connections emphasised by the coats of arms of Brychan Brycheiniog shown above the figures (fig. 23).

Her article, 'Forgotten Sanctuaries', evoked memories of sacred places in the Breconshire landscape now abandoned and recalled only through legends.[394] Her atmospheric recounting of past religious values described the veneration of Eluned in terms both elegiac and

[394] Morgan, 'Forgotten Sanctuaries', pp. 205–223.

nostalgic. Although she introduced her subject using the text by Gerald of Wales and added historical facts from Rice Rees, Theophilus Jones, and others, it was Hugh Thomas's unpublished account of the life and death of Eluned that caught her imagination, reflecting both the sense of rage, loss, and yearning that suffuse Thomas's work.[395]

Twentieth century and beyond

By the early twentieth century, the chapel was gone, but the spot was marked by a large yew tree 'spreading its branches over a well now almost choked by mud and weeds'.[396] From the physical evidence, very little remained to remind people that a chapel had ever existed there. By the end of the twentieth century, the tree was also gone, but interest in the former chapel had returned. For the last few years, Convivium, an initiative of Brecon Cathedral, has sponsored a celebration on 1 August, the traditional feast day of St Eluned. The celebration includes a walk to St Eluned's chapel and well. The 2018 announcement integrates a religious service with 'a day of walks, children's crafts, music, storytelling, dancing and more to highlight our rich local Welsh history and culture'.[397]

Scholarship about the Welsh saints during the twentieth century played a part in this renewed interest, as did government efforts to preserve monuments and record the cultural and social history of Wales. During this period, attempts to connect the traditions and prove the historicity of early saints were attempted. In the case of Eluned, these connections related to dedications to Eluned in other locations, her presence in Arthurian legends, and her tradition compared with other female saints decapitated by angry suitors as they attempted to preserve their chastity.

The encyclopedic four-volume collection by Sabine Baring-Gould and John Fisher raised many of these issues. They chose to document her as 'S. Eiliwedd, Virgin, Martyr', and their rationale for using 'Eiliwedd' is that is the 'oldest form, in modern spelling, under which it occurs'.[398] They present both Gerald of Wales' and Hugh Thomas's legends of the saint, after which they note that 'the legend bears a marked resemblance' to that of Gwenfrewy, whose shrine was at Holywell.[399] Eluned does not appear in the Cornish lists as a daughter of

[395] Morgan, 'Forgotten Sanctuaries', p. 222.
[396] Morgan, 'Forgotten Sanctuaries', p. 222.
[397] 'Gŵyl Haf Santes Eluned Summer Fair, Convivium [online]. Available at https://convivium-brecon.com/st-eluneds-day-festival/ <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[398] LBS, vol. 2, p. 419.
[399] LBS, vol. 2, p. 419.

Brychan, but Baring-Gould and Fisher assert 'that she followed many of her kindred when they migrated to Cornwall is apparent'.[400] If she followed them, she must have returned, because they go on to describe her martyrdom and burial at Slwch; however, the real problem is their wish to reconcile possible Cornish connections to Eluned (names like Helye, Ilick, and Electa) found in the lists of William Worcestre, John Leland, and Nicholas Roscarrock with account the martyr Eluned from Brecon.[401] In 'St Brychan, King, Confessor', published in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* in 1903, Baring-Gould and Fisher make a further surprising suggestion about Eluned's identity in Cornwall, suggesting that St Elen, patroness of Talland, may have been Eluned, basing their argument on the possibility that two different transcribers could have made the same transcription error.[402] Nicholas Orme states that 'Only two or three of the names in Nectan's Life come from Welsh tradition and the rest seem to have been gathered or invented locally'.[403] Orme then notes that two Welsh saints are Elli, the disciple of Cadog and Ellyw, Eluis or Helue, the bishop who baptized St David, and that Helie appears in the part of the Hartland list as Canauc (Cynog) and Kenhender (Cynidr) 'making it conceivable that *Helie* too was a Welshman imported into the Hartland list'.[404] Eluned is a local saint from Brecon, and the farther away from Brecon potential dedications are found, the more the attributions become uncertain because of the mutability of the name and lack of other information about the saint being venerated.[405]

Baring-Gould and Fisher also raised the issue of Eluned's possible connection to Arthurian legends, pointing out that some English writers have confounded her with Luned of the Arthurian romance, *The Lady of the Fountain*, who was celebrated for her beauty and her magic ring.[406] The Catholic Encyclopaedia also suggests that St Eluned is the Luned of the *Mabinogion* and the Lynette of Tennyson's *Gareth and Lynette*, as well as the Enid of the *Mabinogion* and Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*.[407] The names are similar, but the story of the cult of the murdered virgin in Brecon does not resemble the married woman in the Arthurian romances.

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[400] LBS, vol. 2, pp. 421–422.
[401] LBS, vol. 2, p. 419–422.
[402] S. Baring-Gould and J. Fisher, 'St Brychan, King, Confessor', AC, vol. 3, series 6 (1903), pp. 345–370, p. 368.
[403] Orme, *Saints of Cornwall*, p. 77.
[404] Orme, *Saints of Cornwall*, p. 141.
[405] D. Parsons, communication, 6 March 2020.
[406] LBS, vol. 2, pp. 418–419.
[407] G. Phillips, 'St. Elined', *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, vol. 5 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909) [online]. Available at http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05386b.htm <Accessed 12 March 2020>

Baring-Gould and Fisher note the resemblance between Eluned's story and that of St Gwenfrewy, but they do not address the issue further.[408] The two saints, and a third, St Arild, share similar stories that require discussion. Gwenfrewy was restored to life by her uncle, St Beuno, and a healing spring of water erupted from the pool of her blood, which became her holy well.[409] Gwenfrewy's shrine at Holywell has remained a significant place of worship in Wales and Cartwright has referred to her as a Welsh 'supersaint', given the size of her hagiographical dossier.[410] Another saint reminiscent of Eluned and Gwenfrewy is St Arild, an Anglo-Saxon martyr venerated in nearby Gloucestershire. No Life of this saint has been found, but her story is told by John Leland in his *Itineraries*:

> Saynt Arild Virgin, martired at Kinton, ny to Thornberye, by one Muncius a tiraunt, who cut of hir heade becawse she would not consent to lye withe hym. She was translatyd to this monasterye [Gloucester Abbey], and hathe done great miracles.[411]

Two churches and a holy well in Gloucestershire are dedicated to St Arild, as well as other memorials, and all of them fairly close to Keynsham in Somerset, associated with St Cain (see ch. 6).[412] It is significant that in the cases of Eluned, Gwenfrewy, and Arild, their blood is linked with the landscape. Cartwright notes:

> Tudur Aled, in an early sixteenth-century *cywydd*, draws attention to the unusual stones stained with blood at the bottom of the well. The medieval *vitae* also emphasise the importance of the blood-stained stones and refer to fragrant moss found at the well, which was, according to Baring-Gould and Fisher, known as St Winefride's Hair.[413]

In the case of St Arild, Jane Bradshaw reports that 'a local tradition that the water runs red with her blood is well-founded, as the stones in the well's outflow are stained red, not with the iron associated with chalybeate springs, but with a freshwater alga rejoicing in the name of *Hildebrandia rivularis*'.[414] The previously discussed tradition of Eluned states that

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[408] LBS, vol. 2, p. 421.
[409] Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales*, p. 72. See also Henken, *Traditions of the Welsh Saints*, pp. 348–350.
[410] J. Cartwright, 'Buchedd Gwenfrewy: The Welsh Life of St Winefride in NLW Peniarth 27ii and Llanstephan 34', unpublished paper, *Vitae Sanctorum Cambriae* Conference, University of Cambridge, 26–27 September 2019.
[411] Leland, *Itineraries*, vol. 5, p. 156.
[412] 'St Arild's Well', Megalithic Portal [online]. Available at http://www.megalithic.co.uk/article.php?sid=30065 <Accessed 5 July 2015>
[413] Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales*, p. 72.
[414] J. Bradshaw, *St Arilda of Oldbury on Severn, Gloucestershire*, HolyandHealingWells [online]. Available at https://insearchofholywellsandhealingsprings.com/the-source-new-series-contents/st-arilda-of-oldbury-on-

Cerrigcochion Road in Brecon is named for the blood running from the site of her martyrdom down Slwch Lane toward the town. Eluned and Gwenfrewy are also associated with miracles in which their hair is associated with moss or algae found in the water of their wells.[415]

In *The Welsh Saints: A Study of Patterned Lives*, Elissa Henken explores motifs that appear in the Lives of Welsh saints, writing about ways that saints change the landscape, specifically by creating wells and fountains.[416] She notes that one theme is that of the well or fountain 'sprung from the blood of an innocent', a motif she associates with Gwenfrewy, but which also applies to Eluned.[417] These wells often have special qualities other than providing water.[418] In the case of Gwenfrewy and Eluned, as one might expect, the wells provide healing and other kinds of miracles. Jane Cartwright also looks for patterns in the traditions of the Welsh women saints, and in her discussion in *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales* of the daughters of Brychan, she addressed the similarity aspects in the Lives of Eluned and Gwenfrewy:[419]

> Eluned's mythos is somewhat reminiscent of the traditions associated with one of the most renowned Welsh saints, Gwenfrewy, a virgin martyr who was, according to the various versions of her medieval legend, decapitated at Sychnant (from then on known as Holywell) in Flintshire, because she refused to have sexual intercourse with a local prince called Caradog.[420]

The Lives of St Gwenfrewy contain many more scenes and characters than the Life of St Eluned that was reported as a local legend by Hugh Thomas. It is likely that Thomas knew the Life of St Gwenfrewy, but he does not write about St Gwenfrewy. A number of similarities and differences can be found between these accounts.. Both women were said to have had famous male relatives: Eluned's father, Brychan, and Gwenfrewy's uncle, St Beuno. Both saints were decapitated by local princes. Gwenfrewy was killed by a local prince named Caradog; Eluned's attacker was unnamed. Gwenfrewi's murderer Caradog is swallowed up by the earth; Eluned's unnamed murderer gets away. Caradog has a name and only has dishonourable intentions; Eluned's murderer was an approved suitor that her family

severn-gloucestershire/ <Accessed 12 April 2020> See also Henken, *Traditions of the Welsh Saints*, p. 349, describing this tradition and St Gwenfrewy.

[415] Henken, *Traditions of the Welsh Saints*, p. 349.
[416] Henken, *The Welsh Saints*, p. 105.
[417] Henken, *The Welsh Saints*, p. 105–106.
[418] Henken, *The Welsh Saints*, p. 105–106.
[419] Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales*, p. 72.
[420] Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales*, p. 72.

wanted her to marry. Gwenfrewi has powerful ally in St Beuno; Eluned was given sanctuary by the Lord of Slwch Castle, who gave her food and a place to live, but could not perform miracles. Caradog attacked Gwenfrewy on a lustful impulse, but Eluned's attacker knew her and discovered where she had found sanctuary. Both ran toward help; in Eluned's case, the nearby manor, and in Gwenfrewy's case, the church. Gwenfrewy was resurrected by her uncle, St Beuno, but Eluned's martyrdom was lasting and her family had originally sided with the suitor who later killed her. Caradog dies immediately after killing Gwenfrewy; Healing wells emerged from the site of both of their murders.[421]

Traditions and dedications related to St Eluned

The overall tradition of St Eluned remains firmly placed in the Brecon area, and the farther away from this cult centre the reference is found, the more uncertain and variable its context and interpretation must be. The tradition of her feast day was first documented by Gerald of Wales in the twelfth century, but his account leaves most of the puzzling questions about her feast day unanswered.[422] Gerald's preoccupation with the punishment of sinners for failing to keep the Sabbath keeps him from addressing other topics about a saint's feast day, such as miraculous cures, the holy well, or the saint's shrine or relics. He also does not mention the miracle of finding a hair of the saint on the stone by the well that was reported by William Worcestre.[423] Subsequent hagiographers repeated Gerald's account without adding to it. Only Hugh Thomas discussed changes in practice after the Reformation, showing that the place remained important to the people in the community, even though they ceased to gather there to venerate the saint. He reports May Day gatherings at the chapel ruins, where the young people would come 'and have many sports & diversions'.[424] Thomas does not describe a Christian festival, so perhaps this gathering is tied to pre-Christian May Day rituals. Because 1 August is Lammas Day, two of the four seasonal pagan holidays can be connected with reports of gatherings at St Eluned's Chapel. These accounts cannot be said to demonstrate a pattern, but the adjacency of the chapel to the Iron Age hill-fort of Slwch Tump suggests that pre-Christian religious activity may have taken place near the site.

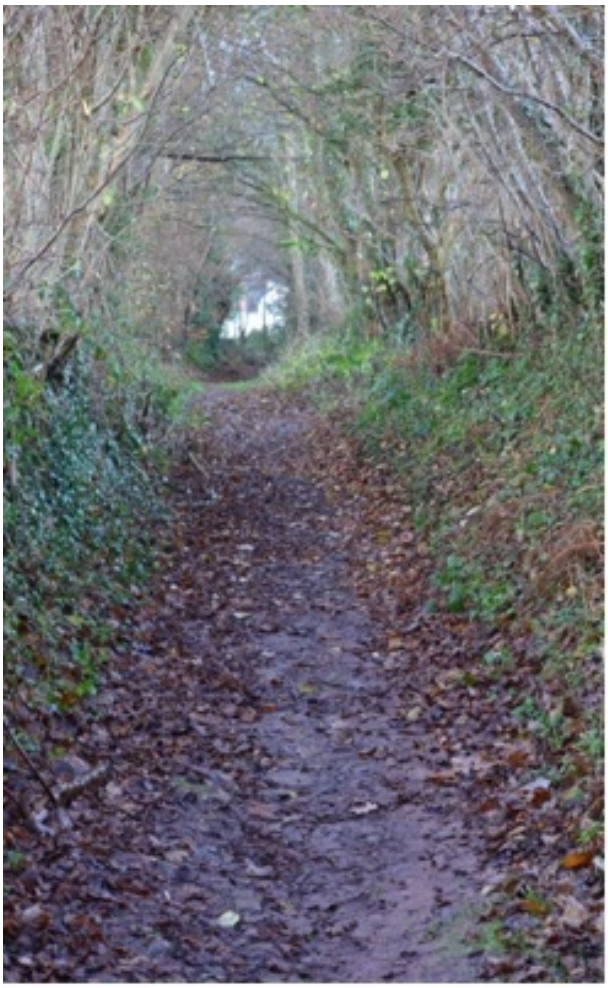
St Eluned is a local saint with a number of dedications in the Breconshire area, with the centre of her cult located at the site of her chapel on the edge of Slwch Tump, the place

[421] Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Wales*, pp. 71–72.
[422] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales*, pp. 92–93.
[423] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales*, pp. 92–93.
[424] MS Harley 4181, fol. 143.

where she found sanctuary, was martyred, buried, and was venerated at a chapel built by the holy well that emerged after her martyrdom. Other, less certain dedications are located in Monmouthshire, Herefordshire, Essex, and Radnorshire. St Eluned's Chapel is classified as an Early Medieval Enclosure that is part of CPAT, with the legal protection of a scheduled ancient monument, and in 1999 CPAT excavated the site of the chapel and well at Slwch Farm.[425] At the time, activities by the Wellsprings Fellowship, an organisation that 'seeks to restore and maintain the historic wells of Wales', led to a test of the area to determine the practicality of further excavation and display.[426] The report by Peter Dorling entitled 'Excavations at St Elenud's [sic] Chapel and Well, June 1999' includes photographs, maps, results of the excavation, along with an attached brochure by the Wellsprings Trust.[427]

Several place-names in the area of the chapel reflect the saint's tradition, such as St Eluned's Drive, part of a recent housing development on the edge of Slwch Tump. The medieval Slwch Lane (fig. 24) winds past Slwch Farm to the chapel site and from there down the hill to Cerrigcochion Road, which leads to the town of Brecon:

[425] 'St Elyned's Chapel/St Alud's Chapel (Brecon)', CPAT Regional Historic Environment Record [online]. Available at http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/cpat/english/cpat_interface.html <Accessed 30 November 2014>
[426] P. Dorling, no page numbers.
[427] Dorling, no page numbers.



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Figure 24. Slwch Lane descending from Slwch Tump to Cerrigcochion Road

Cerrigcochion Road is now a major road into Brecon, while Slwch Lane has been reduced to a pathway, although still paved with stone. R. F. Peter Powell believed that the term 'Cerrigcochion' referred to the red stones at a nearby quarry.[428] Gwyn Williams, present owner of Slwch Farm, told me that the term refers to the blood that poured down Slwch Lane from the place where Eluned was martyred to the bottom of the hill.[429]

Eluned's search for sanctuary: Llanfilo, Llanddew, and Llechfaen

Hugh Thomas speaks of three places near St Eluned's Chapel where the saint failed to find sanctuary, and each place continues to have links to her tradition.

[428] R. Powell, 'Early place-names in the former borough of Brecknock', *Brycheiniog*, vol. 25, (1992–1993), pp. 15–26, p. 18. [online]. Available at http://welshjournals.llgc.org.uk/browse/viewpage/llgc-id:1380216/llgc-id:1384427/llgc-id:1384449/getText <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[429] G. Williams, Communication (8 December 2014).

Llanddew was an early medieval clas foundation, named in the Taxatio Ecclesiastica of 1291 as 'Ecclesia de Llando[u]n'. Now a hamlet, Llanddew was once a village and the site of the bishop's palace where Gerald of Wales lived. Recently restored, Bishop Gower's Well (fig. 25) is located in the curtain wall of the ruined bishop's palace.



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Figure 25. Restored Bishop Gower's Well, Llanddew[430]

Llechfaen is the second place where St Eluned was refused sanctuary, and Gwenllian Morgan reported that the chapel once standing at Llechfaen may have been dedicated to Eluned.[431] According to Theophilus Jones, this chapel of ease at Llanhamlach Fan (now Llechfaen) collapsed about 1700, but the location of the chapel is no longer known.[432] The chapel is gone, but a well remains, shown in figure 26:

[430] 'Bishop Gower's Well, Llanddew', Geograph [online]. Available at https://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/3339859 <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[431] Morgan, 'Forgotten Sanctuaries', pp. 205–223.
[432] B. Silvester and R. Hankinson, 'Early Medieval Ecclesiastical and Burial Sites in Mid and North-East Wales: The Second Report', CPAT Report 534 [online]. Available at http://www.walesher1974.org/herumd.php?group=CPAT&level=3&docid=301357385 <Accessed 10 December 2019>



© Llanfrynach Community Council

Figure 26. Llechfaen well after restoration in 1997[433]

The Llanfrynach Community Council believes that the well has a connection to St Eluned:

> The village is the site of a well associated with St Eluned, an early Christian convert in the 11th century. She sought refuge in the area after being persecuted for her beliefs, finally finding protection at Slwch Tump from a local lord. The well and trough was renovated in 1997 by the Village community with assistance from some Groesffordd residents many of whom had lived in Llechfaen moving only when Council houses were built in Groesffordd. Monies for the reconstruction of the Well were raised with the help of the Princes Trust, Welsh Water, the Coop and others. Until circa 1740 Upper Farm was also the site of a church.[434]

[433] 'Lechfaen', Llanfrynach Community Council [online]. Available at http://www.llanfrynach-community.org.uk/public_html/our-area/lechfaen/ <Accessed 12 December 2019>
[434] 'Lechfaen', Llanfrynach Community Council [online].

Of the third village mentioned by Hugh Thomas, the hamlet called Llanfilo still has a church, dedicated to St Bilo, said to be a dedication to Belyau daughter of Brychan (see ch. 8). The church and nearby holy well are located near the ruins of a Roman camp.

Other possible dedications to Eluned

The nearest potential dedication to Eluned is St Ellyw's Church in Llanelieu (fig. 27), described as as 'this church is remotely situated, deep in the Black Mountains (Brecon Beacons National Park) in a large and ancient churchyard'.[435] The present building may have been built in the thirteenth century of modified in the fifteenth and/or sixteenth century. The church is now managed by the Friends of Friendless Churches since 1999, and they write that the church is dedicated to St Ellyw, daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog who was beheaded at her chapel site near Brecon by an unrequited lover, resulting in a new spring.[436]



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Figure 27. St Ellyw's Church, Llanelieu

A number of people support the view that St Ellyw refers to Eluned daughter of Brychan. Thornley Jones believed that St Ellyw's Church was the centre of Eluned's cult based on

[435] 'Church of St Ellyw, Llanelieu', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online]. Available at http://www.cpat.demon.co.uk/projects/longer/churches/brecon/16843.htm <Accessed 27 January 2020>.
[436] S. Jenkins, *Wales: Churches, Houses, Castles* (London: Penguin Books, 2008).

William Worcestre's notes about St Elevetha, suggesting that St Almedha was 'probably the equivalent to the Eleuetha who was the patroness of Llaneleu'.[437] Hywel Wyn Owen and Richard Morgan support the dedication to Eluned.[438] Peter Bartrum writes that the name Elyw appears in two Calendars, as Elyw under 14 July and Eliw under 17 July and that there is no way to determine the saint's gender; however, he notes that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries' charters the name is written as Llangeleu and Llangelew.[439] A dedication of the Church of St Ellyw to Eluned seems probable, but it was never identified as the centre of her cult.

The church at Llanelwedd near Builth Wells in Radnorshire is dedicated to St Matthew, and it is claimed that the first church in the area was at Cae Henllan, one-half mile from the present church. Nonetheless, the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of 1291 recorded the name 'Ecclesia de Lanelwech', and the CPAT report for Llanelwedd suggests that 'Elwedd is the same as Eiliwedd, one of the legendary daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog'.[440] Baring-Gould and Fisher quote Lewys Glyn Cothi's references to Elwedd (see Medieval sources sec.) to suggest that dedication of the Church of Llanelwedd in Radnorshire called Llanelwedd (dedicated to St Matthew) could have been dedicated to Eiliwedd; however, 'the second syllable presents a philological difficulty; but if Aylud, and the like, are genuine oral forms, even that might be got over'.[441] Peter Bartrum also noted the similarity between Elyuet and Elwedd.[442] Hywel Wyn Owen and Richard Morgan are not certain that Elwedd refers to Eluned.[443] The wake at Llanelwedd is held the first Sunday in October and not on 1 August, Eluned's feast day, increasing the likelihood that Llanelwedd is dedicated to someone other than Eluned.[444]

The suggested patrons of St Almed's and St Ellyw's Church in Llanelli, a village south of Crickhowell in Monmouthshire, are Elli of Llancarfan, disciple of Cadog, and Elli, daughter of Brychan. [445] According to the Church of Wales parish guide, the church is named for Elli,

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[437] 'Llanelieu', Friends of Friendless Churches [online]. Available at http://friendsoffriendlesschurches.org.uk/llanelieu/ <Accessed 10 March 2020>
[438] Owen and Morgan, *Dictionary of the Place-Names of Wales*, pp. 235–236.
[439] WCD, p. 248.
[440] 'Church of St Matthew, Llanelwedd', CPAT Radnorshire Churches Survey [online]. Available at https://cpat.org.uk/Archive/churches/radnor/16845.htm <Accessed 27 January 2020>.
[441] LBS, vol. 2, p. 419, n1 and n2.
[442] WCD, p. 230.
[443] Owen and Morgan, *Dictionary of the Place-Names of Wales*, p. 239.
[444] LBS, vol. 2, p. 419.
[445] 'The Parish of Llanelli in the Diocese of Swansea and Brecon: A Guide to St Elli's Church', The Church in Wales [online]. Available at https://parish.churchinwales.org.uk/s033/our-parish-and-ministry-area/a-guide-to-st-ellis-church/ <Accessed 13 December 2019>

and ‘there is no direct legend locally about this founder, or anything directly connected to it, so any identification is speculative’.[446] The parish guide points out dedications to Elli of Llancarfan always use that name, ‘whereas Elli daughter of Brychan is spelt variously Ellyw, Elyw, Elieu and possibly Ellynor, Ellyned’.[447] The parish guide notes that Theophilus Jones and Rice Rees support the dedication to a daughter of Brychan; however, the guide also notes that the church’s two stained glass windows and the oldest bell reflect a dedication to Elli of Llancarfan.[448] *The Dictionary of the Place-Names of Wales* identifies the dedication as being to Elli of Llancarfan, attributing any confusion to ‘unfamiliarity with Elli’, whom they say has been misidentified as a daughter of Brychan through confusion with Eiliwedd.[449] RCAHMW Coflein identifies the church as dedicated to Saints Almed and Ellyw (fig. 28).



© RCAHMW Coflein

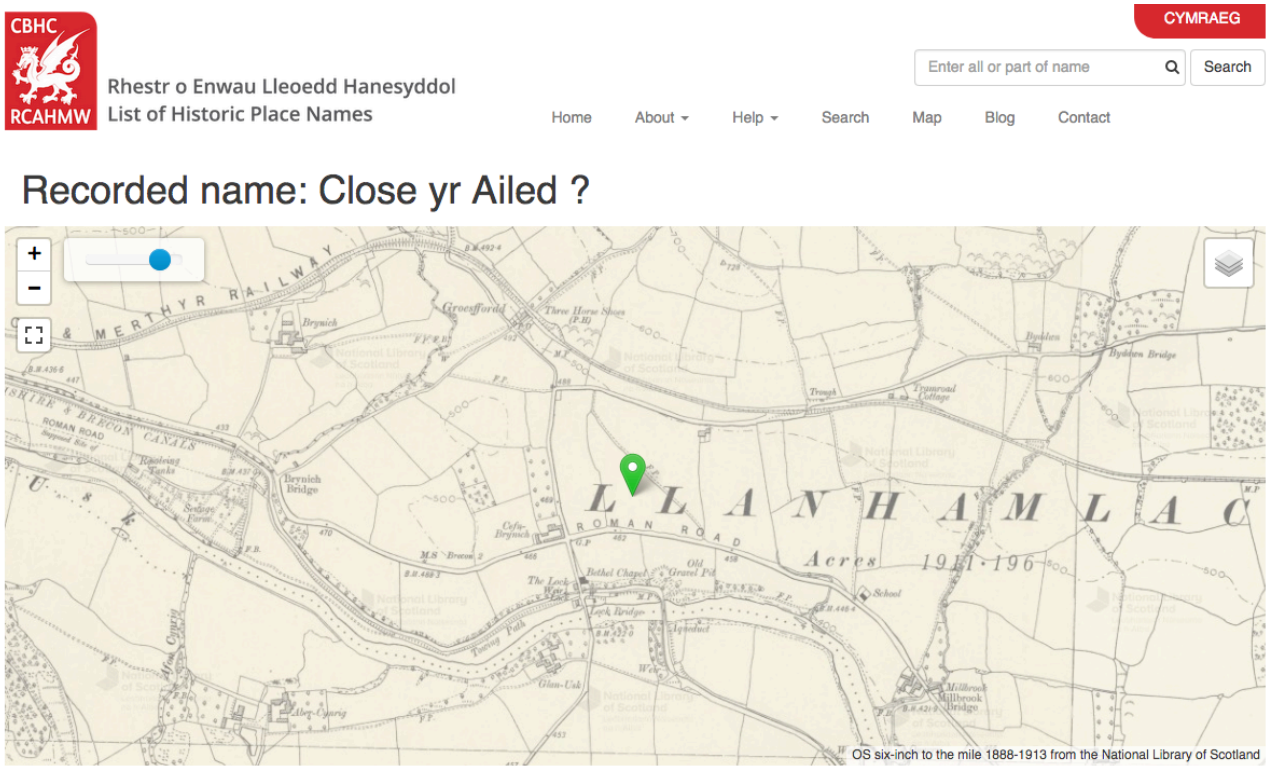
Figure 28. St Almed and St Ellyw’s Parish Church, Llanelli, Monmouthshire (2008)[450]

Hugh Thomas states that Eluned went to Close St Ailed after she was rejected by the people at Llechfaen. Baring-Gould and Fisher identify a field in Llanhamlech as ‘Close St. Ailed’.[451]

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[446] ‘The Parish of Llanelli in the Diocese of Swansea and Brecon: A Guide to St Elli’s Church’, The Church in Wales [online].
[447] ‘The Parish of Llanelli in the Diocese of Swansea and Brecon: A Guide to St Elli’s Church’, The Church in Wales [online].
[448] ‘The Parish of Llanelli in the Diocese of Swansea and Brecon: A Guide to St Elli’s Church’, The Church in Wales [online].
[449] Owen and Morgan, *Dictionary of the Place-Names of Wales*, p. 238.
[450] ‘RCAHMW colour oblique photograph of Saints Almeds and Ellyw’s Parish Church. Taken by Toby Driver on 10/10/2008’, RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/archive/6460100/details/504 <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[451] LBS, vol. 2, p. 420.

Figure 29 shows the Tithe Map of Llanhamlach, which shows a field tentatively identified as Close St Ailed:[452]



© RCAHMW Coflein

Figure 29. Tithe map suggesting site of Close St Ailed[453]

As with Llanelli in Monmouthshire, the dedication is far from clear for St Elli Church and Llanelli in Carmarthen, with some attributing the dedication to St Elli of Llancarfan, and others attributing the dedication to a descendent of Brychan.[454]

One possible connection to Eluned as Ayled or Tayled is indicated by the terms 'Gwernayled' and 'Gwernbayled' in the township of Gwerneigron in Flintshire.[455]

[452] 'Close St Ailed', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/682b80cf-325a-447c-963c-03fa8480ae6b <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[453] 'Close St Ailed', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online].
[454] T. Morgan, *Handbook of the Origin of Place-Names in Wales and Monmouthshire - Primary Source Edition* (Merthyr Tydfil: H. W. Southey, 1887), p. 80.
[455] W. Davies, *General View of the Agriculture and Domestic Economy of North Wales* (London: Richard Phillips, 1810), p. 820 [online]. Available at https://archive.org/details/generalviewagri16britgoog <Accessed 12 April 2020>

References of 'The late Ph. Lloyd Fletcher, Esq. of Gwernhayled' and 'The late Mr. Fletcher, of Gwernbayled' could refer to 'Ayled's Marsh'.[456]

The Iron Age hillfort of Waterstone in Herefordshire includes indications of a former chapel that is said to have been dedicated to St Ailworth.[457] The chapel was located north-west of Walterstone church, according to a map; however, it may also have adjoined the hillfort, and the area of the chapel is described as 'of small dimensions and undisturbed.[458] A large stone inscribed with a cross was recently removed from the site, but an old yew tree can still be seen.[459] The Herefordshire Historic Environment Report made a connection with the Brychan tradition, saying:

> Also a discussion of parallels of hillfort (or hilltop) chapels, notably that of St Eiliwedd by Slwch Tump hillfort near Brecon. St Eiliwedd was one of the saintly "daughters" of Brychan (founder of the sub-Roman kingdom of Brycheiniog about the 6th century). Dedications to several legendary children of Brychan are to be found near Brecon (as well as Kenderchurch and Clodock). A case made that Ailworth=Eiliwedd and that therefore St Ailworth's chapel at Walterstone may be an early (Celtic) Christian Church.[460]

Baring-Gould and Fisher describe St Aylott's Chapel, located two and one-half miles from Saffron Walden on the Ashdon Road in Essex based on a Tithes document between the Abbot of Walden and the Vicar in 1444, quoted by Newcour in *Repertorium* and by Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk when writing to his son in 1572.[461] Baring-Gould and Fisher conclude that they find it unlikely for a Welsh saint to have a chapel dedicated in Essex.[462] On the other hand, Ayled and Tayled were both names used for Eluned, and St Aylott's fifteenth-century farm house was once a part of the Walden Abbey.[463]

Dedications to St Eluned are not found in Cornwall, Scotland, or Ireland, but may exist in Brittany, and Joseph Loth suggested that dedicated churches and place-names named for St

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[456] W. Davies, *General View of the Agriculture and Domestic Economy of North Wales* (London: Richard Phillips, 1810), p. 820 [online].
[457] 'Monument Detail: Site of St Ailworth's Chapel, adjacent to Walterstone Camp, Walterstone', Herefordshire Through Time [online].
[458] 'Monument Detail: Site of St Ailworth's Chapel, adjacent to Walterstone Camp, Walterstone', Herefordshire Through Time [online].
[459] 'Monument Detail: Site of St Ailworth's Chapel, adjacent to Walterstone Camp, Walterstone', Herefordshire Through Time [online].
[460] N. Weddell, 'St. Ailworth: A Celtic Saint in the Black Mountains?', AC, 116 (1997), pp. 79–100.
[461] LBS, vol. 2, p. 422.
[462] LBS, vol. 2, p. 422.
[463] 'St Aylotts', Historic England [online]. Available at https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1196110 <Accessed 12 April 2020>

Alvoez could probably be compared with Llan-Elwedd in Radnorshire.[464] These churches in Brittany are described in appendix A.

Conclusion

By the seventeenth century, the saint who had once 'triumphed in a happy martyrdom' as proclaimed by Gerald of Wales in the twelfth century had been recast by Hugh Thomas as a desperate, rebellious, victim of rage on the part of her family, suitor, and three different local communities before finding sanctuary, after which she and is finally murdered by her suitor. At that point her suffering becomes an agent of healing for others, mirroring the sacrifice of Christ, and demonstrating her sanctity. By the nineteenth century, Gwenllian Morgan's retelling reflects on the constant presence of the saint in the landscape where she once lived. The legend of Eluned glorifies the sacrifice of the saint, but also celebrates the community of Brecon, where she found refuge, and it is that connection between Eluned and Slwch Tump and its nearby manor that separated her from saints with similar stories, such as Gwenfrewy and Arild. As the story has been retold and as the chapel and well have vanished, the storytelling increasingly focuses on the sacredness of the area around Slwch Tump where the saint once lived and on the Brecon area, where Brecon Cathedral now also includes dedications to Eluned and her family.

St Eluned is a local saint with a strong cult centre near Brecon and a continuing connection to the community. The next chapter discusses Cain, also known as Keyna, Keyne, Ceinwyry, and Ceinwen, a saint with many dedications in a wide variety of locations, but an uncertain, complex identity and cultural legacy.

[464] J. Loth, *Les Noms Des Saints Bretons*, p. 10.

Chapter 6 Cain

The identity of Cain daughter of Brychan, whose feast day is 8 October, is blurred by multiple names and traditions and dedications in a number of geographical areas (see app. A). Still, she is the only daughter of Brychan who is the subject of a medieval Life, printed first in 1526 in NLA and repeated in other Roman Catholic martyrologies, ultimately in the AS, printed in 1750.[465] Dedicated churches to Cain, shown in table 3, are found in Wales in Anglesey, Breconshire, Carmarthen, Glamorgan, and Pembrokeshire and in England in Herefordshire and Somerset, and in Cornwall.

Table 3. Names and locations related to Cain

Name	Geographic area	Dedications
Cain	Carmarthenshire	St Cain's Church, Llangain
	Pembrokeshire	Ffynnon Gain, New Moat
Ceinwen	Anglesey	St Ceinwen's Church, Cerrigceinwen St Ceinwen's holy well, Cerrigceinwen St Ceinwen's Church, Llangeinwen St Ceinwen window, Bangor Cathedral
Ceinwyr/Cainwyry	Carmarthenshire	Capel Cein Wyry, Talley Parish Llwyncynhwyra Llwyncynyrys
	Glamorganshire	St Ceinwyr's Church, Llangeinor
Ceneu	Breconshire	St Ceneu's Church, Llangenny St Geneu's holy well, Llangenny
Keyne, Keyna	Breconshire	St Keyne's Chapel, Brecon Cathedral St Keyne window, Brecon Cathedral
	Clwyd	St Keyne roundel in Pietà rose window, Cathedral Church of Our Lady of Sorrows, Wrexham
	Cornwall	St Martin-by-Looe (formerly St Keyne) St Keyne's Church, Liskeard St Keyne's holy well, Liskeard Kenwyn Parish Church
	Herefordshire	St Mary's Church (formerly St Keyne), Kentchurch
	Pembrokeshire	Eglwys Keyn, Treffgarn
	Somerset	St Keyna and Ammonites, Keynsham Memorial Park, Keynsham St Keyna Primary School, Keynsham

[465] NLA, vol. 2, pp. 102–104.

The saint is known by a number of variations on the name Cain, which means fine, fair, beautiful, bright, excellent, and refined.[466] The related name Ceinwen means splendidly white and fine; a beautiful woman.[467] Her identity is further complicated by the tradition of another St Cain, who was said to be the daughter of Caw of Prydain and the patron saint of St Cain's Church in Llangain.[468] St Ceneu's Church in Llangenny has also been identified as the cult centre for Cain, although St Ceneu was male and has two possible identities: St Ceneu ap Coel Godebog, a confessor from the Kingdom of the North, and St Ceneu, bishop and confessor, son of Corun ap Ceredic, said to be an early bishop of St David's.[469] Baring-Gould and Fisher state that 'None of the genealogies, not even the late ones, give a Ceneu as daughter of Brychan'.[470] Dedications cannot be tied to geographic regions either, because some areas have dedications to two different Cain name variations, such as Pembrokeshire, with both Keyne and Cain, as shown in table 3.

This chapter introduces the medieval sources for the various traditions related to Cain, describes changes to her veneration after the Reformation and during the Celtic Revival up to the present time, and also addresses continuing popular interest in this saint.

Medieval sources

The entry in the twelfth-century genealogical tract DSB refers to 'Kein filia Brachan ythr auil Ogmor' (Cain daughter of Brychan between the branches of the Ogmore) and the fourteenth-century version now known as JC20 refers to her as '[K]einbreith, verch Vrachan' (Keinbreit, daughter of Brychan).[471] Although several dedications to St Keyne are found in Cornwall and her Life refers to her journeys to Somerset and Cornwall, her name is not found as one of the family in the Life of St Nectan written at Hartland Abbey in Devon in the twelfth century.[472]

The earliest known Life of Keyna was not written in Wales, but in St Albans Abbey in Hertfordshire in the mid-fourteenth-century by John of Tynemouth (*fl. c.* 1350) in the manuscript now known as London, BL, MS Cotton Tiberius E i, and called by him

[466] GPC [online]. [Llyd. C. *quen* 'disglair', H. Wydd. *cáin* prydferth' (dywedir mai bnth. ydyw o'r Gym.), Gr. καινός]
[467] GPC [online].
[468] LBS, vol. 2, p. 55.
[469] LBS, vol. 2, pp. 105–106.
[470] LBS, vol. 2, p. 106.
[471] For DSB, see EWGT, p. 16. Bartrum glosses this text as 'in bifurgatione illius fluuii'. For JC20, see EWGT, pp. 41–50, pp. 41 and 43. For PB, see EWGT, p. 83. The later CB and PB are discussed with post-Reformation sources.
[472] MS M. n. 57.

Sanctilogium Angliae, Walliae, Scotiae, et Hiberniae.[473] The source from which he copied the *Life of St Keyna* is unknown.[474] In 1453, the Augustinian friar John Capgrave (1393–1464) rearranged the text as an alphabetical list rather than a calendar and modified it slightly; subsequently a number of copies were made, but none is the original.[475] In 1516, after more changes and the addition of the Lives of fifteen more saints, the printer Wynkyn de Worde (*d.* 1534) printed the Latin text, which was now called *NLA*.[476] That same year de Worde published a shorter version of the same work in English by Richard Pynson (1448–1529) called *The kalendre of the newe legend of Englande*.[477] Subsequently, the Life of St Keyna appeared in a number of martyrologies.

The Life of Keyna the Virgin

The Life of St Keyna included in NLA establishes her lineage as a daughter of Brychan from the western part of Great Britain (rather than Wales) and one of twelve sons and daughters who all lived holy lives.[478] Three other siblings identified in the Life are Canochus (Cynog), Gladus (Gwladys), mother of Cadog, and Meleri, mother of the father of David.

There were portents at Keyna's birth, as her mother has a vision where she saw 'her bosom full of myrrh and balsam, and her breasts shining with a heavenly light'. She also saw herself give birth to a white dove. Her mother carefully reared her child, noting 'a strange kind of spiritual grace appeared, sometimes white as snow and sometimes blazing brightly like the sun'. This account highlights a spiritual connection between the daughter and her mother, who recognizes and responds to Cain's spiritual intensity, even though her daughter's spiritual grace is described using the forbidding imagery of ice and fire. In his version, Pynson increases the otherworldly nature of the child by adding that the mother 'thought that in stede of a childe she was delyuered of a fayre wyght'.[479] Pynson's 'fayre wyght' adds an element of folk tale to this story of a divinely favourable birth, transforming the mother's awe at her newborn baby's 'strange kind of spiritual grace' to an uncertainty in which the mother

[473] MS Cotton Tiberius E i, fols 77v-78v. See also NLA, vol. 1, p. xi.
[474] NLA, vol. 1, p. x.
[475] NLA, vol. 1, p. x.
[476] NLA, vol. 1, pp. ix–x.
[477] NLA, vol. 1, p. xxi. See also R. Pynson, *The kalendre of the newe legende of Englande*, ed. by M. Görlach (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1994).
[478] The translation used for the Life of St Keyna in NLA is G. Doble, *S Nectan, S Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall* (Exeter: Signey Lee Limited, 1930), pp. 37–40.
[479] Pynson, *The kalendre of the newe legende of Englande*, ed. by Görlach, p. 126.

wonders if she had given birth to a changeling.[480] The author's use of imagery that identifies this child as both strange and otherworldly distances the child not only from her mother, but also from the reader, generating a sense that Cain is removed from the world, a mood that intensifies as the story continues.

The next episode furthers Cain's self-imposed isolation, as she was sought in marriage, but refused all suitors and 'consecrated by a perpetual vow her virginity forever'.[481] In this Life, her family played no role in her decisions, unlike the Welsh traditions of Eluned (ch. 5) Gwladys (ch. 8), and Dwynwen (ch. 7), where the women's responses are in reaction to male aggression, which more closely follows the pattern mapped by Henken (see ch. 1). In the Life of St Keyna, her decision resembles the solemn profession of a nun, when having made her vows she receives another name that reflects her declaration to permanently remain a virgin:

> For this reason, while she was first called Keyna, she was afterward known as 'Keynwiri'; that is, 'Keyne the Virgin'.[482]

After her announcement, Keyna left her homeland and crossed the Severn River, where she performed her first miracle. When she asked the local lord for land for her sanctuary, he granted her request but stated that the place she chose was uninhabitable because of poisonous snakes, so Keyna prayed and the snakes were transformed into stones. This miracle, the one most often associated with St Keyne, is shown in figure 30, a photograph of the stained glass window by Horace Wilkinson installed in 1922 in the Chapel of St Keyne in the Cathedral Church of St John Evangelist in Brecon, which shows St Keyne framed by St Illtud on her left and St Cadog on her right. St Keyne stands, surrounded by the ammonite fossils that represent the snakes she was said to have converted to stone: [483]

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[480] *Oxford Dictionary of English*, 3rd edn, ed. by A. Stevenson (Oxford: OUP, 2010), pp. 627, 638, and 2029. '**fayre** noun pseudo-archaic spelling of fair and fare (sense 2 of the noun i.e., (of hair or complexion) light: blonde). **wight** noun archaic or dialect, a person of a specified kind: he was always an unlucky wight. Literary: a spirit, ghost, or other supernatural being. Origin Old English wiht 'thing, creature', of Germanic origin: related to Dutch wicht 'little child' and German Wicht 'creature'.

[481] Doble, *S Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall,* p. 37.

[482] Doble, *S Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall,* p. 37.

[483] 'St Keyne with St Illtud and St Cadog', ed. by Crampin, Stained Glass in Wales Catalogue, CAWCS, Aberystwyth [online]. Available at http://stainedglass.llgc.org.uk/object/3977 <Accessed 12 April 2020>



© 2015 Eric Mehan

Figure 30. St Keyne with ammonites at her feet, St Keyne's Chapel, Brecon Cathedral

The author of the Life of St Keyna added his own note that 'even today these images of serpents can be found in the fields and villages, like sculptures carved by artists'.[484] Ruins of the Durley Wall Roman Villa complex in Keynsham currently being excavated are described

[484] Doble, *S Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall,* pp. 37–38.

as the most architecturally elaborate known from Roman Britain.[485] These finds include a large ammonite 'for which Keynsham is famous' (fig. 31).[486]



The ammonite on one of the blocking stones. © Anthony Beeson

Figure 31. Ammonite uncovered during Durley Hill excavation in 2015[487]

This miracle echoes a similar tale about St Hilda (614–680), the royal Anglo-Saxon abbess of Whitby Abbey in Northumbria:[488]

> Legend has it that she turned all the snakes to stone in Whitby in order to clear the ground for the building of a new convent. After a bout of devout praying the snakes coiled up, turned to stone and fell off the edge of the cliffs after she had cut their heads off with a whip. The absence of heads in these fossils is sometimes attributed to a further curse by St. Cuthbert.[489]

[485] 'First pictures of Keynsham dig, Virtual Museum of Bath [online]. Available at http://virtualmuseumofbath.com/2015/07/31/first-pictures-of-keynsham-dig/ <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[486] 'First Pictures of Keynsham Dig', Virtual Museum of Bath [online].
[487] R. Holley and G. Pratt, *The Roman Building in Durley Hill Cemetery Keynsham: Archaeological Evaluation and Assessment of the Results*, April 2016 [online]. Available at https://www.bacas.org.uk/reports/ <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[488] P. Eyden, 'Ammonites', Myths and Legends, 2004 [online]. Available at https://www.tonmo.com/community/pages/fossil-myths/ <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[489] P. Eyden, 'Ammonites', Myths and Legends, 2004 [online].

St Hilda is only one example of a female saint battling serpents, a motif established in the Bible in the Book of Genesis, where God admonishes the snake: 'And I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your offspring and hers; he will crush your head, and you will strike his heel'.[490] In addition, the petrification of a living entity to stone is a common element in folklore, including the myths of Medusa and the basilisk, and also in hagiography, such as the Lives of St Barbara and St Hilda.[491]

After this episode, the Life of St Keyna takes up the story many years later, after the saint had become famous and built many oratories. She met her nephew, St Cadog, at St Michael's Mount where he was on pilgrimage 'and great and complete was their joy'.[492] Cadog wanted her to return to Wales with him, but the people did not give permission for her to leave.[493] In another miracle, angels enabled the saint to leave for her homeland and after her return she built another oratory 'on a certain little hill at the foot of a lofty mountain' and caused a holy well to come forth to heal the sick.[494] This story of the healing well echoes the earlier *Life of St Cadoc* written around 1090 by Lifris of Llancarfan, in which St Cadog travelled to St Michael's Mount, this time clearly identified as being in Cornwall, and brought forth a holy well that healed the sick.[495]

In the following episode, Keyna dreamed of her impending death. She saw a column of fire descending to the floor where she was sleeping on bare branches, and two angels appeared, who dressed her in a linen tunic of scarlet and a cloak woven of gold, saying: 'Be ready and come with us, so that we bring you into the kingdom of thy Father'.[496] The images are vivid and arresting, with a stark contrast between her hut, the richness of her new apparel, and the column of fire. The St Keyne window in Brecon Cathedral depicts this deathbed scene, shown in figure 32:

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[490] Genesis 3.15.
[491] 'Place, Archaeology and Petrification Myths', Landscape Tales: Landscapes, Myth and Archaeology [online]. Available at https://landscapetales.wordpress.com/2015/08/06/place-archaeology-and-petrification-myths-a-folklorethursday-magpie-request/ <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[492] Doble, *S Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall,* p. 38.
[493] Doble, *S Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall,* p. 38. St Michael's Mount is usually taken to refer to the popular pilgrim site in Cornwall, but it could also indicate St Michael's Chapel on the mountain called Ysgyryd Fawr in Montomeryshire, also a popular pilgrim site located near Llangenny, where a church may be dedicated to Cain. This issue is discussed later in this chapter, but see also 'St Michael's Chapel, Skirrid Fawr', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/306440/details/st-michaels-chapel-skirrid-fawr <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[494] Doble, *S Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall,* p. 38.
[495] VSBG, pp. 93–95.
[496] Doble, *S Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall,* p. 38.



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Figure 32. Death of St Keyne, detail of St Keyne window in St Keyne's Chapel, Brecon Cathedral

Keyna awakened to realize that she was dying of a fever. St Cadog was with her, and she delivered to him her last will and testament and a prophesy for the future:

> This place is one I love more than anything else: this will be my memorial: often my spirit will be in this place; if it is, visit: you may, take possession of the place by right of inheritance, for the Lord has granted me this. In the future the surrounding area will be inhabited by a sinful people, whom I will root out from these regions; this mound will remain unknown for a long time, others will come here after I bring my prayers, protect and defend, and bless this area in the name of God forever.[497]

Keyna experienced another vision as she died:

> And when now her soul was hastening to leave her body, she saw before her the angelic host ready to receive her soul without fear or danger within the palace of Heaven. And she signified this to those who stood

[497] Doble, *S Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall,* p. 38.

by, and straightway that holy soul was loosed from the body, on the eighth of the Ides of October.'[498]

Her death resulted in another miraculous occurrence as her smile, rosy colour, and the fragrance of her body gave onlookers a 'vision of paradise', albeit of a paradise based on physical well being.[499] After a life of renunciation and finally her death, the saint became lovely and desirable again.[500] Saint Cadog buried her in her oratory, 'where she lived for many years in a holy way of life strict and pleasing to God'.[501]

This medieval Life of St Keyna does not fit the pattern of a Welsh female saint described by Elissa Henken in *The Welsh Saints: A Study in Patterned Lives* and summarized in figure 2 in chapter 1. Instead, Keyna's Life seems to follow the entire pattern of a male Welsh saint: (a) there are portents at her birth, (b) she is reared carefully, (c) at maturity, she chooses a holy life, (d) she goes out into the world and performs her first miracle, (e) she travels and founds churches, (f) she overcomes obstacles to return to Wales, (g) she creates a well and founds her church, and (h) she dies in glory.[502] There could be several reasons for this plot difference, but without access to the source John of Tynemouth used for the Life of St Keyna, it is impossible to trace the original form of Keyna's Life. One possibility is that, because elements of the story echo similar elements in the Life of St Cadog in MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv, the Life of Keyna could have been derived from the Life of St Cadog, which also features a journey to St Michael's Mount.

Cain has not been as popular a subject of medieval Welsh poems as Dwynwen, but this praise poem by Lewys Glyn Cothi illustrates that Cain, also, is the subject of poetry, in this case, providing a model of beneficence emulated by his hostess:

Y wraig orau'i gŵr i dre Gaer gain,
hithau yn orau ei thaid a'i nain,
Efa wraig gwrda fal Cain–ferch Frychan
a ran arian mân ac aur a main.[503]

(The woman whose man was best in fair Chester town,
And she, her grandfather and grandmother are best,

[498] Doble, *S Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall,* pp. 38–39.
[499] Doble, *S Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall,* p. 39.
[500] Doble, *S Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall,* p. 39.
[501] Doble, *S Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall,* p. 39.
[502] Henken, *The Welsh Saints*, p. 2.
[503] 'Awdl i Efa ferch Lywelyn i Ddiolch am Baderau', *Gwaith Lewys Glyn Cothi*, ed. by Johnston, pp. 406–407, p. 406.

> Efa, the wife of a nobleman such as Cain–daughter of Brychan
> shares fine silver and gold and (precious) stones.)[504]

This reference to Cain does not necessarily fit with the ascetic hermit in the Life of St Keyna, who hid her well because of the sinfulness of people in the future, but the traditions of this complex saint are likely much more various than are known from the remaining sources.

Changes to traditions after the Reformation

As scholars began to gather and compare manuscripts after the Reformation, existing variations in the name and places dedicated to Cain became obvious, as shown in Nicholas Roscarrock's three entries for Cain in his unpublished Lives of the saints, discussed next.

Two late genealogical tracts from this time relate back to DSB and JC20. The genealogical tract CB, copied by Sir John Prise in the sixteenth century, identifies this daughter of Brychan as 'Kein breit apud Teraslogur' (Keinbreit, by the branches of the Ogwr), and the late genealogy now called PB, which was based on compilations from the thirteenth century, names her 'Keinwen verch Vrychan' (Ceinwen daughter of Brychan).[505]

Nicholas Roscarrock's collection of Lives of the saints includes several entries related to Cain, and one is for a male saint named Caine, Roscarrock identifies his source as the genealogies of Fr Edward Powell:

> Sainct Caine, called also Kayne was in the Welsh Pedigree wch I have of
> St Brechanus children, reckoned to bee the twelft sonn, & hathe a church
> dedicated unto him, in or neare Wales wch beareth his name and is called
> Lhen Gainr, wch some think to be Kein=March in Herefordshire
> Manus[cript]: E. Powel: priest alias huis[506]

This saint Caine is described as the patron saint of Llangeinor in Glamorgan (see table 3). The church in Llangeinor, however, is dedicated to St Ceinwyr, an abbreviation of Cein Wyry (Cain the Virgin). Located in the Ogmore Vale of Glamorgan, this church most closely matches the description in DSB and CB of the location of Keyna's original oratory and holy well 'between two branches of the Ogmore'.[507] Llangeinor also fits the narrative in which

[504] I am indebted to Paulus van Sluis for his translation of these lines.
[505] For CB, see EWGT, pp. 17–19, p. 16. Bartrum notes that this should be read 'ithr afl Ogur, between the fork of the Ogur river'. For PB, see EWGT, p. 83. See pp. 75–78 for a discussion of the sources from which PB was derived.
[506] MS Additional 3041, fol. 113v.
[507] EWGT, pp. 16 and 19.

Keyna returned with St Cadog to Wales, where she caused a holy well to come forth, and where she built her oratory at the foot of a mountain, near enough to St Cadog's foundation at Llancarfan that he could visit her often and be with her at her death.

St Ceinwyr's Church (fig. 33) in the community of Llangeinor is part of the Parish of Llangeinor and the Garw Valley dates from the early twelfth century and may be older.[508] The Margam Abbey charters indicate an early association between the abbey and St Ceinwyr's Church, called Egleskeynor at its first mention between 1139 and 1149, as described in a charter that gave the church to Ewenny Priory.[509] The church is located in an isolated location at the end of the mountain road that leads from Llangeinor, but the place may not have always been so untravelled. The vicar of the parish, the Rev. Roger Pitman, stated that the hill path from the church further up into the mountains was once a drover's road over which animals were brought to market, making the church's location well travelled during the early medieval period.[510]



A. Front view of St Ceinwr's Church



B. Back view from the edge of the churchyard



C. Looking across the churchyard



D. Looking from the edge of the churchyard

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[508] 'Home', Parish of Llangeinor and the Garw Valley [online]. Available at http://vicar7.wix.com/lgvparish <Accessed 12 April 2020>

[509] G. Clark, *Cartae et Alia Munimenta quae ad Dominium de Glamorgancia perinent*, 6 vols (Cardiff: William Lewis, 1910), vol. 6, pp. 2266–2267.

[510] Rev. R. Pitman, Vicar of St Ceinwyr's Church, Llangeinor, conversation with Jeanne and Eric Mehan, 11 February 2016.

Figure 33. St Ceinwyr's Church, Llangeinor Parish, Glamorgan

According to the Life of St Keyna, the resting place of Cain should also be near the holy well she created when she founded her oratory, but no well is marked near Llangeinor. Gilbert Doble described a trip made by his friends to search for the holy well that led them to nearby Ffawyddog, but the present vicar of St Ceinwyr's Church at Llangeinor stated that no well exists at Ffawyddog, a farm a mile or so north of Llangeinor, and the well that did exist was in a field near the church that has now been filled in by the local council.[511] The ridge upon which the parish of Llangeinor stands is called Cefn Machen, also a dedication to Cain.[512] Gwynedd Pierce explains the term in 'Under the Eaves. Some Place-Names in the Rhymni Valley Area':

> The name Cefn Machen is found in interesting circumstances in the parish of Llangeinwyr (Llangeinor) in Glamorgan (earlier Eglwys Geinwyr, supra) where the parish name probably has the compound Ceinwyry(f) after llan, that is 'Cein (Cain) the virgin (W gwyry(f) ?borrowed Latin virgō'.[513]

Nicholas Roscarrock also recorded a daughter of Brychan named St Ceniwen, which most closely fits the dedications in Anglesey to St Ceinwen (see table 2):

> I find in a Welsh Pettegree which I have of St Brechanus Children, that Ceniwen was the 19th Daughter of St Brechanus, & that her Memorie was kept in Anglesey, where her ffeast was collected the 8 of October MS: E. Powell (margin: Octob: 8, An: 550)[514]

The entry 'Keinwen verch Vrychan a Dwynwen verch Brychan yMon' juxtaposes the names of Ceinwen and Dwynwen (see ch. 7), whose adjacent dedications are in Anglesey.[515] St Ceinwen's Church, Cerrigceinwen now closed, but once in the Parish of Llangristiolas and St

[511] Doble, *S Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall,* pp. 40–41. Doble says: 'We are in debt to the well-known Glamorgan antiquary, Dr. Hartland of Porthcawl, for this interesting and important fact. Hardly anyone in Llangeinor knew of the existence of the holy well, as it is high up among the hills. Dr. Hartland, however, had heard of it and wrote to Mr. John Tudor, a farmer on the mountains near Llangeinor, who replied that the Holy Well was at Ffwdog (Ffawyddog on the OS map), and that he 'remembered his great-uncles used to come from Blaengarw Farm to drink the water.' On 30 April 1930, Dr Hartland and two friends made a journey to Llangeinor. 'After a severe mountain climb which took us an hour and a half from the road, we found the Farm, and by instruction therefrom we found the Holy Well. The farmer says he is sick and tired of all the people who come to the well with complaints.'

[512] Thomas, *The Brychan Dynasty in East Glamorgan*, p. 2. Thomas notes that *Keven Mahhai* appears in the 1213–1216, *History of Margam Abbey*, p. 134.

[513] G. Pierce, 'Under the Eaves. Some Place-Names in the Rhymni Valley Area', *Morganwg Transactions of the Glamorgan Local History Society*, vol. 36 (1 January 1992), pp. 94–121, p. 108.

[514] MS Additional 3041, fol. 121r.

[515] EWGT, p. 83. Bartrum notes that the name Ceinwen is 'evidently a duplicate of Kein, Keinbrieit.'

Ceinwen's Church, Llangeinwen, in the Parish of Llangeinwen a Llanfair-yn-y-Cwmwd.[516] Both churches are considered to be of ancient foundation.[517]

The former St Ceinwen's Church (fig. 34) is now in private hands in the village of Cerrigceinwen two miles from Llangefni in Anglesey. The site is located on the north side of a lane to the west of Llangristiolus where a nineteenth-century church replaced the medieval church, but incorporated earlier masonry in its fabric, retaining a font and some twelfth-century gravestones.[518]



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Figure 34. St Ceinwen's Church, Cerrigceinwen, Anglesey

In 1811, Samuel Lewis described the structure as dedicated to St Ceinwen, saying the church 'is supposed to have been founded originally about the year 450, but it is uncertain at what time the present edifice was built'.[519] He described the scenery as 'uninteresting, except in the immediate vicinity of the church, where is a group of porphyritic rocks of a singularly

[516] 'The Parish of Llangeinwen a Llanfair-yn-y-Cwmwd', The Church in Wales [online]. Available at http://parish.churchinwales.org.uk/b027/ <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[517] EWGT, p.148.
[518] 'St Ceinwen's Church, Cerrigceinwen', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/238/details/st-ceinwens-church-cerrigceinwen <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[519] Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, vol. 1, p. 229.

wild and romantic appearance'.[520] These rocks are the stones for which Cerrigceinwen is named. Figure 35 is a photograph of Ffynnon Cerrigceinwen on the south side of the churchyard, a spring issuing from a natural cleft in the rock, which forms a well which Harry Longueville Jones said 'once was much resorted to as a spring that could cure many diseases', but unfortunately he does not elaborate on this.[521]



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Figure 35. Ffynnon Cerrigceinwen, Anglesey

[520] Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, vol. 1, p. 239.
[521] H. Longueville Jones, 'Mona Mediaeva No. 1', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, vol. 1 (January 1846), pp. 64–65.

St Ceinwen's Church, Llangeinwen, Anglesey, Wales is a church with a twelfth-century continuous nave with later chancel, and a large modern north chapel, a south porch and west tower, shown in figure 36.[522] The north chapel was added to the chancel and the west tower built in the first half of the nineteenth century, as were the windows and doors.[523] During restoration undertaken in 1928 by H. Hughes, the upper walls were rebuilt; the gallery was removed in 1931.[524] The church houses a thirteenth-century font and three memorials dating from 1591 to 1728.[525] Four cross-slabs of the seventh to ninth century have been re-set in the western buttresses of the church, as shown in figure 36:[526]



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Figure 36. St Ceinwen's Church and medieval carved stone, Llangeinwen, Anglesey

[522] 'St Ceinwen's Church, Llangeinwen', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/202/details/st-ceinwens-church-llangeinwen <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[523] 'St Ceinwen's Church, Llangeinwen', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[524] 'St Ceinwen's Church, Llangeinwen', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[525] 'St Ceinwen's Church, Llangeinwen', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[526] 'St Ceinwen's Church, Llangeinwen', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

The adjacency of the Ceinwen dedications to those of St Dyfnan and St Dwynwen (see ch. 7) indicate cults to a son and two daughters of Brychan, and the genealogical tracts identify Ceinwen and Dwynwen as venerated in Anglesey. The name *Cain* has been changed to mean *Holy Cain* (*Cain* pers. n. + *gwen* white, pure, holy and feminine *wen* of the adjective), just as *Dwyn* became *Dwynwen*, but the feast day of the saint remains 8 October, just as in NLA and subsequent martyrologies.

Roscarrock's third entry is for St Keyna, where he bases his entry on the Life of St Keyna in NLA. He notes the absence of Keyne in list of the children of Brychan in the Life of St Nectan.[527] He connects Keyna with dedications in Somerset, Cornwall, and Breconshire, and he also speaks of his uncertainty about the other similar names of daughters of Brychan: Kehingayr, Kein, and Keyngayr. He does not mention Caine or Ceniwen as possibly referring to the same saint, although he lists the feast day of both Keyna and Ceniwen as 8 October.[528]

Hugh Thomas's description of Cain in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries uses different sources than Nicholas Roscarrock, including John Lewis of Llynwene (d. 1616?), a barrister and another of the recusant antiquarians and historians from Roscarrock's generation who collected manuscripts during the early sixteenth century, sharing and copying material with William Camden, Lewys Dwnn, and many other scholars.[529] Hugh Thomas's introduction to his essay refers to the saint as 'St Kyngar or rather Kynvair':

> St Kyngar or rather Kynvair that is by interpretation of the Tribe of Mary the Blessed Virgin & such indeed her life seemed to be Dr Davis p:43 no 25 & Mr Lewis p:32 no 51 calls her Kynwen that is the Holy Tribe but the Lattins call her for shortness Keyna of whome Capgrave from the Antiquities of Glasenbury saith she was of Royal Blood being Daughter to Braganus Prince of Brecknockshire.[530]

Thomas ended his essay by giving his own interpretation of Keyna's prophecy, reporting his failure to find her grave in Llangenny and his sorrow at the disrespect shown to the old traditions, which 'almost all their Histories being destroyed by the Injuries of Time & retained only in the memories of the simple or their Churches so far has craft destroy'd y^{e}

[527] Roscarrock, p. 85. After introducing the Welsh genealogies and the Life of St Keyna in NLA, Roscarrock says that 'St Nectans life nameth neither [Kein or Kein].'
[528] MS Additional 3041, fol. 280v. See also Roscarrock, pp. 84–85.
[529] F. Payne, 'John Lewis, Llynwene: Historian and Antiquary', *Radnorshire Society Transactions*, vol. 30 (1960), pp. 4–16.
[530] MS Harley 4181, pp. 166–167.

memories of ye Just'.[531] Thomas also believed that Cain met St Cadog at St Michael's Chapel on Ysgyryd Fawr, a mountain in Monmouthshire, rather than St Michael's Mount in Cornwall:

> Many years being spent by her in this solitude and the fame of her Sanctity every where divulged and many oratories built by her, performing a pilgrimage to St Michaels mount in Monmouthshire was there met by her holy nephew St Cadoc.[532]

Thomas's conviction that Llangenny was the site of Keyna's grave influenced later historians, such as Theophilus Jones, Rice Rees, and W. J. Rees, discussed in the section about writers of the Celtic Revival.

The hagiographical records of Nicholas Roscarrock and Hugh Thomas reflect their faith, but protestant writers also referred to the traditions of St Keyna, drawing different conclusions. By the time William Camden mentioned St Keyna's connection with ammonites in *Britannia* in 1610, he repeated the story, but denied the miracle:

> Along the said river of *Avon*, which now is heere the bound betweene this shire and Glocestershire, upon the bank Westward we have a sight of *Cainsham*, so named of one *Keina*, a most devout and holy British virgine, who (as the credulous age before time perswaded many) transformed serpents into stones, because there be found there in Stone quarries, such strange works of nature, when she is disposed to disport herselfe. For, I have seene a stone brought from hence resembling a serpent, winding round in maner of a wreath, the head whereof being somewhat unperfect bare up in the Circumference thereof, and the end of the taile tooke up the centre within. But most of these are headlesse.[533]

Richard Carew also passed on a tradition of the Well of St Keyne, but described the well as a wishing well that gave the first of a newly married couple who drank from the well the mastery in the marriage. The first mention of the Well of St Keyne is in a poem by Richard Carew in 1602 in *The Survey of Cornwall*, which sets out the components for the legend:[534]

> Next, I will relate you another of the Cornish natural wonders, viz. S. Kaynes well: but lest you make a wonder first at the Saint, before you take notice of the well, you must vnderstand, that this was not Kayne the

[531] MS Harley 4181, pp. 166–167.
[532] MS Harley 4181, fol. 136v.
[533] W. Camden, *Britain, or a chorographicall description of the most flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland*, trans. by P. Holland (London: Bishop and Norton, 1610), pp. 236–237.
[534] Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall and an Epistle Concerning the Excellencies of the English Tongue* (London: Printed for E. Law in Ave-Mary-Lane and J. Hewett at Penzance, 1769), Project Gutenberg [online]. Available at http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/9878/pg9878-images.html <Accessed 12 April 2020>

man-queller, but one of a gentler spirit, and milder sex, to wit, a woman. He who caused the spring to be pictured, added this rime for an exposition:

In name, in shape, in quality,
This well is very quaint;
The name, to lot of Kayne befell,
No ouer-holy Saint.
The shape, 4 trees of diuers kinde,
Withy, Oke, Elme and Ash,
Make with their roots an arched roofe,
Whose floore this spring doth wash.
The quality, that man or wife,
Whose chance, or choice attaines,
First of this sacred streame to drinke,
Thereby the mastry gaines.[535]

Carew's explanation describes the feature as'one of the Cornish natural wonders' and attributes the poem to the creator of the one 'who caused the spring to be pictured', but the author could well be Carew himself. No picture is included with the poem in Carew's text. Nearly one-hundred-fifty years later, Robert Southey produced a second poem, increasing the number of stanzas and changing the narrative to that of a visitor reporting his conversation with a local man, again with a humorous tone, mention of four diverse trees, and the story of newlyweds drinking from the well.[536]

A popular folk song called 'The Well of St Keyne' repeats the Southey poem.[537] Based on the two poems and the song, the tradition of the Well of St Keyne appears to depict a superstitious Cornish couple seeking to trick each other, while a Stranger wisely comments on the scene. The Well of St Keyne remains a popular spot for visitors, marked by the plaque and well house shown in figure 37:

[535] Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall and an Epistle Concerning the Excellencies of the English Tongue* (London: Printed for E. Law in Ave-Mary-Lane and J. Hewett at Penzance, 1769), Project Gutenberg [online].
[536] *The Poetical Works of Robert Southey*, 10 vols (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1838), vol. 6, pp. 145–146.
[537] B. Wootton, 'The Well of St Keyne', YouTube [online]. Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=791P3BemeKg <Accessed 12 April 2020>



Figure 37. The Well of St Keyne, Liskeard, Cornwall

The sign placed by the well has changed any previous traditions about a holy woman and a miraculous well to a princess 'who laid on the waters of this well a spell'. This type of change also takes place in the tradition of St Dwynwen, where a modern sign refers to Dwynwen's 'enchantments', discussed in the following chapter.

Counter-Reformation references to St Keyna

As the traditions of the saints in Great Britain changed, the writers of the Counter-Reformation increased their efforts to return the country to the Roman Catholic faith, which included publication of many martyrologies and ecclesiastical histories designed for English Roman Catholics. The Life of St Keyna, as printed in NLA, was often part of these collections. When the Bollandist fathers eventually gathered all this learning together to compose the Acta Sanctorum, these earlier works were their sources. If anything, these compositions, written on the continent in Latin for other hagiographers to read, created a distance between potential worshippers and the Lives of the saints. AS, organized in liturgical calendar order, included the Life of St Keyna in the fourth volume (1780) for 8 October, said

to be her feast day.[538] The commentator who prepared the Life of St Keyna wrote a commentary assessing the text. He used a number of medieval sources, such as Gerald of Wales' account of Brychan Brycheiniog's holy daughters, the Life of St Cadog from MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv, and the Life of St Keyna in NLA. He also assessed post-Reformation texts, such as John Wilson's *English Martyrologe*, which presented a compressed version of most elements of the Life of St Keyna in NLA, leaving out Cain's early life and her relationship with St Cadog.[539] Wilson does not list Capgrave as his source for this legend, but rather the *Vitae Sanctorum Mulierum Anglorum* of Robert Buckland.[540] Robert (also known as Ralph) Buckland (1564–1611) was a Catholic priest as well as the author the *Vita Sanctorum Mulierum Anglorum*, which Nicholas Orme describes as 'probably a manuscript work'.[541] Although this text remains lost, a similar text written during this time is London, BL, MS Stowe 949, transcribed by Carl Horstmann in 1886 and published as *The Lives of Women Saints of Our Contrie of England, also some other liues of holie women written by some of the auncient fathers (c. 1610–1615)*. The Life of St Keyna in MS Stowe 949 mirrors the one in NLA in most details, although it eliminates the healing well near her oratory, her deathbed prophecy, and all dialogue, an abridgement that shortens the account, and also removes Keyna's giving and taking back of her holy well.[542]

Thomas Dempster's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Scotorum* (1627) includes a Life identified as 'S. Keina', in which he mentions William Camden's reference in *Britannia* to Keynsham and Keyna's miracle of turning snakes to stone, and he adds that the saint could the Scottish St Keian.[543] Dempster's tendency to identify all saints as Scottish had the unintended result of stimulating a flurry of collections of saints' Lives designed to redress Dempster's inaccuracies.[544] The Franciscan John Colgan (1592–1658), working with Hugh Ward, Patrick Fleming, and Michael O Cleirigh, collected the Lives of the Irish saints, of which only two

[538] AS, vol. 4, pp. 275–277.
[539] Wilson, *The English Martyrologe*, pp. 274–275.
[540] Wilson, *The English Martyrologe*, p. 274. The sidebar notation states: 'Rob./Buck./l. man./scrip. de/vit. SS./Mulier./Angl./Pag. 91'.
[541] Roscarrock, p. 199.
[542] *The Lives of Women Saints of our Contrie of England Also Some Other liues of Holie Women Written by Some of the Auncient Fathers*. (*c.* 1610–1615), ed. by C. Horstmann (London: N. Trübner & Co., 1886), pp. 39–40.
[543] Dempster, Gatti, and Coccini, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Scotorum*, vol. 2, p. 418. [online] Available at https://archive.org/stream/thomaedempsteri00dempgoog#page/n86/mode/1up <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[544] 'Thomas Dempster', Catholic Encyclopedia [online]. Available at https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_%281913%29/Thomas_Dempster <Accessed 12 April 2020>

volumes were published before Colgan's death.[545] The first, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* (1645), covers the months of January, February, and March and documents two-hundred and seventy saints, including St Cynog (using as sources Capgrave, Le Grand, and Tynemouth) and St Cadoc (using Le Grand as his source).[546] For St Cynog, Colgan also refers to the Irish text known as the Mothers of the Saints, and in his discussion of St Cynog, Colgan identifies seven of the daughters of Brychan: Keyna, Gwladus, Meleri, Almedha, Nennoc, Carennia, and Tudful.[547] Colgan's entry for St Cynog gives a short dossier for Keyna, listing her lineage, her association with Brecknockshire and the Severn River, her virginity, and her feast day.[548] Cain (as St Keyna) and Cadog are also documented by Michael Alford in *Annales Ecclesiae Britannicae* (History of Ecclesiastical Britain) in an entry for the year 623.[549] This essay summarizes the Life of St Keyna in NLA, but also mentions Almedha, Gladus, Melari, and Tyduael.

Additionally, the Bollandist commentator examined evidence from Richard Whytford's Martyrology, Chastelain's *Universal Martyrology*, and articles in the AS for 24 January (Saint Cadog) and 1 August (St Almedha).[550]

The Bollandist commentator has concerns about the validity of St Keyna as a historical character because no grave or cult centre can be found for the saint, locations identified in the Life of St Keyna (e.g., Breconshire, the Severn River, and Keynsham) had no dedications to her based on the maps of John Speed and William Camden, the number and names of children attributed to Brychan varied widely, and Cain could also refer to the Scottish St Keian, as Thomas Dempster believed.[551] The commentary concluded that no one knows when St Keyna lived and died or where she was buried, but, having noted the contradictions between a number of sources, the commentator, like Nicholas Roscarrock, fell back on faith to explain the inconsistencies.[552]

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[545] B. Jennings, Introduction to the *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Galway: 16 May 1947), p. 2.
[546] Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, pp. 160 and 312.
[547] Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, pp. 311–312.
[548] Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, pp. 311–312.
[549] M. Alford, *Fides Regia Britannica sive Annales Ecclesiae Britannicae*, 4 vols (Liège: Ex Officina Typographica Jo. Mathiae Hovii, 1663), vol. 1, p. 624.
[550] AS, vol. 4, pp. 275–277 [online]. Available at http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/20vs/202_Acta_Sanctorum/1643-1925,_Societe_des_Bollandistes,_Acta_Sanctorum_10_Octobris_Tomus_04_1780,_LT.pdf <Accessed 29 January 2020>
[551] AS, p. 275.
[552] AS, p. 276.

Celtic Revival

Thirty years after the Bollandist fathers published their comprehensive and thorough analysis of the Life of St Keyne in the AS, early nineteenth-century Welsh antiquarians began to publish editions of the Welsh genealogies and Lives of the Welsh saints from previously unpublished manuscripts (see ch. 2).[553] Some of these early editions, like W. J. Rees's *Lives of the Cambro British Saints*, do not include the Life of St Keyne from NLA.[554]

The *Myvyrian Archaiology* and *Iolo MSS* retell earlier material, and it is possible to see echoes of the account of St Caine copied by Nicholas Roscarrock from Edward Powell's account in the Life of St Ceinwr found in *The Iolo MSS*.[555] Williams describes the source of this text as 'out of the book of John Bradford, which he says he took out of a book in the handwriting of Watkin Powell, of Pen y Vai, about the year 1600'.[556] Roscarrock's St Caine, son of Brychan and patron saint of Llangeinor, is now named Ceinwr, son of Coel, and the saint has been given the trait of refusing to believe anyone but God himself, eventually receiving 'through sight and hearing a power of understanding'.[557] It should also be noted that one of the men named St Ceneu was also said to be a son of Coel Godebog. Williams also lists another saint named Cain, this time a daughter of Caw of Prydain, progenitor of one of the Three Saintly Families in Wales identified in the Welsh Triads:

> Saint Cain, the daughter of Caw of Twr Celyn; her church is in Ystrad Towy.[558]

The *History of the Counties of Brecknock* by Theophilus Jones (1769–1812) mentions the 'Patroness of Llangeney' using Serenus de Cressy 'upon the authority of Capgrave' as his

[553] *Iolo Morganwg and the Romantic Tradition in Wales 1740–1918* [online]. Available at http://www.iolomorganwg.wales.ac.uk/ <Accessed 10 March 2016>
[554] Rees, *Lives of the Cambro British Saints*.
[555] *Myvyrian Archaiology*, pp. 419–420.
[556] *Iolo MSS*, p. 553.
[557] *Iolo MSS*, p. 553: Saint Ceinwr, the son of Coel, the son of Cyllin, the son of Caradoc, the son of Bran, the son of Llyr Llediath, the son of Baran, the son of Keri Hir Lynwyn, built the church of Llangeinwr in Morganwg. He was a man who would not believe any being corporeal or spiritual, neither out of this world would he believe any excepting God himself, or who came with the authority of God by miraculous wonders, so that there should be no manner of doubt respecting his being of God, in all that could be seen and understood of his acts, and words; which should be in origin and purpose, consistent with what was seen in the Son of God and his saints; so that there should be no room for doubt that they proceeded from God. And he daily and nightly prayed to God to obtain from him by sight and hearing what he ought to believe.—And he received through sight and hearing a power of understanding so evident, that it could not be doubted that he obtained what he desired.
[558] *Iolo MSS*, p. 543.

source.[559] Here the saint's connection to Breconshire is not ambiguous. Jones repeats the Life of St Keyna from NLA, but he adds this note to the conclusion of the lost grave of the saint:

> These good strangers are not yet arrived, as her tomb has not hitherto been discovered ; though the well of St. Ceneu is known and the situation of her Oratory may be traced, but a description of them is reserved to that part of this work which relates to the parochial history of the county.[560]

Perhaps because Theophilus Jones used Hugh Thomas's MS Harley 4181 as one of the sources for his *History of Brecknockshire*, St Ceneu's Church in Llangenny near Crickhowell in Breconshire began to be identified as the grave and cult centre for Cain daughter of Brychan. As discussed previously in the introduction of this chapter, two saints named Ceneu are known, both are men, and neither has any connection to the Brychan family. Hugh Thomas does identify Llangenny is the site of her oratory and holy well:

> The unhappy Times so long foretould by this Holy Saint seeme to be these our Dayes, for her Tomb has lain a longtime unknown & no honour or Pilgrimages paid to it nor can I finde anything of it tho I have made a Diligent Inquire many years in the Country and especially in the Parish of Lhangeney or Lhankene in Crichowell in which in all likely hood it was for which reason that Church was dedicated to her name & Honour. And the threatened Vengence may swiftly be feared to follow to soon unless averted by amendment of life & manners. And indeed this is the largest only Authentick written History we have of any of the children of Brychan. She died about the year of our Lord 492 almost all their histories being destroyed by the Injuries of Time & retained only in the memories of the simple or their Churches so far has craft destroyed & memories of her Lost.[561]

As well as Theophilus Jones, Samuel Lewis in his *Topographic Dictionary of Wales* that Llangenny was dedicated to a daughter of Brychan. Lewis also mistakenly states that she was canonized after her death.[562] The Church of St Ceneu (fig. 38) in Llangenny is set in the Brecon Beacons near the village of Crickhowell:

[559] Jones, *History of the Counties of Brecknockshire*, vol. 1, pp. 44–45.
[560] Jones, *History of the Counties of Brecknockshire*, pp. 44–45.
[561] MS Harley 4181, fol. 136v.
[562] Lewis, *Topographic Dictionary of Wales*, vol. 2, pp. 36–37, p. 36.



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Figure 38. St Ceneu's Church, Llangenny, Breconshire

Lewis also reported that a holy well called Ffynnon Geneu on the farm of Pen-yDarren, was reputed to have 'water of which was formerly attributed great efficacy in the cure of diseases of the eye' and he reports that a farmer found an old bell 'of singular form and construction, conjectured to have been used by that saint in calling the people to prayers; this curious piece of antiquity was in the possession of the late venerable Archdeacon Payne, by whose permission it was exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries in London, in the year 1809'.[563] The bell has since been lost. The present vicar's description of the church is as follows:

> St Cenau's is of medical origin and is dedicated to St Cenau who is reputed to have established a small church near a healing well nearby. It is situated on the bank of the Grwyne river. Over the centuries the church has served a rural population and in later years, the communities that grew around the paper mills that developed along the river.[564]

In *An Essay on the Welsh Saints or the Primitive Christians* (1836) the Welsh historical scholar Rice Rees used Jones' history as one of his sources, writing of both Ceinwen and

[563] Lewis, *Topographic Dictionary of Wales* vol. 2, pp. 36–37, p. 36.
[564] 'Llangenny', St Catwg Ministry Area [online]. Available at https://catwg.org.uk/churches/llangenny/ <Accessed 12 April 2020>

Keyna as separate saints.[565] This view corroborates Roscarrock's text that describes Ceinwen as a saint of Anglesey with the same feast day as Ceneu.[566] Rees addresses the relatively late appearance of Ceinwen in the genealogical lists of Brychan's children by saying that 'it may be presumed' that Ceinwen was one of his grand-daughters', but he notes that the feast-day of Ceinwen and Ceneu was 8 October, the same as that of Keyne.[567] Rees uses Serenus de Cressy as his source for his account of St Keyna, who he describes as 'evidently the same person as Ceneu, which appears in some of the lists, but her identity with Ceinwen already mentioned is doubtful.[568] He repeats the Life of St Keyna from NLA, but identifies Breconshire locations with elements of the story noting that 'the Mount of St. Michael is the name of a hill near Abergavenny, which still maintains its sacred character' and that it is near 'the parish of Llangeneu, in which, according to Mr. Theophilus Jones, is to be found the well of the Saint, and the situation of her oratory may yet be traced'.[569] By defining the saint's final resting place as Llangenny in Breconshire, Rees attempts to resolve the confusion about the name and identity of the saint, but since he fixates on what he perceives to be genuine familial relationships of historical people, he only taxes the evidence:

> The St. Cadoc here mentioned was Cattwg, the son of Gwynllyw Filwr and founder of Llangattock Crickhowel, of which Llangeneu is one of the subordinate chapelries. From the omission of Ceneu in several of the lists, it may be inferred that she was a grand-daughter, and in that case Cattwg would be her sister's son; but if she were a daughter of Brychan, and Cattwg were her great nephew, it would by no means violate the unity of the story; and it is obvious that Cadoc, the son of Brychan, was not the person intended, as he must have been either the brother or uncle of Ceneu, and not her nephew.[570]

He next attempts to explain the subordinate position and poor condition of her chapel by stating that the legend is a fabrication:

> The oratory alluded to was situated on a hill at some distance from the present church of Llangeneu; and if it were founded by the saint herself, as the legend would imply, its subordinate condition, for its modern representative is only a chapelry, would seem to violate the principle laid down in the first section of this Essay, namely, that upon the institution of tithes, and consequent division of the country into parishes, every primitive religious edifice received a separate endowment. It is clear,

[565] Rees, *An Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 151.
[566] MS Additional 3041, fol. 121r.
[567] Rees, *An Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 151.
[568] Rees, *An Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 153.
[569] Rees, *An Essay on the Welsh Saints*, pp. 154–155.
[570] Rees, *An Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 155.

> however, that the legend is a fabrication, for it does not appear why an oratory of such high antiquity and honoured with so many sacred recollections, should afterwards be neglected, and its very name transferred to a church in another situation.'[571]

Rees resolves the mystery by referring to the saint's deathbed prophesy that the site of her grave would be hidden and then he changes the subject.[572] He makes no mention of other sites such as Llangeinor in Glamorgan, Llangain in Carmarthenshire, Keynsham in Somerset, or Kentchurch in Herefordshire.

Changing views of Cain in the twentieth century and beyond

The early twentieth-century scholars' tended to search for a historical foundation for the Lives of the saints, and as a result St Keyna's uncertain identity presented obstacles to their study. In LBS, Sabine Baring-Gould and John Fisher raise a number of issues in their discussion of Cain (whom they call Ceinwen), beginning with her name:

> There has been no little confusion about this virgin recluse, who was one of the daughters of Brychan, owing to the different forms under which her name occurs. Besides the above forms, it has been supposed that she was known also as Ceneu, an imaginary daughter of Brychan ; and out of her name Cein (or Cain) Wyry has been evolved a male saint, Ceinwr. Ceinwen is Cain+gwen, "the holy or blessed Cain," with which may be compared, among others, the name of her sister Dwynwen, which occurs in the *Cognatio* as Dwyn. In the late Brychan lists, her name generally appears under this form.[573]

This approach echoes Roscarrock's records of three saints: Caine (Ceinwr), Ceniwen (Ceinwen), and Keyna. Their discussion of the genealogies begins and ends with the entry in DSB, stating as a fact that Llangeinor is the grave of Cain:

> The entry runs : "Kein ythrauil ogmor (*i.e.*, in bifurgatione illius fluuii)," "Cain in the holding of the Ogmore (*i.e.*, within the two branches of that river)." The place meant is Llangeinor, in Glamorganshire, in the fork of the Garw and Ogmore rivers, which appears in two late sixteenth-century parish-lists as Llanigain wyr and Llangeinwyr, and in the *Myvyrian* list* as the latter form, that is, Llan Gain Wyryf, the church of S. Cain the Virgin.[574]

[571] Rees, *An Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 155.
[572] Rees, *An Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 156.
[573] LBS, vol. 2, p. 52.
[574] LBS, vol. 2, p. 53.

They bring up the lack of reliable evidence as to the existence of the saint, but their own position on the issue remains murky.[575] The attempts by Baring-Gould and Fisher to synthesise the various accounts result inevitably in unlikely conclusions:

> S. Cadoc, on his journey to the continent from Llancarfan, passed through Cornwall, and took ship at, or disembarked in, Penzance Bay. On his way he visited his aunt. Rees considers that the S. Michael's Mount, to which S. Cadoc was travelling when he visited her, is a hill near Abergavenny. But in the *Life of S. Cadoc* the visit is to S. Michael's Mount in Cornwall.[576]

Baring-Gould and Fisher's observation that 'the cult of the archangel had not invaded the Celtic church so early as this, indeed not until the eighth century' argues for a historical saint.

A stained glass window at nearby Bangor Cathedral further testifies to a cult to St Ceinwen in Anglesey. The three-light stained glass window was added to the south wall of the south aisle of the cathedral about 1928.[577] In the window (fig. 39), St Ceinwen wears a green robe and veil and she holds an open book in her hands:

[575] LBS, vol. 2, p. 53.
[576] LBS, vol. 2, p. 53.
[577] 'Welsh Saints', Stained Glass in Wales Catalogue, ed. by M. Crampin, CAWCS, Aberystwyth [online]. Available at http://stainedglass.llgc.org.uk/object/4594 <Accessed 12 April 2020>



Photo ©Martin Crampin

Figure 39. Anglesey Saints Seiriol, Ceinwen, and Cyrig, Bangor Cathedral, Anglesey[578]

This early twentieth century dedication to Ceinwen in Bangor Cathedral emphasizes Ceinwen's perceived position, alongside saints and cults of the founders of the faith in north Wales, as do the stained glass windows of Keyne in Brecon Cathedral (described previously) and the Cathedral Church of Our Lady of Sorrows in Wrexham (described in a following section).

Early nineteenth- and twentieth-century exploration of the evolving sources, being reliant on emerging translations of uncritical editions, made conclusions difficult to draw, which is the reason one can assume for Baring-Gould and Fisher's acceptance of Ceinwen as 'patroness' of the two Anglesey churches with no attempt to discuss the issue of the Ceinwen of

[578] 'St Seiriol, St Ceinwen and St Cybil', Stained Glass in Wales Catalogue, ed. by M. Crampin, CAWCS, Aberystwyth, 2019 [online]. Available at http://stainedglass.llgc.org.uk/object/4594 <Accessed 12 April 2020>

Anglesey and Cain daughter of Caw of Anglesey.[579] They address the meaning of the augmented name Cain and then note that Ceinwen is the form most often used in the later lists, but do not explain further.[580]

Writing thirty years later, Gilbert Doble also searched for a historical Keyne in his detailed *S. Nectan, S. Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall*.[581] Doble wrote that the legend of St Keyna is late and, therefore, devoid of historic details; for example, the foundation in 1044 of St Michael's Mount in Cornwall makes it impossible that St Cadog in the sixth century could go on pilgrimage there, whether in Normandy or in Cornwall.[582] On the other hand, he notes that the Life of St Cadog includes many of the same elements as the Life of St Keyna; to wit, Cadog's trip to St Michael's Mount, his transformation of wolves into stone, his creation of a healing well on the way back, and the miracle of St Michael's Chair at the beacon on top of the mount where sitting in the chair is said to confer the mastery in marriage, which echoes the legend of the well of St Keyne near her church at Liskeard.[583]

Doble asserts that the original author of the Life of St Keyne in NLA must have known Keynsham, the dedications in south Wales and Cornwall, and the Welsh genealogies, but either did not know or would not tell the location of her hermitage, which he indicates could either be Kentchurch or Llangeinor, favouring the latter because its location 'between the two branches of the Ogmore River' matches the location associated with Cain in *DSB* and *CB* and is close to St Cadog's foundation at Llancarfan.[584] Based on Llangeinor being the saint's hermitage, Doble suggests that the 'sinful nation' mentioned at the end of the Life of St Keyne is Margam Abbey because of its proximity to Llangeinor, its reputation for being 'worldly and negligent', and the presence of Llangeinor deeds among Margam Abbey manuscripts.[585] These are strong suggestions considering that he finds the Life of St Keyne 'late and untrustworthy, derived almost entirely from local traditions of uncertain origin, and its historical value is very small'.[586]

[579] LBS, vol. 2, pp. 52–55.
[580] LBS, vol. 2, pp. 52 and 55.
[581] LBS, vol. 2, p. 53. See also Doble, *S. Nectan, S. Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall*, pp. 34–48.
[582] Doble, *S. Nectan, S. Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall*, pp. 42–43.
[583] Doble, *S. Nectan, S. Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall*, p. 43.
[584] Doble, *S. Nectan, S. Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall*, pp. 39–40.
[585] Doble, *S. Nectan, S. Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall* pp. 39–40.
[586] Doble, *S. Nectan, S. Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall*, p. 42.

Doble does discuss the evidence from the perspective of its historicity, such as his view that the saint's many dedications indicate considerable travel and exertion, and for that reason St Keyne 'may quite well have been a man, in spite of the later universally accepted tradition of *Cain Wyry*' or that perhaps more than one saint was associated with her legend.[587] Jane Cartwright points out Doble's reluctance to accept a woman as having accomplished so much; that is, rejection of her historicity based on the assumption that women could not have travelled so far in this period; whereas since he imagines that men travelled he does not query the historicity of the male saints.[588] Cain's travel and missionary work conform to a hagiographical pattern similar to that of St Nennoc, another daughter of Brychan (see ch. 8) and other early female saints who were administrators of double abbeys, like St Brigid of Kildare and St Hilda of Whitby. Doble concludes that Keyne was one of 'a band of missionaries' from Breconshire who travelled first to Herefordshire, then to south Wales, Somerset, and Cornwall, perhaps travelling by water as most of these dedicated sites are by tidal rivers.[589] He notes that many sites are near Roman villas, roads, and camps, and notes that she must have lived before the battle of Deorham in 577 when Keynsham fell to the Saxons.[590] At the time when Baring-Gould, Fisher, and Doble were writing, there was a kind of obsession with establishing the historicity of saints rather than an acceptance of the recorded traditions in reflecting stories associated with Cain in the period in which they were written.

Doble also interprets the repetition of the Keyne story by the Counter-Reformation texts as if the repetition itself is a flaw:

> All these writers [note: Whytford, Wilson, Castellanus, Wilson, Alford], and every other hagiographer who mentions St Keyne (e.g., Colgan), clearly depend on the Vita in Capgrave for their information, and really know nothing which is not in that.[591]

While Doble dismisses the Roman Catholic martyrologies for reporting only the version in NLA, he overlooks the importance of the Catholic martyrologies, written for the most part on the Continent, culminating in the commentary in the AS, which ensured the survival of the

[587] Doble, *S. Nectan, S. Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall*, pp. 47–48.
[588] Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales*, p. 68.
[589] Doble, *S. Nectan, S. Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall,* pp. 47–48.
[590] Doble, *S. Nectan, S. Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall,* pp. 47–48.
[591] Doble, *S Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall,* p. 48.

story largely intact during the hundreds of years when veneration of the saints in Great Britain was forbidden, and liturgies, books, shrines, and relics were destroyed.

In 2000 Nicholas Orme wrote his commentary the saint he calls Keyne (Keyne, Kein or Keinwen, mentioned in Welsh genealogies) as buried between the two branches of the River Ogmore, 'probably envisaged as Llangeinwyr', and he notes that she is not included in the Hartland list of Brychan's children.[592] He suggests that the Life of St Keyna in NLA was probably abridged from a longer version written in Wales in about the twelfth century, because it emphasizes Welsh traditions more than Cornish ones, and refers to the *Life of St Cadoc* by Lifris and Keynsham, where an abbey was founded *c.* 1170.[593]

Most recently, Karen Jankulak suggested a connection between Cain ferch Brychan and Chein, one of the daughters of Ebraucus, another eponymous ruler with many distinguished children (see ch. 2), in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*:

> Seule l'une des filles de Brychan, Kein (aussi connue comme Cain Breit ou Ceinwen), a le même nom qu'un personnage de *l'Historia Regum Britanniae*, Chein. Une sainte du nom de Kein est très bien attestée par alleurs: une église lui est dédiée dans le Glamorgan et une *Vie de sainte Kenya*, presque certainement abrégée d'un texte plus long, a ete incluse dans les *Nova Legenda Anglie* (XIVe siècle). La *Vie* mentione les liens de la sainte avec Brychan et se passe, elle aussi, en cornouailles insulaire. Une église lui y a été dédiée avant 1291 (note: per Nicholas Orme). Geoffroy a pu connaître, ou non, cette sainte: son nom n'est pas assez spécifique pour indiquer une source précise. Néanmoins, le passage dans lequel Chein appareît dans l'*Historia Regum Britanniae* nécessite un examen approfondi: il s'agit de la liste des nombreux enfants du roi breton Ebraucus (ii.8).[594]
>
> [Kein (also known as Cain Breit or Ceinwen) is the only one of Brychan's daughters to have the same name as a character in the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Chein. A saint called Kein is otherwise very well attested: a church is dedicated to her in Glamorgan and a *Life of St Kenya*, almost certainly abridged from a longer text, was included in the fourteenth-century *Nova Legenda Anglie*. The *Life* mentions the saint's connection with Brychan, and also takes place in Cornwall. A church there was dedicated to her before 1291. Geoffrey may have known this saint or not: her name is not distinctive enough to indicate a precise source. However, the passage in which Chein appears in the *Historia*

[592] Orme, *S. Nectan, S. Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall*, pp. 162–163.
[593] Orme, *S. Nectan, S. Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall,* pp. 162–163.
[594] Jankulak, 'La matière de Bretagne', in *Histoires des Bretagnes*, p. 77.

Regum Britanniae requires more thorough consideration: it consists of a list of the numerous children of the British king Ebraucus.]

Arthur Hutson in 1937 was the first to note the similarity of Kambreda, daughter of Ebraucus, to Kein Breit or Kembreith, daughter of Brychan, and the similarity of Chein to Cein Wyry.[595]

Traditions

The loss of Cain's burial site and holy well become evident when reviewing traditions related to her veneration and are compounded by the number of geographic locations where legends and dedications exist. However, just as the extent of Cain's veneration can be deduced from her inclusion in many collections of the Lives of the saints, the scope of her veneration may be found by reviewing the places in which she is remembered. The dedications to Cain are extensive, certainly the most extensive of any of the daughters of Brychan. Continuing cultural references to the saint offer insight into the ways that her many traditions remain in the consciousness of people in the areas related to her veneration. These traditions are discussed in the following sections. For a discussion of place-names related to the daughters of Brychan, see appendix A.

St Keyna in England

Dedications to St Keyna in England are found in Herefordshire along the border and in Somerset, near the Severn River. Herefordshire dedications are found in Kentchurch, named for Cain, as was formerly St Mary's Church in Kentchurch. This community is located near Dore Abbey, where the earliest example of the Brychan family coat of arms was found. The advowson of Kentchurch was granted by Harold de Ewyas to the Abbey of St Peter in Gloucester in *c.* 1100.[596] Later, the church came under the patronage of the nearby Scudamore family of Kentchurch Court, who rebuilt the church in 1859 (fig. 40).[597]

[595] Hutson, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, pp. 361–373.
[596] 'Kentchurch Some History', St Mary's, Kentchurch [online]. Available at https://stmaryskentchurch.org/history-2 <Accessed 10 March 2016>
[597] Evans, *The Book of Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 275.



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Figure 40. St Mary's Church, Kentchurch, Herefordshire

In the 1302 Diocesan Register of Bishop Swinfield, the church is spoken of as St Keyna's and is credited with a chapel 'cum capella de Candoris ad eandem spectante'.[598] This may indicate the chapel at Kenderchurch, which is said to be dedicated to St Cynidr.[599] There are no remains of such a chapel.[600]

St Keyne in Radnorshire

Another cathedral with a stained glass dedication to one of the daughters of Brychan is found in Radnorshire in Wrexham. The chancel of the Roman Catholic Cathedral Church of Our Lady of Sorrows features a rose window by Joshua Clark & Sons from Dublin, Ireland, installed in 1902, and one of the roundels shows a crowned St Keyne (fig. 41) among other saints (David, Winefride, Thomas, Gudwal, and John) and archangels (Michael, Raphael, Uriel, and Gabriel); the central image is the Virgin Mary holding the dead Christ:[601]

[598] 'Kentchurch Some History', St Mary's, Kentchurch [online].
[599] 'History 2', St Mary's, Kentchurch [online].
[600] 'Kentchurch Some History', St Mary's, Kentchurch [online].
[601] 'Pietá With Saints', Stained Glass in Wales Catalogue, ed. by Crampin, CAWCS, Aberystwyth [online]. Available at http://stainedglass.llgc.org.uk/object/2043 <Accessed 21 March 2020>



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Figure 41. St Keyne (detail), Cathedral Church of Our Lady of Sorrows, Wrexham

Trinity College Library in Dublin possesses the design for the entire window, shown in figure 42:



Figure 42. St Keyne window design, Trinity College Library[602]

St Keyne in Cornwall

The tradition of the Well of St Keyne has been discussed previously, but several dedications to St Keyne are found in Cornwall. St Keyne's Parish Church (fig. 43) and holy well in

[602] 'IE TCD MS 11182/675', Trinity College Dublin [online]. Available at https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/index.php?folder_id=4595&pidtopage=MS11182-675_1&entry_point=1 <Accessed 12 April 2020>

Liskeard, along with the village of St Keyne, stand on the river Looe, two miles south of Liskeard.[603]



Figure 43. St Keyne's Church, Liskeard, Cornwall[604]

St Keyne was the also the original patron of St Martin-by-Looe Church at Penndrumm, based on a mid-sixteenth-century description of the church as '*Kayne the moore* (meaning 'great'), or *Saynt Kayn iuxta Loo*, implying her status as sole or join patron there'.[605] The term'Moore' relates to the size of the parish, as St Martin's church is larger than St Keyne's.

Another dedication to Keyne is said to be at Kenwyn Church, one-half-mile north of Truro, although 'Kenwyn' was not considered to be the name of a saint until the middle of the fourteenth century, and it probably was not a saint's name originally.[606] Subsequently the name was equated with that of St Keyne, even though at Kenwyn she seems to have been regarded as a male.[607] The holy well at Kenwyn is also the subject of a video recording of a pilgrim's visit.[608] A last dedication to St Keyne in Cornwall exists at St Pinnock, where a

[603] 'St Keyne Parish Church', Cornwall Historic Churches Trust [online]. Available at https://www.chct.info/histories/st-keyne-parish-church/ <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[604] 'St Keyne: St Keyna, St Keyne', Church of England [online]. Available at http://www.achurchnearyou.com/st-keyne-st-keyna/ <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[605] O. Padel, *Cornish Place-Names* (Exeter: A. Wheaton & Co. Ltd, 1988), p. 116.
[606] Padel, *Cornish Place-Names*, p. 102.
[607] Padel, *Cornish Place-Names*, p. 102. 'Wyn' being the male form of the adjctive 'gwyn'; whereas 'wen' is the feminine form often used as a suffix at the end of female saints' names.
[608] Kenwyn's Holywell, Truro, Cornwall', YouTube [online]. Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6HksFZFDaTs <Accessed 12 April 2020>

license for a chapel of All Saints in 1437 provided for services to be held there on four days of the year, one of which was St Keyne's feast day.[609]

The dedications at St Keyne's Church and Well, St Martin-by-Looe, Kenwyn, and St Pinnock demonstrate a great deal of interest in St Keyne in Cornwall, with the reputation of the Well of St Keyne bolstered by seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century poems by Carew and Southey, respectively. Nonetheless, the village of St Keyne was originally named Lammeton, St Martin-by-Looe's dedication was changed from Keyne to its present name, and Kenwyn's dedication was said to be to a male saint. St Pinnock's dedication is for a service held once a year. Most seriously, the question of Keyne's omission from the lists of Brychan's children in the Life of St Nectan make her tradition in Cornwall uncertain even thought its tourist site at St Keyne's Well is the most well known of all the dedications to Cain.

Cain and Ceinwyry in Carmarthenshire

Dedications to Cain Wyry can be found near Carmarthen at Llangain and Llangunnor and near Talley Abbey at Capel Cain Wyry, Llwyncynhwyra, and Llwyncynyrys. The former chapel of Cain the Virgin was said to be at in the Parish of Talley or Tal y Llycheu (dedicated to St Michael).[610] The Patent Roll issued by Edward III in 1331 mentions 'Llanceinwyryf' among the possessions of Talley Abbey; this item is explained by the editor of the collection *Royal Charters and Historical Documents Relating to the Town & County of Carmarthen and the Abbeys* as follows:

> Llan Cein Wyryf=the Church of St Keyna the Virgin. She was daughter of Brychan. There are in Carmarthenshire two places which bear a corruption of this name; viz., Llwyncynhwyra, nearly 4 m, S.W. of this abbey; and Llwyncynyrys, 2 m. NW of Llandovery.[611]

The communities of Llwyncynhwyra and Llwyncynhyrys remain on the OS map for the area, and the site of Capel Cein Wyry (fig. 44) is said to be in a field on Dan-y-capel farm, where stone foundations are occasionally unearthed during ploughing.[612]

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[609] Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall*, p. 163.
[610] Wade-Evans, *Parochiale Wallicanum*, p. 33.
[611] J. Daniel-Tyssen, 'Patent Roll. 5th Edward III, AD 1331. Part. 3. Memb. 2.', *Royal Charters and Historical Documents Relating to the Town & County of Carmarthen and the Abbeys*, ed. by A. Evans (Carmarthen: William Spurrell, 1878), pp. 60–72, p. 62.
[612] 'Capel Llanceinwyryf, Possible Church Site, Danycapel', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLENhcGVsIENlaW53eXJ5X3NlYXJjaHR5cGUsYWR2YW5jZWRfb3Jh&numlink=417581#tabs-4 <Accessed 10 March 2016>



A. Dan-y-Capel Farm: (l.) farmhouse 'below the chapel' and (r.) field above, presumed site of the chapel



B. Name of the farm next to Dan-y-Capel and likely a corruption of Llan Cain Wyry

2016 © Eric Mehan

Figure 44. Reminders of Capel Cain Wyry (near Talley Abbey in Carmarthenshire)

St Cain's Church in Llangain on the outskirts of Carmarthen was rebuilt in 1871 some ten metres south of its earlier site, outside the southern boundary of the current churchyard; local tradition says that the old church was given the bell from Capel Llangynheiddon (named for Cynheiddon, another daughter of Brychan) when that chapel fell into disuse (see ch. 8).[613] St Cain's Church has become structurally unsound and is now closed (see fig 45).

[613] 'St Cain's, Church Site, Llangain', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/105209/details/st-cains-new-church-llangain <Accessed 12 April 2020>



2016 © Eric Mehan

Figure 45. Views of St Cain's Church, Llangain (now closed)

Haydn Williams, author of *St. Cain's Church Llangain: A Brief History and Guide*, confirmed that 'there is no doubt that Llangain and Capel Cain in former Carmarthenshire are to be associated with the cult of St Keyne'.[614] J. R. Daniel-Tyssen was just as insistent that the church of Llangain is dedicated to Cain daughter of Caw, a reminder that dedications can be uncertain, even when the dedication name matches the saint's name.[615]

Keyne and Cain in Pembrokeshire

A number of dedications to the children of Brychan are found in Pembrokeshire, and they include some to Cain. At Treffgarne, the parish church now dedicated to St Michael was previously named Eglwys Keyn.[616] The medieval holy well of Ffynnon Gain is 'possibly dedicated to St. Keyne the Virgin, although it may derive its name from the nearby River Cain'.[617] Once a well of some repute, it was recorded in 1925 as being situated about 600 yards north of Ffynnon Gain farmhouse, with slight traces of foundations in the soil around

[614] H. Williams, *St. Cain's Church Llangain: A Brief History and Guide* (Narberth: Tredemi Print, 1989), p. 7.
[615] Daniel-Tyssen, *Royal Charters and Historical Documents*, p. 35.
[616] Charles, *Place-Names of Pembrokeshire*, vol. 2, p. 662, detailing the church called St Keyn, Egleuiskeyn (1174–1176).
[617] Daniel-Tyssen, pp. 429–430.

it.[618] Rivers may be called Cain, which adds complexity to the issue. A field visit in 1965 found modern well chambers at the site, and a spring is shown on both historic and modern maps.[619] This is another site and a second dedication may be found.

St Keyne in Keynsham

No churches dedicated to Cain are found at Keynsham in Somerset, but this town has a very strong connection to Keyna's legend. Even early uses do not refer to the saint. The first use of the name in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle refers to the place as 'Cægineshamme', while the Great Domesday Book of 1086 recorded it as 'Cainesham'.[620] This early name is confirmed in the *Book of Llandaf* among Newport holdings, which include 'Abbas de Keynesham pro mobilus'.[621] The town has been known for its ammonite fossils, Chapters 1 and 2 included the name and attributes of St Keyna in businesses, schools, clubs, and other reflections of community ownership. Figure 46 shows an art installation called 'St Keyna and Ammonites' at Keynsham Memorial Park, built on the ruins of Keynsham Abbey. This piece by Jeff Brody was part of 2007 project that involved young people from Keynsham Youth Centre.[622] The panel (left) depicts St Keyna surrounded by snakes, and the free-standing sculpture (right) is a carving of ammonites:



Figure 46. St Keyna and ammonites, Keynsham Memorial Park, Somerset

[618] 'Ffynnon Gain, New Moat', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/32477/details/ffynnon-gain-new-moat <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[619] 'Ffynnon Gain, New Moat', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[620] 'Keynsham', Domesday Book Online [online]. Available at www.domesdaybook.co.uk/somerset3.html <Accessed 12 April 2020> The text reads: 'Cainesham/essam: King's land and Bishop of Coutances, Wulfward's wife and Aelfric from the king. 6 mills. 700 sheep.' See also B. Lowe, 'A Rose by any other name...K-E-Y-N-S-H-A-M', *Around Keynsham & Saltford Past & Present*, ser. 2, no. 9 (2009), pp. 1–3. [online]. Available at
[621] Evans, *The Book of Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 329.
[622] 'Keynsham Memorial Park', Bath & North East Somerset Council [online]. Available at https://www.bathnes.gov.uk/services/sport-leisure-and-parks/parks-green-spaces/find-park/keynsham-memorial-park <Accessed 12 April 2020>

Conclusions

The quality of absence rather than presence is the essence of the story of Cain. In NLA she is described as already singled out and removed from others at her birth, she leaves Wales and her family to create a hermitage in England, leaves her foundations in England to return to Wales later in life, and deliberately hides her grave when she dies. The original source of the Life of St Keyna is another mystery. While the Welsh genealogies include Cain and connect her with the two branches of the Ogwr (i.e., Llangeinor), the Life of St Keyna, which appears in John of Tynemouth's fourteenth-century manuscript, includes pieces quite likely taken from other saints' Lives, such as those of Cadog and Hilda. If an earlier version of the Life of St Keyna exists, it has not been found.

The dedications, on the other hand, are ubiquitious, and sites dedicated to Cain extend from Wales, Herefordshire, and Somerset (fig. 47) and into Cornwall, and Brittany (fig. 48).

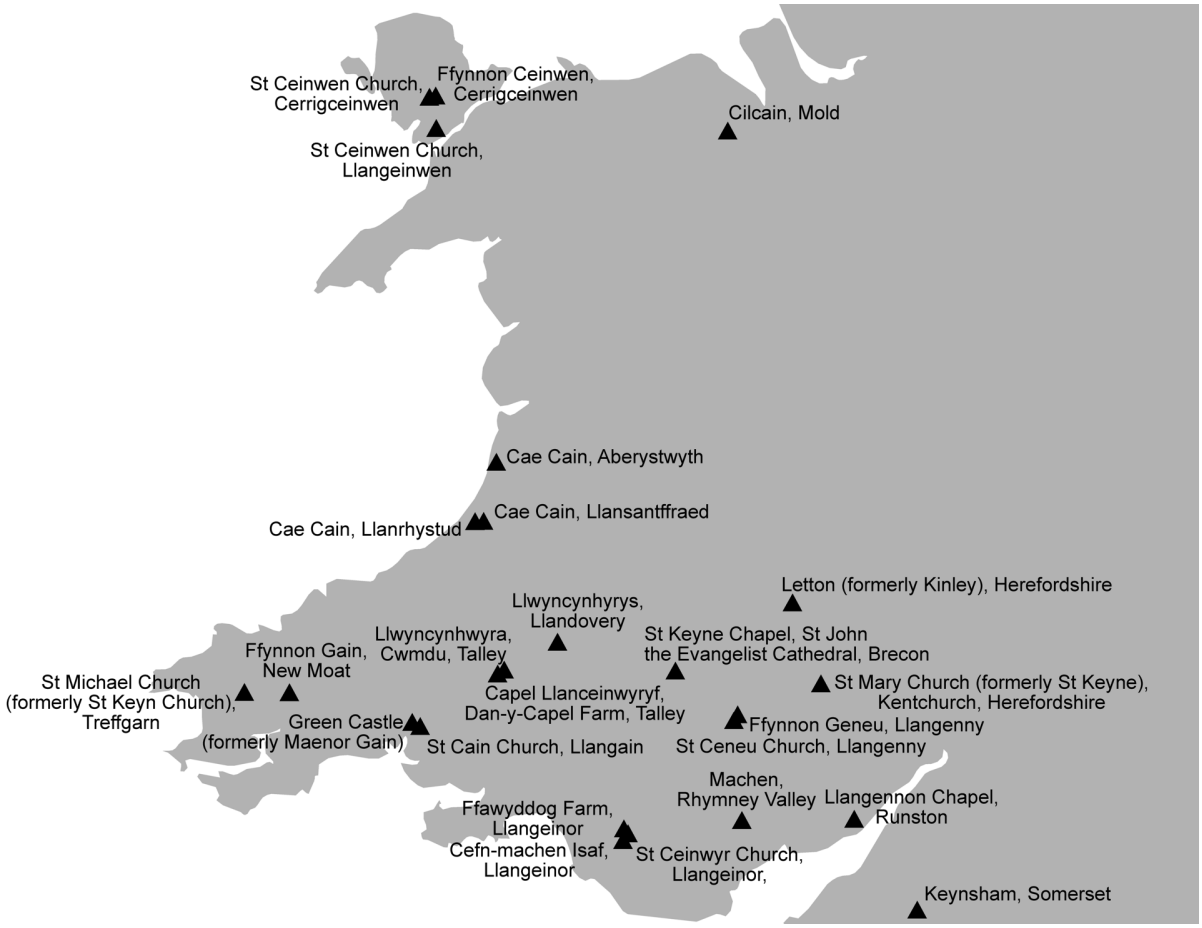


Figure 47. Dedications to Cain daughter of Brychan in Wales



Figure 48. Dedications to Cain daughter of Brychan in Cornwall and Brittany

If seeking consistency and historicity, readers (such as the author of the AS) must find frustration at the obstacles inherent in traditions of Cain ferch Brychan. However, traditions of Cain also provide clarity of another sort, which is that legends of the daughters of Brychan and of the holy families of Britain are made of many pieces of evidence, but rarely of a single story and that finding the common threads can never be the only goal when seeking their traditions. The traditions of the daughters of Brychan are not alike. While Eluned was said to be plagued by rejection and aggression and the Life of St Cain describes a woman set apart from birth who died in triumph, the next chapter discusses the traditions relating to Dwynwen ferch Brychan, whose traditions exist in only one geographic location, but whose enduring impact on the cultural identity of Wales makes her cult sites still the object of pilgrimage and her feast-day celebrated around the country.

Chapter 7 Dwynwen

The history of the veneration of St Dwynwen offers evidence of distinct changes to traditions about her in response to historical and social change, evidence often lacking for other daughters of Brychan. The ubiquity of Dwynwen in Wales and interest in her outside of Wales may be the result of the recent popularization of St Dwynwen's Day, but the history and nature of her cult remain largely unexplored. St Dwynwen's feast day is still celebrated on 25 January and the ruins of her medieval shrine on the tidal island of Ynys Llanddwyn (connected since 1838 by a causeway) in the county of Rhosyr in the south-west corner of Anglesey remain a destination for tourists.[623] Dwynwen's continuing popularity rests in the perception of her as the patron saint of lovers and a 'Venus of the Welsh', and this chapter discusses how this tradition grew, beginning with numerous references to her in medieval poems, such as 'Galw ar Ddwynwen' by Dafydd ap Gwilym.[624] The history of St Dwynwen's Church and shrine are also subjects for discussion, as are the names and descriptions of the holy wells associated with Dwynwen. Without a medieval Life of the saint, the late folk-tale about Dwynwen and Maelon Dafodrill recorded in *Iolo MSS* has been widely repeated as a kind of Life of the saint, and this, too, is considered in this chapter.[625]

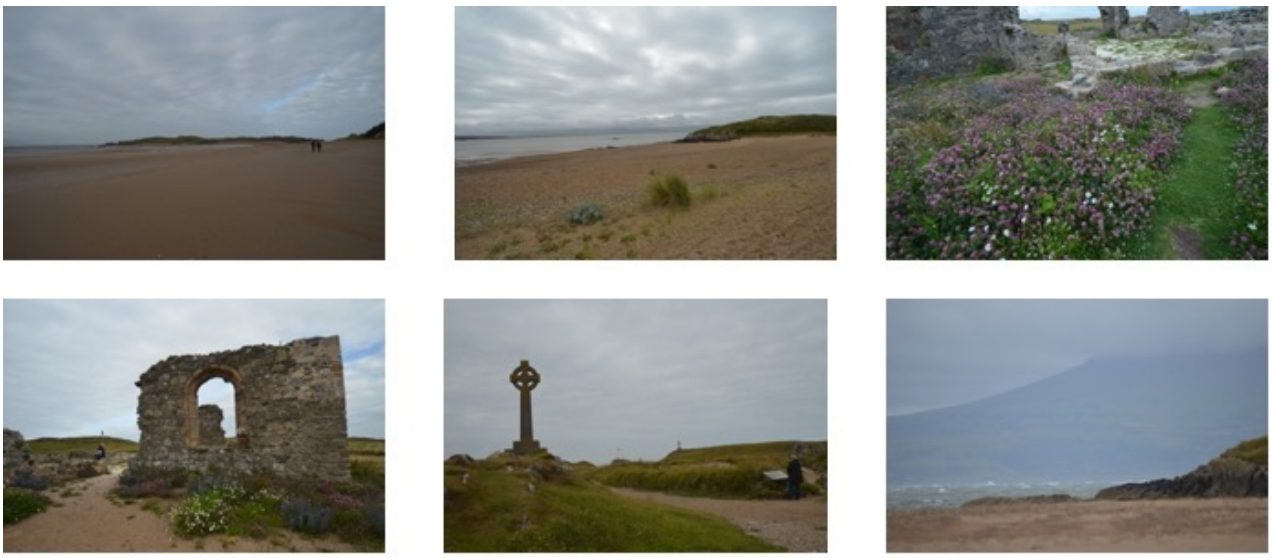
The evidence of the cult of St Dwynwen illustrates the many ways that a saint's identity can be reinterpreted in response to cultural and political change. By exploring the genealogies, physical location of her cult in Anglesey, historical records, poetry, and traditions to explain the changing attitudes toward the saint, this chapter presents Dwynwen as an icon in the cultural identity of Wales. Among the daughters of Brychan, Eluned and Dwynwen are the two whose shrines were pilgrimage destinations. In the cases of Eluned and Cain, the dedication sites seem to have been chosen to support the story of the saint; in the case of Dwynwen, Ynys Llanddwyn itself seems to possess the quality of being perceived as a threshold between worlds (i.e., liminality), with many stories and legends to explain the

[623] A. Davidson, 'Llanddwyn Church Newborough, Anglesey: Archaeological report to aid digital reconstruction and interpretation', no page numbers, Gwynedd Archaeological Trust (GAT) 3026, GAT Regional Historic Environment Reports (HER) [online]. Available at https://www.archwilio.org.uk/arch/query/page.php?watprn=GAT3026&dbname=gat&tbname=core&sessid=CHI21wgtr6c&queryid=Q6514380015867877 57 <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[624] Dafydd ap Gwilym, 'Edited Text and English Translation: 48–Galw ar Ddwynwen', Dafydd ap Gwilym.net [online]. Available at http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net/eng/3win.htm <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[625] *Iolo MSS*, pp. 83–84 and 473–474.

journeys taken by people in their search for answers of various sorts, from cures to prognostications. As Patrick Geary writes in *Living With the Dead in the Middle Ages*:

> The vast majority of Christians, for whom the costs and dangers of a distant pilgrimage were too much, sought instead to escape the structures of their normal existence by finding a place of local liminality—a place not so removed physically from their familiar surroundings and yet sharing with the great pilgrimage sites of Palestine a direct connection with divine power.[626]

Figure 49 illustrates the beauty and wildness of the setting for Dwynwen's cult, a place that could only be reached by a journey across the Menai Straits and to a small tidal island on the south-west shores of Anglesey:



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Figure 49. Church ruins, crosses, and lighthouse at Ynys Llanddwyn

Dwynwen's tradition lacks many documentary features required for a traditional hagiographic study, but the setting for her shrine continues to inspire contemplative thought. Patrick Geary concludes his discussion of local shrines in the chapter 'The Saint and the Shrine: The Pilgrim's Goal in the Middle Ages' by focusing on the goal of the pilgrims who visited:

> Their sanctity did not come from where or what they were. It came from what was to be found there—what physical link with the divine sphere

[626] P. Geary, 'The Saint and the Shrine: The Pilgrim's Goal in the Middle Ages', *Living With the Dead* (Ithaca and London: Cornwell University Press, 1994), pp. 163–176, p. 164.

> remained incarnate in the material world. What then did these pilgrims go out into the desert to see? [627]

The question is important for this particular saint, whose cult centre has remained a place of pilgrimage and contemplation while at the same time her traditions have been greatly transformed.

The medieval cult of St Dwynwen

The centre of Dwynwen's cult in Anglesey is the tidal island called Ynys Llanddwyn, an isolated and uninhabited tidal island located in the south-west corner of Anglesey adjacent the town of Newborough, once the site of Llys Rhosyr, a former court of the Welsh princes. The popularity of the saint and the importance of, the church and wells, and the prebend who administered the shrine are praised in a number of late medieval poems. One late medieval hand-written liturgy also provides details of beliefs about St Dwynwen.[628] No medieval Life of the saint has been found, but the Welsh genealogies all refer to Dwynwen under a number of names.

The saint's name in medieval genealogies

The Welsh genealogies consistently list Dwynwen near the end of the list of daughters and she is always associated with Anglesey. The entry in DSB is 'Duyn, filia Brachan, est in Monia' (Dwyn, daughter of Brychan, is in Mona).[629] CB names her 'Vndin apud Moniam insulam' (Undin by the island of Mona), and in JC20 she is'Gwenn verch Vrachan yMon Vam Gymry' (Gwenn daughter of Brychan in Mona mother of the Welsh).[630] Only the later versions identified as *PB* vary the order, listing her as twentieth along with Keinwen verch Vrychan as 'Dwynwen verch Vrychan yMon'.[631] Although *Bonedd y Saint* does not include the children of Brychan, the late-forteenth-century *Achau'r Saint* derived from it does include

[627] Geary, *Living With the Dead*, p. 164.
[628] D. Huws, 'The earliest Bangor missal', *NLW Journal*, cyf. 27, rh. 2 (Gaeaf 1991), pp. 113–130,
[629] For CB, see EWGT, p. 19. For JC20, see EWGT, p. 16. Bartrum glosses this text as '.i. in Anglese'.
[630] VSBG, p. 319 and EWGT, p. 44. Bartrum: 'for Gwenn, read Dwyn'. For first use of the term 'Môn mam Cymru' [Anglesey Mother of Wales], see Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales,* p. 230. For dating of this manuscript, see EWGT, p. 41. In MS Harley 4181, p. 141, Hugh Thomas repeats the version in JC20: '22. St Gwen Daughter to Brychan in Anglesey the Mother of Wales.' Thomas lists other versions and attempts to reconcile the name change: 'Mr Lewis p:32: no: 52 & Dr. Davis p:43: no: 24 calls her Dwynwen that is Fair Carriage or Holy behaviour which I make no doubt was her reall name to distinguish her from her sister Gwen in Talgarth'. For the source attributed to Mr Lewis, see *Achau y Saint*, EWGT, p. 32: 'Dwynwen y Mon'. The source attributed to Dr Davis is a version of *Plant Brychan* that lists Dwynwen twice: first in lines 51–52, 'Keinwen ferch Vrynach a Dwynwen in Mon' and second in line 62, 'Kynvran, Kynbryd a Dwynwen Plant Brycheiniog'.
[631] EWGT, p. 83.

Dwynwen, along with two brothers: 'Kynvran, Kynbryd a Dwynwen plant Brychan Brecheinioc'.[632] No medieval documents explain the reason that Dwynwen with her sister Ceinwen (see ch. 6) and brother Dyfnan (see App. A Gazetteer) have cult centres in Anglesey instead of south Wales.

The Life of St Nectan reports that all the children of Brychan emigrated to Cornwall; however, Dwynwen is not listed as one of these children. St Adwen's Church in Advent in Cornwall has been suggested as being dedicated to Dwynwen, but that is unlikely for several reasons. The Life of St Nectan lists Adwen and not Dwynwen and does not distinguish the gender of Brychan's children.[633] Also, most medieval references to St Adwen's Church refer to the saint as a man.[634] Another suggestion, this time by Baring-Gould and Fisher, is that St Tuine's Church in Brittany could be dedicated to Dwynwen, who 'perhaps also has a cult in Brittany, as Ste. Douine or Twine, who has a chapel at Plouha, in Goëlo, Côtes du Nord, where she is there credited with the power to cure all fevers'.[635] Nonetheless, the legend about St Touina recorded by François Luzel (1821–1895), a collector of Breton folk tales, does not refer to Touina as a Welsh saint:[636]

> Que d'histoires fantaisistes ont été racontées sur la chapelle de Sainte-Eugénie et sa sainte patronne, et que de controverses se sont élevées, tout récemment encore, à son sujet! Connue, en effet, également à Plouha sous le nom de chapelle de Santez Twina-ar-Mor, sur laquelle existe une poésie bretonne : « Buez Santez Ugen leshauvet, Santez Thouin ar Mor », Trevaux confond avec Saint Touinien, le savant abbé Duine rapproche ce nom de sainte Dwynn, patronne, en Galles, des vrais amants.[637]
>
> [How many fanciful stories have been told about the chapel of St Eugenie and her patron saint, and how much controversy has very recently been raised about her! Known also in Plouha as the chapel of Santez Twina-ar-Mor, about which a Breton poem exists, 'Buez (the Life of) Santez Ugen leshauvet, Santez Thouin ar Mor', Trevaux confuses Saint Touinien, the learned abbot Duine, associates this name Saint Dwynn, patroness in Wales of true lovers.]

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[632] EWGT, pp. 68–71, p. 70. For *Bonedd y Saint*, see EWGT, pp. 51–67.
[633] Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall*, p. 59. Nicholas Orme writes that Adwen is 'one of the sons of the legendary Welsh king Brychan (Grosjean 1953: 397–398).
[634] Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall*,p. 59.
[635] LBS, vol. 2, pp. 391–392.
[636] 'Breton Literature', Encyclopedia Britannica [online]. Available at https://www.britannica.com/art/Breton-literature <Accessed 12 April 2020> See also F. Luzel, *Légendes Chrétiennes de la Basse-Bretagne* 2 vols (Paris: Maisonneuve et C[16], 1881), vol. 2, pp. 64–83.
[637] R. Couffon, 'La Chapelle Sainte-Eugénie' [online]. Available at http://www.infobretagne.com/plouha-chapelle-eugenie.htm <Accessed 12 April 2020>

These two churches in Cornwall and Brittany appear to have no plausible connection with St Dwynwen other than a slight similarity of name. The island where St Dwynwen's shrine was located, however, is firmly connected with Dwynwen daughter of Brychan.

Medieval traditions of St Dwynwen and features of her shrine

No records mention Ynys Llanddwyn before the Norman Conquest, but it is known that County Rhosyr was not desolate or isolated at that time and that the island was inhabited 'centuries if not millennia before Christ, in the period between Old and New Stone ages', based on discoveries there of beaker fragments, mounds of shells, bone needles, and an area for making flint tools.[638] An early date for St Dwynwen's Church is suggested by two nearby sites associated with St Ceinwen at Llangeinwen and Cerrig Ceinwen, where the church fabric incorporates ancient tombstones (see ch. 6). Ynys Llanddwyn is also located near the ruins of the royal court of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd (1223–1282) at Llys Rhosyr.[639] Figure 50 shows views of a copy of the building recently added to St Fagan's Museum of Welsh Life in Cardiff.[640]



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Figure 50. External (left) and internal (right) views of Llys Rhosyr at St Fagan's Museum of Welsh Life[641]

[638] H. Owen, *Hanes plwyf Niwbwrch ym Môn* (Caernarfon : Gwenlyn Evans, 1952), pp. 1–2 [online]. Available at http://www.tpwilliams.co.uk/newborough/hanes_pdf_ch1e.pdf <Accessed 20 January 2020> See also T. Pape, 'A prehistoric settlement in Anglesey', TAAS, (1927), pp. 23–33.
[639] 'Llys Rhosyr: A Medieval Palace of the Princes', GAT, [online]. Available at http://www.heneb.co.uk/palaceoftheprinces/rhosyr.html <Accessed 12 April 2020> See also 'Llys Rhosyr, Site of, Newborough', Archwilio [online]. Available at https://www.archwilio.org.uk/arch/query/page.php?watprn=GAT899&dbname=gat&tbname=core&sessid=CHI1z27tczn&queryid=Q143691001580605031 <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[640] 'St Fagan's Museum of History', Visit Wales [online]. Available at https://www.visitwales.com/product/527739 <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[641] 'Llys Llewelyn', Historic Buildings at St Fagan's [online]. Available at https://museum.wales/stfagans/buildings/llys-llywellyn/ <Accessed 12 April 2020>

The political significance and use of the area changed after its conquest by Edward I (1239–1307).[642] By 1294, Llys Rhosyr was no longer a court of the Welsh princes and Edward I had given the estate to his wife Eleanor of Castile.[643] A further disruption came when Edward I built Beaumaris Castle, moving the population of Llanfaes, the last royal Welsh court, to a new site at Rhosyr, and in 1303 giving it a charter with the name of Newborough.[644]

The first documented mention of Llanddwyn is in 1306 in the Extent of Anglesey and Caernarvonshire drawn up in 1352 by John De Delves, deputy-justice of North Wales.[645] While the Extent may have been prepared in response to administrative reform, the most likely reason was to adjust unrealistic tax assessments in response to the ruin caused by the Black Death during that time.[646] During this time of devastation, the value of the parish of Llanddwyn was based on an extent of eight messuages (or dwellings) without land.[647] The population of Llanddwyn and its surrounding area had already dwindled by the fourteenth century as a result of a combination of famine, plague, and sandstorms that decimated the land to the extent that the burghers requested relief from their responsibilities to provide a representative to the ecclesiastical court.[648] In particular, a sandstorm in 1331 seems to have caused permanent damage to the area around Ynys Llanddwyn:

> About one third of the land of the manor was damaged by storm on the feast of St Nicholas, 6th December, 1331, when 186 acres were destroyed so thoroughly by the sea and inflow of sand as to render it useless for agriculture evermore...The same thing happened along the whole of the south coast of Anglesey through Aberffraw to Rhosneigr...at ebb tide the sand on the shore dried in the strong wind and got blown inland well beyond high water mark as there was no cliff or rock to hinder it. Many families were driven out of their crofts into the town of Newborough from land between Llanddwyn and Newborough.[649]

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[642] 'Llys Rhosyr: A Medieval Palace of the Princes', GAT [online].
[643] 'Llys Rhosyr: A Medieval Palace of the Princes', GAT [online].
[644] *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Richard II. A.D. 1377–1381* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1895), p. 351. Note: This 1381 charter confirms the 1303 charter.
[645] A. Carr, 'The Extent of Anglesey, 1352', TAAS, (1971–1972), pp. 150–172, p. 150. This article, however, does not translate the entry about Llanddwyn. For the original text, see London, BL, MS Harley 696. For a printed edition that includes the entry for Llanddwyn, see *Registrum Vulgariter Nuncupatum 'The Record of Caernarvon'*, ed. by H. Ellis (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1838), p. 104.
[646] Carr, 'The Extent of Anglesey', TAAS, p. 155.
[647] *Registrum Vulgariter Nuncupatum 'The Record of Caernarvon'*, ed. by Ellis, p. 104.
[648] A. Carr, *Medieval Anglesey* (Llangefni: Anglesey Antiquarian Society, 1982), pp. 13–19. See also Bangor, Bangor University Archive, MS Bangor 7390, pp. 33–37, p. 30.
[649] D. Ranwell, 'Newborough Warren, Anglesey: I. The Dune System and Dune Slack Habitat', *Journal of Ecology*, vol. 47, No. 3 (Oct., 1969), pp. 571 – 601, p. 573.

During Queen Elizabeth I's reign the inhabitants of Newborough again asked the government for help, this time to curb the drifting sand, and they were advised to plant sea sedge (also called marram grass).[650] Marram grass was successfully planted only to be cut again to supply the cottage industry of making mats, to which Llanddwyn farmers could turn as the land became impossible to farm.[651] Although the remaining farmers fished, harvested shellfish, and made mats, they gave up trying to live on the land by the eighteenth century.[652]

Even though the land was not hugely populated, evidently the shrine had value. A communication from Bishop of Bangor (and Chancellor for Owain Glyndwr) Gryffydd Yonge (*c.* 1370–*c.* 1435) to the rector of Llandoget asking the rector to desist from gathering the income of Llanddwyn also illustrates that at that time St Dwynwen's Church was a source of income worth defending.[653] The remaining ruins and praise poetry by several medieval poets are the major sources of information available about the shrine, and the features of the shrine are the next subject for discussion. Based on archaeological research conducted by the RCAHMW, the remaining ruins indicate that the medieval shrine included St Dwynwen's Church, a priest's house or rectory, a possible sexton's house, an outbuilding called Merddyn-cûl, and a number of holy wells.[654] Figure 51 shows a detailed view of Ynys Llanddwyn on the 1888–1913 OS map:

[650] MS Bangor 7390, p. 30.
[651] MS Bangor 7390, p. 30.
[652] MS Bangor 7390, p. 30. See also D. Ranwell, 'Newborough Warren, Anglesey: I. The Dune System and Dune Slack Habitat', *Journal of Ecology*, vol. 47, No. 3 (Oct., 1969), pp. 571 – 601, p. 573: 'Greenly (1919) mentions an Act of Pailiament 10 Elizabeth I, in which the land is described as overthrown with sand, and Wortham (1913) states that manorial documents refer to encroachments of sand south-west of the village of Newborough in the time of Elizabeth and again in the late seventeenth century in the time of Charles II.
[653] H. Rowlands, 'Antiquitates Parochiales', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, vol. 1, no. i (1846), pp. 131–133. See also app. B in Owen, *Hanes plwyf Niwbwrch ym Môn*, pp. 25–27.
[654] St Dwynwen's Church, Llanddwyn Island', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/27548/details/st-dwynwens-church-llanddwyn-island <Accessed 12 April 2020>



© OS six-inch to the mile 1888–1913 from the National Library of Scotland

Figure 51. Ynys Llanddwyn[655]

The map shows a number of ports, as well as post-medieval features, such as the lifeboat station and cottages and the two lighthouses.

St Dwynwen's Church

The Grade 1 Listed medieval church dedicated to St Dwynwen, now in ruins, was a prebend of Bangor Cathedral.[656] According to RCAHMW Coflein, the church probably dates to the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries, while the chancel and north and south transepts were built in the early sixteenth century.[657] In 2012, Cadw, the European Regional Development Fund, Welsh Government Mona a Menai, and the Anglesey County Council funded the Mona Antiqua Heritage Tourism Project, and as part of this project the ruins of St Dwynwen's Church were stabilized to improve the appearance and presentation of the site and help

[655] 'Ynys Llanddwyn', OS Maps 1888–1913 National Library of Scotland, Welsh Tithe Maps [online]. Available at https://places.library.wales/browse/53.137/-4.41/16?page=1&alt=&alt=&leaflet-base-layers_70=on . <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[656] St Dwynwen's Church, Llanddwyn Island', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/27548/details/st-dwynwens-church-llanddwyn-island <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[657] St Dwynwen's Church, Llanddwyn Island', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

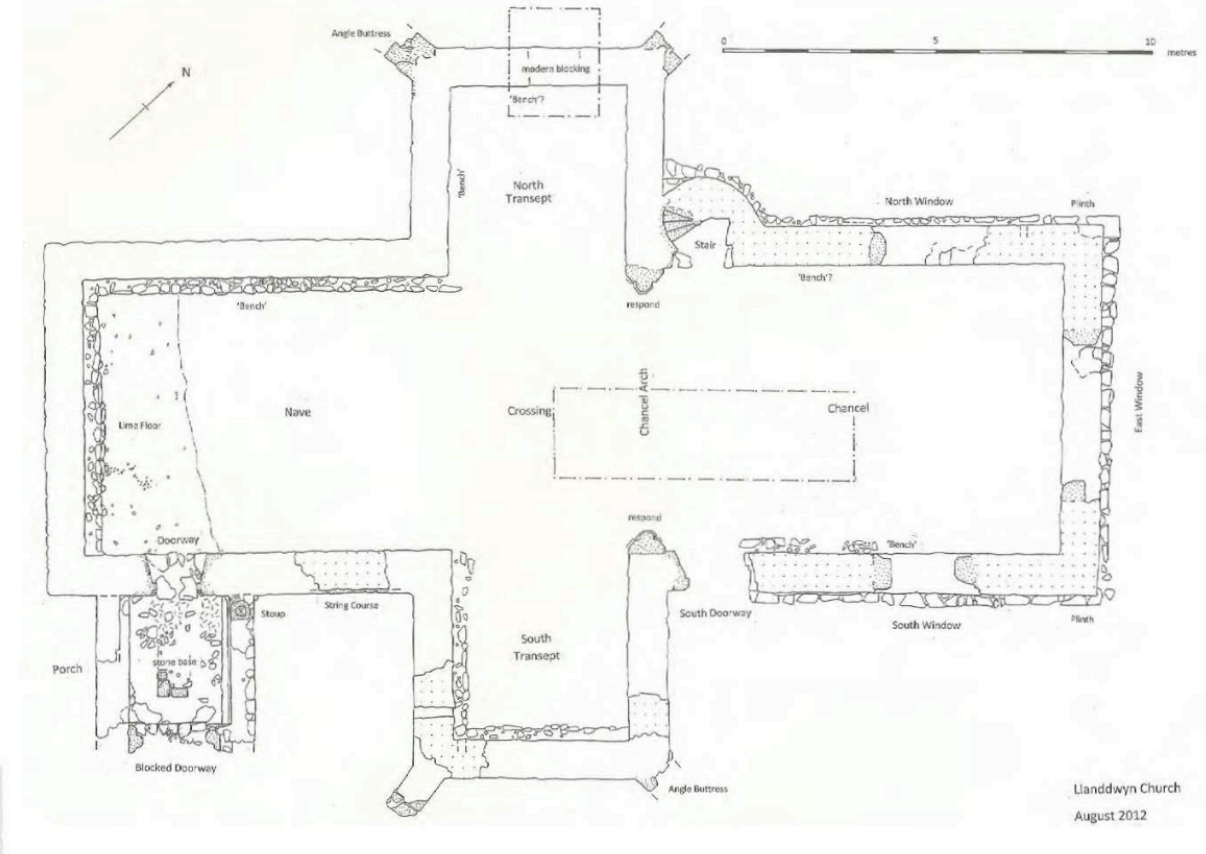
visitors understand and appreciate its historic significance.[658] The construction team removed turf, fallen stone, and sand from the church and its churchyard, and reassembled the arch and hood-mould of the east window of the chancel, which had collapsed in the mid-1950s.[659] Figure 52 shows that the church is enclosed in a circular bounded churchyard:[660]



Figure 52. Circular churchyard, St Dwynwen's Church[661]

Figure 53 shows a reconstructed plan of St Dwynwen's Church based on its final phase of use (*c.* 1500), which shows that its design was cruciform, an unusual layout that suggests that the church was an important one:[662]

[658] T. Morgan, 'St Dwynwen's Church, Ynys Llanddwyn', 2012, linked to 'St Dwynwen's Church, Remains of, Llanddwyn Island', Archwilio [online]. Available at https://www.archwilio.org.uk/arch/query/page.php?watprn=GAT3026&dbname=gat&tbname=core&sessid=CHI21who2k3&queryid=Q0999310015867891 44 <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[659] Morgan, 'St Dwynwen's Church, Ynys Llanddwyn', 2012, linked to 'St Dwynwen's Church, Remains of, Llanddwyn Island', Archwilio [online].
[660] St Dwynwen's Church, Llanddwyn Island', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[661] T. Driver, 'Remains of St. Dwynwen's church, Llanddwyn Island', RCAHMW Colour Oblique Digital Aerial Photographs [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/archive/6510368/details/504 <Accessed 12 April 2020> Note: Photograph taken during the RCAHMW's programme of archaeological aerial reconnaissance by Toby Driver on 23 June 2015.
[662] Morgan, 'St Dwynwen's Church, Ynys Llanddwyn', 2012, linked to 'St Dwynwen's Church, Remains of, Llanddwyn Island', Archwilio [online].



© Timothy Morgan Archaeological Illustration[663]

Figure 53 Reconstruction of St Dwynwen's Church Layout

Possible monastery or rectory

The OS Map notes the ruins of an abbey near St Dwynwen's Church, perhaps because Samuel Lewis wrote that 'the church became an abbey for monks of the Benedictine order', but Lewis admits that 'at present not a vestige exists of this noble abbey, and even the place where it stood is scarcely with certainty known'.[664] It is now thought that the building Lewis identified as the monastery was instead the rectory for the priest of St Dwynwen's Church. The church is associated with a ruined house, traditionally that of the priest, some fifty metres south-west of the church: [665] The ruins indicate an L-plan building with a small wing at the west end of the south wall divided into cells, as shown in figure 54:[666]

[663] Morgan, 'St Dwynwen's Church, Ynys Llanddwyn', 2012, linked to 'St Dwynwen's Church, Remains of, Llanddwyn Island', p. 5, Archwilio [online].
[664] Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, NPN.
[665] St Dwynwen's Church, Llanddwyn Island', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/27548/details/st-dwynwens-church-llanddwyn-island <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[666] RCAHMW, *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Anglesey*, p. 119.



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Figure 54. Possible rectory building

Possible houses for the parson and sexton

Several accounts identify a second building near the possible rectory; for example, Nicholas Carlisle says that 'the ruins of two houses are still visible, one called Ty'r Person [Parson's House] and the other Ty'r Clochydd [Sexton's House]'.[667] A second building is also listed in the inventory of Anglesey prepared by the RCAHMW, which speaks of a house 500 yards north-east of the parish church in a ruined condition, noting that the house had been completely demolished since it had been first examined, which indicates a date before 1937, when the *Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Anglesey* was published.[668]

Merddyn-cûl

Merddyn-cûl is described as a 'structure of uncertain use described as an elongated well chamber, partly filled with debris'.[669] Figure 55 shows the remains of the site:

[667] Carlisle, *A Topographical Dictionary of the dominion of Wales*, NPN.
[668] RCAHMW, *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Anglesey*, p. 119.
[669] 'Merddyn-cûl', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/39953ff7-fd78-4611-b51a-07107b1901eb <Accessed 12 April 2020> and Morgan, 'St Dwynwen's Church, Ynys Llanddwyn', 2012, linked to 'St Dwynwen's Church, Remains of, Llanddwyn Island', p. 19, Archwilio [online].



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Figure 55. Merddyn-cûl

The sign post at Ynys Llanddwyn shown as figure 56 identifies Merddyn-cûl as the ‘main well’, but the RCAHMW states that this attribution is not confirmed elsewhere, nor are medieval poeoms or other accounts that describe the washing of feet or anointing of heads at Merddyn-cûl, or at any other well at the shrine.



© AngieLake

Figure 56. Merddyn-cûl sign[670]

Wells associated with St Dwynwen's shrine

Browne Willis's comment that there is 'considerable confusion' about the location and names of the wells on the island and mainland has proved to be an understatement, and the passing years have multiplied theories without resolving any of them.[671] At present, RCAHMW Coflein lists Ffynnon Ddwynwen (Dwynwen's Well), Ffynnon Dafaden (Wart Well), and Ffynnon-y-Sais (Englishman's well) on the island and Crochan Llanddwyn (Llanddwyn's Cauldron) on the mainland in its online database, but no longer lists Ffynnon Fair.

Ffynnon Ddwynwen (Lost)

Using Francis Jones' *The Holy Wells of Wales* as its primary source, RCAHMW Coflein describes Ffynnon Ddwynwen (Dwynwen's Well) as a well or spring in the vicinity of St Dwynwen's church, now in ruins, saying that the well cannot now be located.[672]

Ffynnon Fair (lost)

The description of a holy well dedicated to the Virgin Mary appeared in Samuel Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary of Wales* in his article for Newborough:

> The fund arising from the offerings to the shrine of St Dwynwen, by her numerous votaries, was very great; and in process of time the church became an abbey for monks of the Benedictine order, who derived a large revenue from the resort of strangers who came to inquire into their future destiny, which was predicted by the leaping of fish and the appearance of the water of a well, still called Fynnon Vair, or "St. Mary's well".[673]

Francis Jones repeated the entry, noting that the location of the well is now unknown. The name was once included with Ffynnon Ddwynwen in the RCAHMW Coflein, but the name has been removed, even as one of the lost wells on Ynys Llanddwyn, except that the entry for

---

[670] 'Merddyn Cil sign', Arborlea Cottage [online]. Available at https://www.facebook.com/561853967191989/photos/a.658364047540980.1073741833.561853967191989/1188815537829159/?type=3&theater <Accessed 12 April 2020>

[671] B. Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedral Church of Bangor and the Edifices Belonging to it* (London: Robert Gosling, 1721), p. 124 [online]. Available at http://www.bangorcivicsociety.org.uk/pages/hisso/willis/sc73.htm <Accessed 12 April 2020>

[672] 'Ffynnon Ddwynwen, Llanddwyn Island', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/32158/details/ffynnon-dwynwen-llanddwyn-island <Accessed 12 April 2020>.

[673] Lewis, *Topographic Dictionary of Wales*, vol. 2, under Newborough.

Ffynnon Ddwynwen only that ‘another alleged holy well is traditionally located to the north of the church.[674]

Ffynnon-y-Sais

A well or spring known as Ffynnon-y-Sais [The Englishman’s Well] is located to the west of Merddyn-cûl on the OS Map. Figure 57 shows a nearby rock formation called Trwyn Ffynnon-y-Sais or ‘Nose of the Englishman’s Well’:[675]



© Eirian Evans on Geograph

Figure 57. Trwyn Ffynnon-y-Sais[676]

[674] ‘Ffynnon Ddwynwen, Llanddwyn Island’, RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/32158/details/ffynnon-dwynwen-llanddwyn-island <Accessed 12 April 2020>.
[675] ‘Ffynnon Dafaden, Llanddwyn Island’, RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/32156/details/ffynnon-dafaden-llanddwyn-island <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[676] ‘Beach at Trwyn Ffynnon y Sais on the western side of Llanddwyn Island’, Geograph [online]. Available at https://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/4872342 <Accessed 12 April 2020>

Ffynnon Dafaden

Ffynnon Dafaden (Wart Well) is said to be a holy well located near St Dwynwen's Church where a spring flows into a natural basin (fig. 58).[677]



©2012 Well Hopper[678]

Figure 58. Ffynnon Dafaden

Eirlys Gruffydd has stated that Ffynnon Dafaden was the true Ffynnon Ddwynwen and that Merddyn-cûl is the real Ffynnon Dafaden.[679] Unfortunately, no medieval practices are documented for Ffynnon-y-Sais or Merddyn-cûl.

One well associated with Dwynwen is not on the island. Crochan Llanddwyn [Llanddwyn's Cauldron] is a small well said to be a wishing well, located in Newborough Forest close to

[677] 'Ffynnon Dafaden, Llanddwyn Island', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. See also 'Ffynnon Ddwynwen, Site of, Llanddwyn Island', GAT 3027 [online]. Available at https://www.archwilio.org.uk/arch/query/page.php?watprn=GAT3027&dbname=gat&tbname=core&sessid=CHI21wkc11b&queryid=Q243316001586793677 <Accessed 12 April 2020> This report interprets Francis Jones' text as saying: 'It was a lover's well because if the well bubbled during the ceremonies the joining was favourable.'

[678] 'St Dwynwen's Island', Well Hopper [online]. Available at https://wellhopper.files.wordpress.com/2012/04/anglesey_april2012-066.jpg <Accessed 12 April 2020>

[679] Morgan, 'St Dwynwen's Church, Ynys Llanddwyn', 2012, linked to 'St Dwynwen's Church, Remains of, Llanddwyn Island', p. 19, Archwilio [online].

Cwning-gaer, now destroyed by the construction of a reservoir.[680] Figure 59 shows that Crochan Llanddwyn was originally located amongst plots of land presumably once worked by farmers:



© OS Maps[681]

Figure 59. OS Map showing Crochan Llanddwyn

The confusion about wells dedicated to St Dwynwen is understandable considering the nature of the island, where the underlying boulder clay and shifting sand have influenced the geology of the island resulting in many wells.[682] A number of wells besides the ones associated with the cult of St Dwynwen are found on the island; for example, a well close to the pilot's cottages is a source of fresh water, which collects in a rough basin that spills into Pilot's Cove.[683] A watercourse also springs from below the churchyard, which may have been used at the rector's house. Less clear is the reason why no marker or written record shows the

[680] Morgan, 'St Dwynwen's Church, Ynys Llanddwyn', 2012, linked to 'St Dwynwen's Church, Remains of, Llanddwyn Island', p. 19, Archwilio [online] and 'Crochan Llanddwyn, Wishing Well', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/32149/details/crochan-llanddwynwishing-well <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[681] 'Anglesey XXII.SW (includes: Llangeinwen; Newborough.)', OS Six-inch England and Wales, 1842–1952, rev. 1899, pub. 1901, National Library of Scotland [online]. Available at http://maps.nls.uk/view/101604427 <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[682] Morgan, p. 19.
[683] MS Bangor 7390, p. 47.

location of St Dwynwen's holy well. Instead, there seems to be a constantly changing opinion about the well, without any new information to support it.

Travel to St Dwynwen's shrine

The primary harbour at Ynys Llanddwyn is Pilot's Cove, where no vestiges remain of a medieval port. One indication that ferries brought pilgrims directly to the shrine is a lease agreement from the time of Queen Elizabeth that speaks of a ferry route 'on the river Meney between Penmon and Llanthwyn'.[684] Both St Deiniol's Well at Penmon and St Dwynwen's Church at Ynys Llanddwyn were pilgrim destinations. Pilgrims could also have used the Abermenai Ferry between the mainland and the road to the royal court at Llys Rhosyr (later, Newborough):

> The Abermenai ferry is mentioned in connection with the life of Gruffudd ap Cynan, king of Gwynedd in the late eleventh and early twelfth century. The commote of Menai was initially granted to Eleanor of Castile, wife of Edward I, until her death in 1290 and to Isabella, wife of Edward II from 1309 to 1358. The Abermenai ferry is not recorded but, in the township of Rhosfair or Rhosyr, as distinct from the land of the burgesses of the new borough of Newborough, Ieuan ap Adda ap Tegwared, Madog ap William, David ap William and Madog ap Ieuan 'hold thereof one gafael called Gafael Porthwysion' (landholding of the ferrymen) for which they pay 12s.8d. Per annum.[685]

The medieval shrine, comprising its church, houses, and wells, was the centre of the cult of St Dwynwen, and was in fact the only church dedicated to the saint. The cult's popularity is undeniable, but the medieval accounts of Dwynwen are limited to a handwritten Latin liturgical document and several poems that mention the saint.

Latin liturgy for the feast day of St Dwynwen

In 1991, Daniel Huws identified a hand-written proper for St Donwenna [St Dwynwen] in a privately owned 1494 Sarum missal with attached pamphlets dates from 1515 and 1519.[686] The missal was likely owned by Richard Peicke (*d.* 1537?), vicar of Conwy, who presumably gathered the pamphlets for pilgrims while visiting Hayles Abbey.[687] No other medieval missal from Bangor diocese is known and no other example of a proper for St Dwynwen

[684] Records of the Court of Augmentation Relation to Wales and Monmouthshire for 22 March 1551.
[685] 'Abermenai Ferry Crossing, Menai Straits', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/240466/details/abermenai-ferry-crossing-menai-straits <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[686] D. Huws, 'The earliest Bangor missal', *NLW Journal*, cyf. 27, rh. 2 (Gaeaf 1991), pp. 113–130, p. 115.
[687] Huws, 'The earliest Bangor missal', pp. 117–118.

exists. The text consists of an *Oracio*, *Secret*, and *Postcommunion*. [688]The *Oracio* establishes that Dwynwen fled to Ireland from Wales out of fear of Maelgwn Gwynedd (a grandson of Cunedda Wledig and early sixth-century king) and generated miracles.[689] Maelgwn Gwynedd was known for opposing the saints, but he does not figure in any other tradition of Dwynwen. The *Secret* suggests that gifts as well as prayers should be offered to the saint.[690] The *Postcommunion* speaks of a miracle in which Dwynwen reaches Wales from Ireland by walking upon the sea, intimating that Dwynwen's influence can be used to escape 'this world's misery'.[691] If Dwynwen fled from Maelgwn Gwynedd, logically she should have travelled to Ireland from Wales and not vice versa, but her method of travel echoes episodes in Lives of other women saints; for example, St Bega's method for escaping an unwanted marriage in Ireland: 'Finding no ship, she cut a turf, and on it crossed the sea to the opposite coast'.[692] The Life of St Modwenna also describes how St Brigid [San Ffraid] travelled with two other nuns from Ireland to Britain on turfs of grass.[693]

While medieval records for St Dwynwen's shrine are sparse, poets of medieval Wales mention St Dwynwen in their poems, and the next section discusses the cult of St Dwynwen in Llanddwyn as described in poetry.

Medieval poems about Dwynwen

Three medieval poems written in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have St Dwynwen as their subject, although other poets from the same time briefly mention her in their poetry. Dafydd ap Gwilym (1385–1416) composed *Galw ar Ddwynwen* (Appealing to Dwynwen), in which he changes the usual request for a saint to intercede with the Virgin Mary on his behalf to a request for St Dwynwen to act as his *llatai* (love messenger) to his married lover Morfudd.[694] Less than one-hundred years later Hywel Rheinallt (*fl. c.* 1471–1494) composed a praise poem about St Dwynwen for his patron Richard Cyffin, the dean of Bangor and

[688] Huws, 'The earliest Bangor missal', p. 122.
[689] Huws, 'The earliest Bangor missal', pp. 122–123.
[690] Huws, 'The earliest Bangor missal', pp. 122–123.
[691] Huws, 'The earliest Bangor missal', *NLW Journal*, p. 123.
[692] A. Dunbar, *A Dictionary of Saintly Women*, 2 vols (London: George Bell & Sons, 1904), vol. 1, p. 111.
[693] Geoffrey of Burton, *The Life and Miracles of St Modwenna*, ed. and trans. by R. Bartlett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), pp. 85–93.
[694] Dafydd ap Gwilym, 'Edited Text and English Translation: 48–Galw ar Ddwynwen', Dafydd ap Gwilym.net [online]. For an example of a poem about the Virgin Mary's intercessions, see also L. Morgannwg, 'The Virgin Mary of Pen-Rhys', *Medieval Welsh Poems to Saints and Shrines*, ed. by Lewis, pp. 125–127 and 396–398.

rector of Llanddwyn from 1480 to 1502.[695] Around the same time as Hywel Rheinallt celebrated Dwynwen, the Anglesey rector of Llanygrad, Syr Dafydd Trefor (*c.* 1460–*c.* 1528) composed the poem *I Ddwynwen* (To Dwynwen).[696] All three poets were well known in Anglesey, and these poems demonstrate contemporary attitudes toward the saint and the pilgrims who sought her aid.

The poets base their descriptions of Dwynwen on her associations with the land of her birth in Breconshire and the island of Anglesey, where she reputedly lived and died as a nun. Dafydd ap Gwilym asks Dwynwen to grant his request because of her father:

> Er enaid, be rhaid yrhawg,
> Brychan Yrth, breichiau nerthawg
>
> (for the sake of the soul (if need be now)
> of Brychan Yrth of mighty arms)[697]

Syr Dafydd Trefor establishes her birthplace as Breconshire, but then locates her in Anglesey, describing the physical objects around her shrine:

> Y ferch wen o Frycheiniog
> A'r chwarel aur ar ei chlog,
> Merch annwyl ym mraich ynys,
> Morwyn yn Llanddwyn a'i llys
> Merch ni ad amarch i ni,
> Dwynwen, mam pob daioni,
> Merch Frychan, gloyw arian glych,
> Arglwyddwaed, eryr gwleddwych,
> Santes, ym mynwes Menai
> A'i thir a'i heglwys a'i thai,
> Penrhyn, lle aml dyn da,
> Llanddwyn mewn gorlliw hindda.[698]
>
> [The pure maiden from Breconshire,
> with the precious stone on her cloak,
> a dear maiden of the island headland,
> a virgin in Llanddwyn and its court,
> a maiden who does not allow us dishonour,
> Dwynwen, the mother of all goodness,

[695] H. Rheinallt, 'I Ddwynwen', *Medieval Welsh Poems to Saints and Shrines*, ed. by B. Lewis (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2015), pp. 75–77, 149–158, and 346–348. See also 'Hywel Rheinallt', Dictionary of Welsh Biography (DWB) [online]. Available at http://wbo.llgc.org.uk/en/s-HYWE-APR-1471.html?query=Hywel+Rheinallt&field=content <Accessed 29 March 2020>

[696] 'I Ddwynwen', *Gwaith Syr Dafydd Trefor*, ed. by R. Ifans (Aberystwyth: Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreign a Cheltaidd Prifysgol Cymru, 2005), pp. 67–69 and 180–188. See also 'Dafydd Trefor', DWB [online]. Available at http://wbo.llgc.org.uk/en/s-DAFY-TRE-1528.html?query=Dafydd+Trefor&field=content <Accessed 29 March 2020>

[697] Dafydd ap Gwilym, 'Edited Text and English Translation: 48–Galw ar Ddwynwen', Dafydd ap Gwilym.net [online].

[698] 'I Ddwynwen', *Gwaith Syr Dafydd Trefor*, p. 67.

daughter of Brychan, of the shining silver bells,
of noble lineage, chief of lavish feasts,
a saint, in the bosom of Menai
and its lands, its church and its houses,
the place of many a good man,
Llanddwyn, in brilliant fair weather.][699]

This first stanza gives Dwynwen many roles: as a saint, maiden, mother, daughter, and noblewoman, and it does not focus on the ascetic aspects of her life. Trefor places her among the beauties of a verdant land in which the environment of the saint generates the comforts of feasts and fine weather. This saint 'ym mynwes Menai/a'i thir' [in the bosom of Menai/and its lands] is one with the landscape and beloved by those around her.[700] Hywel Rheinallt, too, begins his poem with a reference to Dwynwen's birthplace, calling her 'merch annwyl ym Mrycheiniawg' [a girl beloved in Brycheiniog], but when he speaks of her earthly lineage, 'Frychan waed' [of Brychan's blood], he also describes her heavenly rank as 'y ferch o nef' [the girl of heaven] and 'uwch no dyn o'n iaith' [of higher rank than any girl in our nation].[701] Like Trefor, Rheinallt emphasizes Dwynwen's warmth, describing her as 'ddiweirdrefn g'ruaidd' [pure of life, loving].[702] He establishes her position within the context of her family, all of whom he describes as paragons:

Mae yt saint yn geraint, a gwŷr
O'th genedl, wyth ugeinwyr;
Pawb mewn côr o'th chwiorydd,
Pob cares yn santes sydd.
Un wyd, er dy fod yn iau,
Sy'n tywyso santesau.[703]

[You have saints as kinsmen, and heroes
From your kin, eight score men;
Each of your sisters is in a chancel,
Every kinswoman is a saint.
You are one, though you are younger,
who leads female saints.][704]

These lines reflect the attitude that the virtues of kinship, heroism, and saintliness increase when spread among a large number of kin, highlighting the significance of the Three Holy Families of Wales. Rheinallt makes Dwynwen the leader of Brychan's saintly daughters, and

[699] I am indebted to Ann Parry Owen for her translation of these lines.
[700] 'I Ddwynwen', *Gwaith Syr Dafydd Trefor*, ed. by Ifans, p. 67.
[701] Rheinallt, 'I Ddwynwen', pp. 75 and 346.
[702] Rheinallt, 'I Ddwynwen', pp. 75 and 346.
[703] Rheinallt, 'I Ddwynwen', pp. 75 and 346.
[704] Rheinallt, 'I Ddwynwen', pp. 75 and 346.

he further emphasizes her authority by placing her in charge of men and the structures established by men:

> Arglwyddes ym mynwes môr
> Ar eglwys, ar beriglor![705]
>
> [O lady in the bosom of the sea
> (Ruling over) church and priest!][706]

Rheinallt is not the only poet to define Dwynwen as leader of a community. Dafydd ap Gwilym calls her 'wyry gymhlegyd hir' [virgin of a great host].[707] He also describes her as a pastor for the pilgrims who seek her guidance, saying: 'dy laesblaid yw dy lwysblwyf' [your humble flock is your parish].[708] The metaphor is corroborated by Hywel Rheinallt, who says of her shrine that 'daear Fôn ydyw'r fynwent' [all the land of Anglesey is the churchyard].[709] In these poems Dwynwen is not the solitary renunciant described in chapter 6, Cain Ferch Brychan, or the martyr described in chapter 5, Eluned Ferch Brychan, but a powerful leader of royal birth in Breconshire who now rules in heaven and and is the protector of Anglesey.

Rheinallt focuses on Dwynwen's superior position within her family, but all three poets describe the source of her authority as the fact of her virginity. Dafydd Trefor speaks of her as 'morwyn yn Llanddwyn a'i llys' [virgin in Llanddwyn and its court] and the 'merch lana' 'm Môn' [most pure daughter in Anglesey].[710] Hywel Rheinallt states that miracles are granted 'o'th ddiweirdeb a'th wrdawd' [through your chastity and your virginity].[711] While Dafydd ap Gwilym compares her beauty to 'deigr arien degwch' [the hoar-frost's tears] and to the paragon of beauty, Indeg, he refers often to her virginity, calling her 'du ei thalaith' [maid with a black coronet] and 'yr em wyry' [a chaste darling], enduring 'o benyd y byd a'i bwys' [earthly penance and its burden], with 'yr eirian leianaeth/ a gwyrdawd y coethgnawd caeth' [the resplendent maidenhood/chastity of the fair captive flesh].[712] Further, he contrasts her invulnerable purity with his own passion for his married lover, Morfudd, emphasizing

[705] Rheinallt, 'I Ddwynwen', pp. 76 and 347.
[706] Rheinallt, 'I Ddwynwen', pp. 76 and 347.
[707] Dafydd ap Gwilym, 'Edited Text and English Translation: 48–Galw ar Ddwynwen', Dafydd ap Gwilym.net [online].
[708] Dafydd ap Gwilym, 'Edited Text and English Translation: 48–Galw ar Ddwynwen', Dafydd ap Gwilym.net [online].
[709] Rheinallt, 'I Ddwynwen', pp. 75 and 346.
[710] 'I Ddwynwen', *Gwaith Syr Dafydd Trefor*, p. 67.
[711] Rheinallt, 'I Ddwynwen', pp. 76 and 346.
[712] Dafydd ap Gwilym, 'Edited Text and English Translation: 48–Galw ar Ddwynwen', Dafydd ap Gwilym.net [online].

that female saints are immune from ‘pechawd fethlgnawd fyth’ [sinful, ensnaring, carnal desire].[713]

As a result of her purity, the poets identify her as a saint who can intercede with the Virgin Mary and with God on behalf of pilgrims. Hywel Rheinallt speaks of her power of intercession through the Virgin Mary, saying ‘Mair a’th gar’ [Mary loves you] and ‘arch i Fair, y ferch o Fôn,/gyda Duw’ [plead with Mary, O girl of Anglesey,/together with God].[714] He also says that God has given the shrine to her in response to her merits:

> Duw (dy ras ydyw dy rent)
> Cyfiawn, i ti y cafas
> Cur a ffynnon loywgron las.
>
> [Righteous God (your grace is your rent),
> For you he obtained
> Pastoral care, and a bright round blue well.][715]

Her high lineage, lovable nature, pure life, and saintly power to intercede on behalf of the living are the reasons given for the cult of St Dwynwen, and the next subject is the pilgrims themselves, the reasons for their pilgrimages, and their practices and offerings at the shrine.

As described by these medieval poets, travellers to St Dwynwen’s Church and the wells at Ynys Llanddwyn came from both near and far. For example, Hywel Rheinallt speaks of them as vacationing neighbours from Gwynedd:

> Mae tyrfa, lle breisca’ bro,
> Oes, dwy Wynedd Awst yno.[716]
>
> [The multitude of the two Gwynedds is there,
> Yes indeed, the most frequented spot in the neighbourhood, in August.][717]

But he also extends her popularity more widely, calling her ‘annwyl ym Mrycheiniawg’ [beloved in Brycheiniog].[718] Dafydd ap Gwilym also confirms that Dwynwen is not a local

[713] Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales*, pp. 92–94.
[714] Rheinallt, ‘I Ddwynwen’, *Medieval Welsh Poems to Saints and Shrines*, ed. by Lewis, pp. 75, 77, 346, and 348.
[715] Rheinallt, ‘I Ddwynwen’, *Medieval Welsh Poems to Saints and Shrines*, ed. by Lewis, pp. 75–76 and 346–347.
[716] Rheinallt, ‘I Ddwynwen’, *Medieval Welsh Poems to Saints and Shrines*, ed. by Lewis, pp. 76 and 347.
[717] Rheinallt, ‘I Ddwynwen’, *Medieval Welsh Poems to Saints and Shrines*, ed. by Lewis, pp. 75 and 346.
[718] Rheinallt, ‘I Ddwynwen’, *Medieval Welsh Poems to Saints and Shrines*, ed. by Lewis, pp. 74 and 346.

saint, calling her ‘dawn iaith aml’ [language’s frequent skill].[719] At the farthest, pilgrims are said to come to her shrine from France and Galicia.[720]

Descriptions of the pilgrims themselves vary. Although Dafydd ap Gwilym and Dafydd Trefor speak of pilgrims’ infirmities, Hywel Rheinallt describes them as young and fair:

> Llyna ddŵr llonydd arab,
> Llannerch, lle aml merch a mab.
> Aur a roir yt ar yr allt,
> A chwyr gan bob merch hirwallt.[721]
>
> Here is gentle, quiet water,
> A spot, a place frequented by many boys and girls.
> Gold is given to you on the hillside
> And wax by every long-haired girl.[722]

Whatever their conditions, the pilgrims who travelled to St Dwynwen’s Church were in search of miracles, and the medieval poets describe three kinds of intercession that were sought: cures, prosperity, and salvation. Dafydd ap Gwilym describes the state of the pilgrims themselves:

> Dy ddelw aur diddoluriaw
> Digion druain ddynion draw.
>
> [Well does your golden image know how to cure
> Grievous, wretched men yonder.][723]

He then states that she will cure them of sickness or ‘bryd brwyn’ [a heavy mind] after they hold a vigil in her chancel.[724] He himself asks to be healed of ‘anwychder a’m nychdawd’ [infirmity and my feebleness].[725] Dafydd Trefor speaks of pilgrims as suffering from physical ailments:

> Cleifion rhwng ei ffynhonnau,
> Crupliaid a gwiniaid yn gwau[726]

[719] Rheinallt, ‘I Ddwynwen’, *Medieval Welsh Poems to Saints and Shrines*, ed. by Lewis, pp. 75 and 346.
[720] Rheinallt, ‘I Ddwynwen’, *Medieval Welsh Poems to Saints and Shrines*, ed. by Lewis, pp. 76 and 347.
[721] Rheinallt, ‘I Ddwynwen’, pp. 76 and 347.
[722] Rheinallt, ‘I Ddwynwen’, pp. 76 and 347.
[723] Dafydd ap Gwilym, ‘Edited Text and English Translation: 48–Galw ar Ddwynwen’, Dafydd ap Gwilym.net [online].
[724] Dafydd ap Gwilym, ‘Edited Text and English Translation: 48–Galw ar Ddwynwen’, Dafydd ap Gwilym.net [online].
[725] Dafydd ap Gwilym, ‘Edited Text and English Translation: 48–Galw ar Ddwynwen’, Dafydd ap Gwilym.net [online].
[726] ‘I Ddwynwen’, *Gwaith Syr Dafydd Trefor*, p. 67.

[sick people, cripples and the weak bustling between the holy wells][727]

Trefor also refers to the stained shirts left behind by those cured and even speaks of the resurrection of the dead.[728] Hywel Rheinhallt praises the saint, saying 'dy wrthiau, ferch, diwarth fydd' [your miracles, girl, are faultless], adding that she provides prosperity and good fortune.[729] Dafydd Trefor speaks of Dwynwen providing many kinds of benefits other than cures of physical ailments:

> Iechyd a golud a gaid,
> Synnwyr a hawsau enaid.[730]
>
> [Health and wealth and prosperity,
> Wisdom and an easier life.]

Spiritual prosperity was also sought; for example, Dafydd Trefor refers to pilgrims who earn passage to heaven by the saint's intercession and Hywel Rheinallt describes pilgrims who 'a'th gloch a wnaeth gael iechyd' [obtained salvation for all across the nation].[731]

In return for these blessings, pilgrims brought offerings in terms of devotional practices and gifts. The spiritual devotions offered by pilgrims came in a variety of forms. On the one hand, Dafydd ap Gwilym refers to vigils at her chancel.[732] On the other hand, Dafydd Trefor describes pilgrims as 'cleifion rhwng ei ffynhonnau' [sick people between her holy wells] and taking part in processions:[733]

> Awn i Landdwyn at Ddwynwen
> Â chwyr gerllaw Niwbwrch wen,
> Awn ati a'n gweddi'n gu,
> Awn â thus i nith Iesu,
> Awn i ennill yn union
> Nef o law merch lana' 'm Môn,
> Awn ati ar ein glinie,
> Awn dan nawdd Dwynwen i ne'.[734]
>
> [Let us go to Llanddwyn to Dwynwen
> with candles near holy Newborough,
> Let us go to her with our precious prayer,
> Let us go with incense to the niece of Jesus,

[727] Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales*, p. 89.
[728] 'I Ddwynwen', *Gwaith Syr Dafydd Trefor*, p. 67.
[729] Rheinallt, 'I Ddwynwen', pp. 76 and 347.
[730] 'I Ddwynwen', *Gwaith Syr Dafydd Trefor*, p. 67.
[731] 'I Ddwynwen', *Gwaith Syr Dafydd Trefor*, p. 67 and Rheinallt, 'I Ddwynwen', pp. 76 and 347.
[732] Dafydd ap Gwilym, 'Edited Text and English Translation: 48–Galw ar Ddwynwen', Dafydd ap Gwilym.net [online].
[733] 'I Ddwynwen', *Gwaith Syr Dafydd Trefor*, p. 67, and Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales*, p. 89.
[734] 'I Ddwynwen', *Gwaith Syr Dafydd Trefor*, p. 68.

Let us go directly to earn [passage to]
heaven from the hand of the purest daughter in Anglesey.
Let us go on our knees,
Let us go under Dwynwen's protection to heaven.]

In addition to devotional practices, pilgrims also brought wealth to offer at the shrine. All three poets refer to the golden statue of the saint. Dafydd ap Gwilym identifies it as 'dy ddelw aur' [your golden image].[735] Some of these riches can be inferred from the many references to gold in Hywel Rheinallt's poems, describing Dwynwen as 'eurdraed' [with feet of gold], saying 'dylud euro dy dalaith' [you would deserve to have your chaplet gilded], noting 'dy fedd euraid' [your golden grave], and observing 'mae aur i'th gylch' [there is gold about you].[736] Dafydd Trefor describes a variety of offerings made at her shrine:

Fo roed o'i brig glenigion,
Fo roed aur teg ar draed hon;
Botymau a gleiniau glân
Ar ei phais a orffwysan';
Chweugeiniau'n drylau a drig,
Noblau i gadw'n blygedig.[737]

[Gifts were bestowed upon her head,
Fair gold was bestowed on her feet;
Buttons and virtuous gems
Rest upon her gown;
Half sovereigns in piles do dwell,
Coins kept in the folds.][738]

This description indicates that pilgrims tended the saint's shrine themselves, tucking coins into her gown and decking her with jewels. Tokens such as the 'garw arian gawg' [stag with the silver bowl] mentioned by Rheinallt and the 'gloyw arian glych' [shining silver bells] in Trefor's poem intimate the beauty of the shrine and the value of its holdings; however,t it is unclear whether pilgrims brought these items or they were purchased with money given at the shrine.[739] These are practical questions, but medieval poetry intentionally presents idealized pictures, and it is not certain whether any of what is described here may be hyperbolic.[740] From the descriptions in the medieval poems, money was the primary offering. Dafydd

[735] Dafydd ap Gwilym, 'Edited Text and English Translation: 48–Galw ar Ddwynwen', Dafydd ap Gwilym.net [online].
[736] Rheinallt, 'I Ddwynwen', pp. 75–77 and 346–348.
[737] 'I Ddwynwen', *Gwaith Syr Dafydd Trefor*, p. 67.
[738] I am indebted to Ann Parry Owen for her translation of these lines.
[739] Rheinallt, 'I Ddwynwen', pp. 76 and 346, and 'I Ddwynwen', *Gwaith Syr Dafydd Trefor*, p. 67.
[740] For example, in Rheinallt, 'I Ddwynwen', pp. 75–77 and 346–348, Richard Cyffin is extolled in extravagant terms for his popularity ('as honoured as a patriarch' there'), his generosity ('the Gwalchmai of wine'), and his great wealth ('gold unstintingly on all five fingers,/every finger is worth an archbishop').

Trefor refers to ‘dyn wrth gyff Dywnwen’ [a man near Dwynwen’s coffer].[741] Hywel Rheinallt describes offerings in the form of ‘geir d’arian’ [bent silver coins].[742] Rheinallt Hywel says that ‘aur a roir yt ar yr allt’ [gold is given to you on the hillside], referring to Dwynwen’s shrine, and he adds ‘dy fwnai hyd afonydd…o’r dŵr, ef a geir d’arian’ [money flows to you along rivers…from the sea your silver is obtained], which has been taken to refer to distant pilgrims; however, the location of Ynys Llanddwyn made all journeys involve river and sea travel.[743]

These medieval poems establish a consistent pattern of exchange as the medium by which pilgrims and saint communicated: pilgrims sought cures and brought their devotion and monetary gifts and, in return, the saint inspired their devotion and generosity by her cures and other miracles.

Mention of Dwynwen by other medieval poets indicate the ubiquity of the saint during this time. Sometimes she is invoked as one of a number of other saints, as shown in this poem by Guto’r Glyn (1440–1493), a bard known to travel to Anglesey:[744]

> Sain Cristor sy’n y croesty
> A droes ei fraich dros Huw fry,
> Dwylaw Bawl yn dal ei ben
> Drwy donnau, Pedr a Dwynwen.
>
> [St Christopher who’s in the cruciform house
> turned his arm over Huw above,
> Paul’s hands holding his head
> through the waves, Peter and Dwynwen.][745]

Again, Guto includes Dwynwen as one of the many saints he invokes in a poem addressed to the Rood of Chester:

> Galw Felangell, gwell yw’r gwaith,
> Galw Ddwynwen, f’Arglwydd, unwaith,
> Saint Oswallt a’i santesau,
> Sain Padrig fo’r meddig mau.
> A Dewi y sydd (ys da sant)
> A dry iechyd i drychant.

[741] ‘I Ddwynwen’, *Gwaith Syr Dafydd Trefor*, p. 67.
[742] ‘I Ddwynwen’, *Gwaith Syr Dafydd Trefor*, p. 67.
[743] Rheinallt, ‘I Ddwynwen’, pp. 76 and 347.
[744] E. Salisbury and B. Lewis, ‘Guto’r Glyn: A Life’, Guto’r Glyn.net [online]. Available at http://www.gutorglyn.net/gutorglyn/biog/ <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[745] G. Glyn, ‘64–In praise of Huw Lewys ap Llywelyn of Prysaeddfed when he nearly drowned’, ed. by E. Salisbury, Guto’r Glyn.net [online]. Available at http://www.gutorglyn.net/gutorglyn/poem/?poem-selection=064 <Accessed 12 April 2020>

Cynhafal, dwg hwn hefyd,
Y Grog, oll, y gwŷr i gyd.

[Call St Melangell, better is the result,
call St Dwynwen once, my Lord,
St Oswald and his women saints,
may St Patrick be my physician.
And St David (a good saint is he)
will grant health to three hundred.
Bring St Cynhafal also, O Rood,
to you entirely, all the heroes.][746]

These saints are presented as spiritual warriors, performing heroic deeds of healing, which is consistent with the role given to Dwynwen in the poems by Dafydd ap Gwilym, Syr Dafydd Trefor, and Hywel Rheinallt. Nonetheless, the tenderness and warmth reserved for St Dwynwen is also apparent in this elegy by Lewys Glyn Cothi (1447–1487) for his son:

Un mab oedd degan i mi;
Dwynwen, gwae'i dad o'i eni.[747]

[One boy, Saint Dwyn, my bauble:
His father rues that he was born!][748]

The description of Dwynwen in the medieval poems is coloured by the purposes of the poems. While the subject of Dafydd ap Gwilym's poem contrasts the invulnerable purity of the saint with his ungovernable passion for his married lover Morfudd, the poems by Syr Dafydd Trefor and Hywel Rheinallt have as their subtext the political intrigue taking place during the time when the Welsh Earl of Richmond Henry Tudor began his campaign to overthrow Richard III, and Lewys Glyn Cothi evokes Dwynwen at a particularly difficult and poignant emotional period in is personal life.

One of those mentioned in the praise poems of Rheinallt and Trefor is Richard Cyffin (1480–1502), dean of Bangor and prebendary of Llanddwyn, a worldly and powerful man who dabbled in politics and patronised poets such as Hywel Rheinallt and Guto'r Glyn.[749] Cyffin's

[746] G. Glyn, '69–A supplication to the Rood in Chester on behalf of Dafydd ab Ieuan', ed. by R. Daniel, Guto'r Glyn.net [online]. Available at http://www.gutorglyn.net/gutorglyn/poem/?poem-selection=069 <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[747] L. Glyn Cothi, 'Marwnad Siôn y Glyn', *Gwaith Lewys Glyn Cothi*, ed. by D. Johnston (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1995), pp. 512–513.
[748] L. Glyn Cothi, 'Lament for Siôn y Glyn', *The Oxford Book of Welsh Poetry in English*, ed. by G. Jones (Oxford, New York, and Toronto: OUP, 1977), pp. 62–64.
[749] T. Pierce, 'Kyffin, Richard', DWB [online]. Available at http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-KYFF-RIC-1480.html?query=john&field=content <Accessed 12 April 2020>

worldliness illustrates the power and influence of the religious foundation at Ynys Llanddwyn at the time, as well as its role in political affairs:

> Kyffin, known as the Black Dean (*Deon Du*), was the personification of a local squire (*uchelwyr*). He patronized building works at Bangor Cathedral, and he was also known for his prowess in hunting, for his fine oxen, and for his use of mineral resources to profit from the sale of millstones and slates. Kyffin built a fine house at Llanddwynwen, famed as a place of hospitality and conviviality, and the Black Dean enjoyed the company of poets and women. His gesture towards the Yorkist kings was to support Henry Tudor during the reign of Richard III.[750]

In fact, Cyffin was one of the chief of Richmond's party.[751] It was said that Cyffin used the isolated house at Ynys Llanddwyn for frequent meetings as well as correspondence with the Earl of Richmond and other conspirators by means of fishing boats.[752] Cyffin's interest in building is also demonstrated by his projects at Bangor Cathedral, including the stained glass window of St Dwynwen that he donated to the cathedral. Guto'r Glyn praises Cyffin's commitment to restoring and renovating the cathedral in this poem:[753]

> Cweirio y mae côr moel,
> Capten Dwynwen a Deinioel.
> Cario gwŷdd cerrig iddaw,
> Cwyr a chlych cair uwch ei law.
> Gwisgodd, â phlwm y'i gwesgir,
> Gapdyhuws esgopty hir.[754]
>
> [St Dwynwen and St Deiniol's captain
> is restoring the bare chancel,
> carrying timber for it,
> there are wax candles and bells above his hand.
> He clothed the hood of the long palace of the bishop,
> it's pressed down with lead.][755]

The growth and development Cyffin sponsored using pilgrims' donations came to an end with the Reformation.

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[750] A. Reeves, 'Cathedral Deans of the Yorkist Age', *The Ricardian*, vol. 18 (2008), pp. 1–5, p. 3, richardiii.net [online]. Available at http://richardiii.net/6_3_1_the_ricardian_archive.php#2008 <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[751] G. Hartwell-Jones, 'Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement', *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. 23 (1912), p. 322.
[752] Owen, 'Llanddwyn', TAAS (1920), p. 31.
[753] Pierce, 'Kyffin, Richard', DWB [online].
[754] G. Glyn, '59–To thank Rhisiart Cyffin ab Ieuan Llwyd, dean of Bangor, for a rosary', ed. by E. Salisbury, Guto'r Glyn.net [online]. Available at http://www.gutorglyn.net/gutorglyn/poem/?poem-selection=059 <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[755] Glyn, '59–To thank Rhisiart Cyffin ab Ieuan Llwyd, dean of Bangor, for a rosary', ed. by Salisbury, Guto'r Glyn.net [online].

Miracles at St Dwynwen's shrine

Accounts of divination and cures at the holy wells must begin with the medieval Church's attitude toward sacred wells, which eventually gained some acceptance, as documented at the 1102 Council of Westminster, when an injunction made all new cults of wells subject to the authority of the local bishop.[756] Even so, some shrines focused on miraculous images while downplaying worship at wells.[757] This sensitivity may explain why medieval poets who described St Dwynwen's shrine emphasised the golden statue of the saint rather than practices at the holy wells. While Dafydd Trefor spoke of 'sick people, cripples and the weak bustling between the holy wells', no medieval accounts identify the specific wells used for healing or describe rituals performed there. Nevertheless, his poem certainly focuses primarily on medieval activity at the wells and confirms that more than one had pilgrims moving among them.

Veneration of St Dwynwen after the Reformation

When the veneration of saints was suppressed after the Reformation, construction stopped at the shrine and praise poems and other mentions of Ynys Llanddwyn dwindled and then ceased. In 1535 the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* reported that while the tithes of the parish of Llanddwyn amounted to less than a pound, 'offerynges of charitable peple to the Saynt in tymes past' came to £12 5*s* 8*d*, indicating that the large income was the result of donations at the shrine.[758] By 1538, John Leland wrote about the location of Ynys Llanddwyn without mentioning the richness of the church or its destination for pilgrims:

> Ther is in Mone as right againe Neuen tounne in Lline, that is a kenning of, a little isle caullid Sainct Dunwen, a woman, and in this isle is the chirch of S. Dunwen. This isle is veri fertile of cunnies, and hath ii. fair welles. Ther is now a litle balk of sand cast up, the wich at low waters prohibitith the se to cum about.[759]

The population of Llanddwyn and its surrounding area had dwindled by the fourteenth century from famine, plague, and sandstorms, but during Elizabeth I's reign the inhabitants of Newborough again asked the government for help, this time to curb the drifting sand, and

[756] J. Rattue, *The Living Stream: Holy Wells in Historical Context* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995), p. 79.
[757] Rattue, *The Living Stream* p. 81.
[758] Carr, *Medieval Anglesey*, p. 231.
[759] *Leland's Itinerary in Wales*, ed. by L. Smith (London: George Bell and Sons, 1906), p. 53. Extracted from Leland's *Collectanea*, printed as *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, 2nd edn, 6 vols (London: Hearne, 1774), vol. 4, pp. 85–90. See also London, BL, MS Cotton Domitian A VIII, fols 119–120.

they were advised to plant sea sedge (also called marram grass).[760] Marram grass was successfully planted only to be cut again to supply the cottage industry of making mats, to which Llanddwyn farmers could turn as the eroded land became impossible to farm.[761]

It should be noted that although St Dwynwen's Shrine at Ynys Llanddwyn was destroyed as a result of the Reformation, the parish itself was first diminished by plague during the fourteenth century, while erosion by wind, sand, and sea eventually decimated the entire parish. The bright and beautiful shrine described in the poems of Dafydd ap Gwilym, Hywel Rheinallt, and Dafydd Trefor must be contrasted with the historical evidence of poverty, disease, and ruin in south-west Anglesey at the time during which the poems were written.

The fate of the church and shrine after the Reformation

The ownership of Ynys Llanddwyn and St Dwynwen's Church were liable to change, and figure 60 illustrates that by the end of the sixteenth century, rectors had ceased to be appointed:[762]

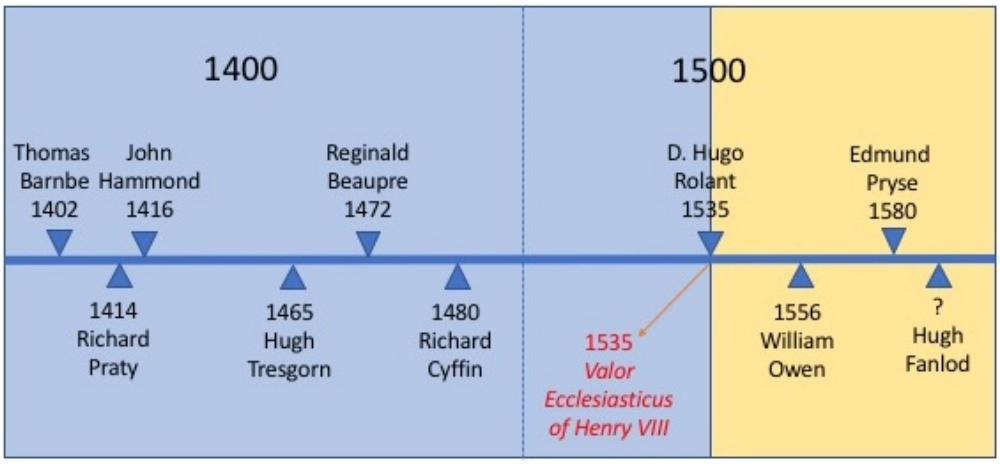


Figure 60. Appointment of Llanddwyn rectors Before and after the Reformation[763]

The Owen family of the Bodeon estate (also known as Bodowen) located near Llangadwaladr took over ownership of Ynys Llanddwyn according to Angharad Lhwyd, who reported the new owner as William Owen.[764] If William Owen was one of the last rectors of the church in 1556, did his family purchase the estate during his tenure or before it? Did Owen despoil his

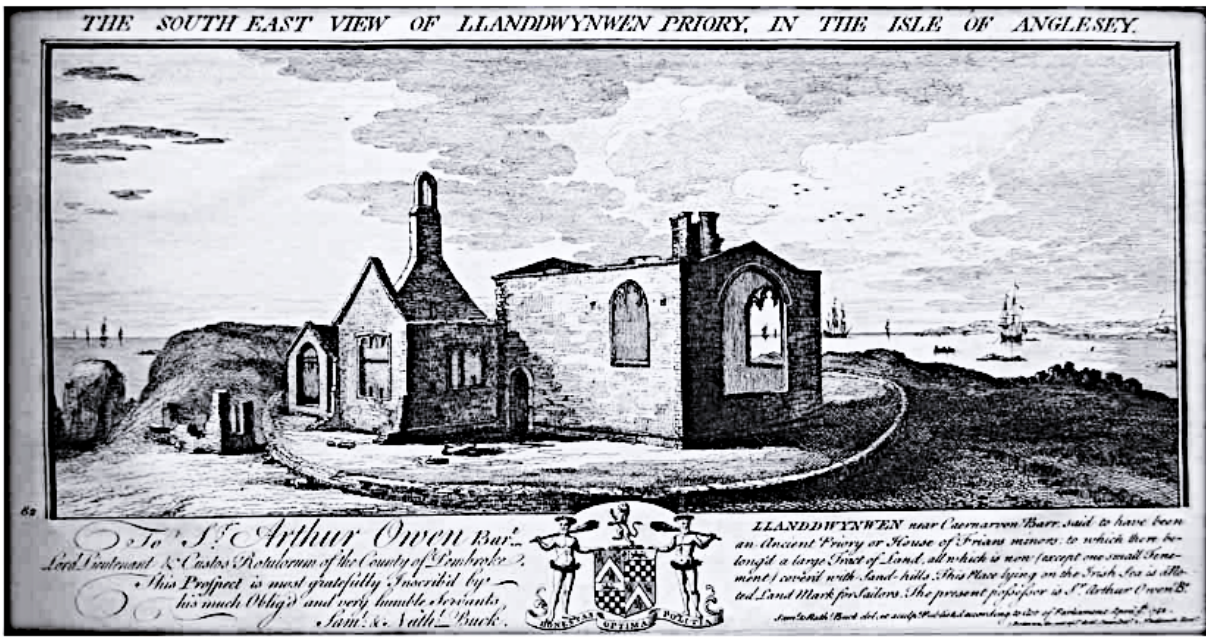
[760] MS Bangor 7390, p. 30.
[761] MS Bangor 7390, p. 30.
[762] Rowlands, *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*, p. 135 and H. Owen, 'Llanddwyn Island', TAAS, (1920), pp. 1–32, p. 20.
[763] Owen, 'Llanddwyn Island', TAAS, pp. 17–21.
[764] Lhwyd, *A History of the Island of Mona*, pp. 224–225 and Owen, 'Llanddwyn Island', TAAS, p. 4.

own church? Hugh Owen of Bodeon was a member of Parliament in 1545 for Newborough, which would put him in a position of authority during the times when church property was redistributed.[765] The Anglesey antiquarian Henry Rowlands wrote:

> It appears, that, soon after the Reformation, this church became so neglected, that it was exposed to the depredations of the neighbouring inhabitants, who, from time to time, despoiled it of all the timber and lead, and converted them to various domestic uses; but it is generally reported and believed, that the wretches, who were guilty of such an act of sacrilege, did not prosper long, for that the just judgment of the Almightry fell upon them. [766]

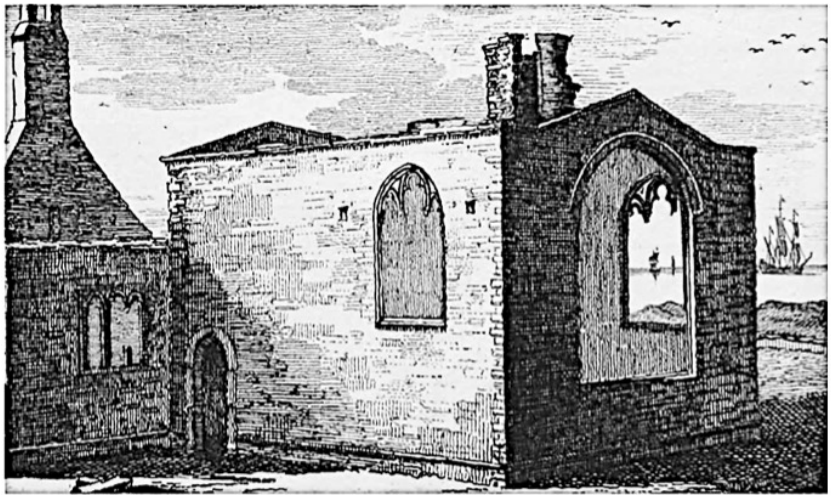
In any case, the church was left to go to ruin, and by 1710 the walls were standing, but the roof was gone.[767] Three records corroborate this. In the first, Angharad Llwyd states that 'soon after the Reformation (i.e. mid-sixteenth century) it was despoiled of all the timber and lead, which the neighbouring families converted to domestic uses'.[768] The second is the 1664 report of an accident to the Abermenai ferry where seventy-eight people were drowned, which was attributed by local people to a visitation of heaven because the boat was built of timber taken from Llanddwyn.[769] The third record by Sanuel and Nathaniel Buck dating from 1742, comprises images of the church (figs. 61 and 62) that show the church without a roof or windows, but with walls still standing:[770]

[765] R. Thomas, 'Owen family, of Bodeon (Bodowen), Anglesey', DWB [online]. Available at https://biography.wales/article/s-OWEN-BOD-1545 <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[766] H. Rowlands, 'Antiquitates Parochiales', trans. by P.B.W., *The Cambro-Briton*, vol. 2, (December 1820), p. 152.
[767] Owen, 'Llanddwyn Island', TAAS, p. 26.
[768] Lhwyd, *A History of the Island of Mona*, pp. 110–111.
[769] Davidson, 'Llanddwyn Church Newborough, Anglesey, pp. 4–5.
[770] Owen, 'Llanddwyn Island', TAAS, p. 4.



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Figure 61. St Dwynwen's Church in 1742



© 1920 TAAS[772]

Figure 62. Detail of St Dwynwen's Church in 1742

Changed attitudes toward St Dwynwen

When subsequent writers did mention the cult of Dwynwen, their accounts were coloured by the changed attitude toward saints and shrines, such as this example by Henry Rowlands (1655–1733):

> Here were constant wax lights kept at the tomb of this virgin saint, which brought no small gains to the monks, from the pious and superstitious people,

[771] Owen, 'Llanddwyn Island', TAAS, p. 5.
[772] Owen, 'Llanddwyn Island', TAAS, p. 5.

> who visited it from all parts of the kingdom, in those times of popery; for the whole machinery of that delusive church, and the juggling arts of mercenary priests were in this remote corner collected together and made use of to impose upon an ignorant and misguided populace.[773]

Rowland echoes the medieval poets' accounts, which also spoke of a virgin saint whose shrine was visited by people from across the nation and where wax candles were offered to her in devotion. The new factor is the description of delusion and chicanery employed by the monks on gullible and ignorant devotees. The activity is the same, but its interpretation has changed. Reliance on Dwynwen's protection had become a weakness, as described in this account of a mariner in danger during a storm:

> There was pandemonium on board with everyone calling upon his patron saint to save him from a watery grave. 'At which time', says Elis, militant Protestant though he was at the time of writing, 'I proved to be as weak in faith as anyone else, and so I vowed that I would go on foot with a penny for [St.] Dwynwen whensoever God and the saints would allow me to tread a foot of English soil'.[774]

Post-Reformation genealogies

Nicholas Roscarrock's unpublished manuscript of saints' Lives includes two adjacent entries related to Dwynwen. The first uses as its sources the Life of St Nectan and Edward Powell's genealogy, and Roscarrock tries to reconcile several sources that do not belong together:[775]

> **Of St Dwinwen Dwinwent or Dunwen**
>
> Sainct Dwinwen was the 25 Daughter of St Brechanus & sister to one St Wenifride the Daughter likewise of St Brechanus, wh^{ch} Wenefrede is as I take it called Menfred in St Nectans life. St Menefred that hath a church Dedicated there unto Cornwall commented called St Minver, but not the sister of Wenefred wh^{ch} was [murdered] by Cradocus & was the Daughter of a Noble gentleman called Jeneth for she had no sister that I know of. She hath a church dedicated unto her in an ^{i}sland having Romans not far from the ^{i}sland barr^{d}, church feast that is the 13 of July. And I find She hath or had likewise a church in Anglesey as I finde in a Manuscript of E. Powell. Read of her in Leland in Descript: Brittani: in Holinshed.[776]

The Edward Powell genealogy included in Roscarrock's entry for Brychan (see ch. 3) includes entries for both 'wenefride called in some copies Gurgon' and 'Dwinwen July

[773] Lhwyd, *A History of the Island of Mona*, pp. 110–111.
[774] T. Jones, 'A Welsh Chronicler in Tudor England', *Welsh History Review*, vol. 1, nos. 1–4 (1960), pp. 1–17.
[775] MS Additional 3041, p. 164v.
[776] MS Additional 3041, p. 164v.

13'.[777] He also refers to the Life of St Nectan as found in John Leland, attempting to convey that St Winefride is also St Minver. His text suggests that he was referring to a version of PB that states that Winefride daughter of Brychan had a sister named Dwinwen. Roscarrock tries to explain Dwinwen as the sister of St Winefride, who is the same as St Minver, based on his sources, but he doesn't know of a sister of St Winefride. Roscarrock's second entry is from the 'booke of Landaff' (i.e., DSB, see ch. 3):

> **of St: Dwin**
>
> The booke of Landaff maketh her the 24 Daughter of St Brechanus, & sainct & she hath in Mona in Anglesey, by wch I think I maye surmise that St Dwin & Dwinwen are bothe one, thoughe the 2 pedigrees doe varie in the number as they doe often[778]

Veneration of St Dwynwen has been discussed in terms of the genealogies that establish her identity, the shrine that was the focus of her cult, the poems that describe the needs of her followers and the miracles performed at her shrine, and the history of her church. Other practices may not have taken place before the Reformation, but afterwards a number of stories associated the healing saint with divination, love charms, and other kinds of legends. For example, the Anglesey historian Hugh Owen wrote that Ffynnon Defaden (Wart Well) near St Dwynwen's Church was said to cure warts and he describes the ritual for eliminating a wart: 'the wart would be pricked with pins, these would then be pushed into a cork and thrown into the well, then the hands would be washed in the well water and the wart would vanish'.[779] This ritual is similar to the one Owen identified for Crochan Llanddwyn.

Writing long after the last rector left St Dwynwen's Church, Henry Rowlands is blunt in his opinion of the rituals practised by the cult of Dwynwen, speaking of 'crosses, sacred bones, fortune-telling wells, ordeals of chastity, *ichthuomanteia*, salutiferous places, and other

---

[777] MS Additional 3041, p. 164v. Note: In MS Harley 4181, fols 30r–32r, Hugh Thomas refers to a genealogy of the Brychan family copied by George Owen Harry (1553–1643) that included Gwenfrewi in place of Gurgon. See also Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy*, vol 2, pp. 432–433, which identifies this pedigree by Harry as Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Brogynton I.15 (pp. 345–379).

[778] MS Additional 3041, p. 164v.

[779] G. Jones and T. Roberts, *The Place-Names of Anglesey* (Bangor: Isle of Anglesey County Council, 1996), p. 156. For another cure for warts involving a holy well, see E. Owen, *Welsh Folk-Lore: A Collection of the Folk-Tales and Legends of North Wales Being the Prize Essay of the National Eisteddfod 1887*, p. 267. [online]. Available at http://www.gutenberg.org/files/20096/20096-h/20096-h.htm <Accessed 12 April 2020>: 'Drop a pin into a holy well and your warts will disappear, but should anyone take the pin out of the well, the warts you have lost will grow on his fingers.' T. Gwynn Jones, *Welsh Folklore and Folk Custom* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1979), p. 117, refers to a number of wart cures, such as (a) bent pins being thrown into a well to cure warts, (b) rubbing warts with a rag dipped in a well and then hung on a tree, and (c) pricking warts with a pin, then rubbing the warts with wool gathered from shrubs, throwing the pin into a well, and placing the wool on a hawthorn.

similar vain fancies of darkness, to ensnare devout women of the lower orders, who, in the madness of their superstition, used to flock hither from distant places in a surprising manner'.[780] Rowlands describes the attitude toward practices, but what are the specifics? Accounts speak of prognostication based on interpretation of activity seen in the water and on bathing or drinking the water.

Divination and cures

The meaning of St Dwynwen's wells changed, but sometimes the rhetoric was muddled; for example, in 1710, the Reverend Dafydd Jones of Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd's description of the pure well of the saint used for fortune-telling:

> Mae ffynnon Ddwynwen wen yn agos i Niwbwrch ym mon lle y dwediff rhai i merthyru hi. Fe fydd llawer o bobl goelgrefyddol yn cyrchu yno i wybod i ffortun, neu i cariaddu, pa run a gan hwy hwnt ai pedio.[781]
>
> [A pure fountain of Dwynwen near Newborough in Anglesey sprang up where she was martyred. Many people go there to find out their fortunes, or lovers, whether they will achieve them or not.]

Divination was primarily associated with Ffynnon Fair, which was said to be inhabited by sacred fish or eels whose movements indicated the amatory fortunes of those who consulted them.[782] After the consultation, people would leave offerings at the church in a box called *cyff Dwynwen*, as described in the medieval poem by Syr Dafydd Trefor discussed previously.[783] In the *Topographic Dictionary of Wales* Samuel Lewis also describes the offerings and divination ritual at Ffynnon Fair:

> The fund arising from the offerings to the shrine of St. Dwynwen, by her numerous votaries, was very great: and in process of time the church became an abbey for monks of the Benedictine order, who derived a large revenue from the resort of strangers, who came to inquire into their future destiny, which was predicted by the leaping of fish, and the appearance of the water of a well, still called Fynnon Vair, or "St. Mary's well."[784]

[780] H. Rowlands, 'Antiquitates Parochiales', *Archaeologica Cambrensis*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1846), pp. 126–135, p. 131.
[781] J. Evans, *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, 2 vols in 7 parts (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1902), vol. 2, part 1, p. 215, and Cardiff, Cardiff Public Library, MS Cardiff 2.40 (RMWL Cardiff MS 26). See also TYP, p. 127.
[782] Rattue, *The Living Stream,* p. 16. In N74, Owen identifies his source as Cardiff, Cardiff Public Library, MS Cardiff 2, p. 48.
[783] HWW, p. 112.
[784] Rheinallt, 'I Ddwynwen', *Medieval Welsh Poems to Saints and Shrines*, ed. by Lewis, pp. 242–255.

This account was subsequently used as evidence by Francis Jones in *Holy Wells of Wales* and by Marie Trevelyan in *Folk-Lore and Folk-Tales of Wales*:

> Mary's Well at Llandwyn contained sacred fish, the like of which was never seen in "any other well in Wales". Still, the same story is told of Peter's Well, near Llantwit Major, South Glamorgan.[785]

Hugh Owen quotes from a manuscript written *c.* 1800 by William Williams of Llydegai which documents the ceremony used at the well:

> There was a spring of clear water, now choked up by the sand, at which an old woman from Newborough always attended, and prognosticated the lovers' success from the movements of some small eels which waved out of the sides of the well, on spreading the lovers' handkerchief on the surface of the water. I remember an old woman saying that when she was a girl, she consulted the woman at this well about her destiny with respect to her husband; on spreading her handkerchief, out popped an eel from the north side of the well, and soon after another crawled from the south side, and they both met on the bottom of the well; then the woman told her that her husband would be a stranger from the south part of Carnarvonshire. Soon after, it happened that three brothers came from that part and settled in the neighbourhood where the young woman was, one of whom made his addresses to her, and in a little time married her. So much of the prophecy I remember. This couple was my father and mother.[786]

This account does not mention the saint directly. Owen reports an account that lovesick people also drank from the well and if the results were not favourable, they returned and immersed themselves in its waters.[787] This ritual is repeated in a nineteenth-century poem written in English called 'Ffynnon Llanddwynwen' by John Ceiriog Hughes in which the poet says, 'I asked for advice, and an old man told me to bathe in the water: I leaped into the well, sank like a stone, but arose twice as much in love as ever before'.[788] The well on the mainland called Crochan Llanddwyn was also used for divination and 'if the water 'boils' or bubbles while this ceremony is being performed, it is a sign that the visitor's lover is true'.[789] Hugh Owen reported that 'a wooden cup was found there with pins stuck in it all ways', but he was unable to verify the finding, which had taken place fifty years earlier.[790] From these

[785] M. Trevelyan, *Folk-Lore and Folk Tales of Wales*, intro. by E. Hartland (London: Elliot Stock, 1908), p. 17.
[786] Owen, 'Llanddwyn Island', TAAS, pp. 15–16 and R. Fenton, *Tours in Wales (1804–1813)*, ed. by J. Fisher (London: The Bedford Press, 1917), p. 269. See also Aberystwyth, NLW, MS NLW 822, pp. 5–7.
[787] HWW, p. 112.
[788] J. Hughes, *Oriau Eraill*, 5 vols (Wrexham: Hughes & Son, 1868), vol. 2, pp. 116–17.
[789] HWW, p. 112.
[790] Owen, 'Llanddwyn Island', TAAS, p. 20.

accounts, it would appear that divination regarding love matters took place at both at the well called Ffynnon Fair on Ynys Llanddwyn and at Crochan Llanddwyn, guided by interpreters and resulting in donations to the shrine. These stories are projected back to a time well after the Reformation, and reference to attendance by 'the woman at the well' does not suggest a religious site; for example, the name Crochan Llanddwyn suggests that the well is named for the place rather than for the saint.

The hill upon which Tŵr Mawr now stands was also associated with divination and cures. Owen Williamson's unpublished guide to Newborough and Llanddwyn includes this account:

> When we read of believers in palmistry, fortunes told by gipsies, by means of cards, and even by means of tea-leaf hieroglyphics in tea cups, at the present day, we cannot but excuse the credulous youths of an age later, than the period referred to above, who though scoffing at all things papistical yet could go to deserted Llandwyn on the sly, or would flock there on fine days, on pleasure bent, and run up the slope of Craig Esyd, Esyth, or Esyllt, (on the top of which the lighthouse now serves for the good fortune of shipping) to have their initials as lovers cut into the green sod. And later (if not at present also) such initials could be seen in green spots bordering on the paths leading to the Point. We believe that the old custom is followed to-day in a thoughtless manner, merely to promote fun at the expense of bashful or shy lovers.[791]

Williamson describes the dedication as belonging to the Anglo-Saxon St Oswyth, which is unlikely because her abbey was in Essex, not London, and because she was not the patron saint of maidens seeking husbands.[792] Nonetheless, Richard Fenton repeats the story of the cutting initials in the sod on Gwely Esyth, this time as a cure for illness:

> This Saintess was petitioned for curing divers diseases, particularly (what Mr. Kemble would call Atches) Aches, Stitches, &c. There is a spot on the top of a rock called Gwely Esyth (Qu. if not Esmwyth) where people under such pains lay down and slept, and after waking and cutting their name in the sod, they fancied they were cured.[793]

[791] MS Bangor 7390, pp. 49–50. Williamson adds a footnote to the term 'Craig Esyd, Esyth, or Esyllt': 'There was once a nunnery in London of the name of St Oswyth, a very important religious house, till its disendowment in the reign of Henry VIII. St Oswyth is described as a holy virgin. Her patronage was sought by young maidens in search of husbands.'
[792] 'Houses of Austin canons: Abbey of Chich or St Osyth's', *A History of the County of Essex: Volume 2*, ed. by W. Page and J. Round (London: no printer listed, 1907), pp. 157–162. *British History Online [online]*. Available at http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/essex/vol2/pp157-162 <Accessed 12 April 2020>.
[793] Fenton, *Tours in Wales (1804–1813)*, p. 269. See also Owen, 'Llanddwyn Island', TAAS, pp. 30–31 and 'W. Williams' MS: Llanddwynwen Church', AC, Supplement (1917), pp. 269–270.

Hugh Owen also corroborates the location of Gwely Esyth, saying: 'An elderly parishioner who has lived nearly fifty years at Llanddwyn tells me that Craig Esyth is the name formerly given to the rock on which the lighthouse stands'.[794] This cure echoes a tale about a miracle that was said to have taken place before the Reformation at the abbey on Ynys Llanddwyn:

> There is also a legend that a dying abbot was carried out of the Abbey to see the sun set, and was laid down with his back resting in the bottom of a rock, but he could not see the sun on account of an intervening rock, which latter rock was promptly cleft by the hand of an angel in order that the dying abbot might have a full view of the setting sun.[795]

These legends of Gwely Esyth add another kind of ritual to the others described as being practised at the shrine. Hugh Owens' legends refer to healing during the pre-Reformation period. The legend where a supplicant sleeps on a mountain to awaken transformed is reminiscent of the description of those who fall asleep on Cadair Idris to awaken either mad or poets. On the other hand, the miracle that satisfies a dying abbot's longing to see the sunset in spite of an unyielding obstacle is not unlike the longing that possesses Dafydd ap Gwilym in his prayer to Dwynwen. As with the medieval poems, Dwynwen seems able to heal both emotional yearning and physical suffering. Williamson's legend refers to post-Reformation divination, emphasising the hypocrisy of practitioners who carried out the ritual while eschewing the beliefs behind it. He also attributes the dedication to St Oswyth, a saint wholly unconnected to Anglesey or the Brychan family. That said, the overall connection of these rituals, which promise both healing and assistance with love matters, seems more closely attributable to the cult of St Dwynwen.

Warding off evil

After the Reformation, candles were burned at St Dwynwen's Church to protect against disaster. The following legend, attributed to William Williams of Llydegai (see previous legend about divination), and also repeated by Richard Fenton, applies to livestock:

> I remember hearing of an instance which happened I believe, about 150 years ago [i.e., *c.* 1650]. The ploughing oxen at Bodeon, on April 25, taking a fright when at work, ran over a steep rock and perished in the sea. This being St. Mark the Evangelist's anniversary day, it was considered that doing work on that day was a transgression of a devine ordinance, and to prevent such accidents for the future, the proprietor of the farm ordered that the festival of St Mark should be for the future invariably kept a holy day; and that two wax candles should be annually on that day burned in the church porch of Llanddwyn, which was the

[794] Owen, 'Llanddwyn Island', TAAS, p. 16.
[795] Owen, 'Llanddwyn Island', TAAS, p. 26.

> only part of the building that was covered in, as an offering and memorial of this transgression and accident, and as a token that St Dwynwen's aid and protection was solicited to prevent such a catastrophe any more. This was discontinued about 80 years ago, I think (i.e. circa 1720). The south porch 'was kept in repair by the proprietor of Bodeon, and of almost all this parish, for the purpose of placing the candles therein'.[796]

This story adds another aspect to the veneration of St Dwynwen, albeit one beginning after the Reformation, in which local farmers light candles on the porch of the ruined church (for the roof was said to be gone by 1650) without participation by clergy, but with the support of the Owen family of Bodeon, who, according to the story, repaired the porch. According to Angharad Lhwyd's history, the family also allowed the rest of the church to go to ruin.

The lost parish of Llanddwyn

The erosion of the land, first described during the 1300s, continued and was the subject of legends. During the eighteenth century, when describing the ruins of the rector's house, Browne Willis speaks of 'all the rest of the Parish except that, and some Part of the Walls of the Church, and a Warren-House, being swallow'd up by the Sea'.[797] Samuel Lewis takes a more pragmatic view of the destruction:

> The parish includes the small remains of that of Llanddwyn, formerly a very extensive district, situated to the west of Newborough, on the shore of St. George's Channel, and of which the whole has been destroyed by the encroachments of the sea, or buried under the sands that, during the prevalence of strong westerly gales, are drifted over considerable portions of the parish of Newborough.[798]

Owen Williamson writes of Llanddwyn Parish as a place 'which may now be described as lost, inasmuch as what remains of it is attached to the adjoining parish named', referring to Newborough, and he offers this explanation:[799]

> The lost parish may now be described under three heads: first, the part submerged, and at present represented by the sandbanks between the Point and the channel by which the tributaries of Menai discharge themselves into Carnarvon Bay. The remaining sandbanks, that is, those on the Llanddwyn side of the said channel, are the foundations of a once extensive plain, known to antiquaries as Tre' Caer Aranrhod. The second part of old Llandwyn is the Carning-gaer fawr—the Great Warren—being the sandy waste of about four square miles to the north of

[796] Fenton, *Tours in Wales (1804–1813)*, pp. 269–270. See also Owen, 'Llanddwyn Island', TAAS, p. 9.
[797] Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedral Church of Bangor*, p. 124.
[798] Lewis, *Topographic Dictionary of Wales*, vol. 2, NPN.
[799] MS Bangor 7390, pp. 30–32.

> Llandwyn Point. The third part is the peninsula, or Point, which is the only portion which still retains the ancient name of Llandwyn. This alas is the only corner, of a once populous parish, which is inhabited.[800]

Nicholas Carlisle also writes that 'this peninsula (i.e. Llanddwyn) extended much farther formerly into the sea, and that a town, called Cantref Waelod [sic], was all consumed and eaten up by the incessant beating of the sea upon it'.[801] Other local legends by Hugh Owen and Henry Rowlands also suggest that a town called 'Cantref Wailod' [sic] was washed away by the sea:

> For we have some memorials of a vast tract of flat land there [Llanddwyn], called Cantref Wailod (i.e., a bottom or low land, containing formerly a hundred trefs or mansions, now all swallowed up by the sea), all consumed and eaten up by the incessant beating of the sea upon it.[802]

These legends appear to be variations of the legend of the submerged city of Cantre'r Gwaelod in Cardigan Bay.[803] Llanddwyn may have been associated with the Cantre Gwaelod folk tale and a tendency to associate any submerged land with the tale of Borth and the submerged forest.[804]

The Celtic Revival

As the Celtic Revival brought a renewed interest in medieval traditions, legends about Dwynwen continued to emerge, shaded by the colours of the present taste, which tended toward romanticism, flights of fancy, with occasional bursts of classical imagery.

While literary pursuits cultivated the past, the industrial present overtook Ynys Llanddwyn. The former shrine on Anglesey continued to deteriorate and by 1848 Samuel Lewis noted

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[800] MS Bangor 7390, pp. 30–32.
[801] N. Carlisle, *Topographic Dictionary of the dominion of Wales*, NPN. Carlisle's story of Cantref Waelod also tells of a submerged land. For archeaological evidence of a submerged forest in Llanddwyn Bay, see 'Submerged Forest, Llanddwyn', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/524748/details/submerged-forest-llanddwyn <Accessed 29 March 2020>
[802] Owen, 'Llanddwyn Island', TAAS, p. 21. Owen may have used as his source Rowlands, *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*, p. 17: 'For we have some memorials of a vast tract of flat land there [Llanddwyn], called Cantref Wailod (i.e., a bottom or low land, containing formerly a hundred trefs or mansions, now all swallowed up by the sea), all consumed and eaten up by the incessant beating of the sea upon it.'
[803] R. Bromwich, 'Cantre'r Gwaelod and Ker-Is', *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe*, ed. by C. Fox and B. Dickins (Cambridge: CUP, 1950), pp. 216–241. Bromwich compares the myth of Cantre'r Gwaelog in Cardiganshire with the submergence of the kingdom of Helig ap Glanawg in the Conway estuary, describing the two stories are essentially one in origin and localized separately in Cardiganshire and in the Conway estuary around two traditional sixth-century figures.
[804] See Ranwell, 'Newborough Warren, Anglesey: 1 The Dune System and Dune Slack Habitat', pp. 571 – 602, for a discussion of the history of the ecosystem of Ynys Llanddwyn and Newborough Warren.

that ‘only a small eastern portion, with the east window, is now to be seen’.[805] At the same time, new structures were being built on the island. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the old harbour and port was used by pilots living on Ynys Llanddwyn who regularly guided ships carrying slate from Bangor, Caernarfon, and Pwllheli through the channels. Cottages built for the pilots during the 1840s have been converted to a small museum, used most recently for the BBC Production of 1900 Island. A cannon near the cottages summoned volunteers for the lifeboat stationed at the harbor from 1840 until 1903.[806] Many of the pilots and the lifeboat crew lived in cottages built on Ynys Llanddwyn, with the last occupants leaving in 1920. The cottages are now used as a museum that is open seasonally. Figure 63 shows the cottages, as well as the cannon that was fired to summon the lifeboat crew:



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Figure 63. Lifeboat Station Cottages, Ynys Llanddwyn[807]

[805] Lewis, ‘Nangle–Newborough’, *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, pp. 242–255, British History Online [online]. *Available at* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/topographical-dict/wales/pp242-255 <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[806] ‘Ynys Llanddwyn – May’, Manc-Holidays (UK site) [online]. Available at https://harperhaye.wordpress.com/2016/05/07/ynys-llanddwyn-may-2016/ <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[807] ‘Ynys Llanddwyn – Llanddwyn Island’, Holidays Anglesey [online]. Available at http://www.holidaysanglesey.co.uk/attractions/llanddwyn-island-anglesey/ <Accessed 12 April 2020>

Two lighthouses, now closed, also supported the shipping industry. Tŵr Fawr can be seen in the background of figure 63.

At the end of the nineteenth century Ynys Llanddwyn was sold by Lord Dinorben, Hugh Robert Hughes (1827–1911) on 26 December 1895 to the Hon. Frederick George Wynn (1853–1932).[808] At the time of sale, the land was described as follows:[809]

> …a piece or parcel of land bounded on the east, south and west sides by the sea and on the north side by land belonging to F. O. Meyrick, Esq., pa.[rish] Newborough, together with all the dwellinghouses Abbey Church Lighthouse and all other buildings thereon and called Llanddwyn Island, and containing 57 acres 3r. 23p.; also all the interest of 1. in the pieces of land or rocks adjacent and surrounding the Island containing 3 acres 1r. 5p. Consideration: £700. Plan. Copy.[810]

Wynn was the youngest of the ten children of Spencer Bulkeley Wynn, third baron Newborough of Bodvean and fifth baron baronet Wynn of Boduan.[811] He demonstrated an interest in the dedications to St Dwynwen, and in 1898 he asked Clough Williams-Ellis to draw a plan for rebuilding the Church, which is shown in figure 64:[812]

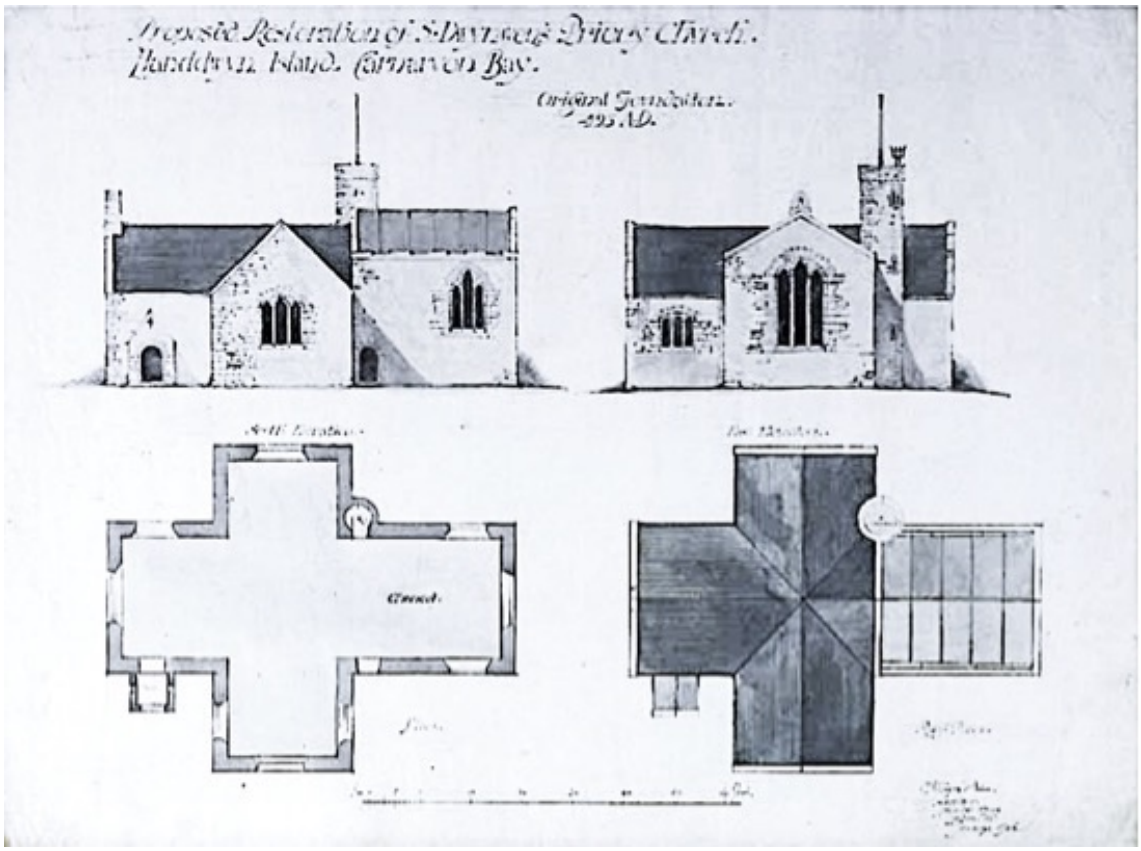
[808] Bangor, Bangor University Archive, MSS Bangor 8491, 8495, 8496, and 8497, letters from H. Hughes to F. Wynn dated 26 August, 5 September, 13 September, and 9 October of 1895 respectively. During the negotiation the price of the property was reduced from an original asking price of £2,000 to £700, with the first figure justified based on an earlier sale of Bardsey Island for £3,000. For more about the seller, see E. Jones, 'Hughes, Hugh Robert (1827–1911), of Kinmel and Dinorben genealogist', DWB [online]. Available at https://biography.wales/article/s-HUGH-ROB-1827?&query=Lord%20Dinorben,%20Hugh%20Robert%20Hughes%20(1827%E2%80%921911)&lang[]=en&sort=score&order=desc&rows=12&page=1 <Accessed 12 April 2020>

[809] MSS Bangor 8491, 8495, 8496, and 8497, letters from H. Hughes to F. Wynn dated 26 August, 5 September, 13 September, and 9 October of 1895 respectively. [online].

[810] 'XD2/6103: Conveyance (1895 Dec. 26)', Gwynedd Council Archives [online]. Available at https://diogel.gwynedd.llyw.cymru/DATRhagorol/RhestrEitem.aspx?iaith=en&rhif_archif=12&rhif_rhiant=67381 <Accessed 12 April 2020>

[811] F. Wynn, 'The Glynllivon deeds, documents, and papers', *NLW Journal*, vol. 6, no. 2 (Winter 1849), pp. 176–181, p. 177.

[812] Owen, 'Llanddwyn Island', TAAS, p. 15.



© Clough Williams-Ellis[813]

Figure 64. Drawing for reconstruction of St Dwynwen's Church

Although he decided against rebuilding the church, Wynn did add two monumental crosses on the island in 1903 and both crosses remain in place: a Celtic cross and a Roman cross, shown in figure 65:[814]

[813] Owen, 'Llanddwyn Island', TAAS.

[814] 'The Crosses of Ynys Llanddwyn', Newborough, Anglesey [online]. Available at https://newboroughanglesey.wordpress.com/2013/04/07/the-crosses-of-ynys-llanddwyn <Accessed 12 April 2020>: 'A Celtic and a plain cross dominate the skyline of Llanddwyn from many directions. One cross was erected at the end of the 19th Century, the other at the start of the 20th. Both were erected by the island's then owner, F G Wynn. The poignant inscriptions on the Celtic cross read: "*they lie around did living tread, this sacred ground now silent – dead*". In English on one side, and Welsh on another. Apparently F G Wynn erected this cross to commemorate Llanddwyn Church, which at that time was largely ruined and overgrown. The inscriptions on the plain cross, one on each side, read: "*Dwynwen*"; "*in the sixtieth year of Queen Victoria 1897*"; "*in memory of St Dwynwen Jan 25th 1465*"; and, "*erected by the Hon F G Wynn owner of the isle*".'



© 2015 Eric Mehan[815]

Figure 65. The crosses at Ynys Llanddwyn

A number of stories and poems during the Celtic Revival recast Dwynwen as a figure from classical mythology, referring to her as a 'Venus of the Welsh' rather than as a saint. These legends, however, are in some ways consistent with medieval texts, in particular in the way that they focus on matters of the heart and depict Dwynwen as calm and beneficent among her devotees. The first tale is the one most widely known, first printed in *The Iolo MSS*.

Dwynwen and Maelon Dafodrill

The Iolo MSS includes lists of the children of Brychan, but his 'History' chapter includes a short essay about Dwynwen that relates a tale that has since become central to the tradition of Dwynwen.[816] The source of the legend is unknown, raising the inevitable question: Is this another forgery by Iolo Morganwg? While the issue cannot be completely resolved, this discussion explores for the first time the possible sources of this tale. The legend can be traced back, not to Iolo Morganwg, but to Anglesey antiquarian and poet Lewis Morris,[817]

[815] Owen, 'Llanddwyn Island', TAAS, pp. 3–4.
[816] *Iolo MSS*, pp. 83–84 and 473–474.
[817] *Iolo MSS*, p. 473.

perhaps through his friend and fellow poet and antiquarian Huw Huws (1693–1776), known as Bardd Coch Môn [the Red Bard of Anglesey].[818]

The essay in the *Iolo MSS* begins with the opening lines of Dafydd ap Gwilym's poem to Dwynwen and, after the passage, the text continues: 'The Welsh bards call Dwynwen the Goddess, or Saint, of love and affection, as the poets designate Venus', identifying the source of this statement as Dafydd Jones vicar of Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd (*fl.* 1560–1590) 'on the authority' of Lewis Morris.[819] This description reflects Morris's own views, as he writes in a letter to Evan Evans in 1751:

> Is it not odd that you'll find no mention of *Venus & Cupid* among our Britains, tho' they were very well acquainted with the Roman & Greek writers that *God* and his mother are Implements that modern can hardly write a Love-poem without them: but the Britains scorned such poor machines. They have their Esyllt, Nyf, Enid, Branwen, & Dwynwen of their own nation that excelld all ye Roman & Greek goddesses.[820]

Morris places Dwynwen in a Celtic pantheon rather than with the Christian 'God and his mother', but to return to the essay, the next statement is also attributed to a 'Note by Lewis Morris':

> There was, in the time of Dafydd ab Gwilym, a gilded image of Dwynwen, at the church of Llanddwynwen, in Mona, where the Monks sold the efficacious virtues of that saint'.[821]

Again, this furthers Morris's belief that Christian monks converted Dwynwen, the British goddess of love, to their own use. The next passsage is the legend itself:

> Maelon Dafodrill and Dwynwen, the daughter of S. Brychan, mutually loved each other. Maelon sought her in unappropriated union, but was rejected, for which he left her in hatred, and aspersed her, which caused her extreme sorrow and anguish. Being one night alone in a wood, she prayed that God would cure her of her love, and He, appearing to her while she was asleep, gave her a delicious liquor, which entirely cured her; and she saw the same draught administered to Maelon, who thereupon became frozen into a lump of ice. The Almighty also granted her three requests. She first desired that Maelon should be unfrozen; next, that her supplications should always be granted in favour of all

[818] R. Roberts, 'Hughes, Hugh (1693 – 1776; 'Huw ap Huw' or 'Y Bardd Coch o Fon'), gentleman and poet', DWB [online]. Available in http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-HUGH-HUG-1693.html <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[819] *Iolo MSS*, p. 473.
[820] *Additional Letters of the Morrises of Anglesey*, 2 vols, transcr. and ed. by H. Owen (Cardiff: William Lewis, 1947), vol. 1, p. 206. See also his description of Dwynwen in Morris, *Celtic Remains*, p. 145: 'Dwynwen, Santes y Cariad; daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog. Her church, at Llanddwyn in Anglesey, was repaired to in all love affairs, as Venus' Temple was among the Romans. (D. Jones.) Dafydd ap Gwilym's poem or petition to her is curious as a specimen of it.'
[821] *Iolo MSS*, p. 474.

> true-hearted lovers, so that they should either obtain the objects of their affection, or be cured of their love-passion; and thirdly, that thenceforth she should never wish to be married: and the three requests were conceded to her, whereupon she took the veil, and became a Saint. Every faithful lover who subsequently invoked her was either relieved from his passion, or obtained the object of his affection.[822]

The key to the authorship of the essay is concealed by a peculiarity in the structure of the book. *Iolo MSS* is organized in two parts: a Welsh text and an English translation, but the two parts are not identical. In the English translation, Taliesin Williams (Iolo Morganwg's son and the editor of *Iolo MSS*) identifies his source for this story as a 'MS. of Huw Huws, the bard of Mona', a manuscript that has not been uncovered.[823] But in the Welsh text, Taliesin reveals that he himself wrote the essay:

> Myfi, Taliesin ab Iolo, a ysgrifennais y darn rhagflaenedig o'r Cywydd, yngbyd a'r sylwadau arno, i maes o ysgrif yn llaw fy Nhad.—Iolo Morganwg; a honno, mae'n debyg, yn dynnedig gantho yntau o Lyfr Huw Huws, (yn llaw Lewys Morris). Mae nodau cwrr dalen a darlleniadau gwahanol, gann Lewis Morris, yn aml, gyda'r Cywydd.[824]
>
> [I myself, Taliesin son of Iolo, wrote the previous piece from a poem, along with the comments on it from writings in the hand of my father—Iolo Morganwg; and this, apparently, was extracted by him from a book by Huw Huws (in Lewys Morris's hand). There are marks on a leaf in the tome and many various comments, by Lewis Morris with the poem.]

It is possible, as Rachel Bromwich has suggested, that Iolo Morganwg (or his son Taliesin Williams) invented the legend of Dwynwen, using Dafydd ap Gwilym's poem as his guide.[825] That seems unlikely, though, not only because Dafydd ap Gwilym's poem does not mention Maelon Dafodrill, but also because Iolo and his son lived in south Wales, whereas Morris was the centre of a close-knit literary circle in Anglesey that included Huw Huws.[826] But how did Iolo Morganwg obtain the manuscript? Lewis Morris was forty-six years older than Iolo Morganwg, and by the time Iolo left his manuscripts to Taliesin, Morris had been dead for seventy years. Iolo and Morris never met and had a decided antipathy for each other, Iolo writing of Morris that he was 'an artful, designing man, he would, as the Welsh proverb has

[822] *Iolo MSS*, p. 474.
[823] *Iolo MSS*, p. 474.
[824] *Iolo MSS*, p. 84.
[825] *Dafydd ap Gwilym Poems*, trans by R. Bromwich (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1982), pp. 126–127.
[826] Roberts, 'Hughes, Hugh (1693 – 1776; 'Huw ap Huw' or 'Y Bardd Coch o Fon'), gentleman and poet', DWB [online].

it, say any thing but Truth and his prayers'.[827] He also wrote of Morris: 'It is fortunate that his prejudices and blind gropings in the dark have not been published'. [828] So the question remains, why would he publish Morris's work? Yet Morris's work appears, with attribution, including the next passage in the essay concerning Dwynwen's lineage, identified in a note by Lewis Morris on Huws' manuscript.[829] The essay about Dwynwen concludes with another comment by Lewis Morris, this time asserting that the 'mirthful' tone of Dafydd ap Gwilym's poem indicates Dafydd's lack of faith in the saint, again minimizing the religious content of the poem.[830] Without being able to consult Huw Huws' manuscript, as annotated by Lewis Morris, it is impossible to determine whether Huws, Morris, or Morganwg first wrote down the story of Dwynwen and Maelon Dafodrill. To complicate the discussion further, in *Celtic Remains*, although Lewis Morris calls Dwynwen 'santes y cariad' [saint of love] and compares her holy well to a temple of Venus, he does not mention Maelon Dafodrill.[831]

This legend of St Dwynwen in *Iolo MSS* has become known as a kind of Life of the saint, although it has more in common with a folktale. Marie Trevelyan repeats the legend in her collection of folk-tales, making minor changes, such as describing Maelon Dafodrill as a Welsh prince and giving Brychan's rejection of Maelon's proposal as the reason why Maelon abandons Dwynwen.[832]

In *A Book of North Wales*, Sabine Baring-Gould offers a version of the tale that leaves Brychan out of the equation, blaming Dwynwen for the breakup: 'when Maelor Dafodril [sic] paid her his addresses, in a spirit of caprice or levity she flouted him, and he retired deeply offended', and instead of returning to her as she expected, 'he published libels about her'.[833] At this point, the angel appeared and gave Dwynwen a 'heavenly liquid' that cured her of her love for Maelor, and he gave the same medicine to Maelor, who was turned to ice.[834] God, not the angel, gave Dwynwen three wishes, and she chose that Maelor be thawed, that 'all

[827] Aberystwyth, NLW, MS NLW 13118A, pp. 93–99. See also 'Lewis Morris (1701-1765)', Iolo Morganwg [online]. Available at http://www.iolomorganwg.wales.ac.uk/pobl-lewismorris.php <Accessed 24 April 20 2017>
[828] Aberystwyth, NLW, MS NLW 13103B, p. 239.
[829] *Iolo MSS*, p. 474.
[830] *Iolo MSS*, p. 474.
[831] Morris, *Celtic Remains*, p. 145. In Morris's footnote, he reports that her church at Llanddwyn in Anglesey was repaired to in all love affairs 'as Venus' Temple was among the Romans'.
[832] Trevelyan, *Folk-Lore and Folk Tales of Wales*, p. 243–244.
[833] S. Baring-Gould, *A Book of North Wales* (London: Methuen & Co., 1903), pp. 81–83. Project Gutenberg [online]. Available at https://gutenberg.org/files/51765/51765-h/51765-h.htm#Page_22 <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[834] Baring-Gould, *A Book of North Wales*, pp. 81–83. Project Gutenberg [online].

lovers who invoked her aid might obtain the object of their desires, or become indifferent', and that she never again 'hanker after the married estate'.[835]

Baring-Gould also referred to a holy well used for divination, but did not report its name or location:

> At Llanddwyn was a holy well that is now choked by sand, but till it was smothered up was in much resort for its oracular answers to questions put to it.[836]

St Dwynwen's proverb

In addition to this legend, the 'Sayings of the Wise' chapter in *Iolo MSS* includes a proverb about St Dwynwen:

> A glywaist ti chwedl Dwynwen
> Santes, merch deg Brychan hên,
> Nid caruaidd ond llawen.[837]
>
> [Hast thou heard the saying of St Dwynwen,
> The fair daughter of Brychan the Aged?
> "There is none so lovable as the cheerful."][838]

Sabine Baring-Gould paraphrases this maxim as 'There is no amiability like cheerfulness'.[839]

Llanddwyn gaol, buried treasure, and a pilgrim bath

Hugh Owen also reported that the rector's house was once used as a gaol.[840] Quoting a letter he received from the Hon. Frederick Wynn, Hugh Owen said that islanders excavated the floor of the rector's house, believing it to be the site of buried treasure, but they found nothing.[841]

[835] Baring-Gould, *A Book of North Wales*, pp. 81–83. Project Gutenberg [online].
[836] Baring-Gould, *A Book of North Wales* pp. 81–83. Project Gutenberg [online].
[837] *Iolo MSS*, p. 253.
[838] *Iolo MSS*, p. 653.
[839] Baring-Gould, *A Book of North Wales* p. 82. Project Gutenberg [online].
[840] Owen, 'Llanddwyn Island', *TAAS*, p. 21. Owen may have used as his source Rowlands, *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*, p. 17: 'For we have some memorials of a vast tract of flat land there [Llanddwyn], called Cantref Wailod (i.e., a bottom or low land, containing formerly a hundred trefs or mansions, now all swallowed up by the sea), all consumed and eaten up by the incessant beating of the sea upon it.'
[841] Owen, 'Llanddwyn Island', *TAAS*, p. 21.

Pilgrim stones

Another legend identifies a spot on a hill near St Dwynwen's Church, where formerly the crucifix stood, where a heap of pilgrims' stones, described as round white stones the size of a potato, were carried by pilgrims and dropped at the end of their pilgrimage at the foot of the crucifix, a practice that also took place at Clynnog at the shrine of St Beuno.[842]

St Beuno and the curlew

Although not found in the Life of St Beuno, several collections of Welsh folk-tales include this tale, which takes place during a journey taken by the saint to preach at St Dwynwen's Church:[843]

> When saint Beuno lived at Clynnog, he used to go regularly to preach at Llanddwyn on the opposite side of the water, which he always crossed on foot. But one Sunday he accidentally dropped his book of sermons into the water, and when he had failed to recover it a *gylfin hir* or curlew, came by, picked it up and placed it on a stone out of reach of the tides. The saint prayed for the protection and favour of the Creator for the *gylfin hir*, it was granted, and so nobody ever knows where that bird makes its nest.[844]

This tale, repeated in several collections of folk tales, reveals no detail of Dwynwen's life, but does provide useful information. First, it reflects a belief that St Dwynwen's Church existed during the lifetime of St Beuno; second, it indicates knowledge of Ynys Llanddwyn by making the hero of the story one of the profusion of birds that nest on the island; and, third, the tale also speaks of protection of animals by the saints, one of Dwynwen's attributes, but in this story, Beuno is the saint who hides the curlew. St Beuno's Church at Clynnog Fawr, said to be the site of St Beuno's monastery, is located on the Lleyn Peninsula, making a sea journey the most practical way to travel to Ynys Llanddwyn. A church dedicated to St Beuno is also found at Trefdraeth in Anglesey, in the same benefice as St Ceinwen's Church at Cerrigceinwen.[845]

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[842] Owen, 'Llanddwyn Island', TAAS, p. 9.
[843] Owen, 'Llanddwyn Island', TAAS, p. 20. Owen reports the original source as J. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, 2 vols (Oxford: OUP, 1901), vol. 1, p. 219. See also W. Thomas, 'St Beuno and the Curlew', *The Welsh Fairy Book* (New York: F. A. Stokes, 1908). Note: In E. Boniface, 'Saint Beuno and the Bird', *Welsh Outlook*, vol. 20, no. 1 (Jan. 1993), p. 19, the location 'Llanddwyn' is replaced by 'the Island of Anglesey'.
[844] Owen, 'Llanddwyn Island', TAAS, p. 20. See also Henken, *Traditions of the Welsh Saints*, p. 323.
[845] 'Trefdraeth–St Beuno's Church', Anglesey History [online]. Available at https://www.anglesey-history.co.uk/places/churches_and_chapels/Trefdraeth/index.html <Accessed 12 April 2020>

Dwynwen's Bow of Destiny

The legend of Dwynwen's Bow of Destiny refers to a cavern called the Cave of Dwynwen in the Tresillian Dingle, between Llantwit Major and St Donats in Glamorgan near Tresillian (fig. 66), which includes a natural archway eight to ten feet below the cave roof.[846]



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Figure 66. Dwynwen's Bow of Destiny

Marie Trevelyan offers this explanation of the place, describing a ritual used to predict when one will marry:

> Dwynwen's symbol was the crescent moon; her magical girdle had the same attributes as the Cestus of Venus, and she carried a bow of destiny. During her last visit to earth she left her bow on the yellow sands of her southern shrine, wherefrom it was seized and turned into stone by the Hag of the Night, who fixed it about ten feet below the roof of Tresilian Cave, Glamorgan, where it is still to be seen. The trial consists of flinging a pebble over the natural arch of stone. If successful the first time, the person will be married within the current year. Each failure represents one year of life. In south Wales, on the shores of the Severn Sea, the festival of Dwynwen was held in April, when, it is asserted, she

[846] B. James, 'Notes and Queries', *Morgannwg transactions of the Glamorgan Local History Society*, vol. 45 (2001), pp. 139–141, p. 139.

> last visited the earth, and left in her footprints the blossoms of spring. In North Wales her festival was held in January, at her shrine, the church of Llandwynwen [sic], in Mona (Anglesea[sic]).[847]

This description of Dwynwen echoes Taliesin Williams' epic poem *The Doom of Colyn Dolphyn*, which includes characters like the Mallt-y-Nos [Hag of the Night]. In this passage he describes Dwynwen's Bow of Destiny:[848]

> ...Tresilian's cave;
> Where nymphs and swains resort, to see
> Fair Dwynwen's bow of Destiny;
> And, by athletic feat, to know
> Their near, or distant marriage date;
> Their path prescribed by love below;—
> Their course inviolate.
> For all on earth, or young or old,
> Would fain the book of fate unfold.[849]

This legend may have been spead by those who ran Tresillian as a seaside hotel or public house from before 1810 to 1845, encouraging young people to try their luck with 'Dwynwen's Bow of Destiny' in the cave.[850] In Welsh, the name *St Donat* is *Sain Dunwyd*; however, this saint is said to have been a friend of St Cadog and the name is not a corruption of *Dwynwen*.[851] Taliesin Williams may have made popular the concept of Dwynwen as a goddess of love, but other nineteenth-century poets added more features to the concept.

Dwynwen and St John's Eve

In his chapter on 'Fairy Dances' in *Welsh Folk-Lore*, Elias Owens (1833–1899) includes a stanza from 'Nos Gŵyl Ifan' by Glasnys, also known as Owen Wynne Jones (1828–1870).[852] The poem, originally published in *Y Brython* in 1870, describes how Dwynwen protects the

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[847] Trevelyan, *Folk-Lore and Folk Tales of Wales*, p. 244.
[848] T. Williams, *The Doom of Colyn Dolphyn* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme & Co., 1837), pp. 63–64 and 73. In his Notes (pp. 153–154), Williams explains: 'Dwynwen, whom the Cambrian votaries of Love supplicate,—still presides in this cave. Her Bow of Destiny is hung there; and many are those who consult its oracular powers. Persons who visit this place, take up some of the small pebbles that bestrew its floor, which is rather higher than the outward shore, and strive to throw them over the arch; so as to descend on the opposite side. It requires no small exertion to accomplish this athletic feat; the cavern being very high. The number of fruitless efforts made, before the arch be surmounted, is supposed to denote the period of years that must intervene before the essaying person, if single, be married; or, if married, be released by Death from existing ties, for another choice; for fair Dwynwen discountenances celibacy. It is a source of no small mirth, to notice old and young,—the lame,—and I had almost said, the blind, (for all must fain have a fling) at this portending exercise; and when the cave is pretty full, it requires a sharp look up, to escape the impending *hard* shower. No contest for the 'Siller Gun' ever afforded such hearty sport.'
[849] Williams, *The Doom of Colyn Dolphyn*, pp. 63–64.
[850] James, 'Notes and Queries', *Morgannwg transactions of the Glamorgan Local History Society*, p. 139.
[851] LBS, vol. 2, pp. 386–387.
[852] Owen, *Welsh Folk-Lore* [online].

Fair Folk during Midsummer Day celebrations, an extension of her usual role as protector of lovers and healer of animals:

> **Nos Wyl Ifan**
>
> Tylwyth Têg yn lluoedd llawen,
> O dan nodded tawel Dwynwen,
> Welir yn y cêl encilion,
> Yn perori mwyn alawon,
> Ac yn taenu hyd y twyni,
> Ac ar leiniau'r deiliog lwyni,
> Hud a Lledrith ar y glesni,
> Ac yn sibrwd dwyfol desni!
>
> [The Fairy Tribe in merry crowds,
> Under Dwynwen's calm protection,
> Are seen in shady retreats
> Chanting sweet melodies,
> And spreading over the bushes
> And the leafy groves
> Illusion and phantasy on all that is green,
> And whispering their mystic lore.][853]

This passage connects Dwynwen with a romantic vision in which she takes the role of Bacchus or Dionysus, not as a saint, but as a guardian of Fairyland. This is not wholly inconsistent with the medieval descriptions in which Dwynwen is present, but removed from the energetic activities that surround her, calm and beneficent. Glasnys also echoes the nineteenth-century commonly held belief that legendary saints were once pre-Christian gods and goddesses, as noted by W. J. Gruffydd:

> It is well known that many of the medieval saints, especially the patently non-historical ones, are ancient gods, particularly Celtic gods, re-named and re-commissioned for a new purpose. It is unnecessary to do more than mention Brân the Blessed, Dwynwen, and Derfel Gadarn from among the Welsh Gods.[854]

Before dismissing the extravagance of the poem by Glasnys as having little to do with the medieval view of Dwynwen, a love poem by the fifteenth-century poet Bedo Aeddren (*fl. c.* 1500) illustrates the connection between a lover's complaints and the feast days of St

[853] Owen, Welsh Folk-Lore: [online]. See also Glasnys, 'Nos Wyl Ifan', *Y Brython*, vol. 3, no. 21 (1860), pp. 270–272.
[854] W. Gruffydd, *Math vab Mathonwy* (Cardiff: UWP, 1928), p. 239.

Dwynwen's Eve (22 January), St John's Eve (23 June) also known as Midsummer Eve, and St Luke's Eve (17 October):[855]

> Noswyl Ddwynwen eleni
> Ni charud, meddud, ond mi;
> Noswyl Ifan i'm hannerch
> Ni fynnud symud dy serch;
> Noswyl Luc, heb unnos lwydd,
> Y'm newidid am nodwydd!
>
> [On Dwynwen's Eve this year
> You loved, so you said, only me;
> On John's Eve you told me
> That your love would remain constant;
> On Luke's Eve, without one night's success for me,
> I would be exchanged for a mere needle!][856]

As the poet uses these seasonal celebrations to catalogue his failed romance, he does establish their importance and that Dwynwen's Eve was an event on a par with St John's Eve and St Luke's Eve, at least in the context of milestones in a love affair.

Twentieth century and beyond

During the twentieth century, St Dwynwen's cult became a popular one again through increased interest in her shrine as a tourist destination and marketing efforts to create a modern St Dwynwen's Day on her traditional feast day of 25 January. In 1903, Baring-Gould described Ynys Llanddwyn, the state of the island as remote:[857]

> The place is not easily reached from Newborough without a guide, as the sands are over ankle, and in places half-way up the calf, deep, and the labour of reaching it is great to anyone who does not know the track. [858]

The Hon. Frederick George Wynn died in 1932, and eventually Ynys Llanddwyn became public land. The island is now managed by Natural Resources Wales, Mentor Môn, the Isle of Anglesey County Council, Cadw, and the Welsh Government.[859] The continued

[855] G. Williams, 'The Literary Traditions to *c.* 1569', in *The History of Merioneth: Volume II The Middle Ages*, 2 vols, ed. by J. Smith and L. Smith (Cardiff: UWP, 2001), vol. 2, pp. 595–596. This poem is found originally in *Cywyddau Serch y Tri Bedo*, ed. by P. Donovan (Cardiff: UWP, 1982), VI.25–30.
[856] Williams, , 'The Literary Traditions to *c.* 1569', vol. 2, pp. 595–596.
[857] Baring-Gould, *A Book of North Wales*, pp. 81–83.
[858] Baring-Gould, *A Book of North Wales*, pp. 81–83.
[859] 'Ynys y Bendegaid, Island of the Blessed', Newborough Anglesey [online]. Available at https://newboroughanglesey.files.wordpress.com/2013/07/0617llanddwynsign.jpg <Accessed 12 April 2020>

deterioration of St Dwynwen's Church was addressed in 2014 when, as mentioned above, a major renovation project stabilized the ruins.[860]

The question of Dwynwen's association with love and lovers, introduced obliquely by Dafydd ap Gwilym's poem 'Galw ar Ddwynwen', enhanced by stories by antiquarian writers writing about divination, and then embroidered by nineteenth-century authors, speaks to a changing palette of popular interests. The medieval poems, even 'Galw ar Ddwynwen', address Dwynwen's ability to provide miracles of healing for physical ailments as well as grief and sorrow. Dafydd ap Gwilym's inclusion of emotional suffering as worthy of a miracle, even when ironically attributed to his longing for a married lover, attached to the saint the concept that she intervenes in matters of the heart. Nonetheless, most of the medieval references to Dwynwen refer to her ability to heal the sick and preserve those in danger, including livestock. With the arrival of the Reformation, the tone of these accounts sours as divination replaces healing as the stated goal and devotees are described as gullible tools of priests and monks. The nineteenth-century writings about St Dwynwen take on a romantic if undifferentiating tone, connecting her with pastoral folktales about a Bow of Destiny, St John's Eve, and Maelon Dafodrill. By the twentieth century, with St Dwynwen's Church long a ruin, memories of previous devotions had grown dim and uncertain. The island was known as much as a haven for birds and other wildlife as it was for the former shrine; for example, Newborough Warren and Ynys Llanddwyn was declared the first coastal National Nature Reserve in Wales in 1955.[861] During the mid-twentieth century, around the time when Ynys Llanddwyn and the surrounding dunes became public land, legends of St Dwynwen began to be employed in new ways.

Renewed popular interest in St Dwynwen

In the 1960s a combination of events returned Ynys Llanddwyn to the public eye. Perhaps the launch of BBC Wales Radio and Television generated the need for local stories and perhaps the need for tourism generated the interest by the BBC radio and TV in stories with local cultural interest, but whatever the motivation, stories about St Dwynwen's Day proliferated and Ynys Llanddwyn again was a destination for travellers, bringing income to the area.

[860] 'Church of St Dwynwen restored as Wales celebrates patron saint of love', Wales Online [online]. Available at http://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/church-st-dwynwen-restored-wales-2503498 <Accessed 12 April 2020>

[861] 'Welcome', Newborough National Nature Reserve and Forest, Anglesey [online]. Available at https://naturalresources.wales/days-out/places-to-visit/north-west-wales/newborough/?lang=en <Accessed 12 April 2020>

Increased public interest led to the building of a carpark and other facilities, signage, and conversion of the pilots' cottages to a museum, shown in figures 67 and 68.



Figure 67. Ynys Llanddwyn Pilots' Cottages, now a museum[862]



Figure 68. Pilots' Cottages museum showing cottage life[863]

[862] 'Pilots' Cottages–Ynys Llanddwyn', Newborough, Anglesey [online]. Available at https://newboroughanglesey.wordpress.com/2013/07/07/pilots-cottages-ynys-llanddwyn/ <Accessed 12 April 2020>

[863] 'Pilots' Cottages–Ynys Llanddwyn', Newborough, Anglesey [online].

Writing in *Cambria* magazine in 2009, Siôn Jobbins attributes the resurgence of interest in Dwynwen during the 1960s to the Anglesey writer Jane Edwards. He interviewed Edwards in 2004, when she discussed the particulars:

> 'I forget the year', said Jane, 'but it was about 1965. I'd been asked by the producer, Ifor Rees, to appear on a St David's Day programme or something of that sort, with Gwyn Griffiths of the Cymro weekly paper, the Archdruid Cynan, and lecturer Nora Isaac, to talk about a place in Wales we like to visit. I spoke about Ynys Llanddwyn and the legend of Saint Dwynwen and it created quite an interest'.[864]

Edwards was asked to repeat the story of Dwynwen on radio and in print and requests increased after the launch of BBC Radio Cymru and Radio Wales in 1977.[865] As a result, BBC Radio Cymru has produced programming to broadcast on 25 January, St Dwynwen's Day.[866] In addition to radio broadcasts, Dwynwen's story is part of advertising campaigns for Wales; for example, an article about 'Patron Saint of Lovers' is posted on the BBC North West Wales web page, and many BBC articles describe St Dwynwen's Day and Ynys Llanddwyn as a tourist destination.[867] Dwynwen's story is also posted on websites devoted to tourism such as *Visit Wales* and *Wales*.[868] Video recordings about St Dwynwen's Day have been shown as part of January programming on HTV Cymru S4C since the early 1970s.[869]

In 2019 the island became the setting for the BBC production of a historical reality show 'The 1900 Island', subtitled 'four families face the challenge of a lifetime':[870]

> For four weeks, the families will be exposed to the extremities of the wild waters and unpredictable weather on Llanddwyn, a beautiful,

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[864] S. Jobbins, 'St Dwynwen's Day', *The Phenomenon of Welshness* (Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2011), pp. 41–47, p. 43.
[865] Jobbins, 'St Dwynwen's Day', *The Phenomenon of Welshness* p. 44.
[866] 'Dwynwen Radio Search', NLW [online]. Available at http://discover.library.wales/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?fn=search&ct=search&initialSearch=true&mode=Basic&tab=tab1&indx=1&dum=true&srt=rank&vid=44WHELF_NLW_VU1&frbg=&vl%28freeText0%29=Dwynwen+radio+&scp.scps=scope%3A%2844WHELF_NLW%29%2 <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[867] 'Saint Dwynwen, Patron Saint of Lovers', BBC [online]. Available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/northwestwales/hi/people_and_places/religion_and_ethics/newsid_8458000/8458910.stm <Accessed 12 April 2020> See also a BBC search on St Dwynwen [online]. Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/search?q=St Dwynwen%27s Day - page=2 <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[868] 'St Dwynwen's Day', Visit Wales [online]. Available at http://www.visitwales.com/explore/traditions-history/st-dwynwens-day <Accessed 12 April 2020> and 'A Year in Wales, This is Wales [online]. Available at https://www.wales.com/visit/events/celebrated-dates-welsh-calendar <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[869] 'Dwynwen TV Search', NLW [online]. http://discover.library.wales/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?fn=search&ct=search&initialSearch=true&mode=Basic&tab=tab1&indx=1&dum=true&srt=rank&vid=44WHELF_NLW_VU1&frbg=&vl%28freeText0%29=Dwynwen+television&scp.scps=scope%3A%2844WHELF_NLW% <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[870] 'The 1900 Island – four families face the challenge of a lifetime', BBC Media Centre [online]. Available at https://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/latestnews/2019/1900-island <Accessed 12 April 2020>

> uninhabited tidal island, off the coast of Anglesey. Made by Wildflame Productions, and produced by Alexis Girardet who is known for filming in some of the most extreme conditions in the world such as the Arctic and the Amazon, The 1900 Island is the story of everyday survival, struggle, family conflict and a community coming together.[871]

The recent popularity of Dwynwen's legend has led to a number of stories for children, most recently *Cyfres Merched Cymru: 1. Dwynwen - Santes Cariadon Cymru* by Siân Lewis (2010); and *Cyfres Arwyr Cyru: 3. Llyfr Lliwio Santes Dwynwen* by Garmon Gruffudd (2012).[872] The stories are derived from legends, primarily from *Iolo MSS*, but they also deliver a message of Dwynwen's 'inspiration to the Welsh people today'.

Dwynwen is also a subject for classical and popular music. The National Eisteddfod in Llandudno in 1896 included performance of Joseph Parry's chorus for male voices entitled *Dwynwen*, with words by Benjamin Williams (Gwyniodd).[873] The original score is kept in the archives at the NLW.[874] Two other pieces of music feature Dwynwen; both are modern. A sonata for piano by Gareth Glyn called *Anglesey Seascapes/Morluniau* Môn features a first movement named 'Llanddwyn (Reverie)' that evokes folk tunes and the landscape of Ynys Llanddwyn more than the character of Dwynwen and the turbulence in her story. On the other hand, 'Santes Dwynwen: a short cantata in English', a recent short choral work by Edward-Rhys Harry, is his interpretation of the legend of Dwynwen and Maelon Dafodrill. For example, in Harry's version, Brychan Brycheiniog forbids the marriage of Dwynwen and Maelon because he senses Maelon's 'hardened heart and cruel soul'.[875] The angel who answers her prayers neither brings a magic potion nor grants her three wishes; instead, he 'will answer three of your heart-felt prayers'.[876] Dwynwen's first prayer is to thaw Maelon and remove his memories of Dwynwen; the second is for true lovers to be happy and, if not, for their relationships to end without heartbreak; and the third is that she never marry, but 'instead live her life in service to God'.[877] Dwynwen travels to Anglesey to build her church,

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[871] 'The 1900 Island – four families face the challenge of a lifetime', BBC Media Centre [online].
[872] 'Dwynwen Childrens Stories Search', NLW [online]. Available at http://discover.library.wales/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?fn=search&ct=search&initialSearch=true&mode=Basic&tab=tab1&indx=1&dum=true&srt=rank&vid=44WHELF_NLW_VU1&frbg=&vl%28freeText0%29=Dwynwen+childrens+stories&scp.scps=scope%3A%2844WHE <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[873] B. Williams and J. Parry, *Dwynwen: chorus for male voices*, trans. by E. Hugh-Jones (Rhyl: D. Trehearn, 1895).
[874] Aberystwyth, NLW, MS NLW 9292D.
[875] E. Harry, *Santes Dwynwen: a short cantata in English for soprano, mezzo-soprano & baritone soli SATB: piano or organ* (Chichester: Chichester Music Press, 2014).
[876] Harry, *Santes Dwynwen*, p. 6.
[877] Harry, *Santes Dwynwen*, p. 7.

and the cantata ends with a miracle when the rock outside Dwynwen's window cracks to give her a final look at the sea.[878] This last miracle is likely derived from the legend of the dying bishop on Gwely Esyth, described above. In nearly all other ways, however, the story closely the legend in *Iolo MSS*. The composer's inventions emphasize the reconciliatory aspects of the story. In addition to choral music, Dwynwen has been celebrated in recordings of popular music. A number of artists and groups have released albums that include songs such as 'Detholiad o Awdl *Dwynwen*' by Côr Seiriol, 'Dwynwen' by Endaf Emlyn, 'Dwynwen' by Simon Bainton, 'Santes Dwynwen' by Y Cariadon, and 'Dwynwen' by the folk trio Plu.[879]

Social media also reports changing attitudes toward Dwynwen and her story; for example, in the conclusion of a post about a visit to Ynys Llanddwyn and Dwynwen's legend, with the preface that 'if you like tales of enchanted eels, thwarted love, saintly devotion and vengeance, the history of St Dwynwen on Llanddwyn Island (Ynys Llanddwyn) in north Wales might interest you'. The blogger's account conflates Dwynwen's life as a hermit with new elements in which Maelon Daffodrill stays frozen and Dwynwen 'throws curses and evil spirits down at her ex love into a well full of enchanted eels'.[880] A simple search on the term 'St Dwynwen' produces a long list of videos on YouTube that includes short movies, lectures, and travelogues. These entries demonstrate that the cluster of memes related to Dwynwen, Ynys Llanddwyn, and the love story with Maelon Dafodrill are repeated, altered, and personalized with each post.[881]

[878] Harry, *Santes Dwynwen*, p. 8.
[879] 'Dwynwen' in *Visiting Tides*, S. Bainton, 31 October 2013; 'Dwynwen' in *Dilyn y Graen*, E. Emlyn, 4 November 2001; 'Detholiad O Awdl *Dwynwen*' in *Côr Seiriol - Cyfrol 2*, Côr Seiriol, 17 September 1995; 'Dwynwen' in *Tir A Golau*, Plu, 14 November 2015; and 'Santes Dwynwen' [single], Y Cariadon, 14 January 2014.
[880] 'St Dwynwen on Llanddwyn Island, Anglesey, Wales', Wandering Carol: Luxury Travel, Culture, Adventure [online]. Available https://wanderingcarol.com/st-dwynwen-on-llanddwyn-island-anglesey-wales/ <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[881] Search on 'St Dwynwen', YouTube [online]. Available at https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=St+Dwynwen <Accessed 12 April 2020>

Figure 69 demonstrates the presence of Dwynwen in social media, communications and education, and products such as gift cards, jewellery, and music, where the legend of St Dwynwen is adapted for the current generation:

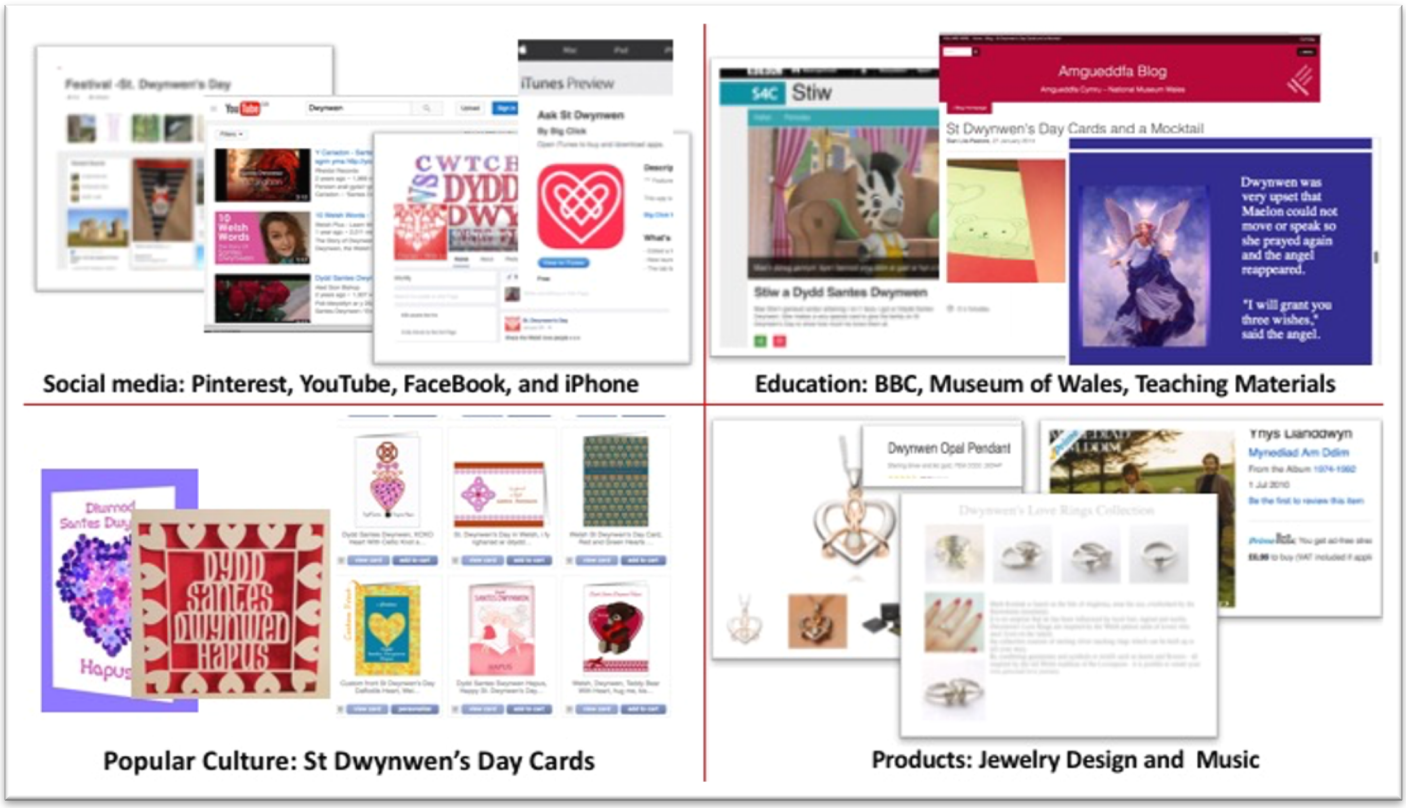


Figure 69. Examples of Dwynwen in popular culture

These images reflect the story of Dwynwen and Maelon Dafodrill, with its focus on lovers, and they do not reference the golden statue, shrine, holy wells, religious pilgrimages, or intercession by the saint. Even so, the Church in Wales continues to acknowledge Dwynwen's importance, combining the churches in the diocese of Bangor nearest to Ynys Llanddwyn in the Benefice of Bro Dwynwen.[882] On the other hand, the agencies that manage the island place her veneration firmly in the past. The signage established by governmental authorities to inform visitors of the meaning of sites like Ynys Llanddwyn could be termed 'civic hagiography' based on the authoritative tone used to render the meaning of complex,

[882] 'Bro Dwynwen', Church in Wales [online]. Available at https://www.churchinwales.org.uk/en/structure/benefice/937/ <Accessed 12 April 2020> Churches in the Benefice of Bro Dwynwen include St Ceinwen's Church in Llangeinwen, St Mary's Church in Llanfair-yn-y-Cwmwd, St Nidan's Church in Llanidan, St Thomas's Church in Newborough, St Edwen's Church in Llanedwen, St Mary's Church in Llanfairpwll, and St Peter's Church in Newborough.

formerly religious sites in simple, memorable terms, such as this opening passage of a sign at the entrance to Ynys Llanddwyn (fig. 70):

> Welcome to Ynys Llanddwyn, once one of the wealthiest sacred places in Wales. St Dwynwen's story once drew pilgrims from all over Wales and the Borders to be blessed by the waters of her magical well. The Welsh patron saint of lovers, she is celebrated every year on St Dwynwen's day (25th January).[883]

The sign combines information about Dwynwen's shrine with that of geological and natural features of the island.



© 2016 Eric Mehan

Figure 70. Ynys Llanddwyn sign[884]

In this civic vocabulary, the medieval St Dwynwen's Church is 'one of the wealthiest sacred places' and pilgrims are drawn to 'St Dwynwen's story', travelling not for a saint's intercession, but 'to be blessed by the waters of her magical well'. Is this account so far removed from the medieval poets' emphasis on gold and miracles and the antiquarians' accounts of divination? Yes, it is, and the distance exists in the attempt to synthesise the positive aspects of these accounts while avoiding mention of the passionate struggles over religious practice that also took place there, reducing popular understanding to fables and

[883] 'The Story of Ynys Llanddwyn–Island of the Blessed', Maps and Signs, Newborough Angelesey [online]. Available at https://newboroughanglesey.files.wordpress.com/2013/07/0617llanddwynsign.jpg <Accessed 12 April 2020> © hortographical, 2020

[884] 'The Story of Ynys Llanddwyn–Island of the Blessed', Maps and Signs, Newborough Angelesey [online].

legends and rendering mute the natural and political forces that created a significant place and then removed the evidence of it.

Conclusions

The veneration of Dwynwen is a popular phenomenon recorded and celebrated by the late medieval poets, reinterpreted during the Celtic Renaissance, and communicated widely during the present time. Yet each account reflects differing requirements based on the medium used, the needs of those generating the accounts, and the times in which they were created. No Life of St Dwynwen exists to define the parameters of her birth, early life, choice to devote her life to God, miracles, and death. Without a complete, extant Life of the saint, the poems, liturgy, and records of her church must provide the evidence for her medieval cult, and the elliptical nature of medieval Welsh poetry does not make for a straightforward narrative. As a result, not not enough material exists to piece together a complete picture of the medieval Life that may well have been familiar to pilgrims visiting Llanddwyn in the medieval period. The changing attitude toward her cult found in subsequent references further complicates the search for a stable, continuous pattern of veneration and perhaps none exists, but the continuing interest in Dwynwen demonstrates her ongoing significance in Welsh culture. She is a figure of present interest, celebrated on her feast day and in new stories and songs, and her association with lovers will mean that her marketability is likely to endure. Her cult is most closely connected to the landscape of Anglesey where Brychan family dedications include those to her sister Ceinwen and brother Dyfnan. Chapter 8 turns to the other daughters of Brychan, lesser known, but with their own distinct and even more fragmentary traditions.

Chapter 8 The lesser-known daughters of Brychan

So far this thesis has established research objectives and methodology and has discussed the literature available on the subject of the daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog. Then, because the available literature gives the impression that after the Reformation the daughters of Brychan disappeared from mention until publication of collections such as the *Myvyrian Archaiology* in the nineteenth century, the discussion turned to their continued veneration after the Reformation, which took place either openly outside Britain or secretly within Britain. Chapter 3 presented the unpublished works of sixteenth-century Nicholas Roscarrock and Chapter 4 discussed the work of late-seventeenth-century Hugh Thomas, who has not previously been written about extensively. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 reviewed the three most-well-known daughters of Brychan, who are Eluned, Cain, and Dwynwen, respectively.

In this present chapter the discussion turns to the lesser-known daughters of Brychan. Multiple lists exist in Wales, while separate lists match dedications in Cornwall, Brittany, Scotland, and Ireland, making the scope of this discussion challenging, and also fruitless to reconcile them into a single list. My goal, therefore, is to discuss all of Brychan's other daughters, however briefly, and highlight the diversity of roles, challenges, and accomplishments these women represent while exploring the common elements of their stories, seeking to understand the nature of traditions relating to their veneration from the earliest records to the present day.

This chapter is organised into separate sections about the married and the unmarried daughters of Brychan, as presented in the early Welsh genealogies represented by DSB, CB, the genealogies in JC20, and copies of the tract PB found in a number of manuscripts.[885] These sections are followed by a discussion of the daughters introduced separately in other texts, such as the multiple versions of the genealogical tract called AyS, the Life of St Nectan, and the Life of St Nennoc.[886] Figure 71 summarizes the extent of the discussion:

[885] EWGT, pp. 14–16, 18–19, 43–44, and 82–84.
[886] EWGT, pp. 70–71 and 29, and *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Quimperl*é, pp. 55–68.

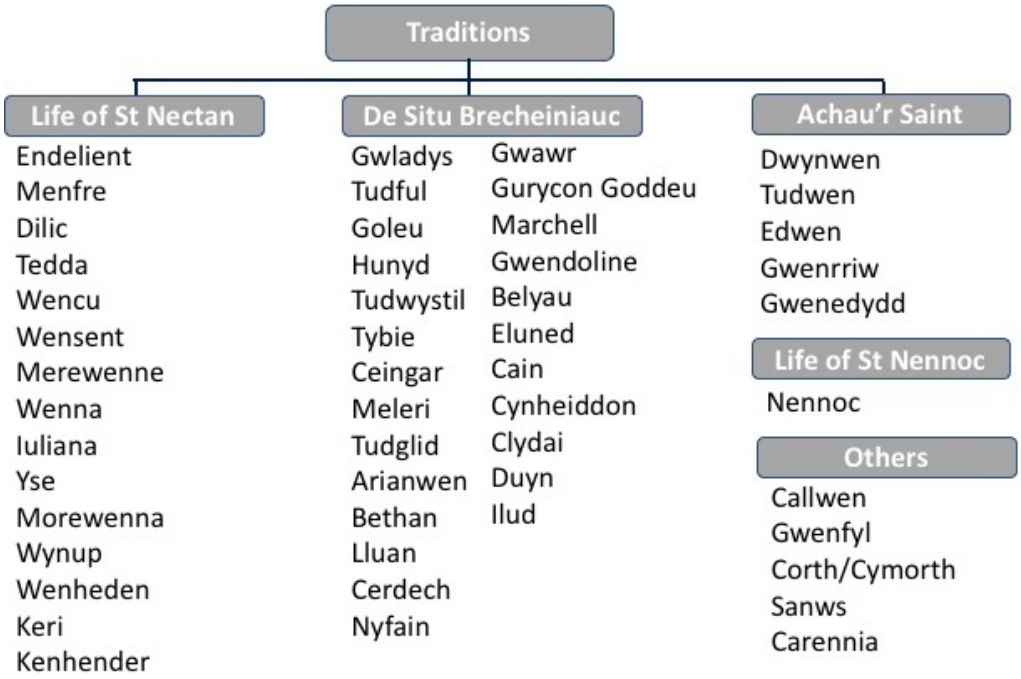


Figure 71. Traditions of the daughters of Brychan

Royal wives and mothers

The married daughters of Brychan are Arianwen, Gwawr, Gurycon Goddeu, Gwladys, Hunyd, Lluan, Marchell, Meleri, Nyfain, and Tudglid, shown in figure 72 in the order in which they appear in DSB.[887] The marriages of these women to some of the most important male characters of the fifth and sixth centuries would have resulted in children said to be kings, heroes, poets, and saints. This section considers the traditions related to these supposed alliances, describing traditions and attitudes toward the women, and any vestiges of cults that venerated them as saints.

[887] EWGT, pp. 14–16.

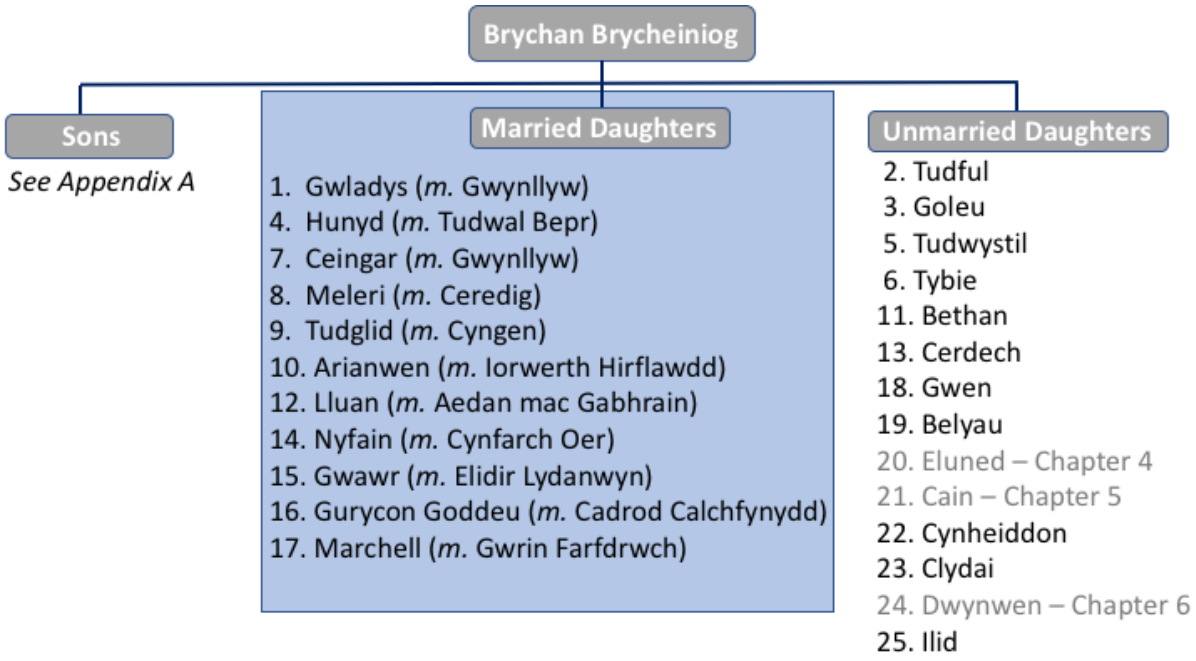


Figure 72. The married daughters of Brychan[888]

A number of factors reduce the credibility of these asserted alliances. First, the daughters of Brychan were said to have joined distant dynasties, including the kingdoms of The Old North and Dál Riada (in what is now Scotland) and the North Kingdom (in what is now north Wales). The geographical distances alone would have made these alliances difficult to broker and achieve. It is of interest that none of the married daughters are believed to have remained in what is now Breconshire and none were described as marrying kings in England, Ireland, Cornwall, or Brittany, where traditions of the Brychan family also exist. Second, the husbands, as Rachel Bromwich notes, are 'altogether too illustrious to be credible', powerful kings from the royal families of Cunedda Wledig and Coel Hen and the kingdom of Dál Riada.[889] Third, the lifespans of these husbands often do not fit those likely for the daughters, nor could they because the husbands span four generations of the Men of the North.[890] Fourth is the lack of corroboration in documentation, as one might expect, that these marriages ever happened. Thus, historicity cannot be a driving proof of significance in this discussion. More useful is an exploration of the outcome desired by proposing these alliances, as imagined by the scribes who wrote DSB during the twelfth century at Monmouth Priory on behalf of the Abbey of St Peter in Gloucestershire.[891]

[888] EWGT, pp. 14–16 and 129–130.
[889] TYP, p. 196.
[890] TYP, p. 196.
[891] Hughes, 'British Museum MS. Cotton Vespasian A xiv ('Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium'), p. 197.

The concept of a holy royal family is at the heart of any discussion of daughters of Brychan. Thomas Charles-Edwards writes that 'British saints, therefore, were not just holy individuals; they were also members of a society, the section of the Church that was already in heaven'.[892] The dynastic marriages posited in DSB extended the boundaries of that society to include families that intermarried so that the community of living descendents were connected by bonds of both sanctity and royalty, a heritage they could claim in this world as well as the next. The format of DSB is neither the agnatic pedigree that establishes legitimacy of rule by tracing the line from a current ruler back to its founder nor is it solely a branching genealogy that demonstrates the shape of a dynasty by tracing the line from the founder to the present, although it also serves that purpose.[893] Instead, DSB shows wished-for alliances between kindreds through marriage, establishing descent through the mother as well as the father and enhancing the prestige of the Brychan dynasty by asserting the desired interconnectedness of the families involved.[894]

Questions related to the patterned Lives of the female Welsh saints, introduced in chapter 1, apply to the married daughters. Should these women be rejected as saints out of hand because they did not attempt to choose virginity, as opposed to Eluned, Cain, Dwynwen, and the other unmarried daughters? If not, what can their fragmentary stories add to known patterns of female sanctity? The discussion begins with a review of the kingdoms and families with which the daughters of Brychan were associated in DSB.

Geographic locations associated with the married daughters of Brychan

Figure 73 is a map of British kingdoms in post-Roman Britain, roughly the time during which the daughters of Brychan were said to have lived. The figure also shows the kingdoms associated with the husbands listed for them in the twelfth-century DSB, which fall into several general areas, discussed in the following sections: the kingdoms of The Old North and Dál Riada, the North Kingdom, the Kingdom of Powys in what is now central Wales, and the Kingdom of Gwent in what is now south Wales. The map shows the wide geographic

[892] Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons 350–1064*, p. 619.
[893] Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons 350–1064*, pp. 360–364.
[894] Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons 350–1064*, p. 363. Charles-Edwards refers to the Second Branch of the Mabinogi, where the term *ymgyfathrachu* (mutual-joint-inter-lineaging) refers to this linking of lines of descent, and on p. 297 he clarifies that 'the kinship of alliance was not agnatic, like the kinship of land and inheritance, but bilateral, reckoned through both males and females'.

distribution projected for these married daughters, which extends from the Scottish Highlands to the coast of south Wales. One may also see that the daughters were not said to be married to kings of Dyfed in what is now Pembrokeshire or to anyone in Cornwall.

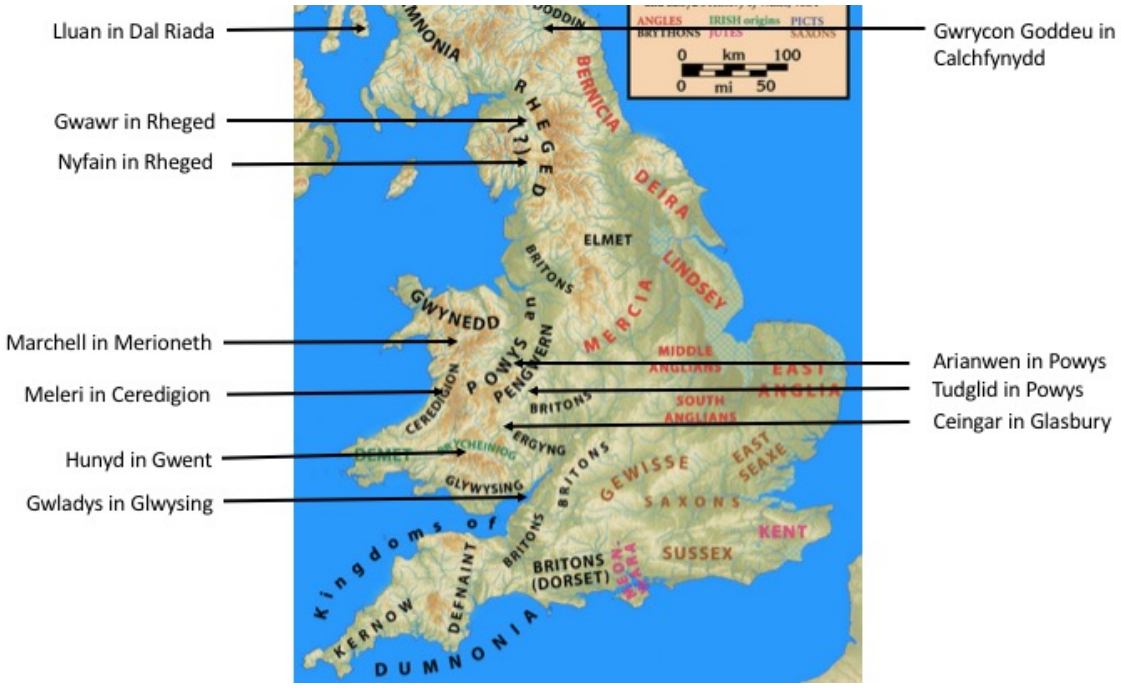


Figure 73. Geographic locations associated with the married daughters of Brychan

Alliances with the North Kingdom

The North Kingdom comprised Brythonic speakers who lived in parts of what are now northern England and southern Scotland during the early post-Roman period, but the kingdom did not include areas inhabited by Picts, Scots, or Anglo-Saxons.[895] The pedigrees and exploits of this royal dynasty were documented in the Welsh genealogies found in a tenth-century manuscript (London, BL, MS Harley 3859) along with the *Historia Brittonum* previously attributed to 'Nennius' and the *Annales Cambriae*.[896] Later pedigrees of these northern rulers include the twelfth-century *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd* and *Bonedd yr Arwyr* and *Achau Brenhinoedd a Thywysogion Cymru*, which were likely compiled from thirteenth-century manuscripts.[897] The early poems attributed to Taliesin, Aneurin, and Llywarch Hen

[895] T. Clarkson, *The Men of the North: The Britons of Southern Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2010), p. 1.
[896] EWGT, p. 6.
[897] EWGT, pp. 72–111.

also referred to the battles and territories of these warlords, although their precise kingdoms are often difficult to identify.[898]

Figure 74 shows the three illustrious men in the line of Coel Hen of the North Kingdom who were identified as husbands of daughters of Brychan in DSB. Gwawr and Nyfain were said to have married sons of Meirchion Gul and another daughter, Gwrygon Goddeu, was said to have married Cadrod Calchfynydd.[899] The significance of these alliances is discussed in the following sections.

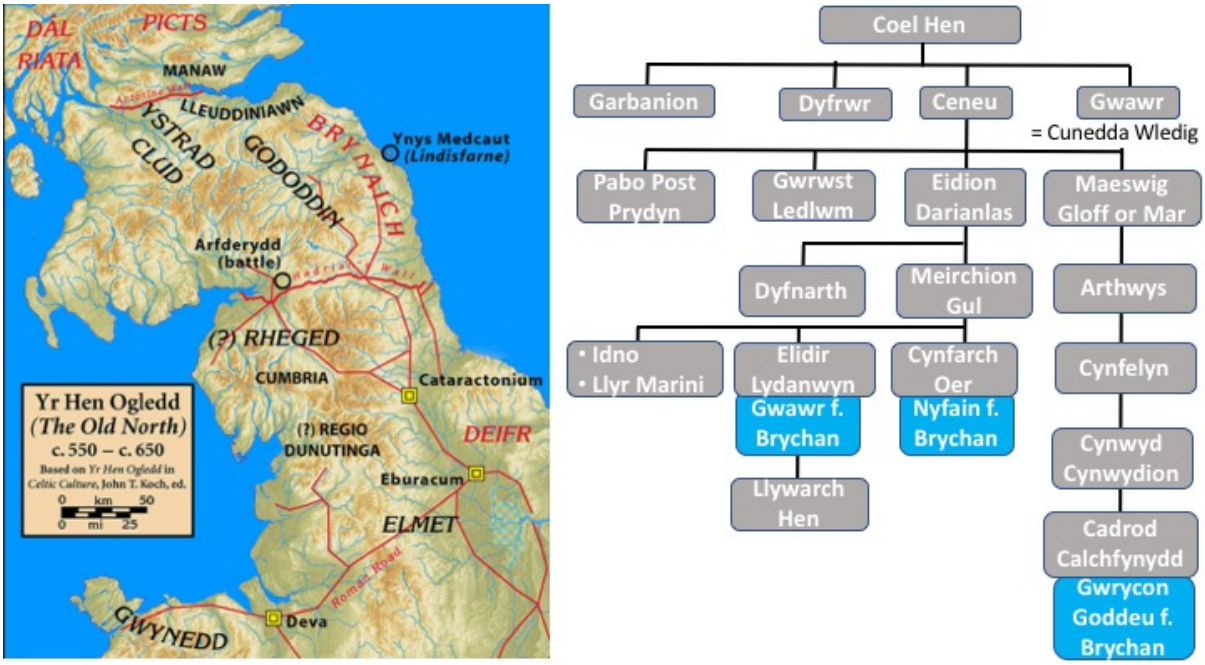


Figure 74. Marriages with descendents of Coel Hen[900]

Gwawr wife of Elidir Lydanwyn, prince of Northern Britain

Elidir Lydanwyn, Lord of Argoed Llwyfain in the North Kingdom, was an illustrious figure in the heroic tales and poems about the sixth century. His son Llywarch Hen was believed to be a major poet, a ruler in his own right, and also first cousin to Urien Rheged, who became a

[898] T. Clarkson, *The Makers of Scotland: Picts, Romans, Gaels and Vikings* (Glasgow: Bell & Bain Ltd, 2012), pp. 80–91. For these early poems, see J. Koch, *The Gododdin of Aneirin: A Tale From Dark-Age North Britain* (Cardiff: UWP, 1997), M. Haycock, *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, 2nd rev. edn (Aberystwyth: CMCS Publications, 2015), and J. Rowlands, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry: A Study and Edition of the Englynion* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1990).
[899] EWGT, pp. 15–16.
[900] P. Bartrum, *Welsh Genealogies AD 300–1400*, 8 vols (Cardiff: UWP, 1974), vol. 1, pp. 8–10. Hereafter, *WG1*.

popular character in early Welsh saga poetry.[901] Little indication exists that Gwawr was venerated with any kind of notable cult.[902]

Nyfain wife of Cynfarch Oer, king of Gwynedd

The suggested marriage of Nyfain to Cynfarch Oer (fig. 75) would have made her queen of a vast kingdom and the mother of heroes.[903] Cynfarch Oer, who may have been an historical figure, was said to be the eponym of the Cynferchyn warband and known chiefly as a descendent of Coel Hen and the father of Urien Rheged.[904]

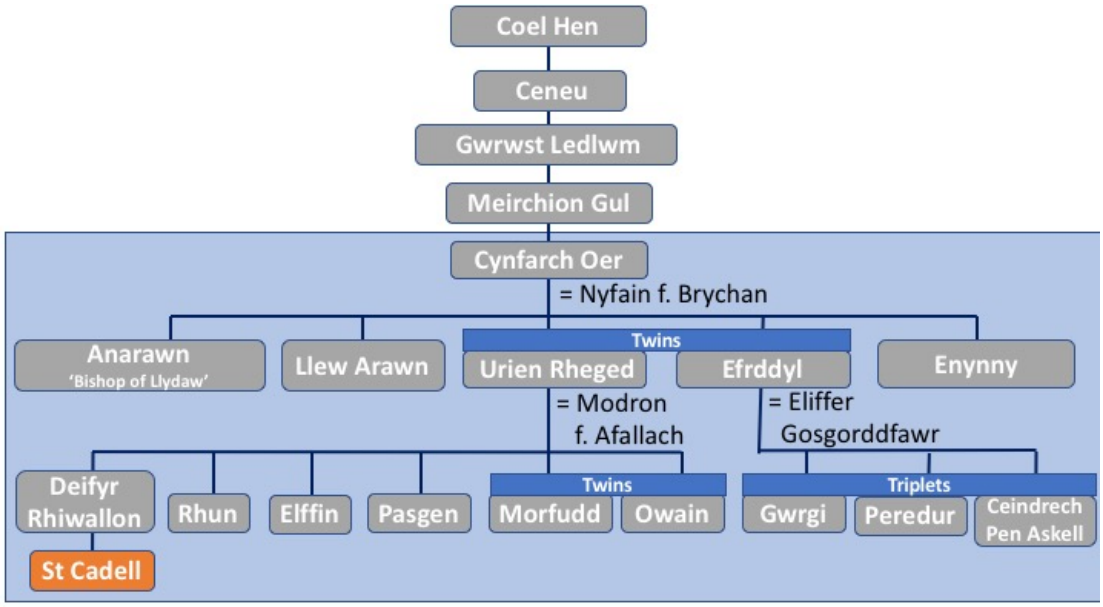


Figure 75. Pedigree of Cynfarch Oer and Nyfain ferch Brychan[905]

Cynfarch Oer was not only listed in *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd* but also by Taliesin in the poem 'Gweith Argoed Llwyfein' (Battle of Argoed Llwyfein).[906] Cynfarch's son Urien Rheged and Urien's sons Owain and Peredur were celebrated in poems by Taliesin, among other poets, and were the subjects of early medieval Arthurian romances included in *The Mabinogion*.[907]

[901] Clarkson, *Men of the North*, pp. 110–111. See also Rowlands, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry.*
[902] Unusual evidence of a cult is suggested by a holy medal of St Gwawr available for sale online. The image used is taken from a stained glass window of St Gwladys in Gwent and no further information is provided about the saint. The website does not sell other holy medals of daughters of Brychan. See 'St Gwawr Verch Brychan Round Religious Medal "Exclusive"', Pictures on Gold.com [online]. Available at https://www.picturesongold.com/products/saint-gwawr-verch-brychan-religious-medal-exclusive-p89230.html <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[903] TYP, p. 315. See also Clarkson, *Men of the North*, p. 75.
[904] Clarkson, *Men of the North*, p. 75.
[905] WG1, vol. 1, pp. 9–11.
[906] Clarkson, *Men of the North*, p. 75.
[907] TYP, p. 315. See also *Owein*, ed. by R. Thomson (Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1968).

The death of Urien Rheged was the subject of a cycle of englynion attributed to his cousin Llywarch Hen, mentioned above.[908]

Nyfain was also identified as the wife of Cynfarch Oer in the Welsh Triad 70, 'Tri Gwyn Dorll6yth Ynys Brydein' (Three Fair (Holy, Blessed) Womb-Burdens of the Island of Britain), which celebrated her miraculous fertility in producing a bloodline known for multiple births.[909] The first line in the triad referred to Nyfain's children and the second and third lines referred to her grandchildren:

> 70. Tri G6yn Dorll6yth Ynys Brydein
>
> Vryen mab Kynuarch, ac Ara6n mab Kynuarch, a Lle6 mab Kynuarch, o Neuyn verch Brychan Brecheinya6c eu mam;
>
> A'r eil, Owein mab Vryen a Moruud uerch Vryen ac Anarun Archesgob Llydaw, o Vodron merch Auallach eu mam;
>
> Y trydyd oed Gwrgi a Pheredur, meibon Eliffer Gosgordua6r, ac Ardun eu chwaer, a Dyrw…dyl, a Chornan eu march, a Thonll6y(t) eu b6ch.
>
> (70. Three Fair (Holy, Blessed) Womb-Burdens of the Island of Britain:
>
> Urien son of Cynfarch and Arawn son of Cynfarch and Lleu son of Cynfarch, by Nefyn daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog their mother;
>
> The second, Owain son of Urien and Morfudd daughter of Urien and Anarun archbishop of Llydaw (Brittany), by Modron daughter of Afallach their mother;
>
> The third was Gwrgi and Peredur sons of Eliffer of the Great Warband, and Arddun their sister, and…(by Efrddyl?), and Cornan their horse and Tonllwyd (Grey-Skin) their cow.)[910]

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[908] Clarkson, *Men of the North*, p. 111.
[909] TYP, pp. 195–198.
[910] TYP, pp. 195–198. The source is Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarth 47, p. 17. TYP, pp. 195–196 also includes a second version of the triad from Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarth 50, with the same basic components:
'(70(ii). Tri Gwyndorllwyth Ynys Prydein:
Urien ac Eurddel plant Kynvarch Hen, y vaunt yn un torllwyth yghallon Nevyn verch Vrychan eu mam;
A'r eil, Owein mab Urien a Morwyd y chawer, a vaunt yn un dorllwyth yghallon Modron ferch Avallach;
Y trydyd, G6rgi a Pheredur a Cheindrech Pen Askell, plant Eliffer Gosgordduawr, a vaunt yghallon Eurddel verch Gynfarch y mam.
(70. Three Fair Womb-Burdens of the Island of Britain:
Urien and Efrddyl, children of Cynfarch the old, who were carried together in the womb of Nefyn daughter of Brychan their mother;
The second, Owain son of Urien and Morfudd his sister who were carried together in the womb of Modron daughter of Afallach;
The third, Gwrgi and Peredur and Ciendrech Pen Asgell ('Winged Head'), children of Eliffer of the Great Warband, who were carried together in the womb of Efrddyl daughter of Cynfarch their mother.)'

This triad could be seen as offering an earlier source than DSB for the stories related to the Brychan family, but that is unlikely. Rachel Bromwich interpreted the triad as repeating 'in an abbreviated and corrupt version' of the entry for Nyfain in the late-fourteenth- to early-fifteenth-century JC20, making its probable source the earlier DSB.[911]

The children of Nyfain daughter of Brychan were called in Triad 70 'gwyn dorll6yth' (holy womb burdens) and there were possible, but unlikely dedications to Nyfain in the towns of Nefyn and Morfa Nefyn in Caernarfonshire.[912] St Mary's Church in Nefyn has been closed and converted to a maritime museum, but it was not previously dedicated to Nyfain. No feast day for Nyfain can be found in any Welsh Calendars.

Other saints, both men and women, with similar names to Nyfain are also associated with the Brychan tradition; for example, Baring-Gould and Fisher wrote that 'she [Nyfain] is not to be confounded with the Monmouthshire male saint, Nuvien, or Nyveyn'.[913] Also, a grandson of Brychan, Nefydd ap Rhun, was said to have rushed to defend the family during the martyrdom of Brychan, Rhun, and Tudful.[914] The name Nefyn has also been confused with *Nefyd*, such as entries for both *Nevyn* and *Nefydd* in the list of the daughters of Brychan in PB.[915] Peter Bartrum described this entry for Nefydd as as an 'error for Hunydd'.[916] Nicholas Orme points to the names of Hunydd and Nyfain in the Welsh pedigrees and the another female Nefydd who 'may have given her name to the church of Llanyfydd near Denbigh'.[917] Another variation is *Nevidh*. Nicholas Roscarrock listed 'Sct Nevidh' as 'one of the nine daughters of St Brechanus', identifying dedicated churches at Llan Nefydd in Denbighshire, 'a chapel in like sort in Anglesey', and 'a church called Lhan Nevid not farre from Bodman in Cornwall'.[918] The chapel in Anglesey has not been traced, and the church in Cornwall is unlikely to have been dedicated to Nefyn. Nicholas Orme supports Oliver Padel's view that Lanivet in Cornwall means 'the church at Neved', and 'Neved' is a pre-Christian word for a

[911] TYP, p. 196.
[912] 'Nefyn', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/52.93552,-4.52014,7/pin <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[913] LBS, vol. 4, pp. 26–27.
[914] Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales*, p. 79.
[915] EWGT, pp. 82–83.
[916] EWGT, pp. 83 and 206.
[917] Roscarrock.
[918] Rosscarrock, p. 97.

sacred place.[919] See appendix A for a more detailed discussion of *St Nefyn's Church, Nefyn*, the *Church of St Nefydd and St Mary, Llanefydd*, and *Lanivet*.

Gwrygon Goddeu wife of Cadrod Calchfynydd, king of Merioneth

Gwrygon Goddeu was also said to have married into the line of Coel Hen and was wife of Cadrod Calchfynydd (*b.* 550?).[920] W. F. Skene suggested that the kingdom of Calchfynydd was near Kelso in what is now Scotland, but the location of this kingdom is uncertain.[921] The kingdom of Goddeu was said to be mid-Clydesdale or Selkirkshire, focused on the valley of the River Ayr.[922] It is unusual for a daughter of Brychan to have a place-name as part of her name. Figure 76 illustrates the legendary lineage of Cadrod Calchfynydd:

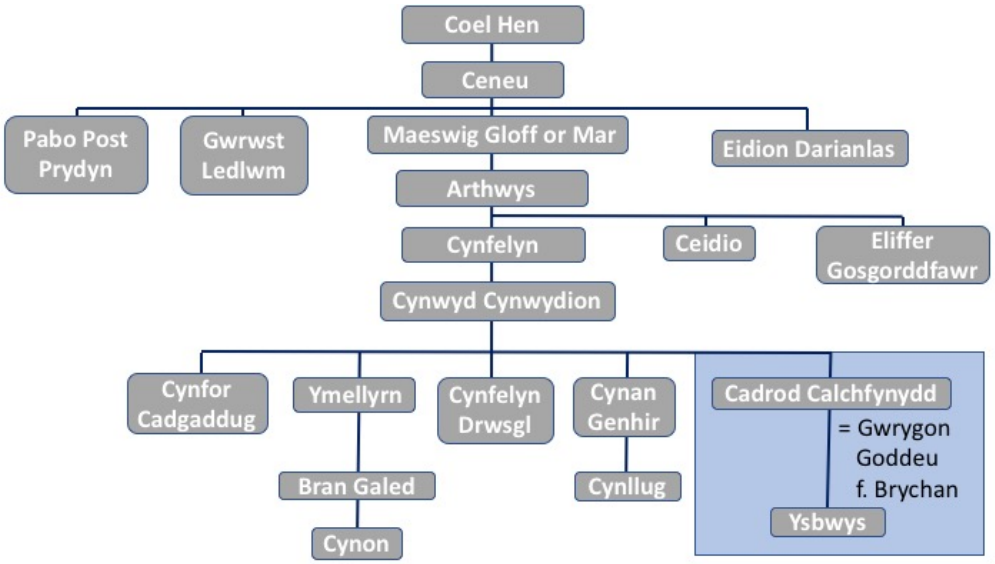


Figure 76. Pedigree of Cadrod Calchfynydd and Gwrygon Goddeu ferch Brychan[923]

The version of PB in Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarth 127 identifies Gwrygon Goddeu as one 'whom Tynwedd Faglog violated in Rhydau Tynwedd'.[924] A. W. Wade-Evans comments that additions such as this one to the lists of the children of Brychan are 'the prolific source of much mischievous nonsense in subsequent times', but he admits that 'much knowledge is

[919] Rosscarrock, p. 161.
[920] EWGT, p. 16.
[921] W. F. Skene, *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas, 1868), vol. 1, pp. 172–173.
[922] Clarkson, *Men of the North*, p. 74.
[923] WG1, pp. 8–10.
[924] EWGT, pp. 82 and 84. This version was compiled by Sir Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deikws *c.* 1510. As discussed in ch. 2, a story in Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, pp. 150–155 describes a battle between the King of Deheubarth and Brychan Brycheiniog, instigated by a man from Breconshire named Triunein Vagelauc. No connection is made, but the names are nearly alike.

incidentally conveyed, bits of floating tradition having been enmeshed in the compiler's drag net'.[925] In this case, little more can be said, although this could be a case of creating a reference to explain a place-name. Joseph Loth suggested that Gwrygon Goddeu may have had a cult in the Morbihan region of Brittany at Saint-Golgon en Trégastel, although the evidence is slight.[926] The Brittany section of appendix A discusses this dedication further.

Alliance with the kingdom of Dál Riada

The kingdom of Dál Riada was a colony of seafarers with close ties to the Irish kingdom of Dál Riada in County Angrim.[927] The husband proposed for Lluan was the king who ruled Dál Riada at the height of its power and who sponsored St Colomba's establishment of a monastery on the Isle of Iona.[928] Of the married daughters of Brychan, Lluan is the only daughter said to have married an Irish king, albeit of a British kingdom.

DSB lists the marriage of Lluan to Aedán mac Gabhráin, ruler of the Scottish kingdom of Dál Riada (573–608), one of the most powerful of the northern dynasties.[929] Figure 77 shows the pedigree for the kings of Dál Riada.

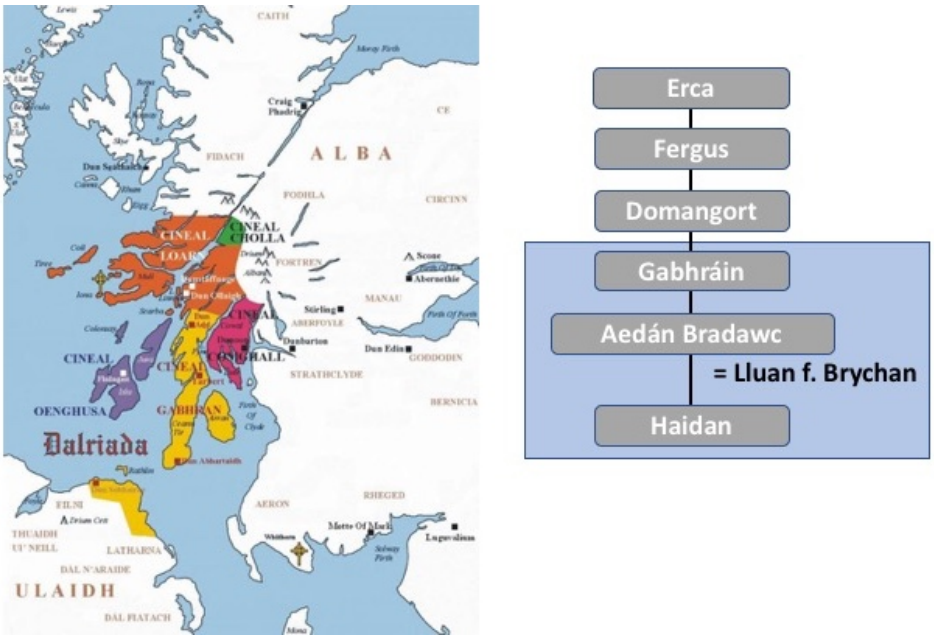


Figure 77. The lineage of Aedán mac Gabráin, King of Dál Riada[930]

[925] A. Wade-Evans, 'Bonedd y Saint E', AC, 86 (1931), pp. 158–175, p. 162.
[926] J. Loth, *Les noms des saints bretons* (Paris: Librairie Champion, 1910), p. 46.
[927] TYP, pp. 272–273.
[928] Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons 350–1064*, pp. 469–470.
[929] TYP, p. 64.
[930] TYP, p. 272.

Subsequent copies of DSB (e.g., CB, JC20, and PB) variously identify Lluan's husband as Gafran (Aedán's father), Haidan (Aedán's son), or Aedán himself, but Rachel Bromwich believed that Aedán was intended and that the attribution of *bradawc* ('treacherous') belonged to Aedán rather than either Haidan or Gafran.[931] She offers as proof Triad 54, in which Aedán is perpetrator of the third of the 'Three Violent (reckless, costly) Ravagings of the Island of Britain':[932]

> (Ar trydydd Drut (Heirua), pan ddeuth Aydan Vrada6c hyt yn Alclut y lys Rydderch Hael, ac nyt adewis na bwyt na llyn na ll6d6n yn vy6.)
>
> (And the third Violent Ravaging (was) when Aeddan the Treacherous came to the court of Rhydderch Hael at Alclud (= Dumbarton); he left neither food nor drink nor beast alive.)[933]

Rachel Bromwich also drew attention to a contradiction in the Life of St Laisrén, which stated that the saint's mother was the daughter of a British king, which in this context would indicate an alternate wife for Aedán and, thus, two conflicting genealogical links between Aedán and two traditional British dynasties, one being the descendants of Dyfnwal Hen and the other being the family of Brychan Brycheiniog.[934] Bromwich concludes that both descents may be equally spurious, though they are of interest as underlining Aedán's British connections.[935] Another indication that this alliance with Dál Riada may have been more desired than accomplished is the presence of dedications to Lluan at Gorslas in Carmarthenshire, near the place where Iolo Morganwg said Lluan lived as a hermit with her sister Tybïe at Gelli Forwynion ('Grove of the Virgins') near their brother Hychan.[936] St Tybïe Church at Llandybïe is a few miles away from Capel Llanlluan and St Lleian Church at Gorslas. These dedications are discussed in appendix A. The tradition of St Tybïe is discussed later in this chapter.

Alliances with kingdoms of north Wales: Gwynedd and Ceredigion

The legend that the children of Cunedda Wledig emigrated from Manaw Gododdin to Gwynedd during the sixth to the ninth centuries connected the early kings of Gwynedd with

[931] TYP, p. 272.
[932] TYP, pp. 153–155.
[933] TYP, pp. 153–155.
[934] TYP, p. 272.
[935] TYP, p. 272.
[936] *Iolo MSS*, p. 506.

the heroic warriors and kings described by Taliesin and Aneirin.[937] It is claimed that heir rule lasted until 825, when Merfyn Farfdrwch took the kingship, and his descendents held it until the deaths of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd and his brother Dafydd.[938] The two daughters who were reputedly married into this family are Meleri and Marchell (fig. 73), discussed in the following sections.

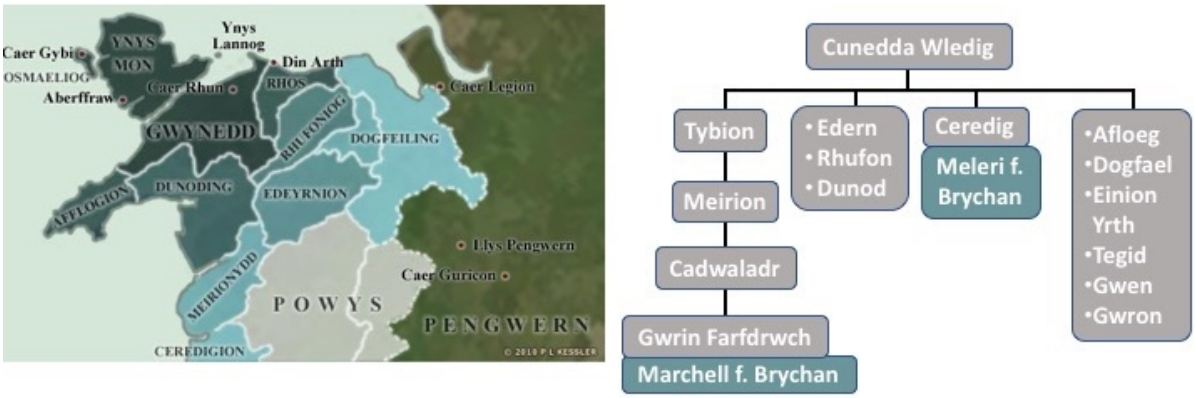


Figure 78. Marriages with the sons of Cunedda Wledig[939]

Meleri wife of Ceredig, king of Ceredigion

One of the most obvious attempts to augment the significance of the Brychan family is the claim in DSB that Meleri daughter of Brychan was the wife of Ceredig son of Cunedda Wledig and King of Ceredigion, making her the mother of Sant, who was the father of St Dewi.[940] The Vita Davidis (Life of St David) by Rhygyfarch does not refer to Meleri and names the father of St David as 'Sanctus (by merits and by name), who enjoyed sovereignty over the people of Ceredig'.[941] The paternity of Sanctus is supported in the story of the conception of the saint: 'When the foresaid thirty years had passed, divine providence sent Sanctus, king of the territory of Ceredig, as far as the kingdom of the people of Dyfed. And the king came across a nun named Nonnita, who was a virgin, an exceedingly beautiful girl, and modest. Lusting after her, he raped her, and she conceived his son, the holy David.'[942] The Life of St David identifies the mother of St David as Nonnita and does not mention the

[937] T. Charles-Williams, *Wales and the Britons 350–106*4, p. 190. Charles-Williams states: 'In this period of ethnic consolidation may be placed the legend that Cunedda and his sons came from Manaw Gododdin, expelled the Irish from much of Wales, and founded the dynasty of Gwynedd'. See also EWGT, p. 13, and VSBG, p. 148.
[938] Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons 350–106*4, pp. 359–360.
[939] WG1, pp. 1–2.
[940] EWGT, p. 15.
[941] R. Sharpe and J. Davies, 'Rhygyfarch's 'Life' of St David', in *St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, ed. by J. Evans and J. Wooding (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 107–155, p. 109.
[942] Sharpe and Davies, 'Rhygyfarch's 'Life' of St David', p. 113.

mother of Sanctus generally or Meleri specifically. Other texts are even less specific; for example, the *Harleian Genealogies* list Ceredig ap Cunedda Wledig, but not a son named Sant or Sanctus.[943] However, in London, BL, MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv, an appendix to DSB , shows Sant as one of his many sons (fig. 79), but does not identify the wife of Ceredig.[944]

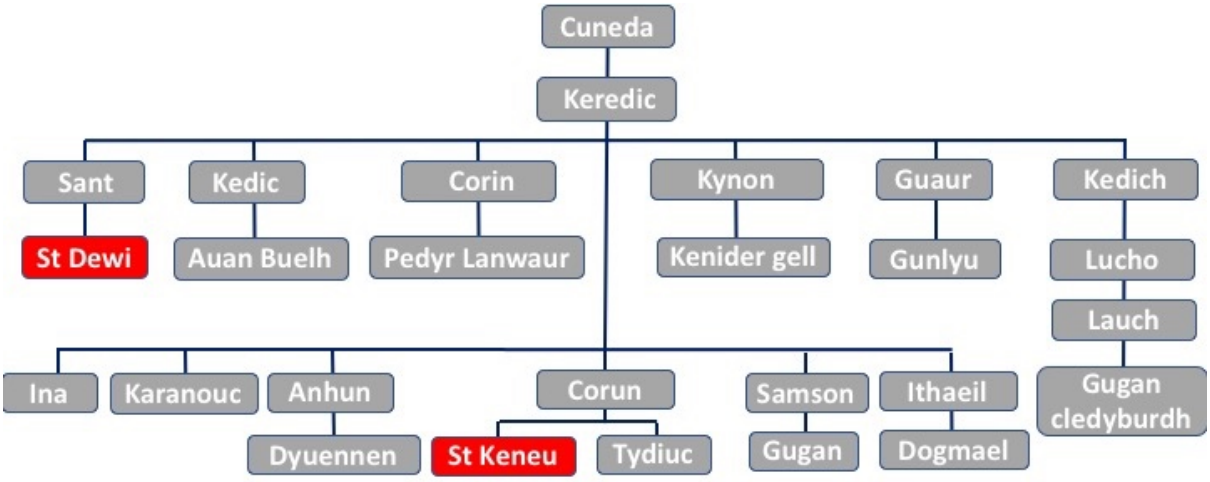


Figure 79. The children of Ceredig in *Progenies Keredic*[945]

The *Annales Cambriae* likewise does not mention Meleri, but does document the birth and death of Ceredig and St David, adding logical difficulties to the account by giving Ceredig's death as 619, St David's birth as 458, and his death as 604, which would make David's lifespan 146 years, Ceredig's death 161 years after the birth of his grandson.[946] While these extraordinary ages echo a tradition established by stories of biblical characters who achieved great age like Methusaleh, the account in the *Annales Cambriae* also demonstrates a desired conclusion more than an accurate chronological record. This need seems to have been most urgent for those who composed DSB and those who continued to copy and augment the text delivering the message by means of the marriage of Meleri and Ceredig that a dynastic marriage united the royal families of Cunedda Wledig and Brychan Brycheiniog, two of the

[943] EWGT, p. 12. The entry for Ceredigion is: '[G]uocaun map Mouric map Dumnguallaun map Arthgen map Seissil map Clitauc map Artgloys map Arthodgu map Bodgu map Serguil map Iusay map Ceretic map Cuneda.' Compare the one son of Ceredig, Iusay, in this list with the list of sons in *Progenies Keredic*.
[944] EWGT, p. 49.
[945] EWGT, p. 20.
[946] *Annales Cambriae*, trans. by Remfrey, pp. 42–46.

three saintly lineages of Wales according to Triad 81, resulting in St David, the most influential saint in Britain (fig. 80).[947]

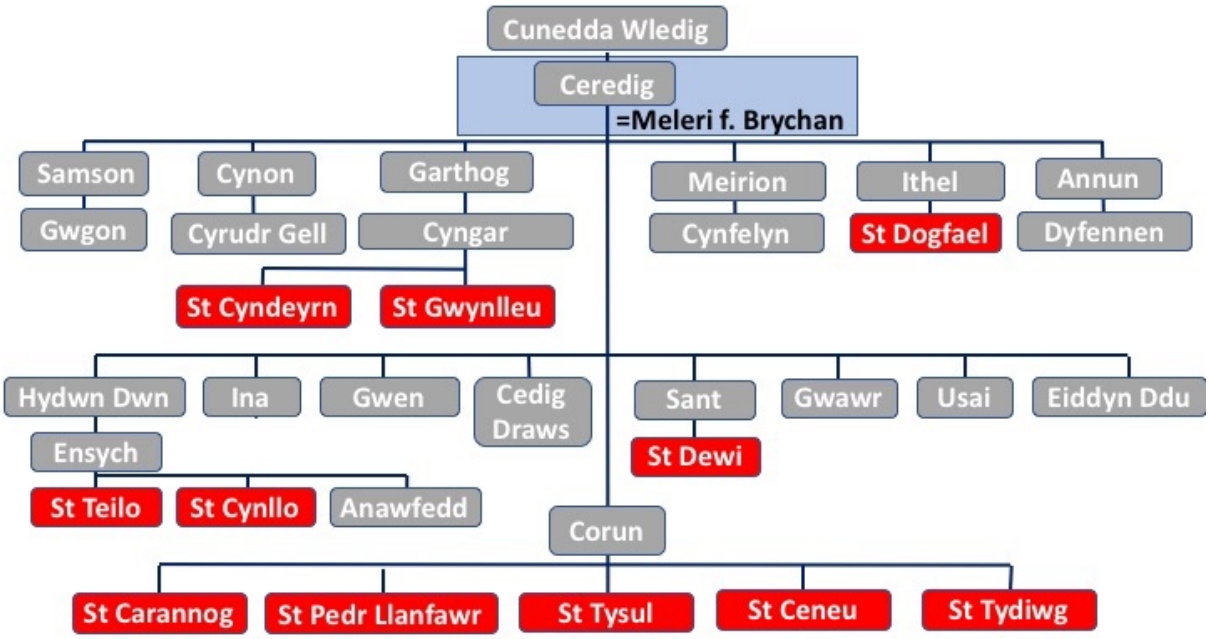


Figure 80. The numerous saints in Ceredig's pedigree[948]

Other names are connected with Meleri. Sabine Baring-Gould identifies Meleri as the *Elen* in AyS.[949] Egerton Phillimore explains that the names Meleri and Teleri (of Aber Tileri) are derived from Hilaria.[950] Meleri is also sometimes confused with St Non and identified as the mother of St David. Bernard Tanguy explains the issue using as an example the Life of St Keyne in *NLA*: 'Melari mater Sancti patris David'; that is, 'Melari, mother of Sanctus, the father of David', could be interpreted as 'Melari, mother of the holy father David'.[951] The *Martilogy in Englysshe* by Richard Whytford (*d.* ?1542) published in 1526 included in its entry for St Keyna that Keyna was 'doughter vnto saynt Breghan kynge of breknoke in wales/which had .xij. sones and .xij. doughters all holy sayntes one of ye whiche doughter was moder vnto saynt Dauid'.[952] As a result, subsequent hagiographers quoted these sources when identifying Meleri as the mother of St David in later collections of saints' Lives.

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[947] J. Cartwright, 'The Cult of St Non', in *St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, ed. by J. Evans and J. Wooding (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 182–206, p. 204.
[948] WG1, p. 5.
[949] S. Baring-Gould and J. Fisher, 'St Brychan, King, Confessor', AC, p. 357.
[950] LBS, vol. 3, p. 466 N2. See also the discussion in R. Thomas, *Enwau Afonydd a Nentydd Cymru* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1938), p. 171, for his example: *My-* (fy) weithiau, e.e.*Meleri*.filia Brachan, Cy.xix.26 (sef *My-* + *Eleri)*.
[951] B. Tanguy, 'The cults of SS. Nonne and Divi in Brittany', *St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, ed. by J. Evans and J. Wooding (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 207–219, pp. 208–209.
[952] Whytford, *The Martiloge in Englysshe*, p. 159.

Nicholas Roscarrock resolves the issue by creating two Meleris, identifying *Melaria* as St David's mother and *Melery* or *Elery* as the mother of St David's father.[953] In the *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, John Colgan claims that Meleri and Non were one person: 'Second, Blessed Melaria known as Nonnita, mother of St David Archbishop of Menevia'.[954] These texts describe Meleri as either beatified (Blessed Meleri) or a saint (Saint Meleri). *A Menology of England and Wales* (1892) lists her as 'Eleri (5th cent.), of the family of Brychan, wife of Ceredig ab Cunedda, and grandmother of St. David'.[955]

No church dedications support the argument that Meleri was ever considered a saint in Wales. St Winifride Church in Gwytherin, far from Ceredigion, was said to have originally been dedicated to St Eleri, but this male saint is the bishop who buried St Winefride (or Gwenfrewy as she is known in her Welsh Life) and he has a clear role in her Lives.[956] It is possible that the Eleri or Leri River, which runs through the Leri Valley in Ceredigion from the Cambrian Mountains and eventually reaches the sea at Ynyslas just north of Borth, refers to Meleri.[957]

Marchell wife of Gwrin Farfdrwch, king of Merioneth

The supposed marriage of Marchell ferch Brychan with Gwrin Farfdrwch (Thick-Beard), King of Merioneth, is another attempt to suggest an alliance with the dynasty of Cunedda Wledig in north Wales. Figure 81 superimposes Marchell on the *Gwŷr y Gogledd* section of the Welsh Genealogies from Harleian MS 3859 to demonstrate the impact on the dynasty that she would have had.[958]

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[953] Roscarrock, p. 97: 'Sct Nonna or Nonita was in truth named Melaria and the sister of Gwen (the mother of Sct Cubie or Kebie and Sct Cyfgine), both being daughters of Gyner of Caer <gowch> in Menes which some think was Meneva, after called Sct Davides, and hath bene surnamed Nunnita for that she was a religious woman, but not, as Bale the vowed enemy of virgins bableth, a vestal virgine but a Christian Nunne who hauinge violence offrered her by Zantus, a prince of Cardiganshire and the sonne of Sct Melary or Elery by Cariticus the sonne of Cunedagus, weas by him rauished, deflowered and gotten with child which proved a most virtuous, lear[r]ned and religious bishop named Sct David.'
[954] Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 313: 'Secunda B. Melaria (6) cognomento Nonnita, mater S. Dauidis Meneuensis Archiepscopi'. On p. 313 N6, Colgan explains the contradiction in his sources: 'Beata Melaria cognomento Nonnita &c. cap 4. In vita S. Keinae vocatur Melari; in vita S. Dauidis apud Capgraufum Nonnita sed fuit solu in sic appellata quia Nonna seu Sanctimontalis erat, vt colligitur ex aut horibus citatis supra cap. 3, qui ipsam, eiusque sorores omnes vocant Beatas; &insuper ex vita S. Dauidis eius filij & Martyrologio Salisburieafi 8 Octobris, vbi mater S.Dauidis dicitur fuisle vna ex duodecim Sanctis filiabus Brecani.'
[955] R. Stanton, *The Menology of England and Wales* (London: Burns and Oates Ltd, 1892), p. 719.
[956] M. Richards, *Enwau Tir a Gwlad* (Caernarfon: Gwasg Gwynedd, 1998), p. 204.
[957] 'Ynyslas', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/52.51232,-4.05235,15/pin <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[958] EWGT, pp. 11–13.

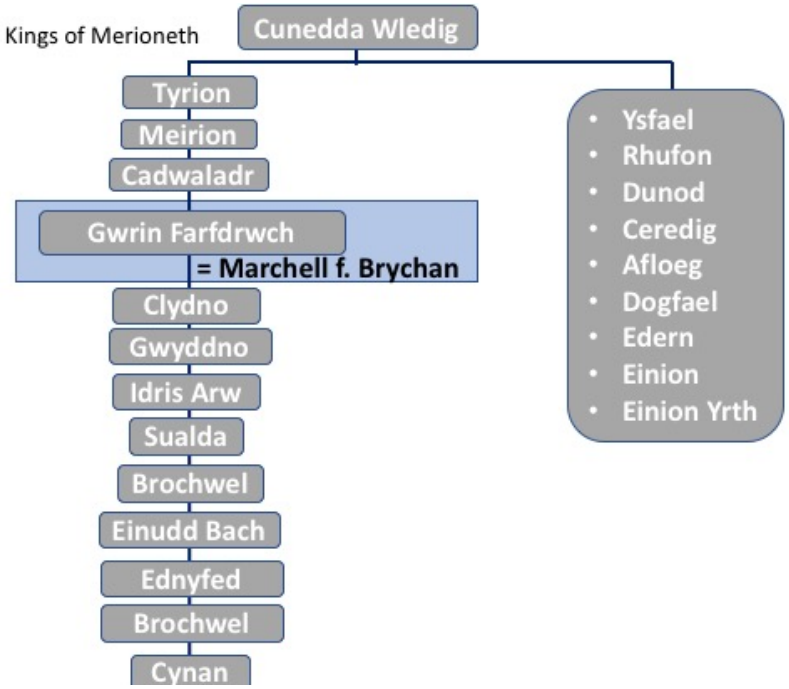


Figure 81. The pedigree of Gwrin Farfdrwch according to MS Harley 3859 (Marchell f. Brychan added)[959]

Note that Gwrin Farfdrwch is four generations removed from Cunedda Wledig while Ceredig, Meleri's husband, is one generation removed from Cunedda Wledig, one more example of a logistically impossible marriage.

Alliances with the kingdom of Powys

The kingdom of Powys was adjacent to the ancient kingdom of Brycheiniog and closer as well to Brecon Priory, where DSB was said to have been written during the twelfth century.[960] Arianwen and Tudglid were said to have married kings of Powys, but while Arianwen was said to have married a descendent of Cunedda Wledig, Tudglid was said to have married a descendent of Vortigern.[961]

[959] EWGT, p. 11. The text states: '18. [Meirionydd]. [C]inan map Brochmail map Iutnimet map Egeniud map Brocmail map Sualda map Sualda map Iudris map Gueinoth map Glitnoth map Guurgint barmbtruch map Gatgulart map Meriaun [map Typiaun] map Cuneda.'
[960] Hughes, 'British Museum MS. Cotton Vespasian A. XIV ('Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium'): its purpose and provenance', p. 197.
[961] WG1, pp. 23 and 13–14.

Arianwen wife of Iorwerth Hirflawdd, king of Powys

Arianwen was said to be the wife of Iorwerth Hirflawdd ap Tegonwy, king of Powys and mother of two sons: St Caenog Mawr and Idnerth (fig. 82).[962] These sons were the first of the line of Iorwerthian kings of Powys descended from Cunedda Wledig through Tybion his oldest son, from whom the kings of Merioneth descended.[963] Where Cunedda was said to have driven the Scoti out of Gwynedd, Cadell was said to have driven the Scoti out of Powys, and his descendents are referred to as the Cadellings.[964]

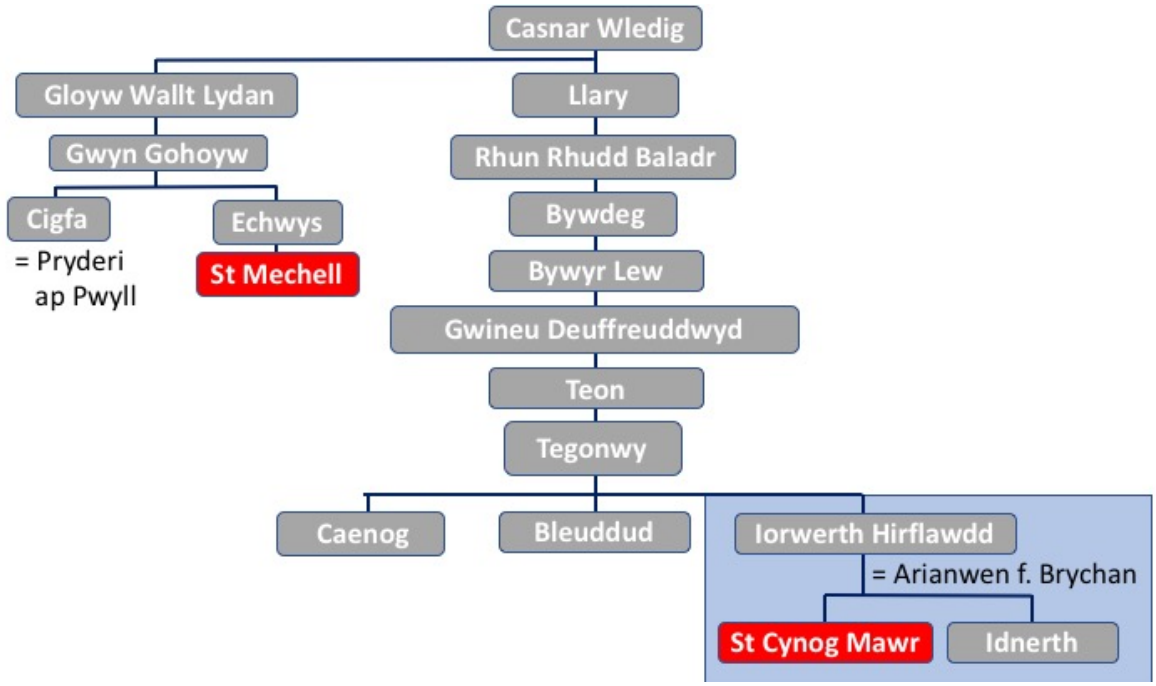


Figure 82. Pedigree of Iorwerth Hirflawdd and Arianwen ferch Brychan[965]

Tudglid wife of Cyngen, king of Powys

The marriage (fig. 83) of Tudglid to Cyngen Glodrydd, king of Powys, makes Tudglid the mother of Cadell, Brochfael Ysgithrog, Jeuab, Meigh, and Sanand, who was wife of

[962] LBS, vol. 1, p. 167. See also 'Genealogy of the Saints', *The Cambro-Briton*, vol. 3 (1822), pp. 7–11, 81–87, 137–140, 201–204, 266–269, 335–338, 394–396, and 455–458; p. 9.
[963] LBS, vol. 4, p. 223. See also Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Mostyn 117.
[964] Charles-Edwards, Wales and the Britons 350–1064, p. 450.
[965] WG1, p. 23.

Maelgwn Gwynedd, King of north Wales.[966] This alliance would also indicate a family whose descendents were saints, such as St Beuno, St Tysilio, and St Gwenfrewy.[967]

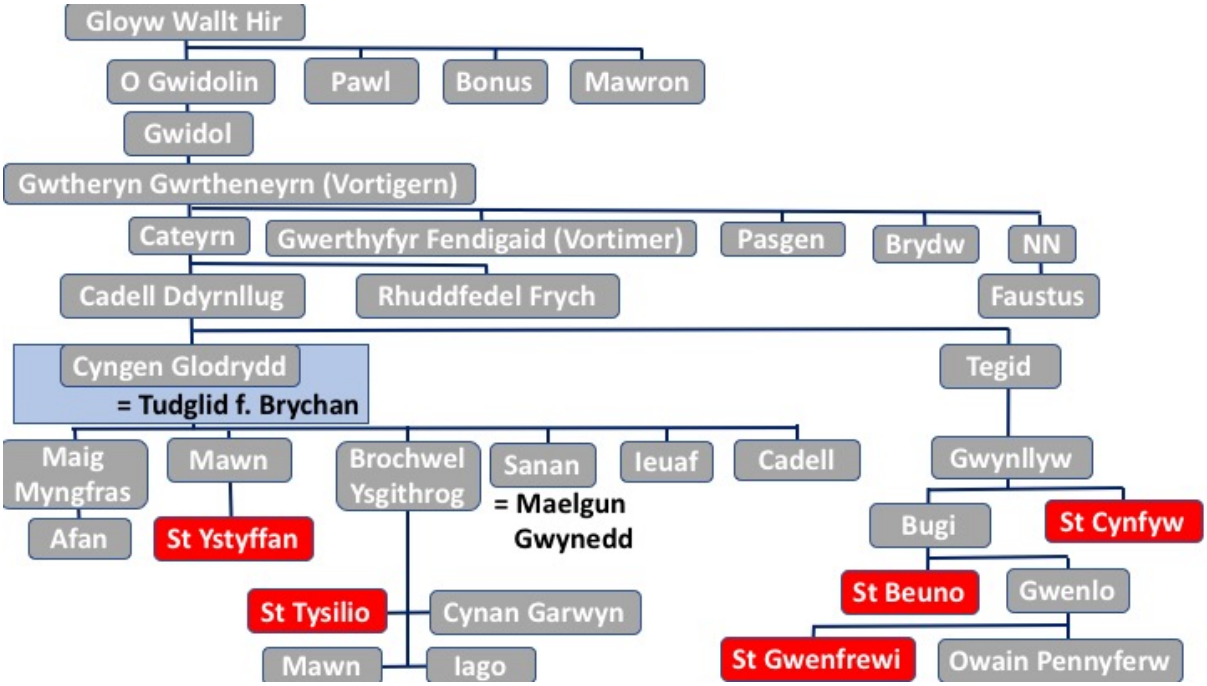


Figure 83. Pedigree of Cyngen Glodrydd and Tudglid ferch Brychan[968]

Variations in transcriptions have caused caused Tudglid to be conflated with other names, such as Tudful in some cases. For example, JC20 states: 'Gutuyl verch Vrachan, gwreic Kynger mab Kynwawr, a mam Brochuael yscithrawc, a mam Veic mengwrac, a ma[m] Sanant, gwreic Vaelgwn'.[969] This difference in name led to conflation of Tudglid with Tudful and Tangwystl in late genealogies. The following transcription of Lewis Morris's notes by Walter Davies indicates the discussions that resulted from attempts during the Celtic Revival to reconcile the various versions:

> 'Gwtvil, the 10th daũ of Bryxan, was wife of of Cyngar (the son of Cynwawr, or rather of Cadell Deyrnllug/and mother of Broxwel Yscithrog. G. O. Harry calls her Tangwystl, or Tanglwst, and anõ place Tywyl the daũ of Cadell Deyrnllyg and mother of Broxwel.

[966] WG1, p. 14.
[967] WG1, p. 14. See also EWGT, p. 15, for DSB: 'Tutglid filia Brachan, uxor Kenken filii Kenwaur cadcathuc, mater Cadel et Brochuail schitrauc, et mater Ieuab, et mater Meigh, et mater Sanand, que Sanant fuit uxor Mahelgun regis Nordwalie' and p. 18 for CB: 'Tuglit, vxor Kyngain, mater Cadell'.
[968] WG1, pp. 13–14.
[969] EWGT, p. 43.

> Dr Powel/Girald. Itin.Cambr. L.T.c.2./calls her Tydvail the wife of Congen, the son of Cadell prince of Powys, and mother of Brochwel. Hugh Thomas contradicts the Doctor. both in facts and chronology.[970]

Morris continues to discuss the problem, but this excerpt shows the uncertainties raised by early comparisons of the material.

Alliances with the kingdom of Gwent

Gwladys is well known as a wife, mother, and saint, but Ceingar and Hunyd much less so. Gwladys and Ceingar are sometimes named as having had the same husband, Gwynllyw, king of Gwynllwg; other times Gwladys is named as the mother of St Cynidr instead of Ceingar. The names and number of Gwynllyw's children varies. The husband and son of Hunyd, on the other hand, are characters whose names appear in the Welsh Triads, the Book of Taliesin, and *Culhwch and Olwen*.

Gwladys wife of Gwynllyw, king of Gwynllŵg

Traditions related to Gwladys daughter of Brychan possess interesting elements: a dramatic story, her inclusion in Lives of her husband and children, a connection to King Arthur, and numerous dedications indicated an active cult for the Gwladys herself, as well as her family. In fact, the congregation of St Gwladys's Church in Bargoed continues to hold annual Easter sunrise services at the ruins of her medieval hillside chapel in Gwent. But amid this profusion of evidence, a number of uncertainties also exist, as is usual with traditions of the daughters of Brychan. For example, Gwladys's story can be assembled only by piecing it together from the Lives of her more-famous husband and son. Her grave and her holy well are now lost, her husband may have had a different wife and holy son, and the number and names of her children vary.

Genealogies and early sources placed her first among the daughters, a place she retained in all the versions, and, like Meleri, she was said to have had the honour of being the mother of a significant saint of south Wales, St Cadog. In DSB, she was 'Gladus filia Brachan, mater sancti Cadoci'.[971] CB also identified her husband: 'Gluadus filia Brachan, vxor Gwenlluc filii Glywys Cornubiensis, mater sancti Cadoci' (Gwladys daughter of Brychan, wife of Gwynllyw son of Glywys of Cornubia, mother of St Cadog).[972] In JC20, she was 'Gwladus

[970] MS NLW 1657C, fol. 102v.
[971] EWGT, p. 15.
[972] EWGT, p. 18.

verch Vrachan, mam Cattwc sant'.[973] In PB, she was 'Gwladus verch Vrychan mam Gadawc sant, (ap) gwraic Kynlluc ap Glewys Kerniw' (Gwladys daughter of Brychan mother of St Cadog, wife of Gwynllyw son of Glywys of Cornubia).[974] The Life of St Cadog in London, BL, MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv includes an extensive pedigree for Gwladys on both sides of her family and a pedigree for Gwynllyw that demonstrated that St Cadog came from the two holy families of Britain: that of Brychan Brycheiniog and Cunedda Wledig.[975] The Lives of St Cadog by Lifris of Llancarfan and of St Gwynllyw found in the twelfth-century MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv give many details of her life, which follow, focusing on information about Gwladys.[976]

The marriage of Gwynllyw and Gwladys

Descriptions of the marriage differ in the two Lives and, in the Life of St Cadog, Gwynllyw violently abducted Gwladys from her father's home, whereas in the Life of St Gwynllyw the transaction was a civil, positive merger of royal houses. In the Life of St Cadog, King Gwynllyw, the oldest of the ten sons of Glywys of Dyfed, sought the hand of Gwladys daughter of Brychan based on her beauty, temperament, and status:

> After a long interval of time the aforesaid king Gwynllyw, depending now on his kingdom, desired with ardent affection on account of the excessive sweetness of her fame that a certain girl should be joined to him in lawful wedlock, born of most noble lineage, of elegant appearance, very beautiful moreover in form, and clad in silk raiment, whose name was Gwladus, the daughter of a certain regulus, who was called Brychan.[977]

What followed was an immediate escalation of aggression. Gwynllyw sent emissaries to Brychan to 'resolutely demand' her hand, but Brychan responded harshly: 'indignant and, full of anger, [he] refused to bestow his daughter on him, and slighted the messengers, and dismissed them without honour'. The messengers, 'taking this very badly', returned to Gwynllyw, and 'when he had heard, the king, raving with excessive fury, armed with all possible speed three hundred of his young men to take the aforesaid girl by force'. When the troops arrived, they found the Brychan daughters at home:

[973] EWGT, p. 43.
[974] EWGT, p. 82.
[975] VSBG, p. 119. See also Guy, Medieval Welsh Genealogy, vol. 2, pp. 234–240.
[976] VSBG, pp. 23–141 and pp. 173–193. This account in VSBG is used for the next sections that discuss the abduction and marriage of Gwladys.
[977] VSBG, p. 25.

> Then starting at once on their journey, when they reached the court of the afrementioned regulus, which is called Talgarth, they found the said virgin sitting with her sisters before the door of her chamber and at leisure in modest conversation, whom they immediately took by force, and beat a hasty retreat.[978]

Brychan, 'moved by grief of heart, sorrowing inwardly at the loss of his beloved daughter', pursued them. When Gwynllyw saw the following army, 'he ordered that the oft-mentioned girl should be brought up to him and he made her ride with him', so that 'carrying the girl cautiously with him on horseback' he led his troops into battle, which at first went badly for Gwynllyw. Two-thirds of his troops were killed and Gwynllyw was pursued into the mountains at the edge of his own kingdom, where he was 'safe in body with the aforesaid virgin, although sorrowful at the very great slaughter in the fight with his adversaries'. Then, on a mountain called Boch Rhiw Carn (cairn on the hill slope), Gwynllyw and his army met Arthur with Cai and Bedwyr, who were sitting at the top of the hill placing dice. Figure 84 shows this place, now called Carn y Bugail (cairn of the shepherd), in the mountains near Gelligaer in Glamorgan:



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Figure 84. Carn y Bugail round cairn in Glamorgan[979]

Although Arthur initially wanted Gwladys for himself, after some discussion he and his companions supported Gwynllyw against Brychan, and they triumphed, after which

[978] VSBG, p. 27.
[979] 'Carn Bugail burial cairn and trig point', Geograph [online]. Available at https://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/1968925 <Accessed 4 April 2020>

Gwynllyw returned to his residence, called Allt Wynllyw, where Gwynllyw married Gwladys.[980]

The *Vita Sancti Gundleii* (Life of St Gwynllyw) offered a much simpler account and gave St Cadog a dignified father and grandfather to go with his virtuous mother, Gwladys.[981] The betrothal of the parents was as peaceful as the previous version was warlike:

> When by the common advice of his fellow-citizens he wished to marry, he sent messengers to Brychan, king of the Brycheiniog folk, as the gentleness and beauty of Gwladys, his daughter, had been heard of by him. She was asked for as wife and promised (or received); she was given that he might delight in lawful marriage.[982]

In the Life of St Gwynllyw, the marriage was followed immediately by the birth of St Cadog:

> After marriage the bride conceived; after conception she happily brought forth a son, Cadog.[983]

The Life of St Cadog, however, continued to tell a much different tale. After portents of an unusual birth, St Cadog was born on the same night that his father's brigands stole a cow from the hermit Meuthius, who was destined to become tutor of Cadog.[984] After Gwynllyw told Gwladys that he had had a vision about the arrival of a tutor for their son, the hermit arrived 'and therewith cheered her not a little', after which Gwynllyw returned the cow, and Meuthius baptized Cadog.[985] The Life then focused on St Cadog's miracles and journeys and Gwladys disappeared from the story until near the end of the text.

According to the Life of St Cadog by Lifris of Llancarfan, the saint sent several of his followers to exhort Gwynllyw to repent his life of wickedness, which was chiefly in the form of 'carnal allurements, inciting his servants frequently to plundering and robberies, and living entirely contrary to law and right'.[986] Gwladys immediately agreed with these emissaries: 'Let us believe in our son, and he will be a father to us in heaven'.[987] Gwynllyw agreed and, during a subsequent meeting between parents and son, both parents 'confessed their faults

[980] VSBG, pp. 27–29.
[981] VSBG, pp. 172–193.
[982] VSBG, pp. 173–174.
[983] VSBG, pp. 173–174.
[984] VSBG, p. 31.
[985] VSBG, p. 31.
[986] VSBG, p. 123.
[987] VSBG, p. 123.

and bound themselves with a vow to be subject to obey God'.[988] After some time passed, Cadog counselled Gwynllyw and Gwladys to begin their penance:

> And so Gwladus his mother built for herself a church in Pencarnou, and Gwynllyw soon erected another monastery, and in the same place he established those serving God. Then each parent invited Cadog, whom coming they devoutly received, and they gave him the aforesaid churches, which they had built for themselves, and they handed over to his authority all that they had.[989]

St Gwladys's chapel near the church of St Gwynllyw at St Woolos in Newport has been difficult to locate. The town of Bassaleg near Pencarn is the only British example of a place-name based on the term *basilica*, which was used in early Ireland and Merovingian Gaul for important early churches that contained the body of a saint. At Bassaleg that saint was believed to be St Gwladys.[990] The church in Bassaleg is dedicated to St Basil, however, and the chapel of St Gwladys was said to be located near Newport on the east bank of the Ebbw River and distinct from the church in Bassaleg.[991] The church was completed at Bassaleg in 1079, and in 1101 it was given to the Abbey of St Mary in Glastonbury and was rebuilt by 1126 as a priory, but by 1107 the first monks arrived from Glastonbury to occupy the cell.[992] In 1146, a documented dispute over boundaries refers to 'the *chapel of St Gladewis* (St Gladys), which Laudomer built upon the river *Eboth* (Ebbw)'.[993] From 1230 to 1240 Abbot Michael of Glastonbury granted Bassaleg and its chapels to Bishop Elias of Llandaff, and by 1252 monastic life had ended at Bassaleg Priory.[994]

To return to the Life of St Gwynllyw, as soon as St Cadog achieved adulthood, he admonished his parents to abandon worldly things and they immediately agreed, supported by Gwynllyw's vision, in which a white ox on a hill showed him where to build his church, with Gwladys living nearby:[995]

> Gwladus, his most noble wife, and the chastest of women, although equally devoted to the Catholic religion, was nevertheless unwilling to

[988] VSBG, p. 125.
[989] VSBG, p. 125
[990] J. Knight, 'Society and Religion in the Early Middle Ages', in *Gwent in Prehistory and Early History: The Gwent County History*, 5 vols, ed. by M. Aldhouse-Green and R. Howell (Cardiff: UWP, 2004), vol. 1, p. 272.
[991] M. C., Book Review of *Llandaff Episcopal Acta 1140–1247*', ed. by D. Crouch (South Wales Record Society), *Gwent local history the journal of the Gwent Local History Counc*il, no. 69, (Autumn 1990), p. 46.
[992] 'Bassaleg Priory', Monastic Wales [online]. Available at http://www.monasticwales.org/site/13 <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[993] 'Foundation, Bassaleg Priory', Monastic Wales [online].
[994] 'Foundation, Bassaleg Priory', Monastic Wales [online].
[995] VSBG, p. 177.

> remain near the dwelling-place of saint Gwynllyw, both leaving her lord and dwelling not far away, only one furlong distant. She came to the bank of the river Ebbw, where she dwelt, constructing what things were necessary in the two buildings, those of God and men. Both lived most piously, abstaining and fasting.[996]

The Life of St Gwynllyw described their meager diet, wan appearance, cold baths in the middle of the night, and constant prayer.[997] Cadog, however, told them that they were living too closely together, which could lead them to sins of the flesh:

> Wherefore he exhorted his mother to abandon the first place of her residence, and she, being admonished, left it all by the advice of her son, leaving there seven nuns, including virgins and chaste women, to serve God. Then she went to a mountain solitude, distant a space of about seven furlongs from her first place, where she chose a place for habitation, and, having marked out a cemetery, built a church in honour of saint Mary. There she saw none except her own attendants and wild animals. She kept fasting, kept praying, for no opposition stood in the way.[998]

This mountain solitude is thought to be St Gwladys's Chapel near Gelligaer, where ruins of a ninth-century chapel can be found, shown in figure 85. After the Reformation, St Gwladys Chapel was said to be the site of Catholic rites, and in 1584 David Watkin Thomas gave evidence at Bridgend that mass was being said at St Gwladys Chapel in Gelligaer.[999] The congregation now worships at St Gwladys Church at Bargoed, but parishioners still hold dawn services at the ruins on Easter mornings.

[996] VSBG, pp. 178–179.
[997] VSBG, p. 179.
[998] VSBG, pp. 179–180.
[999] 'A short history of St Catwg's Church and Parish, Gelligaer', St Catwg's Church [online]. Available at https://www.parishofgelligaer.org.uk/Pages/st%20catwgs.htm <Accessed 13 April 2020>



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Figure 85. Ruins of St Gwladys Chapel at Gelligaer

In 1906 a carved stone was found at the ruins of St Gwladys Chapel (fig. 80), which helped to date her chapel to the ninth or tenth century.[1000] The carved stone was moved from the chapel site to St Cattwg's Church in Gelli-Gaer, where a sign next to the stone now says that St Gwladys Chapel marks the site of her oratory after her she moved farther away from Gwynllyw.

[1000] M. Redknap and J. Lewis, 'Gelli-Gaer (Capel Gwladys)', *A Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculptures in Wales*, vol. 1, pp. 309–310.

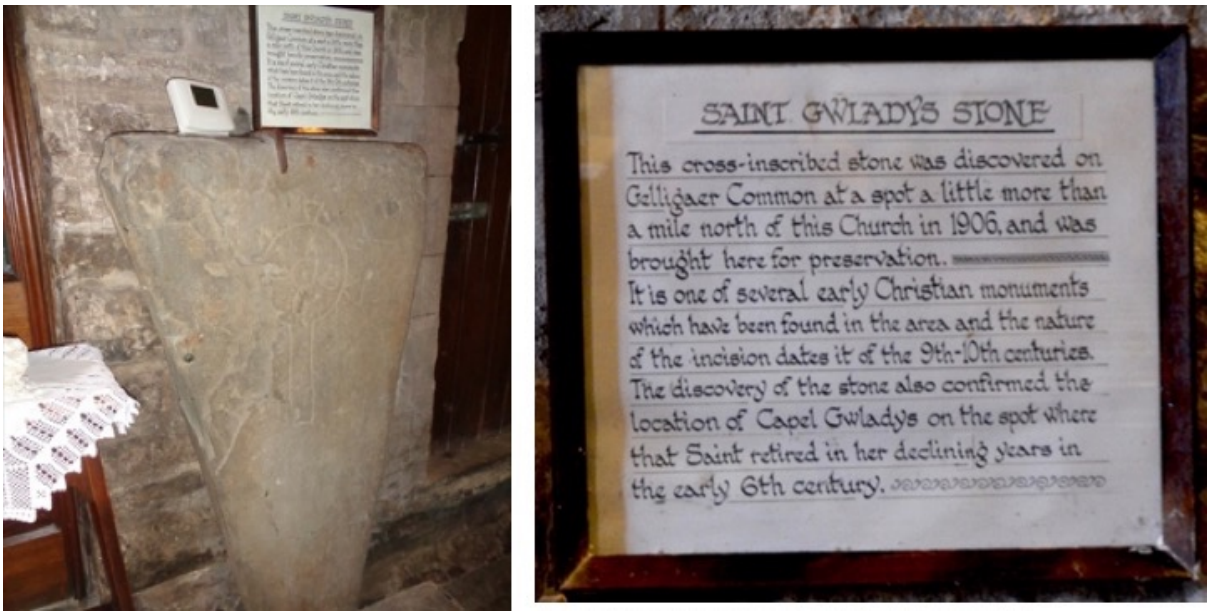


Figure 86. St Gwladys Stone at St Catwg Church, Gelligaer[1001]

St Catwg Church also includes two pairs of stained glass windows of St Catwg and and his mother St Gwladys, shown in figure 88:



Figure 87. St Catwg and St Gwladys, St Catwg Church, Gelligaer

[1001] 'Capel Gladys Celtic Cross – Gelligaer, Wales', Waymark [online]. Available at http://www.waymarking.com/gallery/image.aspx?f=1&guid=9b35fccf-2421-4b85-aa71-b8ae4239b933 <Accessed 13 April 2020>

Both windows show St Cadog on the left and his mother St Gwladys on the right. The window on the left was added in 1889, and the window on the right was designed by Frank Roper and installed in 1973.

The death of Gwladys

The Life of St Cadog does not report the death of Gwladys and she is last seen along with Gwynllyw giving Cadog everything she possesses, which at that point is her church.[1002] On the other hand, the Life of St Gwynllyw describes Cadog's continuing approval and support after she moves farther away from Gwynllyw, and at her death she is said to be 'deservedly reset in celestial glory'.[1003]

Several locations near Newport are described as having a connection to the tradition of St Gwladys. As discussed previously, St Basil's Church at Bassaleg has been considered as possibly the site of her grave. Until the mid-nineteenth century, a detached grave chapel for St. Gwladys survived close to the church.[1004] A case is also made for a chapel near Tredegar Park. In 1885, Charles Morgan, Lord Tredegar, wrote that 'the precise spot to which she retired has never been ascertained; but though long lost, I am disposed to think can be now satisfactorily identified'.[1005] His description follows:

> On the banks of the river, just above Ebbw Bridge, is a cliff, on the top of which is a small spot of ground, adjoining Tredegar Park walls, of less than half an acre, on which there is a very old cottage. This small, detached spot of ground has always belonged to the church of St Woollos, and was part of the glebe land; and when the glebe lands were sold, a few years ago, it was purchased by Lord Tredegar. The history of it could never be made out. Nothing was known of it; but some have heard the term chapel applied to it. A short distance off, in the Park, there issued from the bank a remarkably beautiful spring of very cold water, over which a bath-house had been erected in 1719, and it always used to be called "The Lady's Well"; but why or in honour of whom it was so called was not known.[1006]

[1002] VSBG, p. 125.
[1003] VSBG, p. 180.
[1004] Knight, 'Society and Religion in the Early Middle Ages', in *Gwent in Prehistory and Early History: The Gwent County History*, vol. 1, p. 277.
[1005] C. Morgan, 'Some Account of the History and Descent of the Lordship Marcher or County of Wentllwch', AC, ser. 5, vol. 2, no. 8 (October 1885), pp. 257–270, p. 263.
[1006] Morgan, 'Some Account of the History and Descent of the Lordship Marcher or County of Wentllwch', AC, p. 263.

Another location is also suggested. In 1892 William Henry Greene sketched a cottage and mound that he identified as the chapel and grave of St Gwladys (fig. 89).[1007] In 1934, A. W. Wade-Evans stated that the chapel, which stood on the left bank of the Ebbw River close to Pont Ebbw, had been 'totally demolished quite recently by the local council'.[1008] While the chapel and well are identified with a supposed grave site near the Ebbw River, the grave of St Gwladys is more likely to have been nearer to St Basil's Church at Bassaleg.

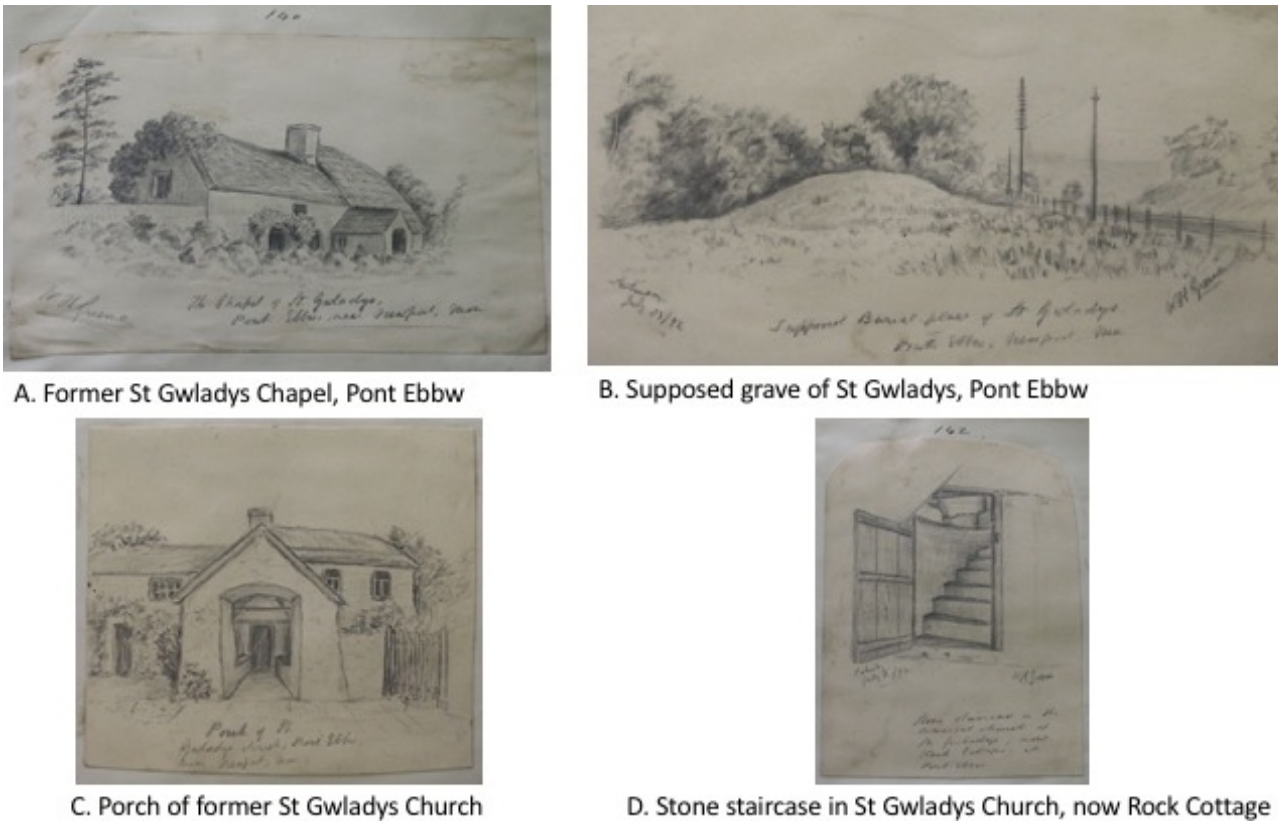


Figure 88. Sketches by William Henry Greene, 1892, of former St Gwladys Church and grave of the saint at Pont Ebbw[1009]

The figure of St Gwladys, usually robed as a queen, has been a popular subject for stained glass windows in Welsh churches and figure 89 shows examples of the ways in which St Gwladys is portrayed in stained glass, where she is often paired with her son, St Cadog, or her husband, St Gwynllyw.[1010]

[1007] 'The Scrapbook of William Henry Greene', Newport Past [online]. Available at http://www.newportpast.com/gallery/whgreene/ <Accessed 27 August 2018>
[1008] B. Coplestone-Crow, 'Robert De La Haye and the Lordship of Gwynllwg: The Norman Settlement of a Welsh Cantref', *Gwent local history the journal of the Gwent Local History Counc*il, vol. 85 (1998), pp. 3–46, p. 21.
[1009] 'The Scrapbook of William Henry Greene', Newport Past [online].
[1010] 'Gwladys Search', Stained Glass in Wales Catalogue, ed. by M. Crampin, CAWCS, Aberystwyth [online]. Available at



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Figure 89. Images of Gwladys in stained glass: (l. to r.): (1) St Sannan's Church, Bedwellty, Caerphilly; (2) St Catwg's Church, Gelligaer; (3) St Augustine's Church, Rumney, Cardiff, and (4) St Woolos Cathedral, Newport[1011]

Although she is identified as a saint, her saintliness is expressed by her halo, while her crown and apparel indicate that she is a queen rather than as a renunciant.

Other children of Gwladys and Gwynllyw

Gwynllyw was said to have had a number of children with Gwladys, but the names and number of children differ. The genealogical tract *Bonedd y Saint* does not mention Gwladys, but identifies Gwynllyw's children as Heugi or Bugi (who was the father of St Beuno), Cynfyw, and Cadog.[1012] A daughter, Maches, first appears in the twelfth-century Life of St Tatheus in MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv, which describes her as a maiden shepherd named Machuta, who was beheaded by robbers who wanted to steal one of her rams.[1013] After the robbers confessed to St Tatheus, the saint built a church on the site of her martyrdom and buried her in his church.[1014] This account contains no connection to Gwladys, but Iolo Morganwg created an account of this martyrdom in Aberystwyth, NLW, MS NLW 13173A, 'Achau Saint Ynys Pryddain o Lyfr Thomas Hopcyn o Llangallo'.[1015] In *Iolo MSS*, she is

http://stainedglass.llgc.org.uk/main.php?quicksearchtext=Gwladys&quickgo=GO&quickgosub=GO <Accessed 13 April 2020>

[1011] 'Gwladys Search', Stained Glass in Wales Catalogue, ed. by M. Crampin, CAWCS [online].
[1012] EWGT, p. 59.
[1013] VSBG, pp. 281–282. See also Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials*, pp. 88 – 89.
[1014] VSBG, pp. 281–282.
[1015] MS NLW 13173A, p. 100.

described as the daughter of Gwynllyw ab Glywys and sister of Cadog, who was stabbed to death by a pagan Saxon while giving charity:

> Maches Santes ym Merthyr Maches, lle ai llas, ferch Gwynlliw, ap.Glywis [sic], ap Tegid a chwaer Cattwg Llancarfan. Maches Santes a roddai Gardorlau i bob tlawd ai gofynai, a Sais o Bagan a elai yn rhith Cardottyn, lle y gwypai ei bod yn rhoi Cardawd, ag ai gwanai dan ei bronn a chyllell.[1016]
>
> (Saint Maches, of Merthyr Maches, where she was slain, the daughter of Gwynlliw, the son of Glywys, the son of Tegid, and sister of Cattwg of Llancarvan. Saint Maches gave alms to every poor person who asked it; and a pagan Saxon went in the guise of a beggar, where he knew she gave alms, and stabbed her in the breast with a dagger.)[1017]

This account does not refer to any of the older genealogies and David Parsons writes that 'the whole story must be ascribed to Iolo Morganwg's invention, apparently taking his starting-point from the name Merthyr Maches'.[1018]

Ceingar mother of St Cynidr

In the Welsh genealogies, Ceingar verch Brychan is named 'Kehingayr' in DSB, 'Keyngair' in CB, both 'Kyngar' and 'Rhinhidyr' in JC20, and 'Reingar' in PB.[1019] Although no husband is mentioned in these pedigrees, she is identified as the mother of St Cynidr, who is called 'Kenider de Glesbyri' in DSB, 'Kenyder sant' in CB, and 'Gynydr sant o Veilienydd' in PB. Other pedigrees identify the father of St Cynidr as St Gwynllyw and husband of Gwladys ferch Brychan, with no mention made of St Ceingar.[1020] For example, in MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv, fol. 6v, a marginal note called 'Generatio Sancti Egwini' (On the birth of St Egwin) states that King Gwynllyw and St Gwladys had three holy sons: Cadog, Egwin, and Keneder, and that Keneder lived in Glasbury.[1021] As described in the previous section about St Gwladys, sources differ as to the name and number of children of Gwynllyw. The pedigree of Gwynllyw by Peter Bartrum in WG1 shows a marriage of Gwynllyw to both Gwladys and Ceingar, but this seems to reflect his desire to reconcile differing traditions rather than an early source that identifies Gwynllyw as having two wives.[1022]

[1016] *Iolo MSS*, p. 131.
[1017] *Iolo MSS*, p. 533.
[1018] Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials*, pp. 88–89.
[1019] EWGT, pp. 15, 18, 43, and 83.
[1020] EWGT, pp. 15, 18, 43, and 83.
[1021] EWGT, p. 21.
[1022] WG1, p. 18.

Evidence of a cult of St Ceingar is lacking, but a strong cult to St Cynidr can be found in Breconshire, where he was said to have been buried in Glasbury at St Peter's Church, formerly dedicated to St Cynidr, while churches are dedicated to both St Cynidr and St Mary in Llangynidr and in Aberyscir.[1023] St Peter Church in Glasbury continues to venerate St Cynidr.

In Herefordshire, St Mary's Church (formerly dedicated to St Cynidr) is located at Kenderchurch, also named for the saint.[1024] The 'Maelienydd' referred to in *PB* entry for Rheingar is an area north-east of Llandrindod Wells in Powys, once a cantref and lordship in east central Wales, where a group of quarries are named 'Maelienydd'.[1025] See appendix A for descriptions of these dedications.

Hunyd wife of Tudwal Pefir

DSB identifies this daughter of Brychan as 'Hunyd, wife of Tudual Flauus and mother of Cunin Cof, who lies under the stone of Meltheu'.[1026] In CB the equivalent place is taken by 'Ninctis wife of Tudwal Befr (*pefr* bright, shining, radiant), mother of Cunin Cof'.[1027] The entry 'Goleudydd wife of Tutwawl Beper' in JC20, is usually described as a corruption in which *Hunyd* is combined with *Goleu*[1028] (both Hunyd and Goleu do disappear from the list); however, Goleuddydd is also the name of the mother of Culhwch in *Culhwch and Olwen*, while in the same tale Cunin Cof is the name of the father of Dalldaf ail Cunin Cof, one of Arthur's warriors.[1029]

Dalldaf ail Cunin Cof also appears in Welsh Triads 41 and 73. In Triad 41, 'Three Lovers' Horses of the Island of Britain', the first line refers to 'Ferlas, march Dalldaf eil Cunin Cof (Strong Grey, horse of Dalldaf son of Cunin Cof) and in Triad 73, 'Three Peers of Arthur's Court', the second peer is 'Dalldaf eil Cynyn Kof' (Dalldaf son of Cunyn Cof).[1030] In *PB*, Cunin Cof is not mentioned, and the wife of Tudwal Befr is called *Nevy[dd]*, followed by:

[1023] LBS, vol. 2, p. 258.
[1024] LBS, vol. 2, p. 258.
[1025] 'Maelienydd', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/search/result?FREETEXT=Maelienydd&SEARCH_MODE=SIMPLE_SEARCH&site_results_page=1 <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1026] EWGT, p. 15.
[1027] EWGT, p. 18. Bartrum gives her name as Hunid in the text. In *BD,* pp. 30 and 37, Wade-Evans translates 'ninctis tutwal pefir Mater cunin Cof' as '[Hunyd wife of] Tutwal Pefir and mother of Cunin Cof'.
[1028] WCD, p. 421.
[1029] WCD, p. 421 and WG1, p. 24.
[1030] TYP, pp. 201, 203 and 318.

‘ac y sydd yn santes yn y lle a elwir Llech Gelyddon yMrrydyn’ (and who is holy in the place known as the Great Goddess of the Prince).[1031] Further analysis of Cunin Cof is beyond the scope of this discussion, but while the name of Hunyd daughter of Brychan varies and that of her husband Tudwal Bepr is unknown except for the pedigrees, the name of Cunin Cof appears in the Triads, the *Book of Taliesin*, and *Culhwch and Olwen*.

The grave of Hunyd at ‘the stone of Meltheu’ is difficult to trace, but the Afon Mellte flows through a remote community in the Brecon Beacons called Ystradfellte, which is near a number of natural caves and waterfalls, including Sgwd Gwladus.[1032]

Royal wives and mothers: conclusion

In general, DSB and the related genealogies establish sanctity as one attribute of the Brychan royal family, but the married daughters add the attribute of strength through alliance, resulting in generations of saints that represent a consolidation of the sanctity of holy families into a palpable force, as demonstrated by their positions as wives and mothers of the most powerful men in Britain during their purported lifetimes. But while DSB goes to lengths to establish ties to powerful British royal families such as Coel Hen, Cunedda Wledig, and Macsen Wledig, none of those royal families reciprocated by showing marriages to the Brychan daughters. If, as Thomas Charles-Edwards suggests, the pedigree of Cunedda Wledig in the *Harleian Genealogies* echoes the Book of Genesis, in which Abraham, Isaac, and Joseph forge through their patrimony a great nation, then the fame and power of the married daughters of Brychan is achieved far from Breconshire and by association with greater kings than those found in their own lineage.[1033] Theirs is greatness by assertion rather than by evidence. For one daughter of a minor king to be married to the greatest king of an age would be striking; for ten to be described as married to several generations’ worth of the most famous names of the age is difficult to comprehend without understanding the needs and concerns of those who commissioned the early pedigrees such as DSB. Enhanced status by association no doubt plays a role, and Christopher Brooke wrote that a favorite line of political manipulation was to name places for the children of a famous or powerful

[1031] EWGT, p. 83. See also the previous discussion of *Nevydd* and *Nefydd* in the section about Nyfain ferch Brychan.
[1032] ‘Ystradfellte’, OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.80951,-3.55331,7/pin <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[1033] Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons 350–1046*, p. 328.

dynasty.[1034] As described in chapter 2, the tract DSB is thought to have been written in Brecon at the Priory of St John the Evangelist during the twelfth century at roughly the same time that Gerald of Wales was recording his impressions of Welsh history, which also included an account of the Brychan family. One can imagine DSB as a vehicle for strengthening political and economic positions by identifying place-names derived from Brychan's extended family in nearby Powys and in Gwent, which is adjacent to Breconshire. Even marriages to the heirs of Cunedda Wledig would bolster the argument that the combination of the holy families of Cunedda and Brychan resulted in many important saints. But what could be gained by asserting marriages to warriors and kings from the far reaches of the northern kingdoms? Alliances with the North Kingdom and Dál Riada seem solely added to impress the reader. It might seem that these royal marriages served no lasting purpose, but the text of DSB expresses a yearning for the greatness of the mythic past, even though its assertions are unanswered. This unrealistic scenario is one of the hallmarks of the heroic-political myth, where 'collective fantasies play a major role in creating a context conducive to the emergence of the myth, for the politico-heroic myth is the product of the collective unconscious'.[1035]

Genealogies of the heroes and kings identified as husbands of the daughters of Brychan do not reciprocate by confirming these marriages. Evidence that these women were considered saints is also scanty. Dedications to these particular daughters are often folkloric rather than hagiographical in nature. Triad 70 is tantalizing, however, in its confirmation of a marriage between Nyfain and Cynfarch Oer and the use of the term *gwyn* (holy, blessed) to describe the miraculous multiple births by Nyfain and her daughters. This Triad emphasises production of the children rather than the children themselves, identifying fertility as a sacred quality, but, taken with the pedigrees that construct links between the royal progenitors and their saintly descendents, this Triad offers another view of a blessed achievement that is far from sexless or ascetic. Triad 70 celebrates a kind of saintliness deployed through royal dynasties by means of the maternal line, in which multiple births of children are equivalent to the miracles documented in the Lives of the saints. Motherhood glorified in the descriptions of these mothers of heroes, kings, poets, and saints poses an attractive alternative to the monastic life. As Jane Cartwright states in *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval*

[1034] C. Brooke, *The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1986), pp. 83–84.
[1035] Ferrier-Caverivière, 'Historical Figures and Mythical Figures', p. 580.

Wales, only three nunneries have been identified in medieval Wales and relatively few real Welsh women seem to have pursued a religious vocation throughout the Middle Ages.[1036] While a majority of the daughters of Brychan are renunciants, the married daughters have roles in which they, too, possess high status and achieve lasting renown as holy women and the mothers of saints.

The unmarried daughters of Brychan

This section about the unmarried daughters of Brychan includes women who are less well known than Eluned, Cain, and Dwynwen. Of the group, little is known about these daughters, and all the sources emerged during the Celtic Revival period. Many of the dedications, however, are medieval. It is possible that older texts explained the veneration of these women, but they have not yet come to light. Figure 90 shows the next a highlighted list of unmarried daughters of Brychan, using the list in DSB.



Figure 90. The unmarried daughters of Brychan

These discussions are grouped loosely around geographic areas: Tudful, Goleu, and Tudwystil in Glamorgan; Tybïe, Lluan (a different tradition from the one described earlier in this chapter), Cynheiddon, and Clydei in Carmarthenshire; and Belyau and Gwendoline in Breconshire. Bethan, Ilid, and Cerdech are mentioned in DSB, but place-names and

[1036] Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales*, p. 94.

dedications are either unknown or too uncertain to connect them with locations, so they are discussed in a section on 'least-known daughters of Brychan'.

Unmarried daughters in Glamorgan

Medieval information about Tudful and Tudwystl is limited, but eighteenth- and nineteenth-century stories about the death of St Tudful, her sister Tudwystl, their father Brychan, and brother Rhun portray Brychan and his children as a family. Goleu daughter of Brychan was also said to live in Glamorgan, with dedications in and north of Cardiff.

Tudful

The legend of the martyrdom of St Tudful and family at the hands of pagan is an interesting example of an emerging story superimposed on a past tradition. While St Dwynwen's modern identity seems largely generated a search for cultural identity and tourism, St Tudful's identity has evolved more naturally as the eponym for a large community in south Wales. These accounts are discussed, along with evidence of her cult such as dedicated churches, imagery, and poetry. Figure 91 shows an image of St Tudful from the stained glass window of St Teilo, St Tudful, and St Elfan in Llandaff Cathedral in Cardiff, which illustrates her fame as one of the founders of the Christian faith in Glamorgan.[1037]



Figure 91. St Tudful, Llandaff Cathedral, Cardiff, Glamorgan[1038]

[1037] 'St Teilo, St Tudful, and St Elfan', Stained Glass in Wales Catalogue, ed. by M. Crampin, CAWCS, Aberystwyth, 2013 [online]. Available at http://stainedglass.llgc.org.uk/object/1868 <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1038] 'St Teilo, St Tudful, and St Elfan', Stained Glass in Wales Catalogue, ed. by M. Crampin, CAWCS, Aberystwyth, 2013 [online].

Of the twenty-eight *merthyr* place-names in Wales that David Parsons analysed in his study *Martyrs and Memorials: Merthyr Place-Names and the Church in Early Wales*, seven (i.e., one-quarter) of them have names echoed by the Brychan family.[1039] The woman saints are daughters Tudful and Tudwystl and daughter of Gwladys, Maches.[1040] The male saints include sons Cyflifer, Cynog (who has two *merthyr* dedications), and Dingad, and Glywys, father of Gwynllyw and grandfather of St Cadog.[1041] Of all these *merthyr* place-names, Merthyr Tydfil is the best known, and accounts of Tudful always mention the town of which she is the eponym.

References before the Reformation are limited to those found in the Welsh genealogies, where DSB numbers her as the second daughter of Brychan and calls her 'Tudeuel filia Brachan in Merthir Euineil'.[1042] Merthir Euineil is seen as a corruption of the name Tydful.[1043] CB lists her fifth and calls her 'Tvtuil, ab ea dicitur Merthir Tutuil'.[1044] JC 20 lists her as the fourteenth of the daughters and calls her '*Tutuel* verch Vrachan ym Merthyr'.[1045] PB lists her twenty-second and calls her 'Tudvyl verch Vrychan y sydd yn santes yMerthyr Tudvyl yMorgannwc'.[1046] Nicholas Roscarrock adds the following article to his collection of saints' Lives:

> Tiduael, his first daughter is noted in a Welsh Peddegree to be the Mother of Brochmael which was put to flight by Edilfride king of the Northumbers when he kild the Monckes of Bangor & made good the prophesie of Sainct Austine as concerning the punishment of them for disobaying him, about the yere of our lord 604.[1047]

This account would seem to conflate Tudful with Tudglid, whose husband was said to be Cyngen ap Cadell and whose son was Brochmael Ysgithrog, described in a previous section about the married daughters of Brychan. But which Welsh pedigree is Roscarrock referring to? John Colgan also identifies Tudful as the wife of Cyngen king of Powys and the mother of Brochmael Ysgithroch, 'who challenged Ethelfred king of Northumbria in the year 603', using Camden and the *Itinerary of Wales* as his sources.[1048] It is not known whether Colgan

[1039] Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials*, pp. 55–97.
[1040] Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials*, pp. 88–19 and 95–97.
[1041] Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials*, pp. 63–65, 68–72, 72–73, and 80–82.
[1042] VSBG, p. 314 and EWGT, p. 15.
[1043] Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials*, p. 96 n393. See also LBS, vol. 4, p. 286.
[1044] VSBG, p. 317, and EWGT, p. 18.
[1045] EWGT, p. 43.
[1046] EWGT, p. 83.
[1047] Roscarrock, p. 60.
[1048] Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 312.

also had access to the same source that Roscarrock used. In a way, while adding to the confusion, Hugh Thomas helps to define the problem, because the sources he cites use a variety of names for the saint. It would seem that Tudglid and Tudful must have looked alike to early copyists, as is shown by Thomas's entry for St Gutuyl:

> St Gutuyl Daughter to Brychan David Powill mistaking the first Letter of her name calls her Tutvyl and Tydvail whome Mr Lewis follows p:32, no56 but Dr Davis p:42, no11 calls her Gwendhydh that is Happy day. She was Wife to Kyngen ap Kenvaur Prince of Powis by whome she had issue Gynyr Kadgaduc Gadelh Dyrnlluc, aBrochmael Yeithrauc Meicmengurac and Sanant wife of Maelgun Gwynith and mother to St Eurgain.[1049]

Thomas also includes in this list an entry for 'Taghuystyl or Tutvel', and this entry clearly refers to the Tudful of the early genealogies, with the same combination of name, parentage, church, and location as previous Tudful entries:

> St Taghuystyl or Tutvel Martir Daughter to Brychan at the Church of her honour called Merther Tutvel in Glamorganshire.[1050]

Therefore, a conflation occurred of one daughter named Gutuyl or Tudvil who married Cyngen ap Cadell and another daughter named Taghuystyl or Tutvel who was a martyr in Glamorgan.

The next issue is that of determining the source that first mentioned that Tudful was killed by pagan Saxons. In *Celtic Remains*, Lewis Morris, like Thomas, lists two saints, but without more information: 'Tydfil ferch Brychan' and 'Tanglwyst alias Tanglwystl ferch Brychan'.[1051] Morris, therefore, is not the source of new information. Iolo, however, copied an account of the death of St Tudful from a source that he calls the *Book of Thomas Truman* into a manuscript now held as MS NLW 13173A:[1052]

> Tudful santes hi ym Merthyr Tudfyl ym Morganwc lle ai llar y Paganiait Saeson, pan oedd afar yn yngyflwyn ai Thad agynten hen wr, a Brodyr iddi guo gyda hi ap ymfail an Tad a rhinthorair am ap lle yddacddent a'r trefor digred ar Gwyddyll Fichti paganiaid a Rhun Dremrudd mab Brychan alar yno. A Nefydd ap Rhun ei fab yn lanc ap barf a ymwrmeg o weled hadd ei dad a galw gwyr attaw a gymruffo ar ei olynion. Tudful

[1049] MS Harley 4181, p. 138.
[1050] MS Harley 4181, p. 139.
[1051] Morris, *Celtic Remains*, pp. 401 and 417.
[1052] MS NLW 13173A and MS NLW 3100B.

> ferch Brychan oedd gwraig Cyngen ap Cadell Dernllwg a mam Brochwel Ysgithrawc.[1053]
>
> (Saint Tudful in Merthyr Tudful in Glamorgan who was killed by Pagan Saxons when visiting her aged father, and to confer together in their sorrow when they were attacked by pagan Irish Picts and Rhun Dremrudd son of Brychan was killed there. And his young son Nefydd son of Rhun from seeing his father shouted and put the men to flight to the river. Tudful daughter of Brychan was wife of Cyngen son of Cadell.)

Without substantiation, this legend of Tudful is likely to have been a forgery by Iolo Morganwg, but at the time, it was accepted and the story was repeated widely. As described in Chapter 2, Iolo's story of Tudful is repeated by William Owen Pughe in *Cambrian Biography*, by Taliesin Williams in *Iolo MSS*.[1054] Llewelyn Pritchard (*d.* 1875?) used much the same account in *The Heroines of Welsh History* (1854) and so did local Merthyr Tydfil historian Charles Wilkins (1831–1913) for his versions of Tudful's martyrdom in *The History of Merthyr Tydfil* (1867) and *Tales and Sketches of Wales* (1879).[1055]

Wilkins stated that he drew his account of the death of St Tudful with her husband, sons, father Brychan, and brother Rhun and Rhawin from the *Cambrian Biography* by William Owen Pughe and the Truman Manuscripts collected by Iolo Morganwg.[1056] Wilkins greatly increases the drama in the story, although an even more emotive version can be found in *Tales and Sketches of Wales*.[1057] Wilkins sets the scene 'about the year 420 on the 23rd of August' at the site later known as Merthyr Tydfil in Glamorgan.[1058]

The story of Tudful and the death of Brychan

The story begins with Tudful meeting her father when he was an old man, attended by some of her brothers, and Wilkins foreshadows the drama to come by stating that family members were visiting a sister living nearby at Troedyrhiw because they were worried about recent attacks by Irish Picts, 'so the old man and his family met to sympathise together in their sorrows'.[1059] Since his source material does not mention this, Wilkins would appear to be

[1053] MS NLW 13173A, pp. 68–69.
[1054] Pughe, *The Cambrian Biography* and *Iolo MSS*.
[1055] L. Pritchard, *The Heroines of Welsh History* (London: W. and P. G. Cash, 1854).
[1056] Wilkins, *The History of Merthyr Tydfil,*pp. 3–5.
[1057] MS NLW 13173A, MS NLW 3100B, and Owen, p. 322. In *Iolo MSS*, see 'Achau a Gwelygorddau Saint Ynys Prydain', pp. 115–134 and 515–537.
[1058] Wilkins, *The History of Merthyr Tydfil,* pp. 3–4.
[1059] Wilkins, *The History of Merthyr Tydfil,* pp. 3–4.

deliberately creating an atmosphere of melancholy combined with a sense of impending danger:[1060]

> Vivid the picture that greets the imagination: the care-worn chieftain, the fair Tydfil, her blooming sons, her warlike brothers, her husband too, was there. Sorrow must have fled at such a time. And near tranquilly-flowing Taff, unsullied then, the hills, the Beacons, their grand background, they lingered![1061]

The Thomas Truman account reports next that the Brychan family was attacked by pagan Saxons and Irish Picts ('Gwyddelian Fichte').[1062] Wilkins, however, takes his time in telling the story. After setting a scene that celebrates the pastoral setting of the family gathering, Wilkins' account of the attack focuses his outrage on the ethnicity and the pagan identity of the enemy:

> While here a band of the Picts, Brachtyr Fichti, and Saxons poured down from the mountains, and an indiscriminate massacre began. Neither prayer nor beauty softened the heathen heart.[1063]

After this part of the story, no two accounts agree as to who was killed and where the action took place. The account attributed to 'Thomas Truman' states that Tudful, her father, and her brother Rhun Dremrudd were killed, but the young Nefydd son of Rhun raised the countryside and put the enemy to flight.[1064] *The Iolo MSS* reports that only Rhun Dremrudd son of Brychan was killed at the meeting place.[1065] Wilkins' version has Tudful, Brychan, and her husband and children killed there.[1066] The battle then moved to the River Taff near Troedyrhiw, where two of the sons of Brychan continue to lead the fight:

> Rhawin and Rhun with others escaped for a while, but were pursued, and while desperately defending a bridge over the Taff, at Troedyrhiw, they

[1060] Wilkins, *The History of Merthyr Tydfil,* pp. 3–4.
[1061] Wilkins, *The History of Merthyr Tydfil,* pp. 3–4. In *Iolo MSS*, pp. 121 ('Tudfyl, Santes hi ym Merthyr Tudfyl ym Merthyr Tudfyl ym Morganwc, lle ai llas gan y Paganiaid Saeson, pan oedd yno yn ymgyflwyn ai Thad') and 520 ('Tydfil is a saint in Merthyr Tudvyl in Glamorganshire, where she was slain by the pagan Saxons, while she was there holding intercourse with her father who was an aged man, and her brothers there with her visiting her father').
[1062] Pughe, *Cambrian Biography*, p. 332.
[1063] Wilkins, *The History of Merthyr Tydfil,* pp. 3–4. See also *Iolo MSS*, pp. 121 ('a rhuthraw am y lle ydd oeddent o'r Saeson digred ar Gwyddyl Ffichti paganiaid') and 520 ('the pagan Saxons and Gwyddelian Picts rushed upon the place, and Rhun Dremrudd, the son of Brychan, was there slain').
[1064] Owen, *Cambrian Biography*, p. 332.
[1065] *Iolo MSS*, pp. 121 and 520.
[1066] Wilkins, *The History of Merthyr Tydfil,* pp. 3–4.

> fell mortally wounded. This filled the pagan soul with delight, but their triumph was brief.[1067]

This violent scene is depicted in one scene in a three-light window (fig. 92) in Llandaff Cathedral, designed by Robert Newbury, built by Charles Powell Studio, and installed in 1910, where the window shows St Teilo on the left, St Tudful in the middle, and St Elfan on the right, with each saint positioned over a dramatic scene.[1068]



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Figure 92. Martyrdom of St Tudful and Family, Llandaff Cathedral

[1067] Wilkins, *The History of Merthyr Tydfil,* pp. 3–4. See also *Iolo MSS*, pp. 121 and 520.
[1068] 'St Teilo, St Tudful and St Elfan', Stained Glass in Wales Catalogue, ed. by Crampin, CAWCS, Aberystwyth, 2013 [online].

The story changes directions abruptly as Nefydd son of Rhun 'hastily gathered the natives together, and, rendered invincible by the terrible strength of their passion and of their revenge, poured down on the heathen Picts like a mountain flood, scattering them to the winds'.[1069] The account concludes with the burial of Tudful and the naming of the community for the martyred saint:

> And then, amid the sobs of a stern but loving race, we can imagine the bleeding remains gathered, and placed, with solemn affection, in the scene where the foul murder had been committed; and as Merthyr Tydfil, or Martyr Tudful, the little hamlet became known and memorable.[1070]

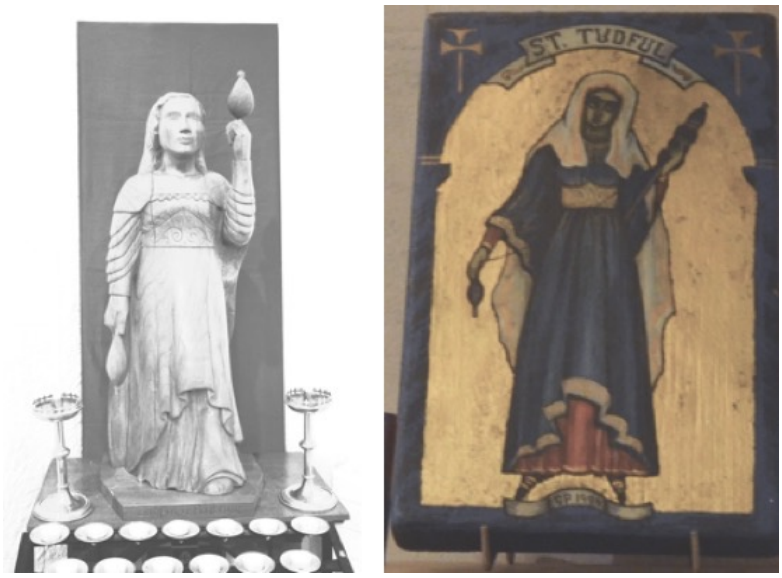
Although the date of the foundation of Tudful's church is unknown, by the twelfth-century writing of DSB, she was associated with Merthyr Tydfil. The *1291 Taxatio Eccesiastica* lists 'Ecclesia de Merther' under the patronage of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford.[1071] Now called St Tydfil's Old Parish Church (fig. 93), the church is located in the centre of Merthyr Tydfil, built on the spot traditionally believed to the site of Tudful's martyrdom.[1072] The present church was built in 1894, replacing a church constructed in 1808.[1073] In 1968 the church was closed when St David Parish Church replaced it, but the church continued to be used as a Chapel of Rest and for special services for many years before being formally re-opened in August 2014.[1074]

[1069] Wilkins, *The History of Merthyr Tydfil,* p. 4.
[1070] Wilkins, *The History of Merthyr Tydfil,* p. 4.
[1071] 'Benefice of Merthyr Tydfil', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.LL.17 <Accessed 13 April 2020> For the original record, see Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives Office, Lincoln Dean and Chapter Muniments, A1/11 p. 200^{v}.
[1072] 'St Tydfil's Old Parish Church', The Parish of Merthyr Tydfil [online]. Available at https://parishofmerthyrtydfil.com/st-tydfils-old-parish-church <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1073] 'St Tydfil's Old Parish Church', The Parish of Merthyr Tydfil [online].
[1074] 'St Tydfil's Old Parish Church', The Parish of Merthyr Tydfil [online].



Figure 93. Views of St Tydfil Old Parish Church, Merthyr Tydfil[1075]

The church contains a number of dedications to the saint; for example, figure 94 shows a statue of St Tudful that stands at a side altar and also an icon of the saint that is flanked by candles:



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Figure 94. Statue (left) and icon (right) of St Tudful , St Tydfil Old Parish Church, Merthyr Tydfil

Both images show the saint standing, holding a distaff. She is clothed almost identically in both images, and the official blazon of Merthyr Tydfil (fig. 95) shows similar iconography.

[1075] 'Images for St Tydfil's Church, High Street, Merthyr Tydfil', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/394/images/ <Accessed 13 April 2020>



Figure 95. Merthyr Tydfil Blazon[1076]

The arms are 'Azure a Figure representing Saint Tydvil the Martyr in chief two Crosses patée fitchée all Or', and Taliesin Williams adopted the motto 'Nid cadarn ond brodyrrde', which means 'Not force, but fellowship' from the original motto of his father, Iolo Morganwg.[1077] The arms were officially granted on August 17, 1906 and regranted in 1976 and 1996 when the town was enlarged.[1078] Images of St Tudful have been used in a number of other civic and product logos (fig. 96):



Figure 96. 2018 Merthyr Tydfil logos using images of the saint[1079]

[1076] 'Merthyr Tydfil', Heraldry of the World [online]. Available at http://www.ngw.nl/heraldrywiki/index.php?title=Merthyr_Tydfil <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1077] M. Llewelyn, *Merthyr Tudful: A History of Place-Names* (Brynach: Llyfrau Brynach, 2013), p. 18.
[1078] Llewelyn, *Merthyr Tudful: A History of Place-Names*, p. 18.
[1079] 'Welcome to Merthyr.gov.uk', Merthyr Tydfil County Burough Council [online]. Available at https://www.merthyr.gov.uk/resident/ <Accessed 13 April 2020>

Another image associated with St Tudful is a cross carved on one of two ancient standing stones preserved in the church (fig. 97), which has been used as the inspiration for a modern design by goldsmith Rhiannon Evans, whose jewellry company includes the piece in its product line:[1080]

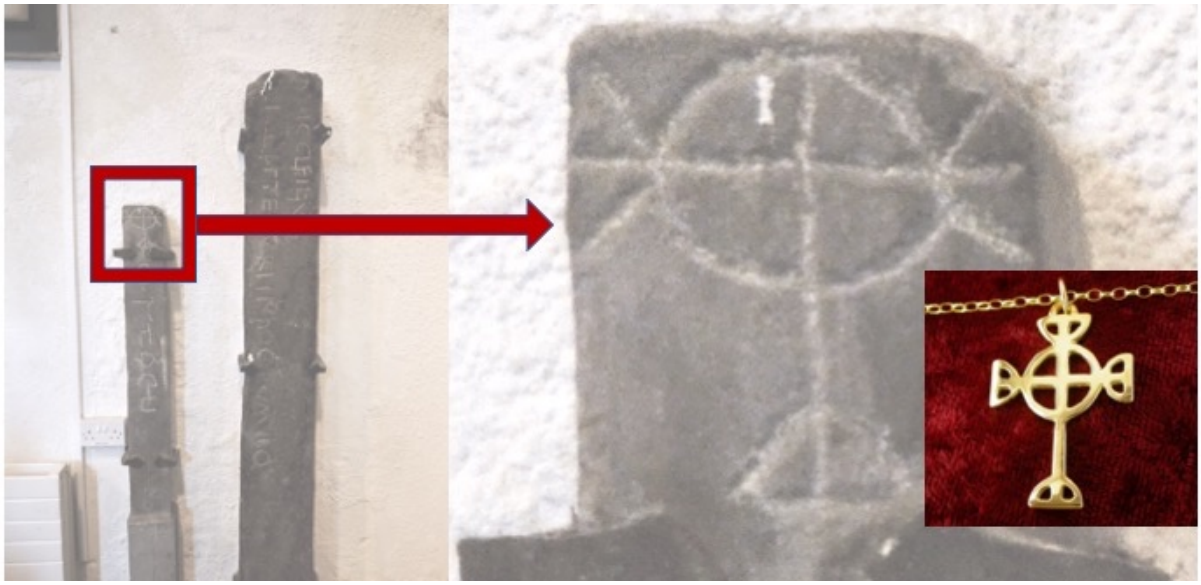


Figure 97. Standing stone, Merthyr Tydfil Church, Merthyr Tydfil, Glamorgan used for design by goldsmith Rhiannon Evans of Tregaron, Ceredigion[1081]

The dedications within the church indicate a cult with strong, consistent images of the saint and other kinds of imagery, such as her cross and distaff.

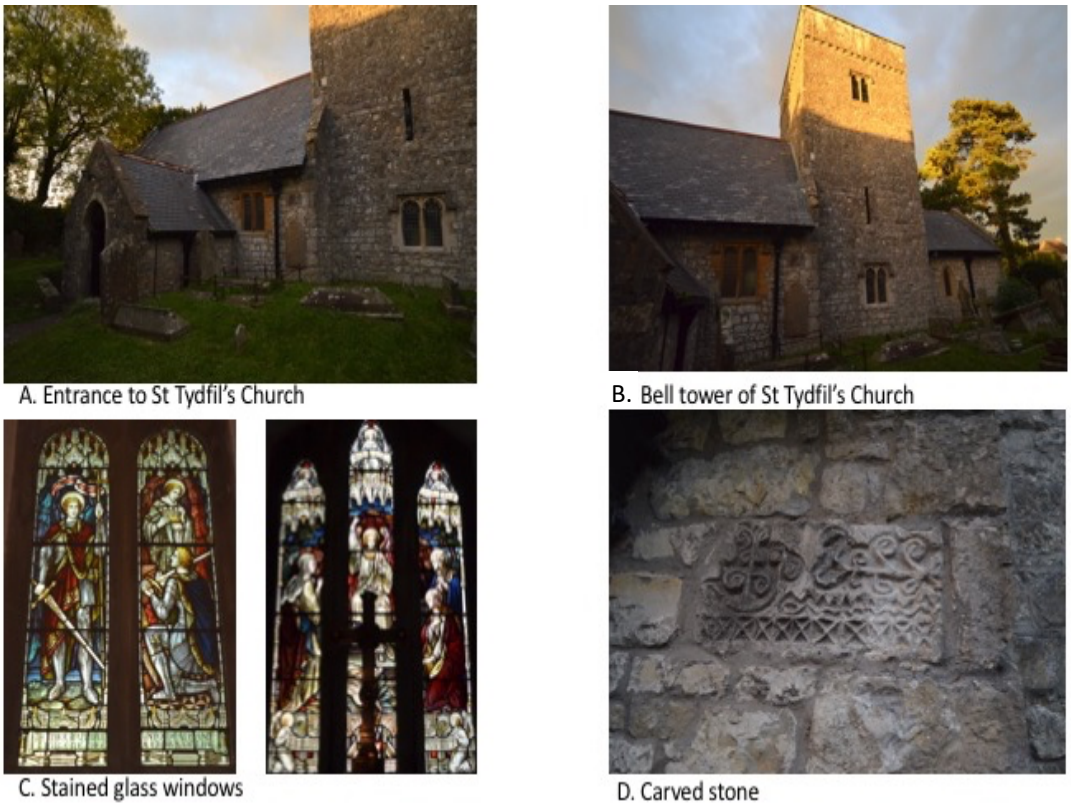
Other churches throughout Wales are dedicated to St Tudful. St Tydfil's Well Church (fig. 98) in Merthyr Tydfil is locally known as the Quar Church, built by the second marquis of Bute as a chapel of ease for workers at the Cyfarthfa Ironworks who lived near the quarry.[1082]

[1080] '9ct Gold St Tydfil Cross Pendant', Rhiannon® [online]. Available at https://www.rhiannon.co.uk/en <Accessed 13 April 2020> See also Redknap and Lewis, *A Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales*, vol. 1, pp. 484–485.
[1081] '9ct Gold St Tydfil Cross Pendant', Rhiannon® [online].
[1082] 'St Tydfil's Well Church, The Quar', The Parish of Merthyr Tydfil, St David and Abercanaid [online]. Available at https://parishofmerthyrtydfil.com/st-tydfils-well <Accessed 13 April 2020>



Figure 98. St Tydfil's Well Church, Merthyr Tydfil

Another dedication in Glamorgan is St Tydfil Church in the centre of the town of Llysworney (fig. 99), built originally in the twelfth century as a chapel of ease of Llantwit Major, where the name and tower probably date from the fifteenth century. [1083]Llysworney was also the site of a *llys* of the ruling family of Glwysing, who were also commemorated at Llantwit Major.[1084]



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Figure 99. Views of St Tydfil's Church, Llysworney

[1083] 'St Tydfil's Church, Llysworney', Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/409956/details/st-tydfils-church-llysworney <Accessed 2 April 2020>
[1084] Redknap and Lewis, *A Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales*, vol. 1, pp. 575–577.

Two fairly new dedications can be found in the counties of Ceredigion and Wrexham. In Llechryd southwest of Cardigan a new church dedicated to St Tudful was built in 1877 and 1877 to replace the medieval church dedicated to the Holy Cross, which is located 260 metres south-east of the new church.[1085] Figure 100 shows both structures:



A. St Tydfil Church, Llechryd

B. Holy Cross Church (ruin), Llechryd

© 2015 Eric Mehan

Figure 100. St Tydfil Church, Llechryd, Cardiganshire

In the county of Wrexham, St Tudful Church (fig. 101) was opened in Coedpoeth in 1875 as a chapel of ease within the ecclesiastical parish of Minera.[1086]



[1085] 'St Tydfil's Church, Llechryd, RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/400313/details/st-tydfils-church-llechryd <Accessed 1 February 2020>
[1086] 'St Tydful's Church', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/96661/details/st-tudfils-church-coedpoeth <Accessed 1 February 2020>

Figure 101. St Tudful Church, Coedpoeth, Wrexham[1087]

It is of interest that the churches in Llechryd and Coedpoeth and St Tydfil's Well Church in Merthyr Tydfil are fairly new churches. Usually the congregations of churches dedicated to the daughters of Brychan dwindle until they are closed, but in this case two dedications to St Tudful have been added.

Art, including stained glass windows and poetry

Stained glass windows of St Tudful are located in a number of churches in south Wales (fig. 102), where variation in the colours used, the saint's image and dress, and the setting create differing images of the saint. Although she carries the palm of the martyr in the first and third windows, she is not pictured suffering, but stands calmly, looking straight ahead.



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Figure 102. Stained glass windows of St Tudful, from left to right, in (a) Llandaff Cathedral, (b) St James Church in Cardiff, (c) St Issell Church in Churchton, and (d) St David Parish Church in Merthyr Tydfil[1088]

[1087] 'Coedpoeth', Clwyd Family History Society [online]. Available at http://www.clwydfhs.org.uk/eglwysi/coedpoeth.htm <Accessed 1 February 2020>

[1088] 'St Teilo, St Tudful, and St Elfan', Stained Glass in Wales Catalogue, ed. by M. Crampin, CAWCS, Aberystwyth, 2013 [online]; 'St Tudful *from* Christ in Majesty With Welsh Saints', Stained Glass in Wales, ed. by M. Crampin, University of Wales CAWCS, Aberystwyth, 2013 [online]. Available at http://stainedglass.llgc.org.uk/image/3601#largeimage < Accessed 13 April 2020>; 'St Elfan and St Tudful', Stained Glass in Wales, ed. by M. Crampin, CAWCS, Aberystwyth, 2013 [online]. Available at http://stainedglass.llgc.org.uk/object/4650 <Accessed 13 April 2020>; and 'St David and St Tudful', Stained Glass in Wales, ed. by M. Crampin, CAWCS, Aberystwyth, 2013 [online]. Available at http://stainedglass.llgc.org.uk/image/8802#largeimage <Accessed 13 April 2020>

In the poem 'In praise of Sir William, priest of Merthyr Tydfil', written in the 1430s, the medieval praise poet Guto'r Glyn (*c.* 1412–*c.* 1493) casts the priest of Merthyr Tydfil in the role of love poet of his patron saint.[1089] The poem sets out the worthiness of St Tudful as object of his love and describes his devotion as he promises her gifts:

> Dlysau heirdd (mor dlos yw hi!):
> Croywglych, cyweirio'r eglwys,
> Llyfrau a chreiriau a chrwys.
>
> (handsome treasures (she is so beautiful!):
> sweet-sounding bells, refurbishment of the church,
> books and relics and crosses.)[1090]

She is described carefully making her choice to love him in return, a devotion described that echoes a long, contented marriage:

> Ac nid oedd, o gwneid addef,
> Addwyn dyn iddi ond ef.
>
> (And, if truth be told, there couldn't be
> a suitable man for her besides him.)[1091]

In the final stanza, the parishioners become like children sheltered by the love of parents at home, which is the church where the priest serves St Tudful and she returns his devotion:

> Ein tad yw, berchen tŷ da,
> A'n gwardain, enwog wrda,
> O'i chôr teg, â chariad hardd
> I Dudful, a'i diwydfardd;
> Ymaddaw y mae iddi
> A phrydu, hwyl i'w phryd hi,
> Odlau serch, ddiedlaes hawl,
> A chywyddau bucheddawl.
> Ei gywydd beunydd o'i ben,
> Eiriau ffwrm, yw'r efferen.
> O gariad hon, y gŵr teg
> A rwym awdl o ramadeg.
>
> (He is our father, a good householder,
> and our guardian for her fair chancel,
> a famous gentleman, with splendid love
> for St Tudful, and her faithful poet:

[1089] G. Glyn, '16—In praise of Sir William, priest of Merthyr Tydfil', ed. by B. Lewis, Guto'r Glyn.net [online]. Available at http://www.gutorglyn.net/gutorglyn/poem/?poem-selection=016 <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1090] G. Glyn, '16—In praise of Sir William, priest of Merthyr Tydfil', ed. by Lewis, Guto'r Glyn.net [online].
[1091] G. Glyn, '16—In praise of Sir William priest of Merthyr Tydfil', ed. by Lewis, Guto'r Glyn.net [online].

he pledges himself to her
and sings, joy in her face,
awdlau of love, no feeble claim,
and virtuous *cywyddau*.
His *cywydd* daily from his lips
is the mass, words following a set form.
For love of this girl, the fair man
binds together an *awdl* in correct Latin.)[1092]

In contrast to the medieval depictions of Eluned, Cain, and Dwynwen (chs. 5, 6, and 7), this description of St Tudful is not of a woman withdrawn from the world, but of a woman of warmth and loving devotion, albeit of a pure and pious nature.

Dedications at Troedyrhiw

No records indicate that Brychan, Rhun, Rhawin, and the other victims are also buried on the site of St Tydfil Old Parish Church in Merthyr Tydfil. There do not appear to be dedications to anyone but Tudful at the church. Rhun, however, is remembered at Troedyrhiw, where the bridge is named Pont-y-Rhun (fig. 103).



Figure 103. Pont-y-Rhun, Troedyrhiw

[1092] G. Glyn, '16—In praise of Sir William priest of Merthyr Tydfil', ed. by Lewis, Guto'r Glyn.net [online].

The bridge is marked with a plaque that refers to the death of Rhun and his family, this time identifying the enemy as Picts, another example of civic hagiography, as the plaque (fig. 104) describes the incident as if it were a historical event:

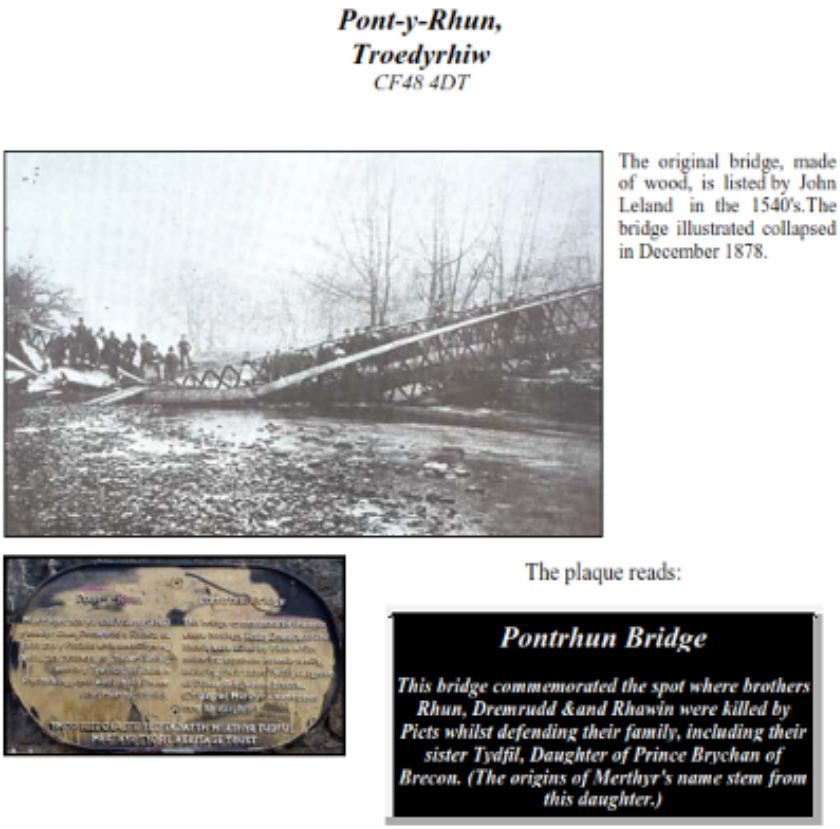


Figure 104. Plaque at Pont-y-Rhun[1093]

Sanws

In adition to the describing the ambush of the Brychan clan and Rhun's death at Pont-y-rhun, Wilkins creates an uncertain place-name association by referring to a daughter of Brychan named Sanws, whose name is found at Mynydd Kilsanws and Ynys Sanos in Glynneath Valley north of Merthyr Tydfil. Wilkins describes the place-name as follows:

> *Kil* is Irish for church, and it may be assumed that in the fifth century a small wattled church, a mere thing that stout men with axes in their hands could form in any woody district, here once raised its humble head.[1094]

[1093] 'Pont-y-Rhun, Troedyrhiw', Merthyr Tydfil Heritage Trust [online]. Available at http://merthyrtydfilheritagetrust.org.uk/heritage-plaques-buildings-052.php <Accessed 2 April 2020>
[1094] Wilkins, *The History of Merthyr Tydfil,* p. 5.

Merthyr Tydfil: A Book of Place-Names also identifies Sanws as a daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog.[1095] The OS Map shows Cefn Kilsanws just north of Merthyr Tydfil.[1096] The Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust defines Cefn Cil-Sanws (fig. 105) as an 'unenclosed upland, minor agricultural industrial extractive landscape; disused rifle range; historic religious place name associations'.[1097] The report states that 'place-name evidence indicates that the area may be associated with an early Christian church/monastic settlement (Cil or Church of Sanos, the sister of St Tydfil).[1098]



Figure 105. Cefn Cil-Sanws, Merthyr Tydfil area, Glamorgan[1099]

The mountain is the site of a number of prehistoric monuments; for example, Cadw has classified the remains of a ring cairn as a scheduled monument of probably the Bronze Age

[1095] Llywelyn, *Merthyr Tudful: A History of Place-Names*, p. 12.
[1096] 'Cefn Cilsanws', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.78263,-3.41565,7/pin <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1097] 'O60 Cefn Cil-Sanws', Historic Landscape Characterisation Merthyr Tydfil, Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust [online]. Available at http://www.ggat.org.uk/cadw/historic_landscape/Merthyr_Tydfil/English/Merthyr_060.htm <Accessed 2 April 2020>
[1098] 'O60 Cefn Cil-Sanws', Historic Landscape Characterisation Merthyr Tydfil, Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust [online]. Available at http://www.ggat.org.uk/cadw/historic_landscape/Merthyr_Tydfil/English/Merthyr_060.htm <Accessed 2 April 2020>
[1099] 'O60 Cefn Cil-Sanws', Historic Landscape Characterisation Merthyr Tydfil, Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust [online]. Available at http://www.ggat.org.uk/cadw/historic_landscape/Merthyr_Tydfil/English/Merthyr_060.htm <Accessed 2 April 2020>

that is 'of national importance for its potential to enhance our knowledge of prehistoric burial rites and ritual, social organisation and the environment'. The feature is an important relic of a prehistoric funerary and ritual landscape and retains significant archaeological potential, with a strong probability of both structural evidence and the presence of intact burial or ritual deposits.[1100]

Tanglwystl

Among transcripts by Walter Davies of Lewis Morris's genealogical analysis, Aberystwyth, NWL, MS Additional 1657C shows that Morris conflated Tangwystl with Tydfil:

> 13th Tangwystl Tydvil lived in Glam. Lhuyd says her name should be written Tanguistil, and thinks a word has been omitted in the copy—or probably that Tydvil was only an agnomen. She suffered martyrdom—at Merthyr Tydvil. According to Owen – (Camb. Biog: p. 39.) when the authority of the Pantllwyd or Llansannor MS, she met her father when he was an old man, attended by some of her brothers, whereupon they were beset by a party of pagan Invaders, and she and her father and brother Rhun Drem Rudd were murdered. But Nefyd the son of Rhun, then a youth, raised a levey en masse—and routed the Infidels.[1101]

Charles Wilkins had a different approach, including both Tydfil and her sister Tanglwystl in his account. According to the legend of the death of St Tudful and family told by Charles Wilkins, the Brychan family travelled from Brecon to visit Tanglwystl at her summer home:

> The daughter whom we believe Brychan and Tydfil came to visit at the time of the murder was Tanglwystl. An old farmhouse in the neighbourhood of Troedyrhiw is known as Havod Tanglwys; and this we identify as her summer abode—a spot singularly beautiful even at the present day. She was a much-loved daughter of Brychan, and is said by Llewelyn Pritchard to have been named in remembrance of renewed affection on the part of Brychan for his wife after a long separation. Assuming this Havod to be as we imagine, there is no longer any mystery why the Brychan family were so far away from Brecon when the pagans fell upon them.[1102]

Hafod y Tanglwys Isaf Farm can be found on the outskirts of Aberfan in the area near Troedyrhiw. Figure 106 shows a photo of the farm house posted when the farm was put up for sale in 2016:

[1100] 'Cefn Cil-Sanws ring cairn', Scheduled Monuments Full Report, Cadw [online]. Available at https://cadwpublic-api.azurewebsites.net/reports/sam/FullReport?lang=&id=4020 <Accessed 2 April 2020>
[1101] Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Additional 1657, p. 103.
[1102] Wilkins, *The History of Merthyr Tydfil,* p. 5.



Figure 106. Hafod Tanglwst located in Aberfan[1103]

See also Tydwystl in the following section about the daughters of Brychan in Carmarthenshire.

Goleu

DSB, CB, and PB agree that Goleu daughter of Brychan lived in Laneschin.[1104] Peter Bartrum states that in JC20, Goleu was conflated with Hunyd to become Goleudyd, the wife of Tudwal Befr (see the previous discussion about the married daughters of Brychan).[1105]

Two springs in Glamorgan (Pistyll Goleu, Llanwonno and Pistyll Goleu, Cardiff) are named for Goleu. Llan Heskyn has not been identified; however, W. J. Rees suggested a place called Glan Hesgyn in Llanfair Cilgedin in Monmouthshire as the home of Goleu.[1106] Glan Isca, a farm on the outskirts of Llanfair Kilgeddin, could be this place.[1107] Another view is that Llan Heskyn refers to Risca in Monmouthshire:

> The suggestion has been made that the 'Llaneskin' (i.e. Llanhesgen) associated with Goleuddydd, daughter of Brychan, king of Brycheiniog and mentioned in the 'Lives of the Cambro British Saints' was indeed the early (6th century) name for Risca which subsequently became 'yr hesg cae'. This is interesting because evidence for the existence of Celtic chapels associated with other 'daughters of Brychan' is suggested by the Welsh names of places close by. The farm at Llandanglws, above

[1103] 'Hafod-Tanglwys Isaf, British Listed Buildings [online]. Available at https://britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/300080876-hafod-tanglwys-isaf-merthyr-vale <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1104] EWGT, pp. 15, 18, and 83.
[1105] WCD, p. 330.
[1106] Rees, *Lives of the Cambro British Saints*, p. 607.
[1107] 'Llanfair Kilgeddin', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.75904,-2.94381,7/pin <Accessed 3 September 2018>

> Pontymister, was once the 'llan' of Tanglwst, and the old name of the farm Machen-fach, i.e. Llanaust, suggests that it was once the 'llan' of Hawystal. Unfortunately, there is no evidence whatsoever that Risca was once Llanhesgen and even if this were so, the next step to 'yr hesg cae' does not necessarily follow.[1108]

See appendix A for more information about Pistyll Goleu, Llanwonno, and Pistyll Goleu in Cardiff.

Unmarried daughters of Brychan in Breconshire

The three daughters of Brychan discussed in this section are associated exclusively with Breconshire, but on the surface they seem to have little to do with each other. Belyau is mentioned in one Welsh genealogical tract only. Gwendoline has several dedications and her name appears in a number of locations, but her identity is often confused with traditions of other saints named Gwen. As for Ilid, possible dedications are usually attributed to other saints.

Belyau

In textual sources Belyau daughter of Brychan is only referred to in DSB. A site dedicated to her in the community of Llanfilo is located about five and one-half miles from Brecon, and other dedicated sites where one finds St Bilo's Church, Ffynnon Filo, and Allt Filo.[1109] Llanfilo Camp, a large Iron Age hillfort, can be found at the summit of the ridge.[1110]

This community is also connected the legend of St Eluned collected by Hugh Thomas, in which the fugitive saint sought safety at Llanfilo, Llanddew, and Llechfaen until she found sanctuary at Slwch Manor near Brecon.[1111] No legends related to Belyau appear to be extant. St Bilo's Church was sometimes thought to be dedicated to St Milburga, who is associated with Shropshire rather than Breconshire, but the church is now generally considered to be dedicated to Belyau.[1112]

[1108] G. Osborne, 'Notes on the Origin of the Place Name "Risca"', *Gwent Local History*, no. 67, (Autumn 1989), pp. 3–10, p. 7. See also *History of St Gwynllyw's Church* (Newport: Robt. H. Johns, 1893), p. 117.
[1109] VSBG, p. 315 and EWGT, p. 16. Note: Wade-Evans spelled her name *Belyau*. See also 'Llanfilo', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/217/details/st-bilos-church-llanfilo <Accessed 2 October 2018>
[1110] 'Llanfilo Camp', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/306046/details/llanfilo-camp <Accessed 1 February 2020>
[1111] MS Harley 4181, fols 141–142.
[1112] Jones, *A History of the County of Brecknock*, vol. 1, p. 194. Theophilus Jones believed the dedication belonged to St Milburg, saying, 'Llanfilo, dedicated to St. Milburg, a saint of the 7th Century, and mentioned in

Gwen

Gwen is the only daughter of Brychan who is said to have lived and died in Talgarth, where Brychan was said to have had his court. The medieval Welsh genealogies DSB and JC20 refer to Gwen daughter of Brychan in Talgarth.[1113] JC20 also includes 'Gwenn daughter of Brychan in Mon mother of the Welsh', but Peter Bartrum calls this 'a mistake for Dwyn, also called Dwynwen'.[1114] Gwen is remembered in two churches in Breconshire, St Gwendoline's Church in Talgarth and St Gwendoline's Church in Llyswen.

In the post-Reformation genealogies, CB and PB echo the entry in DSB.[1115] Nicholas Roscarrock lists two entries for Gwen, but only the first entry is for Gwen daughter of Brychan:

> of St Gwen
>
> Sainct Gwen was the 17 Daughter of St Brechanus & was the wife of May & the mother of Sannan the wife of Malgo Venedotus, & had her memorie observed in Halgarth saith Ed. Powel, Pre[ist]: whether shee be called St Wenna or Wennon in in St Nectan's life I cannot say thoughe it is likley shee was one of those twooe, both which are noted to be St Brechanus children; And if I bee not deceived there is a church dedicated to one of them in Cornwall, called St Wenne. The Book of Landaff maketh her the 20th Daughter and saith shee is remembered in Talgarth: lib[er] Landaf.[1116]

In the late seventeenth century, Hugh Thomas called her St Gwen daughter to Brychan in Talgarth and identified her feast day as 20 September.[1117] He also called her 'the same whome all our Welsh Heralds call Gwenlhian the wife of Lhyr Mol Wynen a Prince of

---

the *Taxatio*, is probably a pre-Norman foundation. Llandefailog Tre'r Graig is a chapelry of Llanfilo'. For a contrasting view, see LBS, vol. 1, p. 204, where Baring-Gould and Fisher quote Egerton Phillimore in supporting the dedication to Belyau: 'As Mr. Egerton Phillimore has shown (see his note in Owen, Pembrokeshire, vol. 3, p. 325), the Breconshire Church Llanvillo, in Welsh Llanfilo, clearly took its name from and is really dedicated to Belyau, who was, according to the Cognatio of Cott. Vesp. A. xiv, one of the daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog. The church is usually given as dedicated to S. Milburgh, but this is a mere guess. It is called in ancient charters Lanbilio and Lanbiliou.'

[1113] EWGT, pp. 16 and 43.
[1114] EWGT, pp. 44 and 138.
[1115] EWGT, pp. 19 and 83.
[1116] Roscarrock, p. 77.
[1117] MS Harley 4181, p. 129.

Berniha or Northumberland a son of Meirchion Gel Gadern and mother to the renowned Cradoc Fraich Fras Prince of Ferlex'.[1118]

During the Celtic Revival, Gwen became one of the daughters of Brychan described by Iolo Morganwg as having been 'killed by the pagan Saxons':

> Gwen ferch Frychan, ei heglwys yn Nhalgarth, lle ai llas gan y Paganiaid Saeson.[1119]
>
> (Gwen daughter of Brychan, her church was in Talgarth, she was killed by Pagan Saxons.) [1120]

A number of saints named Gwen have no relationship to the Brychan family. Saints with the male form of the name include Gwyn, one of the five joint patrons of Pumsaint chapel in Cynwyl Gaeo parish in Carmarthenshire, and Guen, who has a number of dedications in Brittany.[1121] A number of women saints have been given this name. Gwen daughter of Emyr Llydaw, called Gwen Teirbron, was said to be the mother of St Winwaloe.[1122] Gwen daughter of Cynyr of Caer Gawch, was identified as the mother of St Cybi.[1123] Gwen daughter of Ceredig (which would make her the daughter of Meleri daughter of Brychan) was called the wife of Pedrwn and mother of St Padarn.[1124] Gwen daughter of Cunedda Wledig was said to be the wife of Amlawdd Wledig and mother of Cynwal Garnhwch and Eigr, who was the mother of Arthur, also documented in Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives of the saints:[1125]

> of St Gwen
>
> Sainct Gwen was the Daughter of Cunedagus, & is reputed a Saint amongst the Armorican Brettans wch saye that she was the wife of Aniwdlagh Wledic that is the Great. shee is said to be the mother of Igerna or Igorn King Arthur's mother saith Ed: Powel, alias huis.[1126]

[1118] MS Harley 4181, p. 139. This would make this Gwen the wife of Llŷr Marini. and mother of Caradog Freichfras. In WCD, p. 353, Peter Bartrum calls this 'a genealogist's invention based on the fact that certain families in Brycheiniog claimed descent from Caradog Freichfras'. See WCD, p. 353, for more detail.
[1119] *Iolo MSS*, pp. 115–134.
[1120] LBS, vol. 3, p. 168.
[1121] Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall*, p. 252.
[1122] LBS, vol. 3, pp. 168–171.
[1123] For Gwen daughter of Cynyr of Caer Gawch, see LBS, vol. 3, pp. 166–168. For Gwen daughter of Brychan, see LBS, vol. 3, p. 168. For Gwen Teirbron daughter of Emyr Llydaw, see LBS, vol. 3, pp. 168–171.
[1124] WCD, p. 353.
[1125] WCD, p. 353.
[1126] MS Additional 3041, fol. 244r.

Two churches are dedicated to St Gwendoline in Breconshire: one in Talgarth, where she was said to be buried, and the other in Llyswen. Another church thought at one time to have been dedicated to St Gwen is St Gwynno's Church in Vaynor in Glamorgan.

St Gwendoline's Church in Talgarth was dedicated to St Wenna the Virgin in 1488 (see app. A).[1127] At the time of writing, St Gwendoline's Church in Talgarth (fig. 107) has become a town civic centre:



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Figure 107. St Gwendoline Church, Talgarth, Breconshire

The Brecknockshire Churches Survey conducted by CPAT reported that St Gwendoline's Church at Llyswen is likely an early medieval foundation based on its dedication, its almost circular churchyard, and its site near a river. The church does not appear in either Taxatio, but the record in the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535 referred to it by its modern name.[1128] Figure 108 shows a stained glass window of St Gwendoline at the church in Llyswen, Powys:

[1127] *The Episcopal Registers of St David's 1397–1518*, ed. R. Isaacson and R. Roberts, 3 vols (London: Cymmrodorion Record Series, 1917–1920) vol. 2, p. 514.
[1128] 'Church of St Gwendoline, Llyswen', CPAT Brecknockshire Churches Survey [online]. Available at http://www.cpat.demon.co.uk/projects/longer/churches/brecon/16902.htm <Accessed 5 April 2020>



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Figure 108. St Gwendoline window, St Gwendoline's Church, Llyswen, Powys[1129]

St Gwynno's Church in Vaynor was also considered a dedication to Gwendoline, although the church is now dedicated to St Gwynno:

> For many years this church was known as St Gwendoline's, a mistaken dedication caused by confusion among scholars over Welsh and English usage.
>
> Father Silas Morgan Harris (1888–1982) corrected the name whose scholarship embraced the Welsh saints and the history of mediaeval Welsh church. St Gwynno appears to have been Abbot Gwynno, born either in 487 or 507, whose feast day falls on October 22 and one of that company of Celtic saints who travelled spreading Christianity throughout these lands. In Scotland he is known as Guinochus and also credited with founding Plouhinec in Britanny and Kilglin in Co. Meath in Ireland.[1130]

[1129] 'St Gwendoline', Stained Glass in Wales Catalogue, ed. by M. Crampin, CAWCS, Aberystwyth, 2013 [online]. Available at http://stainedglass.llgc.org.uk/object/4516 <Accessed 2 February 2020>
[1130] E. Moreton, 'History of St Gwynno's Church, Vaynor', Cynon Culture [online]. Available at http://cynonculture.co.uk/wordpress/merthyr-tydfil/history-of-st-gwynnos-church-vaynor/ <Accessed 29 March 2020>

Wenna, a Cornish saint, is identified as a daughter of Brychan in the Life of St Nectan and discussed later in this chapter. St Guenole is also discussed later among the daughters of Brychan venerated in Brittany.

Ilid

Ilid daughter of Brychan is only listed in DSB, but JC20 includes an entry for 'Lud verch Vrachan yn Ruthun yGwlat Vorgant' (Llud daughter of Brychan in Ruthin in the land of Morgan).[1131] This church is likely to be St Ilid and St Curig Church in Llanilid, located in the former Welsh lordship of Ruthin in Penychen Cantref in Glamorgan; however, the names *Ilid* and *Curig* are the Welsh form of Julitta and Cyriacus, saints who were mother and son from Iconium.[1132] See ch. 5 for a discussion of Hugh Thomas's association of Lhud with Eluned. Because of the dual dedication it is unlikely *Llanilid* refers to a child of Brychan, although an original Ilid here could have suggested Julitta and, therefore, attracted Curig. Iolo Morganwg introduced a saint Ilid, whose role is far removed from the children of Brychan:

> Saint Ilid, a man of Israel, came to this Island with Saint Eurgen, and he was the first to introduce Christianity into the Island of Britain.[1133]

Another church dedicated to St Ilid is found at Crai in Breconshire in Blaenwysg parish along the mountain pass between Brecon and Carmarthen where dedications to many other children of Brychan are found.[1134] St Ilid's Church could possibly be dedicated to Ilid daughter of Brychan because (a) it is found along the Roman road from Brecon to Carmarthen and (b) a number of Brychan family dedications are nearby.

Conclusion

Belyau appears in DSB, but not in other Welsh genealogies, with a single dedicated church near Brecon. Gwen, on the other hand, appears in nearly all of the lists, and sometimes twice in the list. No legends or traditions are associated with Ilid, whose dedications are usually attributed to Julitta and Curig. Still, the churches of Belyau, Gwendoline, and Eluned are adjacent, located at Llanfilo, Talgarth, and Slwch Farm, linked by Hugh Thomas's legend of St Eluned.

[1131] EWGT, p. 138.
[1132] LBS, vol. 3, pp. 300–301 and 335–336.
[1133] *Iolo MSS*, p. 555.
[1134] 'St Ilid's Church, Crai', The Church in Wales [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/421227/details/st-ilids-church-crai <Accessed 14 April 2020>

Unmarried daughters of Brychan in Carmarthenshire

Carmarthenshire is a dense cult site for the family of Brychan, with numerous dedications to the daughters of the king. These dedications touch several generations of Brychan's family. In the mountains near Llangadog, an ancient farm named Llys Brychan (Court of Brychan) was built on the ruins of a Roman villa and was located about one mile from a farm named Capel Tydist, a dedication to Tudwystl daughter of Brychan. West of Capel Tydist and just south of Llandeilo are dedications to Tybïe and Lluan and southwest are dedications to Cynheiddon and Clydai. While the number of place-names and hints of legend indicate a complex connection between the family of Brychan and the landscape between Brecon and the western sea, the precise nature and history of the connection remain out of reach.

Tybïe

Welsh genealogy entries for Tybïe are consistent, as 'Tibyei, filia Brachan, in Cantre Bochan' in DSB, as 'Tebie apud Ystrayowy' in CB, as 'Tebieu verch Vrachan yn Estatewi' in JC20, and as 'Tibie verch Brychan y sydd yn santes yn y lle a elwir Llan Dybie yn Ystrad Tywi' in PB. In addition to a consistent account of her name, she was consistently described as living in Ystrad Towy, where St Tybïe's Church remains in the town of Llandybïe just north of Ammanford. She was also connected with her sister Lluan, described previously as married to the king of Dál Riada.

An account of Tybïe's death at the hands of 'pagans', is found in 'Achau Saint Ynys Prydain' in *Iolo MSS*, which Taliesin Williams claims was originally in the 'Book of Thomas Hopkin of Coychurch'.[1135] Its provenance carries the same uncertainties as that of the 'Book of Thomas Truman', discussed previously in the section about St Tudful, because Iolo Morganwg wrote it and his son, Taliesin Williams, published it. In this account, Tybïe died as a martyr:

> Tybïeu ferch Brychan Brycheiniog, Santes hi yn Ystrad Tywi, lle ai llas gan y Paganiaid.[1136]
>
> (Tybïeau, the daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog; a saint in Ystrad Towy, where she was slain by the pagans.)[1137]

[1135] *Iolo MSS*, pp. 108 and 506.
[1136] *Iolo MSS*, p. 109.
[1137] *Iolo MSS*, p. 507.

Williams included her in a list of the saints of Morganwg and Gwent.[1138] Baring-Gould and Fisher also wrote that 'local tradition' speaks of Cell Tybïe on the farm called Cae'r Groes, where the saint 'used to retire at times for prayers and meditation' and 'could see the church from the spot'.[1139] Baring-Gould and Fisher also report a well one-half mile from St Tybïe Church near a farmhouse called Gelli Frynon or Forwynion [Grove of Virgins], where Tybïe was said to have lived with Lluan.[1140] Gelli Frynon or Forwynion has not been located, but RCAHMW Coflein locates the well on a map, describing St Tybïe's Well as a 'spring associated with the saint one-half-mile south-east of the church'.[1141] Baring-Gould and Fisher adopt Iolo Morganwg's account and write that Tybïe was killed on the site of Ffynnon 'Bïe by 'Saxons or wandering Irish' on the site of St Tybïe's Church.[1142] St Tybïe's martyrdom is depicted in figure 109, the illustration on the back cover of *Llandybïe Parish Church History and Guide*.[1143]



Figure 109. The Martyrdom of Tybïe[1144]

[1138] *Iolo MSS*, p. 551.
[1139] LBS, vol. 4, p. 282.
[1140] LBS, vol. 4, p. 282.
[1141] 'St Tybïe's Well', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/32260/details/st-Tybïes-well <Accessed 2 February 2020>
[1142] LBS, vol. 4, p. 282.
[1143] *Llandybïe Parish Church History and Guide* (Llandybie: Llandybïe Parish Church, 2014), back cover.
[1144] Llandybïe Parish Church History and Guide, back cover.

Tybïe's feast day is given variously as 30 January by Browne Willis and as 26 December by John Jones.[1145] In 1939, Llandybïe historian Gomer Roberts wrote in *Hanes Plwyf Llandybïe* that Brychan's encroachments west caused the death of Tybïe:[1146]

> Bu gan ei thad lys yn Llys Brycheiniog yn gysylltiedig â Charn Goch, yr amddiffynfa gadarn honno yn ymyl Dyffryn Tywi. Wrth wthio'i ddylanwad i Ystrad Tywi â Morgannwg cyfarfu Brychan a gwrthwynebiad, ac mewn gwrthryfel lladdwyd Tybïe lle saif eglwys Llandybïe heddiw. Gerllaw yno y mae Gellifyrnion, lle dywed traddodiad ei bod hi a'i chwaer, Lleian, ac eraill yn byw mewn myfyrdod sanctaidd. Gerllaw hefyd y mae ei ffynnon.[1147]
>
> (Her father's court in Llys Brychan is associated with Carn Goch, that firm defense near the Tywi Valley. In pushing his influence into Ystrad Tywi and Glamorgan, Brychan met resistence, and in a rebellion Tybïe was killed where Llandybie church stands today. Nearby is the Grove of the Virgins, where tradition says that she and her sister, Lleian, and others lived in sacred contemplation. Nearby is also her well.)

The current St Tybïe Church is medieval, with a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century nave and chancel and a circular churchyard.[1148]

It is possible that Landebia in Brittany, located between S. Brieuc and Dinan in the Cotes-du-Nord, may refer to St Tybïe.[1149] See appendix A for more information about dedications to Tybïe.

Lluan

Although Lluan has been discussed among the married daughters of Brychan, dedications to Lluan exist in Carmarthenshire, along with a legend that she lived with her sister Tybïe at Gelli Frynon. No sources suggest that she was martyred with Tybïe. The oldest dedication is at Capel Farm (fig. 110), site of the original Capel Llanlluan, which became a Nonconformist chapel. In the nineteenth century the congregation built a new chapel, which moved in the nineteenth century to a nearby location. The old building, now converted and restored as a barn, shows faint remains of a pulpit and other features of the old chapel. The owner of the

[1145] G. Roberts, *Hanes Plwyf Llandybïe* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1939), p. 27.
[1146] Roberts, *Hanes Plwyf Llandybïe*, p. 27.
[1147] Roberts, *Hanes Plwyf Llandybïe*, p. 27.
[1148] Roberts, *Hanes Plwyf Llandybïe*, p. 27.
[1149] Loth, *Les noms des saints bretons*, p. 116.

farm indicated that a holy well was formerly in the field directly east of the farm, but that no remnant of the well remained.



Figure 110. Site of Capel Llanlluan at Capel Farm, Gorslas

At least one part of the modern Gorslas community formed the medieval Manor of Llanlluan, an estate owned by the Lord Bishop of St David.[1150] It is probable that the larger ecclesiastical parish of Llanarthney was created during this period.[1151] The area that is now known as Gorslas Community formed the southern portion of the parish of Llanarthney and was served by Capel Llanlluan, one of two medieval chapels-of-ease recorded in 1326 in the Black Book of St David.[1152]

Tydwystl

The Carmarthenshire farm named Capel Tydist, located west of Llangadog and near Llys Brychan, is considered a site dedicated to Tudwystl, whom DSB calls 'Tudhistil filia Brachan, inde dicitur Merthir Tudhistil'. [1153] CB also calls her 'Tutbistyl, ab ea dicitur Merthyr Tutuil'.[1154] JC20 lists her as the thirteenth daughter and calls her 'Taghwystl'.[1155] PB lists her twenty-first and calls her 'Tudwystl verch Vrychan yn Ron yn Fraingk', which

[1150] 'History – Mediaeval Period', Gorslas Community Council [online]. Available at http://www.gorslascommunitycouncil.co.uk/?page_id=66 <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1151] 'History – Mediaeval Period', Gorslas Community Council [online].
[1152] 'History – Mediaeval Period', Gorslas Community Council [online].
[1153] 'Capel-Tydist', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.93783,-3.88032,15/pin <Accessed 13 April 2020> and EWGT, p. 15.
[1154] EWGT, p. 18.
[1155] EWGT, p. 43. On p. 148, Bartrum notes: 'Hawystl through Taghwystyl of JC from Tudhistil of DSB'.

confuses her with Tutglid and locates her in France instead of Glamorgan.[1156] Her foundation is near those of her sisters Tybïe and Lluan in Carmarthen. David Parsons states that the place-name Merthyr Tudwystl 'partially survives at Capel Tydyst', an isolated farm in the foothills of Ystrad Towy about three miles west of Bethlehem and close to Llys Brychan, with ruins of a medieval settlement adjacent to the farm.[1157] In 1858 it was noted that the north and east sides of the barn were portions of the chapel (fig. 111), and that there were graves in its interior.[1158]



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Figure 111. Capel Tydist at Capel Tydist Farm

Clydai

Clydai daughter of Brychan appears in DSB, CB, JC20, and PB with almost identical descriptions that identify her and locate her in Emlyn.[1159] St Clydai Church (fig. 112) in the community of Llanfyrnach in Pembrokeshire dates from the fourteenth or fifteenth

[1156] EWGT, pp. 83 and 148.
[1157] Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials*, pp. 96–97. For a description of the medieval settlement adjacent to the chapel, see 'Capel Tydist, Deserted Rural Settlement', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/413359/details/capel-tydist-deserted-rural-settlement <Accessed 2 February 2020>
[1158] 'Capel-Tydist, Chapel Site, Bethlehem', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/417693/details/capel-tydist-chapel-site-bethlehem <Accessed 2 February 2020>
[1159] EWGT, pp. 16, 19, 44, and 83.

century.[1160] Three ancient stones at the rear of the church are carved with Ogham letters and Latin script and date from the fifth to the ninth century.[1161]



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Figure 112. Views of St Clydai Church, Llanfyrnach, and inscribed stones

Cynheiddon

Churches are dedicated to Cynheiddon in Carmarthenshire and Monmouthshire. In DSB, Cynheiddon is 'Keneython filia Brachen yn y minid Cheuor in Kedweli'. She is 'Kenedlon apud Mynyd Kymorth' in CB and 'Ryneidon verchc Vrachan yg Kitweli yMynyd Kyuor' in JC20. Thornley Jones, who viewed the children of Brychan as historical figures, seems to have taken literally Iolo Morganwg's story that Cymorth was a daughter of Brychan who married St Brynach, and he uses the presence of Mynydd Cyfor and Llanfyrnach near Capel Llangynheiddon as proof that Cymorth, Cynheiddon, Elli, and Brynach all lived together in a settlement of Irish Christians on land provided by Brychan.[1162]

[1160] 'Church of St Clydai', British Listed Buildings [online]. Available at https://britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/300011976-church-of-saint-clydai-clydau#.W7KD61JRf64 <Accessed 2 October 2018>

[1161] 'Church of St Clydai', British Listed Buildings [online].

[1162] T. Jones, 'The Daughters of Brychan: Their Importance in the History of Breconshire', pp. 17–58.

Capel Llangynheiddon is described in documents of the twelfth century as a chapel of ease to Llandefaelog.[1163] Figure 113 shows an intersection in Banc-y-capel where Capel Llangynheiddon was said to have been. The chapel has since practically disappeared. A modern chapel has been erected near the crossroads, but the the site of Capel Llangynheiddon is the north-west angle formed by the crossroads, where mounds of earth mark the site:[1164]



A. Vicinity of Capel Llangynheiddon looking west

B. Vicinity of Capel Llangynheiddon looking south

C. Vicinity of Capel Llangynheiddon looking south

D. Vicinity of Capel Llangynheiddon looking north

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Figure 113. Site of Capel Llangynheiddon

According to Geoffrey Davies, a second Capel Llangynheiddon was a chapel of ease at Ferryside until it was replaced by the village church of St Thomas in 1875 as the village expanded.[1165] The Church of St Cenedlon in Rockfield in Monmouthshire is another possible dedication to this saint, located near dedications to St Cadog and St Dingad.[1166]

The least-known daughters of Brychan

[1163] 'Capel Llangynheiddon, Chapel Site, Bancycapel', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/12664/details/capel-llangynheiddon-chapel-site-bancycapel <Accessed 12 April 2020>

[1164] RCAHMW, *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments of Wales and Monmouthshire. V.—County of Carmarthen* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1917).

[1165] Davies, p. 54.

[1166] 'St Cenedlon's Church, Rockfield', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/307429/details/st-cenedlons-church-rockfield#archive <Accessed 13 April 2020>

Several of the daughters of Brychan are almost completely unknown. In the cases of Cerdech and Bethan, no dedications to them have been located and no traditions exist.

Kerdech

While Kerdech is associated with Merionethshire, no dedications to her have been located to date. DSB says that she was buried in Tywyn, but the church there is dedicated to St Cadfan.[1167] Both CB and JC20 call her Kerdech, but place her elsewhere. CB locates her in Llandegwin in Ardudwy, presumably Llandecwyn in Dyffryn Ardudwy, which is a few miles due east of Porthmadog in Merionethshire and whose church is dedicated to St Decwyn.[1168] JC20 locates her in Glan Tywi, a place which has not been located.[1169] In PB her name is Gwenddydd, which Peter Bartrum notes was corrupted through *Gweurdyt* from the Kerdych of DSB, and the tract gives her location as Llan y Towyn.[1170] Egerton Phillimore suggested that Kerdech was perhaps commemorated in Cedris, a township in the parish of Tal-y-llyn, formerly under Tywyn.[1171] A Cedris Farm is located north-east of Tywyn, but has no apparent connection with Kerdech.

Two late medieval manuscripts contain significant variations to the previous entries. In Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarth 75, a collection of genealogies and poetry from the second half of the sixteenth century, and Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarth 131, a fifteenth-century collection of genealogies by Gutun Owain, both list 'Ceindeg ab Caer Godolor'.[1172] Baring-Gould and Fisher note that this place was once 'Caer Golon'. [1173] Baring-Gould and Fisher report that 'the only name approaching it in form is Kerdych or Kerdech'.[1174] Based on this rationale, they use Ceindrych as the primary name for this saint rather than the names in the older Welsh genealogies (see 'Ceindrech' later in this chapter). Lewis Morris likely had access to one or both of these manuscripts, because in *Celtic Remains*, which he completed in 1757, he included in Part 1 the entry: 'Ceindrych Santes ferch Brychan ynghaer Godolawr'.[1175] This term was repeated by John Humphrey Parry in the 'Genealogy of the

[1167] EWGT, p. 15.
[1168] 'Llandecwyn', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/52.91790,-4.05117,15/pin <Accessed 2 February 2020>
[1169] EWGT, p. 43.
[1170] EWGT, pp. 83 and 148.
[1171] LBS, vol. 2, p. 100. For the map reference for Cedris Farm, see 'Tal-y-llyn', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/52.66708,-3.90834,14/pin <Accessed 2 February 2020>
[1172] Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarth 75, pp. 52–55, and Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarth 131.
[1173] LBS, vol. 2, p. 100.
[1174] LBS, vol. 2, p. 100.
[1175] Morris, *Celtic Remains*, p. 85.

Saints' article in volume 3 of *The Cambro-Briton* in 1842 and by Taliesin Williams in *Iolo MSS*, where the text reports that 'her church is in Caer Golawn'.[1176]

Bethan

Bethan is listed eleventh in DSB and CB and fourteenth in PB.[1177] While she appears to have been omitted from JC20, the fourteenth daughter in PB is 'Tydiav verch Vrychan yManaw', which, according to Peter Bartrum, is an error resulting from the conflation of Tybïe + Bethan'.[1178] The phrase 'Bethan in Mannia' could refer either to Manaw Gododdin in North Britain or Ynys Manaw, the Isle of Man, but dedications to this saint have not been found in either area. R. J. Thomas notes a possible connection in Glamorgan (see app. A), and if he is right about Bethan's name being associated with place-names such as Beidan, then those places he suggests (e.g., Aberbeidan, Capel Beidan, and Mynydd Beidan (now Mynydd Baeden) near Y Betws near Llangynwyd, are also located near Llangeinor, suggested as the cult centre for Cain.[1179]

Daughters added in later accounts

As manuscripts were copied, additional names as we have already seen with several good examples, were worked into the text, either as duplications or as errors in transmission. While it is out of the scope of this thesis to address all the names of women asserted to be daughters of Brychan, this section discusses a number of daughters of Brychan who are not named in DSB, CB, JC20, or PB. For example, a late offshoot of *Bonedd y Saint* (ByS) called *Achau'r Saint* (AyS) lists four daughters of Brychan not found in the other pedigrees; that is, Tudwen, Edwen, Gwenrhiw, and Gwenedydd.[1180] Other daughters from later lists include Gwenfyl, Callwen, and Corth or Cymorth. While this discussion cannot be exhaustive the next entries illustrate the place-names, locations, and dedications, if any, for these characters.

Tudwen

Tudwen appears in line 50 of AyS along with sisters Edwen, Gwenrhiw and Gwenedydd, and one dedication to her exists at Llandudwen where a rural church remains active and a holy

[1176] *Iolo MSS*, p. 519.
[1177] EWGT, pp. 83 and 216. In PB, 'Tydiav verch Vrychan yManaw', which Bartrum says contains an error: 'Tydiau ferch Brychan, is an error for Tybïe + Bethan'.
[1178] EWGT, pp. 83 and 216.
[1179] Thomas, *The Brychan Dynasty in East Glamorgan*, p. 3.
[1180] EWGT, p. 71.

well was recently restored. St Tudwen Church in Llandudwen (fig. 114) is located on the Lleyn Peninsula in Merionethshire not far from the town of Nefyn, which is thought to be named for Nyfain ferch Brychan.[1181]



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Figure 114. St Tudwen Church, Llandudwen, Merionethshire

Located two-hundred yards from the church, the holy well has been restored as a result of local involvement and support from the Gwynedd Council.[1182]

Edwen

Reference to Edwen daughter of Brychan can be found in Cardiff, Cardiff Public Library, MS Cardiff 5 (1527), and in London, BL, MS Harleian 4181 by Hugh Thomas.[1183] No dedications to Edwen daughter of Brychan are recorded, and St Edwen Church in Anglesey is said to be dedicated to a St Edwen who by tradition is either the daughter or niece of Edwin of Northumbria.[1184] St Edwen Church (now closed) is located in Penmynydd Parish in the community of Llanedwen just south of the Menai Bridge on Brynsiencyn Road.[1185]

[1181] EWGT, p. 71.
[1182] 'Ffynnon Dudwen, Llandudwen', Well Hopper [online]. Available at https://wellhopper.wordpress.com/2012/08/22/ffynnon-dudwen-llandudwen/ <Accessed 30 September 2018>
[1183] LBS, vol. 2, pp. 412–413.
[1184] LBS, vol. 2, pp. 412–413.
[1185] 'St Edwen's Church, Llanedwen', The Parish of Penmynydd in the Diocese of Bangor, The Church of Wales [online]. Available at https://parish.churchinwales.org.uk/b040/links-en/st-edwens-church-llanedwen/ <Accessed 3 February 2020> See also 'Llanedwen', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/53.19650,-4.23050,7/pin <Accessed 3 February 2020>

Gwenrhiw

In addition to AyS, Gwenrhiw daughter of Brychan appears in the Calendars in Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarth 187 and *Llyfer Plygain* (1618), where her feast day is listed as 2 November.[1186]

Gwenedydd

Peter Bartrum documents *Gwenddydd* as a variation of Gwenedydd and refers the reader to PB, where a corrupt passage interjected the name *Gwenddydd* into the list of the daughters of Brychan.[1187]

Gwenfyl

The name of Gwenfyl daughter of Brychan emerges in one calendar only recorded in Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Cwrtmawr 44.[1188] Pádraig Ó Riain adds: 'The Demetian Calendar, which may have been compiled at Llangeitho in the sixteenth century, lists Callwen and Gwenfyl under 1 November, describing them as (otherwise unknown) daughters of Brychan'.[1189] One dedication to Gwenfyl is noted as Capel Gwenfyl, once attached to Llanddewi Brewi in Ceredigion, but now extinct, although Gwynfil is now the name of a civil parish after having been a township in the past.[1190]

Callwen

As reported in the previous section, the name of Callwen daughter of Brychan first appears in the sixteenth century, both in the Demetian Calendar and also in records of Capel Callwen in Glyntawe in Breconshire.[1191] Pádraig Ó Riain concludes that 'we may take it that Callwen was then also regarded as patron of Cellan', as documented by Edward Lhuyd and by Browne Willis, although he notes that variant tradition identifies All Saints as the dedication

[1186] Baring-Gould and Fisher, 'St Brychan, King, Confessor', AC, pp. 345–370, p. 361 n2.
[1187] EWGT, p. 146.
[1188] Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Cwrtmawr 44.
[1189] P. Ó Riain, 'The Saints of Cardiganshire' in 'The Church in Ceredigion in the Early Middle Ages', *Cardiganshire County History*: *From the Earliest Times to the Coming of the Normans*, ed. by J. Davies and D. Kirkby (Cardiff: UWP, 1994), vol. 1, pp. 378–396. See also Cartwright, Y Forwyn Fair, summarizes the feasts of female saints and lists the manuscript sources.
[1190] WCD, p. 359, and Stanton, *The Menology of England and Wales*, p. 705.
[1191] LBS, vol. 1, pp. 67–68. Baring-Gould and Fisher identify this source as: 'a Demetian calendar, of which there are three MS. Copies : (*a*) *Cwrtmawr MS*. 44, of the second half of the sixteenth century and (*b* and *c*) *Panton MSS*. 10 and 66, of the eighteenth century; and four printed copies : (*a*) *Y Greal*, 1806, pp. 287–288, (b) *Cambrian Register*, 1818, iii, pp. 219–221, (c) *Y Gwyliedydd*, 1825, pp. 343–344, and (d) *Archoeologia Cambrensis*, 1854, pp. 30–32'. For the first documented uses of the place-name Capel Callwen, see appendix A.

of the church at Cellan.[1192] At this time, the dedication of the church in Cellan is to All Saints.

Another dedication to Callwen is located in Breconshire at the town of Glyntawe, where a church dedicated to the saint is first documented in 1578.[1193] In 1849, Samuel Lewis described the chapel as located in a valley between mountains not far from the source of the river Towy and attached to the parish of Devynock, named for St Cynog.[1194] The church remains active and is now in the parish Cwmtawe Uchaf in the diocese of Swansea and Brecon where it has been rededicated to St John the Baptist .[1195]

Corth or Cymorth

Corth or Cymorth is one of the daughters of Brychan who emerges from the later lists of the children of Brychan.[1196] This particular married daughter has the distinction of being accused by Baring-Gould and Fisher of attempting to murder her husband. Their supposition, however, is difficult to judge from the evidence alone. Corth is another daughter of Brychan found in Iolo Morganwg's manuscript NLW 13173A, but copied by him under the title 'Achau'r Saint' from *the Book of Thomas Truman*:[1197]

> Corth ferch Frychan, ni wyddyl ymha le ei heglwys hi. Gwraig Brynach Wyddel oedd hi a llyma eu plant, nid amgen.
>
> a. Gerwyn mab Brynach Wyddyl a Chorth ferch Brychan Brycheiniog
> b. Mwynen - merch Brynach Wyddel a Chorth merch Frychan
> c. Gwennan - merch Brynach Wyddel a Chorth merch Frychan
> d. Gwenlliw - merch Brynach Wyddel a Chorth merch Frychan

[1192] Ó Riain, 'The Saints of Cardiganshire' in 'The Church in Ceredigion in the Early Middle Ages', *Cardiganshire County History*, vol. 1, pp. 378–396. Ó Riain would appear to be using Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Cwrtmawr 44 as his source (see n33). See also R. Rees, *An Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 153.
[1193] R. Powell, 'The Place-Names of Devynock Hundred IV Glyntawe', *Brycheiniog*, vol. 24 (1992), pp. 99–113.
[1194] Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, NPN, *British History Online* [online]. Available at http://www.british-history.ac.uk/topographical-dict/wales/pp150-158 <Accessed 13 April 2020>.
[1195] 'St John's: The Parish of Cwmtawe Uchaf in the Diocese of Swansea and Brecon', The Church in Wales [online]. Available at https://parish.churchinwales.org.uk/s454/churches-en/st-johns_-en/ <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1196] Bartrum, 'Late additions to the "Bonedd y Saint"', *The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1959), p. 95. Bartrum states: 'Kymorth. Although this is a clear corruption, I have included it because it gained some currency. It is derived from "Mynydd Cyfor" in the brief concerning Cynheiddon, which becomes Myn(n)ydd Cyfor" in E and G (LBS, vol. 2, p. 257). It was apparently the compiler of the *Iolo MSS.* who took this fictitious person from MA (or Lewis Morris's manuscript) and made her the wife of Brynach Wyddel and the father of Gerwyn (for Berwyn), Gwennan, Mwynen, and Gwenlliw who were originally listed as children of Brychan (*Iolo MSS*, pp. 119, 121, 140, and 141).'
[1197] MS NLW 13173A, pp. 60–71, p. 70.

> Brynach Wyddel [...] gyda Brychan [...] Beriglawr [...] Ceinmyrch Brychan Brycheiniawc con Dyfrac yn glwig ai [...][1198]
>
> (Corth daughter of Brychan, I do not know the whereabouts of her church. She was wife of Brynach Wyddel and here are the names of their children, namely:
>
> a. Gerwyn son of Brynach Wyddyl and Corth daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog
> b. Mwynen – daughter of Brynach Wyddel and Corth daughter of Brychan
> c. Gwennan – daughter of Brynach Wyddel and Corth daughter of Brychan
> d. Gwenlliw – daughter of Brynach Wyddel and Corth daughter of Brychan.)[1199]

From that point Corth was included in the *Cambrian Biography*, the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, and *The Iolo MSS*.[1200] Rice Rees' *Essays on the Welsh Saints* (1836) and William Rees' *Lives of the Cambro British Saints* (1853) also include this daughter in their discussions of the Brychan family.[1201] In explaining the story of Berwyn son of Brychan, W. J. Rees summarizes Rice Rees' explanation of the Life of St Brynach:

> Brynach lived about the middle of the fifth century, and was the spiritual instructor of Brychan Prince of Brecknock. He is called in the Welsh Triads, Brynach Wyddel or Brynach the Irishman, and is said to have married one of the daughters of Brychan, named Corth, or Cymorth, who lived in Emlyn, a district partly in the county of Carmarthen, and partly in that of Pembroke, by whom he had one son Gerwyn, and three daughters, Mwynwen, Gwennan, and Gwenlliw.[1202]

The Life of St Brynach describes the saint's journeys and miracles, but then states that he returned to Pembrokeshire, where this incident took place:

> When had remained there some time serving his God, the ancient enemy of mankind, always forming new contrivances of mischief, and continually prepared to attack the purity of chastity, vehemently incited the daughter of the nobleman who gave the land to the holy man, to be in love with him.[1203]

[1198] MS NLW 13173A, pp. 70–71. *Iolo MSS*, p. 521: 'Brynach Wyddel a ddaeth gyda Brychan i'r Ynys honn, ag a fu'n Beriglawr iddaw. Ceinmyged Brychan Brycheiniawc Cor Dyfric yn y Wig ar wy.' (Brynach Wyddel came with Brychan to this Island, and was his confessor. Saint Dubricius's college at Weeg on the Wye was endowed by Brychan Brycheiniog.)
[1199] *Iolo MSS*, p. 521.
[1200] Pughe, *Cambrian Biography*, p. 11; *Myvyrian Archaiology* p. 422; and *Iolo MSS*, pp. 121 and 521. Note: The *Myvyrian Archaiology* states: 'Kymorth 'ch Brychan yn Emlyn ai chwaer Clydai gyda hi. C.Clydai [Church of Clydai?] yn Emlyn. T. W. 2. (1) But with him there is no daughter of Brychan called Cymmorth. One of them called Cenetlon lies in Mynydd Cymorth.—L.M.
[1201] Rees, *An Essay on the Welsh Saints*, pp. 150, 151, and 157, and Rees, *Lives of the Cambro British Saints*, p. 289.
[1202] Rees, *Lives of the Cambro British Saints*, p. 289.
[1203] Rees, *Lives of the Cambro British Saints*, pp. 291–292.

Brynach rebuffed her attempts at seduction and refused the aphrodisiac she offered him so that when the woman became 'inflamed with hatred towards him, she endeavoured to inflict every kind of death', finally sending thugs to murder him. Brynach escaped, badly injured, and was cured at a holy well, and the narrative moved on to other subjects. One odd claim in response to this story is by Baring-Gould and Fisher, who associated the villainous seductress with the Corth or Cymorth daughter of Brychan:

> It is probably that the woman was his wife Cymorth. She was the daughter of the chieftain who had granted him the land, and that chieftain was Brychan. Brynach was evidently closely associated with her, because she attempted to poison him; and an assault with weapons took place on her land in Emlyn. The fountain, or holy well, is in the parish of Henry's Mote, and is now called S. Bernard's (Brynach's) Well.
>
> The biographer suppressed the fact that his hero was a married man, and father of a family, because in his day it was considered scandalous that a priest should have wife and children; he may well also have altered the facts and disguised the fact, if fact it was, that his wife sought to get rid of him.[1204]

Brychan was not said to have owned land in Pembrokeshire that he could give to Brynach, and it is odd that the saint's married status would have been more scandalous than his wife's attempts to kill him, but these conclusions reflect Baring-Gould and Fisher's attitude toward the story.

Uncertain attributions

The variations of names of the daughters of Brychan are extensive, and this list cannot include all of them. They have been chosen to illustrate some of the ways that new daughters of Brychan were added to pedigrees to illustrate that the proliferation of names is part of the meme of the daughters of Brychan. In fact, it may be one of the elements of the meme most easy to identify. Many of these names can be explained as corruptions of texts. For example, Hugh Thomas included a list in MS Harley 4181 that he described as:

> the genealogy & Issue of Brychan coppyed verbatim out of an old small Welsh manuscript written upon vellom by one Lhyuelin Offeriad or a Priest about 500 years past now kept in the Archives of Jesus Coledg Library this year 1710 which seemes by him to be coppyd from another as old & uninteligible as this by the many blankes he left where his is

[1204] LBS, vol. 2, pp. 218–219.

> britest for the Letters woren out in that manuscript from whence he inscribed it & therefore seemes to be the only true coppy now extant.[1205]

Thomas used dashes to indicate letters he could not read, leaving truncated names that later copyists evidently took to be the whole name, so that *—eidech* became *Eitech* and *—emureith* became *Emmeraith*. The difficulties with the JC20 text appear to have generated a number of new saints.[1206]

Ceindrech

This name is confusing for several reasons. The name appeared in one of the pedigrees copied by Hugh Thomas in MS Harley 4181, who copied a pedigree that he attributed to 'the famous Dr Davis', who:

> in an old manuscript has made another collection of eight & forty of them [Brychan's children] of which number many of them appears by Lhyuelyn Offiriad to have been his Grand Children yet it may be of some use to explaine to discover the names worten out in the Authentick coppy of Lhyuelyn's therefore I shall enter it as follows tho of noe greate Authority being made in the time of Queen Elizabeth:[1207]

His entry for Ceindrech is as follows:

> 23. Ceindrych merch Brychan a bu wraig y Gynyr Varfdrwch o Bowys.[1208]

It is possible that 'Gynyr Varfdrwch' could refer to Gwrin Farfdrwch ap Cadwaladr, but he is listed in DSB as the husband of Marchell, with a kingdom in Merioneth:

> 17. Marchel filia Brachan, uxor Gurind barmbtruch de Merionyth.[1209]

Eventually, Peter Bartrum included the following entry in WCD:

> Ceindrech ferch Brychan. (Fictitious). The name occurs in the tract *PB*. It is formed by corruption from Ceinbreit.[1210]

[1205] MS Harley 4181, p. 33.
[1206] EWGT, pp. 41–44. See pp. 41–42 for Bartrum's interpretation of the problems and his approach to reconciliation of versions to produce the version he published as JC20 in EWGT.
[1207] MS Harley 4181, p. 39.
[1208] MS Harley 4181, p. 43.
[1209] EWGT, p. 16.
[1210] WCD, p. 133.

This composite name may be a combination of Cein and Kerdech, but the attributed husband of Marchell should also be considered as a factor.

Eitech

This name may have been derived from a corruption of '13. Kerdych filia Brachan, que iacet in Thywin in Merioneth' (DSB), which Hugh Thomas reported in MS Harley 4181 as:

> 12. —eidech v. vchan y issyd y glantywi yMeiryonyd[1211]

In his commentary to this entry, Thomas noted:

> —eitech Dauaghter of Brychan in a place now called Towin in Merionethshire in Lewis p. 31 no. 44 & Doctor Davis p. 43 no. 19 calls her Gwawrdhydh that is Daybreak. (p. 36).[1212]

The interesting aspect of this entry is that Hugh Thomas included transcriptions of both DSB and CB in MS Harley 4181, which could have been quoted to explain this issue. Instead, his commentary referred to the copies by John Lewis of Llwynweney and Dr Davis as authoritative, ignoring DSB and CB, now considered of greater significance. By the early nineteenth century, the transcription difficulty had resulted in another saint's name, and Theophilus Jones wrote, 'Of Eitech, the twelfth daughter, we know nothing further than that she resided in Towyn in Merioneddshire. George Owen Harry takes no notice of her'.[1213]

Emmerhaith

In MS Harley 4181, another transcription difficulty led Hugh Thomas to substitute a dash for blurred letters for '19. —emureith v. Vchan'. Later Emmreith was listed as the twentieth daughter of Brychan in a collection of miscellanies by Lewis Morris (Aberystwyth, NLW, MS NLW 1657, p. 98r).[1214] Theophilus Jones wrote: 'Of Felii [Felis], Tybïe, Emmrhaith and Rhyneiden, we have no account or tradition, save that Tybïe was buried in Carmarthenshire, in a place called from her, Llandybïe or Lladebïe, and Rhyneiden at Cydweli in the same

[1211] MS Harley 4181, p. 36.
[1212] MS Harley 4181, p. 36.
[1213] Jones, *The History of Brecknockshire*, vol. 1, p. 43.
[1214] Aberystwyth, NLW, MS NLW 1657C, fol. 98v. See also 'File NLW MS 1657C – Miscellanies', NLW [online]. Available at https://archives.library.wales/index.php/miscellanies-5 <Accessed 4 February 2020> 'Transcripts by Walter Davies of Lewis Morris's 'Bonedd y Saint', of pedigrees of some of the saints and some Welsh chieftain families, of a long letter from Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick to Angharad Llwyd dealing with hereditary insignia, and of pedigrees from 'Llyfr Cae Cyriog' (now MS. 7008).'

county'.[1215] Peter Bartrum, however, transcribed the line as '20. [K]einbreith verch Vrachan'.[1216] Bartrum did not explain why he made that choice.

Enfail

In *The Menology of England and Wales*, Richard Stanton identified Enfail as a fifth-century saint 'of family of Brychan, Patroness of Merthyr, Glamorgan', and his assessment was 'seems very uncertain'.[1217] In Brittany, the place-name Loc-Envel in the Cotes-d'Armor region resulted in a Saint-Envel, but Joseph Loth stated that the saint's name was derived from the place-name, saying: 'From Loquenvel, Saint-Envel was derived. As we said, this name actually exists.' He went on to say that Enfail was one of the daughters of Brychan, but 'enough of these endless daughters of Welsh saints'.[1218]

Eufail

Welsh Classical Dictionary: The name 'Eufail' is the result of a misreading of 'Euineil' for 'Tutuul' in DSB entry for Tudful, and in the Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarth 127 version of PB, where the copyist addressed the problem by creating entries for both Tudvyl and Euvail.[1219]

Gwenfrewi

Hugh Thomas lists Gwenfrewi in 'The Pedigrees of severall British saints taken out of an old Welsh Manuscrip of Mr John Lewis of Lhuynweney in Radnoshire wrote about the time of Queen Elizabeth' with the entry:

> 18. Gwenvrewi gwraig Kadrod Kalchvynedh.[1220]

Theophilus Jones does not quote this version in his explanation of Gwenfrewi as a daughter of Brychan, but his conclusion is the same:

> 'The name of the eleventh daughter in this MS. has been imperfectly transmitted to us: George Owen Harry calls her Gwenfrewi, and says she married Cadrod Calchfynidd, lord of Dunstable, Coleshill and Northampton, and proprietor of an extensive tract of chalk hills, from

[1215] Jones, *The History of Brecknockshire*, vol. 1, p. 43.
[1216] EWGT, p. 43.
[1217] Stanton, *The Menology of England and Wales*, p. 703.
[1218] Loth, *Les noms des saints bretons*, p. 54.
[1219] WCD, pp. 292–293.
[1220] MS Harley 4181, p. 32.

> whence he took the name of Calchfynidd, or Cadrod of the chalk mountain'.[1221]

Gurycon Goddeu, however, was listed as the wife Cadrod Calchfynydd in DSB, CB, and JC20.

Melltu

The entry 'Melltu (ferch Brychan). (Fictitious)' appears in Bartrum's Welsh Classical Dictionary.[1222] This entry may well be a saint created from the place-name used in DSB for Hunyd daughter of Brychan:

> Hunyd filia Brachan, que iact sub petra Meltheu, que fuit uxor Tudual flaui, mater Cunin Cof.[1223]

See appendix A for a discussion of Ystradfellte, which is sometimes suggested to be the place-name associated with the 'stone of Meltheu'.

Nonnita or Nonna

Nonnita has been referred to as a daughter of Brychan, as seen in this example from *The Menology of England and Wales*:

> St. Nonnita, or Nonna, the mother of St. David, was the daughter of Brechan, Prince of North Wales, and, like all her brothers and several of her sisters, professed the religious state.[1224]

The reason for the error becomes obvious when the saint is identified by a second name, that of one who is genuinely a daughter of Brychan and who is the mother of Sant, the father of St David:

> It is said that the Saint's true name was Mélarie, and that the surname of Nonna or Nun indicates her religious profession.[1225]

Conclusion

The issue of new saints generated from corrupt texts and misreadings is central to study of the daughters of Brychan. Long, complex lists transcribed repeatedly over centuries

[1221] Jones, *The History of Brecknockshire*, vol. 1, p. 43.
[1222] WCD, p. 533.
[1223] EWGT, p. 18.
[1224] Stanton, *The Menology of England and Wales*, p. 99.
[1225] Stanton, *The Menology of England and Wales*, p. 99.

inevitably do not merely result in variation, they generate it. This point also raised with memes.[1226] As introduced in chapter 1, in *The Selfish Meme*, Dawkins stated that a meme must have enough copying fidelity for it to be passed on; that is, it must preserve the essence of the meme, but need not be a pure replica of it. One could say that one of the principles related to the meme of the daughters of Brychan is that Brychan had twenty-four saintly daughters and no one knows for sure their number or their names. It is interesting, therefore, to review the ways that writers have dealt with that factor. In the entries just shown, commentators employed several strategies address the uncertainty of the material: (1) assertion of the name without explanation, (2) declarations that the name a fiction, (3) an explanation, and (4) a change of subject after stating that nothing more is known. Asserting a dubious name without qualification creates more errors, but stating the name is fiction can be just as counterproductive. Good reasons can exist, as well, for either trying to explain or giving up and moving on. When historicity was a vital issue in the documentation of the early Welsh saints, the conflicting versions confused writers like Roscarrock and Thomas, but prevented analytical commentators, such as the Bollandist scholars, from taking their traditions seriously (see chs. 3, 4, and 6).

Daughters of Brychan in Cornwall

The daughters of Brychan with dedications in Cornwall are not found in *DSB* or its related pedigrees, but are listed in the Life of St Nectan.[1227] This manuscript was discovered in the twentieth century; therefore, previous scholarship relied on the alternative versions of the Life of St Nectan recorded in the *Itineraries* of William Worcestre and the work of John Leland. Nicholas Roscarrock states that he received his knowledge of the *Life of St Nectan* from William Camden, who knew Leland's work.[1228] More recently, Oliver Padel and Nicholas Orme have published major works about the saints in Cornwall.[1229]

The Life of St Nectan lists the children of Brychan and his wife Gladwisa as Nectanus, Iohannes, Endilient, Menfre, Dilic, Tedda, Mabon, Wencu, Wensent, Merewenne, Wenna,

[1226] Dawkins, The Selfish Gene, p. 249.
[1227] Grosjean, 'Vie de S. Rumon, Vie, Invention et Miracles de S. Nectan', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 71 (1953), pp. 397–398. See also EWGT, p. 29.
[1228] Worcestre, *Itineraries*, John Leland, *Collectanea*, and Camden, *Britannia*.
[1229] Padel, *Cornish Place-Names*, O. Padel, *A Popular Dictionary of Cornish Place-Names* (Redruth: Alison Hodge Publisher, 1988), and Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall*.

Iuliana, Yse, Morewenna, Wynup, Wenheden, Cleder, Keri, Iona, Canauc, Kenhender, Adwen, Helie, and Tamalanc. The list does not differentiate between sons and daughters.

Dilic

St Dilic is one of the children of Brychan listed in the Life of St Nectan and reported by Nicholas Roscarrock, John Leland, and William of Worcestre, with dedications in Cornwall and Brittany.[1230] These accounts do not identify the gender of Dilic, and the dedications are divided, with Cornish churches identifying the saint as female and the Breton churches describing the saints as male. Nicholas Roscarrock describes the chapel near his family home in Cornwall as 'a chapple dedicated to this Sainct in a place called Port Delye in St Menuer or Memfree parrish in Cornwall, which [St Menuer] was alsoe the daughter of St Brechanus & Sister to Sainct Dilie and St Indilian and St Nectan'.[1231]

Endelienta

It is tempting to consider St Endellion as the centre of the cult to the Brychan family in Cornwall, if only because it is closest to the family seat of Nicholas Roscarrock and much of what is known about the children of Brychan in Cornwall comes from Roscarrock's research into the Lives of the saints. That proximity alone would not in itself justify the designation; however, the cult to St Endelienta at St Endellion parish also includes St Issey Chapel, with the parish bounded by St Minver Parish to the south-west, Egloshayle to the south, St Teath Parish to the north-east, St Mabyn Parish to the south-east. In short, St Endellion Parish is surrounded by dedications to other daughters of Brychan.

Nicholas Roscarrock recorded a legend of the saint, in which he states that Endelienta lived a very austere life, living on the milk of only one cow, which the lord of Trentinny killed when the cow strayed onto his grounds. Tradition records, however, that Arthur was her godfather, and after the the killing of the cow, he killed or caused the lord of Trentinny to be killed, but Endelienta revived him.[1232]

Roscarrock also reported that when Endelienta announced that the day of her death was approaching, she asked her friends to lay her dead body on a sled and bury her where 'certain young stots, Bullockes or calves of a yere olde should there owne accord drawe her',

[1230] WCD, pp. 224–225.
[1231] Roscarrock, p. 70.
[1232] Roscarrock, pp. 71–73.

instructions which they carried out. [1233] The sled stopped at a place that was at that time 'a Myrye waste grounde & a great quagmire on the topp of an hill', but when the church was built and dedicated to Endelienta, it became a fine, firm, and fruitful land where her feast was celebrated on 29 April.[1234]

The foundation date for St Endelienta Collegiate Church is uncertain, but it was reconstituted in 1265; by 1288 it comprised four prebendaries.[1235] The church survived the Chantry Act of 1545, making it the only church in Cornwall to survive as a collegiate church.[1236] The church (fig. 115) houses a number of memorials, including several related to the Roscarrock family and one to Poet Laureate John Betjeman (1906–1984), who lived in the parish and is now buried in the churchyard.[1237]



Figure 115. St Endelienta Collegiate Church, St Endellion[1238]

An altar tomb on the south aisle of the church has been described as the shrine of St Endelienta (fig. 116).[1239] In *Lives of the British Saints*, Baring-Gould and Fisher stated that the original site of the fifteenth-century shrine was on the south side of the church under the

[1233] Roscarrock, pp. 71–73.
[1234] Roscarrock, pp. 71–73.
[1235] 'Church of St Endelienta', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1320630 <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1236] 'Church of St Endelienta', Historic England [online].
[1237] 'Church of St Endelienta', Historic England [online].
[1238] 'St Endellion – Welcome to St Endellion!', North Cornwall Cluster of Churches [online]. Available at http://www.northcornwallclusterofchurches.org.uk/our-churches/st-endellion/ <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1239] 'Church of St Endelienta', Historic England [online].

easternmost arch of the nave, where it was placed altar-wise at the end of the south aisle.[1240] The shrine is empty, and Baring-Gould and Fisher concluded that if the saint is buried in the church, the remaining bones probably lie under the floor where the shrine originally stood.[1241]



Figure 116. Possible St Endelienta shrine, St Endelienta Collegiate Church, St Endellion[1242]

The two holy wells dedicated to St Endelienta are near the village of St Endellion. The first, St Endellion Holy Well, located by a narrow lane, has no traditions associated with it, nor any building to indicate its importance; however, the spring is unfailing, even in dry seasons, and it was commonly used by villagers.[1243] The second, called St Endelienta's Well House, is located thirty metres west of Roscarrock House.[1244]

Juliana

Nicholas Orme includes Juliana as one of the saints in the Hartland list who 'could possibly be linked with churches in Cornwall or Devon, but with less certainty' as Julitta, patron saint

[1240] LBS, vol. 2, p. 481.
[1241] LBS, vol. 2, p. 481.
[1242] 'St Endellion, St Endelienta's Church', Britain Express [online]. Available at http://www.britainexpress.com/counties/cornwall/churches/st-endellion.htm <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1243] M. Quiller-Couch and L. Quiller-Couch, *Ancient and Holy Wells of Cornwall* (London: Chas. J. Clark, 1894), p. 66.
[1244] 'Wellhouse 30 metres to west of Roscarrock house', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1219420 <Accessed 13 April 2020>

of churches at St Juliot, Lanteglos-by-Camelford, and Tintagel Castle.[1245] This name may also refer to the Roman saint St Julitta, often venerated along with her son St Cyr.[1246] According to John Maclean, the Welsh form of Julitta is *Ilid*.[1247]

Keri

The village and civil parish of Egloskerry in eastern Cornwall is approximately five miles from Launceston, with a place-name derived from St Keri, one of the daughters of Brychan named in the Life of St Nectan.[1248] Additional dedications to St Keri include the parish church and nearby holy well. The Church of St Petrock and St Keri in the ecclesiastical parish of Egloskerry was consecrated in 1222 and has Norman origins, with significant features added during the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries and a complete restoration in 1879.[1249]

Mabyn

Mabyn is one of the names of Brychan's children listed in the Life of St Nectan, and the only dedication to her is in Cornwall near Wadebridge, although a stained glass window depicting her can be found at St Neot's Church.[1250] Nicholas Roscarrock says of her that 'I have heard from the report of such as have lived there at the time, a Song or Hyme sung of her, signifieing that she had twentie thre brothers & Sisters, whereof St Endelient & St Meneuer were towe'.[1251] The hamlet possesses an ancient inn (fig. 114), church, and medieval wayside cross, all named for the saint.

[1245] Roscarrock, p. 48. See also Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall*, p. 154.
[1246] Roscarrock, p. 48. See also MacLean, *Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor*, vol. 2, p. 307.
[1247] MacLean, *Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor*, vol. 2, p. 307.
[1248] Doble, *S. Nectan, S. Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall*, p. 6. See also Padel, *Cornish Place-Names*, p. 81: 'Keri is named as one of the 24 Children of Broccan in the Cornish legend, but nothing else is known of the saint, except that she was believed to be female (from the latinised form *cheria*); if so, she must be different from the (male) saint Cury or Corentin, of Cury parish. Compare the Breton St Quiry in Plounevezel, near Carhaix-Ploughuer.' See also Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall*, pp. 158–159.
[1249] 'Church of St Keria', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1160053 <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1250] See Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales*, fig. 11, and Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall*, pp. 168–169.
[1251] Roscarrock, p. 86.

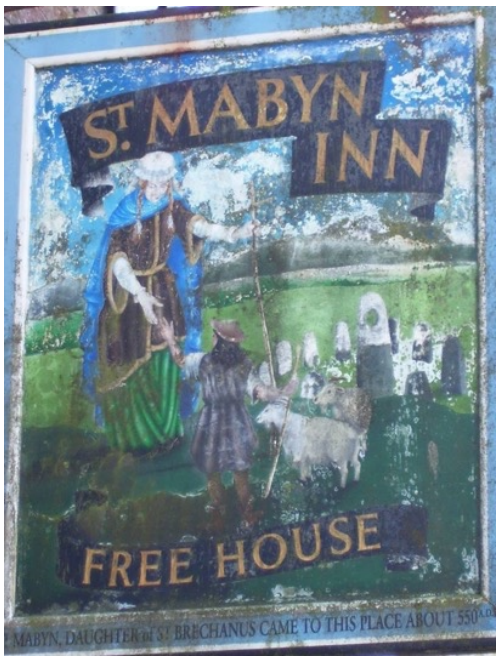


Figure 117. St Mabyn Inn sign, with text at the bottom that states: 'Mabyn, daughter of St Brechanus came to this place about 500 A.D.'

The Church of St Mabynprobably has Norman origins, with the Norman font remaining.[1252] The most recent church structure (fig. 118) dates from the late fifteenth century, with alterations and a major restoration taking place during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[1253]



Figure 118. St Mabena Church, St Mabyn[1254]

[1252] 'Church of St Mabena', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1161735 <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1253] 'Church of St Mabena', Historic England [online].
[1254] 'St Mabyn Church…History', St Mabyn Church [online]. Available at http://www.stmabynchurch.co.uk/history_St_Mabyn_Church.html <Accessed 13 April 2020>

Menefrida

St Menefreda is listed as one of the children of Brychan in the Life of St Nectan, with one dedication in Cornwall at St Minver, which is both an ecclesiastical and civil parish and a village in north Cornwall near dedications to others of the daughters of Brychan listed in the Life of St Nectan.[1255] This saint is also the subject of a legend in which she tricked the devil at a nearby place called Lundy Hole.

Lundy Hole is a small and sheltered cove on the coast between Polzeath and Pentire Head to the west and Port Isaac to the east.[1256] The 'hole' is a rock arch west of the beach. This place is connected to a story about St Menefreda reported by Nicholas Roscarrock:

> And there is also a well of her name where (it is sade) the Ghostlye Aduersarie coming to Molest her as she was combing her head by the said well, she flinging her combe at him inforced him to flye, who left a note behinde him in a place called at this daye Topalundy, where on the Topp of a rounde high Hill there is a straunge deepe Hoale (as men there haue by Tradition) then made by the devill in avoyding St Menfre.[1257]

Nicholas Orme notes that Topalundy is a natural chasm in the sea-cliffs beside Lundy Cove, north of St Minver church and within walking distance of Roscarrock's own house.[1258]

Marwenne

St Marwenne, one of the daughters of Brychan according to the Life of St Nectan, is venerated in Cornwall at Marhamchurch, a rural village and parish one and a half miles inland of the coastal town of Bude.[1259] While the church has a strong connection to St Marwenne as a daughter of Brychan, the name also is similar to the English St Merwenn, a tenth-century abbess of Romsey in Hampshire.[1260]

The Church of St Marwenna (fig. 119) is in the Marhamchurch Parish in the North Kernow Benefice in Stratton Deanery and Bodmin Archdeaconry in Truro Diocese.[1261]

[1255] Doble, *S. Nectan, S. Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall*, p. 6, and Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall*, p. 187.
[1256] 'Polzeath', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.57307,-4.91574,13/pin <Accessed 2 October 2018>
[1257] Roscarrock, pp. 46 and 90.
[1258] Roscarrock, p. 154.
[1259] Doble, *S. Nectan, S. Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall*, p. 6.
[1260] Padel, *Cornish Place-Names*, p. 115.
[1261] 'Marhamchurch; St Marwenna', The Church of England: A Church Near You [online]. https://www.achurchnearyou.com/church/2499/ <Accessed 13 April 2020>



Figure 119. St Marwenna Church, Marhamchurch[1262]

The Marhamchurch rural village and parish still actively celebrate their patron saint with the annual Marhamchurch Revel, which celebrates St Marwenne, 'the Celtic saint who brought Christianity to the Village of Marhamchurch in the sixth century'.[1263] By tradition, the parish celebrates the Feast of St Marwenne on 12 August, and the following Sunday is observed as Revel Sunday, followed on the next day by the Marhamchurch Revel, in which students elect one of their number to be Queen of the Revel, after which she is crowned by 'Father Time' at the War Memorial, believed to be the original site of St Marwenne's hermitage, followed by a Revel Procession around the village, led by the Queen riding on a white horse and followed by attendants.[1264] The procession concludes at the Revel Field, where the festivities take place.[1265]

Morwenna

The Life of Saint Nectan identifies Morewenna as one of the daughters of Brychan whose dedications in Cornwall occur at Morwenstow, in the northernmost parish of Cornwall, located near the coast. [1266] During the nineeth century, veneration of the saint was greatly enhanced by the parish's vicar, the poet and antiquary R S Hawker, who was vicar of

[1262] 'Marhamchurch', Marhamchurch – Bude – Cornwall Visitor Information [online]. Available at http://www.marhamchurch-kernow.co.uk/ <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1263] 'Marhamchurch Revel', Facebook [online]. Available at https://www.facebook.com/pg/marhamchurchrevel/about/?ref=page_internal <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1264] 'Marhamchurch; St Marwenna', The Church of England: A Church Near You [online].
[1265] 'Marhamchurch; St Marwenna', The Church of England: A Church Near You [online].
[1266] EWGT, p. 29, and Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall*, pp. 106–107. See also Grosjean, 'Vie de S. Rumon, Vie, Invention et Miracles de S. Nectran', *Analecta Bollandiana*, pp. 397–398.

Morwenstow from 1835 to 1874. The church, first mentioned in 1086 and dedicated to both St Morwenna and St John the Baptist until 1285, is now dedicated to St John the Baptist, with commemoration on 24 June.[1267] Two nearby holy wells are dedicated to St John and St Morwenna, respectively.[1268]

The history of Morwenstow is enmeshed with that of one of its most influential vicars, the poet and antiquarian Robert Stephen Hawker (1803–1875), who renewed and redefined attitudes toward the saint and church.[1269] Dedications related to Hawker (fig. 120), who was vicar of the Church of St Morwenna and St John the Baptist from 1835 to 1874, include Hawker's Hut, the cliffside hut where he wrote, now protected by the National Trust, and the Hawker Memorial Window in the Church of St Morwenna and St John the Baptist, which celebrate themes related to his life, faith, and literary pursuits.

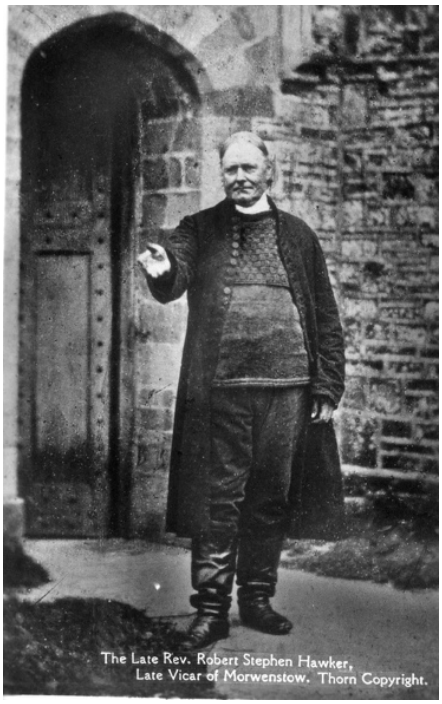


Figure 120. Robert Stephen Hawker at his vicarage door, Morwenstow[1270]

[1267] WCD, p. 559 and Roscarrock, p. 155.
[1268] 'Holy well of St John about 125 metres south east of the Church of St Morwenna', Historic England [online]. Available at https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1141781 <Accessed 3 February 2020> See also E. Tomlin, *The Church of St Morwenna and St John the Baptist, Morwenstow* (Bude: E. W. F. Tomlin, 1982), p. 12, and 'Holy well of St Morwenna about 14 metres down the cliff to the west of the Church of St Morwenna', Historic England [online]. Available at https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1231518 <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1269] 'A brief biography of R. S. Hawker', Robert Stephen Hawker: His Life and Writings [online]. Available at http://www.robertstephenhawker.co.uk/?p=3633 <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1270] 'Portraits of R. S. Hawker (1803-75)', Robert Stephen Hawker [online]. Available at http://www.robertstephenhawker.co.uk/?p=292 <Accessed 13 April 2020>

The parish church (fig. 121) had been disused for one-hundred years when Hawker took on the role of vicar, which alone would have been a challenging task, but during his tenure, he reestablished the parish and rebuilt the church, and he also built the vicarage and parish school.[1271] He enhanced religious practice in the church; for example, in 1843 he established the modern form of the harvest festival church service, a practice that became part of the liturgical year for the Church of England.[1272]



Figure 121. St Morwenna and St John the Baptist Church, Morwenstow[1273]

To a great extent, Hawker can be said to be the one who introducd St Morwenna and the family of Brychan to the parish early in the nineteenth century. When Hawker was appointed as vicar, the parish was named 'Moorwinstow' and marked with that name on maps and on parish sign-posts.[1274] In 1843, when Hawker researched the boundaries of the church as part of a lawsuit, he discovered the legend of St Morwenna and changed the spelling to 'Morwenstow' or 'Morwenna's Stowe', although Sabine Baring-Gould noted that Hawker confused St Morwenna with St Modwenna and St Moninna.[1275] As his son-in-law (and also

[1271] 'A brief biography of R. S. Hawker', Robert Stephen Hawker [online].
[1272] 'Robert Stephen Hawker: a timeline', Robert Stephen Hawker [online].
[1273] 'The Church of St Morwenna and St John the Baptist', Robert Stephen Hawker [online]. Available at http://www.robertstephenhawker.co.uk/?p=562 <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1274] C. Byles, *The Life and Letters of R. S. Hawker* (London and New York: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1905), p. 41.
[1275] Byles, *The Life and Letters of R. S. Hawker*, pp. 41–42.

the author of *The Life and Letters of R. S. Hawker*) writes, 'Hawker's antiquarian studies are remarkable rather for beauty of thought and expression than for historical accuracy'.[1276] The identity of the saint in the wall painting discovered during Hawker's restoration of the church is uncertain, but he presumed that it depicted St Morwenna (fig. 122). The painting shows a female clasping a text with her left hand while she raises her right arm to bless a kneeling monk:[1277]



Figure 122. Medieval wall painting believed to be of the saint, St Morwenna and St John the Baptist Church, Morwenstowe[1278]

St Morwenna is said to be buried in the church, as reported in 1478 by William Worcestre.[1279] Apparently this grave was unmarked in the church until R. S. Hawker wrote to Sabine Baring-Gould that he had learned 'many curious legends about her and her times', including the legend about her grave:[1280]

> One to me very satisfactory discovery is that She is buried in my Church. The Spot is as yet undefined, but when St Aubyn has trenched

[1276] Byles, *The Life and Letters of R. S. Hawker*, pp. 41–42.
[1277] 'Saint Morwenna', Independent Catholic News [online]. Available at https://www.indcatholicnews.com/saint/194 <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1278] Byles, *The Life and Letters of R. S. Hawker*, pp. 46–47.
[1279] 'Church of St Morwenna and St John the Baptist', Historic England [online].
[1280] Byles, *The Life and Letters of R. S. Hawker*, p. 599.

> the ground, as he proposes, to lay down 18 inches of Concrete over the whole extent, the chances are that we may discover her Reliques. If incased as is not unlikely in lead it is just possible that she may be even yet unchanged and we may look on the features of one whose memory I have already evoked from oblivion and caused her name to be borne by a daughter of Lord Clinton, of Sir Paul Molesworth, and my own bright girl'.[1281]

Hawker's interest in the saint's relics and possible incorruptibility did not represent an uninterrupted veneration of the saint's grave. An image of St Morwenna also appears in the Hawker Memorial window, showing her both as a queen and as an abbess, which is common iconography for a female saint (fig. 123):



Figure 123. St Morwenna in the Hawker Memorial Window, St Morwenna and St John the Baptist Church, Morwenstow[1282]

St Morwenna is the subject of two legends recorded in the following sections. One refers to the building of her church and the other relates to her death.

St Morwenna carries stones to build the her church

St Morwenna was believed to have directed the building of her church at Morwenstow, as described in a legend reported by Baring-Gould and Fisher, who describe their source a

[1281] Byles, *The Life and Letters of R. S. Hawker*, p. 599.
[1282] 'The Church of St Morwenna and St John the Baptist', Robert Stephen Hawker [online].

manuscript written around 1610 and held at Portledge Manor.[1283] The legend states that when parishioners were about to build their church, St Morewenna went down under a cliff and chose a stone for the font, which she brought up on her head. [1284] Along the way she became weary, laid down the stone, and rested, and a well appeared in the place, which is called St Morewenna's Well. [1285] Then she took up the stone again and carried it to the place where the church now stands. [1286] In the meantime the parishioners had begun building their church in a different place, and they moved her stone there, but at night what they built was pulled down and returned to the spot St Morewenna had chosen.[1287] They accepted her guidance and built the church where she directed. [1288] This recent interpretation of the legend (fig. 124) was created as a commission at Mull Monastery:

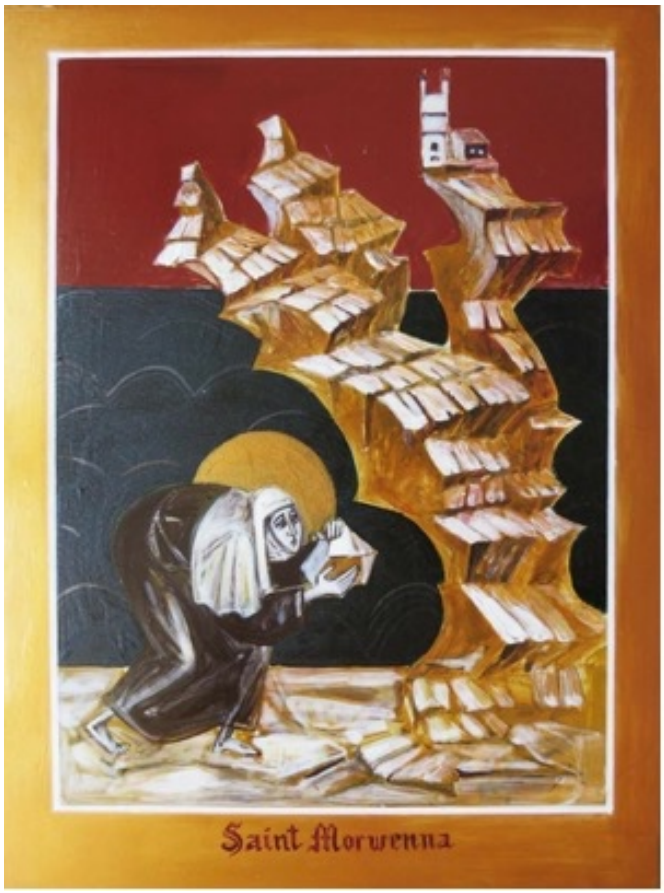


Figure 124. 'St Morwenna Builds Her Church', Mull Monastery[1289]

[1283] LBS, vol. 3, pp. 495–497.
[1284] LBS, vol. 3, pp. 495–497.
[1285] LBS, vol. 3, pp. 495–497.
[1286] LBS, vol. 3, pp. 495–497.
[1287] LBS, vol. 3, pp. 495–497.
[1288] LBS, vol. 3, pp. 495–497.
[1289] 'St Morwenna Carrying Stones', Mull Monastery Book Store [online]. Available at https://www.shop.mullmonastery.com/product/st-morwenna-carrying-stones/ <Accessed 1 October 2018>

The death of St Morwenna

Early in the sixth century, as she lay dying, St Nectan, Morwenna's brother, came to see her. She asked him to raise her up so that she might look once more on her native shore after which she was then buried in her church.[1290] This scene is depicted on a pew end (fig. 125) in the Church of St Leonard in Sheepstor, Dartmoor:



Figure 125. The death of St Morwenna with St Nectan[1291]

This scene is reminiscent of the legend of the death of St Dwynwen, in which a miracle allows her to see the sunrise one last time. It is unknown why the death of St Morwenna was chosen as a subject for the pew at St Leonard's Church, but the Pinwill Sisters, woodcarvers with commissions at Morwenstow, also carved the pews at St Leonard's Church in Sheepstor.[1292]

Poem to St Morwenna

R. S. Hawker's poem to Morwenstow reflects his enormous contribution in preserving and enhancing the memory of St Morwenna. As in the poem about the vicar's love for St Tudful

[1290] 'St Morwenna', Independent Catholic News [online].
[1291] 'Who was St Morwenna', My journey from the Brecons to Morwenstow by bike, boat, donkey and foot [online]. Available at http://brecons2morwenstow.blogspot.com/p/who-was-saint-morwenna.html <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1292] 'Sheepstor: St Leonard', Pinwill Woodcarving Catalogue [online]. Available at http://www.pinwillwoodcarving.org.uk/catalogue.htm#_Toc498521641 <Accessed 13 April 2020>

discussed in the section about Tudful, this poem also speaks of an enduring devotion to the saint, and because the poeom is little known, it is quoted in full:

Morwennae Statio

My Saxon shrine! the only ground
Wherein this weary heart hath rest:
What years the birds of God have found
Along thy walls their sacred nest!
The storm — the blast — the tempest shock,
Have beat upon these walls in vain;
She stands — a daughter of the rock —
The changeless God's eternal fane.

Firm was their faith, the ancient bands,
The wise of heart in wood and stone;
Who reared, with stern and trusting hands,
These dark grey towers of days unknown:
They fill'd these aisles with many a thought,
They bade each nook some truth reveal:
The pillar'd arch its legends brought,
A doctrine came with roof and wall.

Huge, mighty, massive, hard, and strong,
Were the choice stones they lifted then:
The vision of their hope was long,
They knew their God those faithful men.
They pitched no tent for change or death,
No home to last man's shadowy day;
There! there! the everlasting breath,
Would breathe whole centuries away.

See now along that pillar'd aisle,
The graven arches, firm and fair:
They bend their shoulders to the toil,
And lift the hollow roof in air.
A sign! beneath the ship we stand,
The inverted vessel's arching side;
Forsaken — when the fisher-band
Went forth to sweep a mightier tide.

Pace we the ground! our footsteps tread
A cross — the builder's holiest form:
That awful couch, where once was shed

The blood, with man's forgiveness warm.
And here, just where His mighty breast
Throb'd the last agony away,
They bade the voice of worship rest,
And white-robed Levites pause and pray.

Mark! the rich rose of Sharon's bowers
Curves in the paten's mystic mould:
The lily, lady of the flowers,
Her shape must yonder chalice hold.
Types of the Mother and the Son,
The twain in this dim chapel stand:
The badge of Norman banners, one
And one a crest of English land.

How all things glow with life and thought,
Where'er our faithful fathers trod!
The very ground with speech is fraught,
The air is eloquent of God.
In vain would doubt or mockery hide
The buried echoes of the past;
A voice of strength, a voice of pride,
Here dwells amid the storm and blast.

Still points the tower and pleads the bell;
The solemn arches breathe in stone;
Window and wall have lips to tell
The mighty faith of days unknown.
Yea! flood and breeze, and battle shock
Shall beat upon this church in vain:
She stands, a daughter of the rock,
The changeless God's eternal fane.[1293]

Tedda

The Life of St Nectan refers to Tedda as one of the twenty-four sons and daughters of Brychan and one possible dedication can be found in Cornwall at the Church of St Teath in the village of the same name.[1294] The Church of St Tetha (fig. 126) has Norman origins, with

[1293] Hawker, *Cornish Ballads and Other Poems*, p. 49.
[1294] Orme, The Saints of Cornwall, pp. 244–245. Doble, *S. Nectan, S. Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall*, p. 6.

north and south aisles added in the fifteenth century and the west tower partly remodelled in 1630.[1295]



Figure 126. St Tetha Church, St Teath[1296]

Wencu

Wencu is another one of the children of Brychan referred to in the Life of St Nectan, who is said to have had one chapel dedicated (to St Wence) at Egloshayle near Wadebridge at an estate named Park near Pencarrow.[1297] The United Benefice of Egloshayle with St Breoke in the archdeaconry and deaconry of Bodmin in the diocese of Truro serves the town of Wadebridge and a large rural area and is bounded by dedications to Brychan daughters at St. Minver, St. Issey and St. Mabyn.[1298]

[1295] 'Church of St Tetha', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1327712 <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1296] 'Church of St Tetha', Geograph [online]. Available at http://www.geograph.org.uk/of/St+Tetha <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1297] Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall*, p. 250. Doble, *S. Nectan, S. Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall*, p. 6.
[1298] 'Early History', Parish of Wadebridge [online]. Available at https://www.wadebridgeparish.org.uk/home/about/history/egloshayle-history/ <Accessed 13 April 2020>

Wenna

As with other dedications to the saints whose names are variations of *Gwen*, dedications to St Wenna are found in Cornwall and it is uncertain what connection there is, if any, between the St Wenna of the Life of St Nectan and the St Gwen of DSB and the Welsh dedications.[1299] Appendix A describes the dedications and their history, but a summary follows for dedications to St Wenna. First, figure 119 shows St Wenna Church, which is located in the civil parish and village of St Wenn north-east of Columb Major. [1300]



Figure 127. St Wenna Church, St Wenn, Bodmin[1301]

Second, St Wenna's Well (fig. 128), once lost, was rediscovered in 2005 on the outskirts of the village of Tregonetha near St Columb Major.[1302]

[1299] Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall*, p. 252.
[1300] 'Welcome to the St Wenn Parish Website', St Wenn Parish [online]. Available at http://www.stwenn.co.uk/ <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1301] 'St Wenn: St Wenna', A church near you [online]. Available at https://www.achurchnearyou.com/church/2462/ <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1302] 'St Wenna's Well', The Megalithic Portal [online]. Available at http://www.megalithic.co.uk/article.php?sid=12323 <Accessed 13 April 2020>



Figure 128. St Wenna Well, Tregonetha[1303]

Third, St Kew Parish once contained two additional chapels, one dedicated to Wenna and another to the Anglo-Saxon saint Aldhelm at Chapel Amble.[1304] The chapels are gone, but both Pengenna Manor and Chapel Amble retain their original names.

Fourth, St Wenna Church in Morval in Looe now features a stained glass window installed in honour of the 2000 Millenium to show past, present, and future influences in the parish (fig. 129).[1305] This window frames St Wenna with images of Cornish moorland and coastal landscapes, with a central image of St Wenna portrayed as a figure so distant in time and memory as to be almost indistinct, all contained within the Christian symbol of a fish.[1306]

[1303] 'St Wenna's Well', The Megalithic Portal [online].
[1304] 'St Kew', North Cornwall Cluster of Churches [online]. Available at http://www.northcornwallclusterofchurches.org.uk/our-churches/st-kew/ <Accessed 3 February 2020>
[1305] M. Swift, 'Piety, power and pride: The social context of Anglican stained glass in Cornwall', Cornish Stained Glass [online]. Available at https://www.cornishstainedglass.org.uk/mgsppp/index.xhtml <Accessed 13 April 2020> Note: A version of this article was originally published in the *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, 2009.
[1306] M. Swift, 'Piety, power and pride: The social context of Anglican stained glass in Cornwall', Cornish Stained Glass [online].



Figure 129. St Wenna Window, St Wenna's Church, Morval[1307]

Fifth, an account in *Ancient and Holy Wells of Cornwall* describes a holy well dedicated to St Wenna that was at Renant in Egloshayle Parish, now lost.[1308]

Wynup

St Wynup appears in the list of the children of Brychan found in the twelfth-century Life of St Nectan.[1309] One possible dedication to this saint can be found at the village and civil parish of Gwennap, where a church and holy well are named for St Wenappa; however, the identity of St Gwennap is by no means certain. Oliver Padel states that nothing is known of her, but

[1307] M. Swift, 'Piety, power and pride: The social context of Anglican stained glass in Cornwall', Cornish Stained Glass [online].
[1308] Quiller-Couch and Quiller-Couch, *Ancient and Holy Wells of Cornwall*, p. 216.
[1309] Doble, *S. Nectan, S. Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall*, p. 6.

‘she may be the saint called Wynup, who is listed as one of the twenty-four sons and daughters of King Broccan of Breconshire in the Cornish version of the legend, although most of these belong in north-east Cornwall’.[1310] Similarly, Nicholas Orme notes that ‘Wynup prompts the thought of Gwennap, saint of a parish in Kerrier hundred, but that place is remote from this otherwise localised list (unless Gwennap was patron of another church in north Cornwall, now forgotten)’.[1311] Baring-Gould and Fisher identify Weneppa as a daughter of Caw and sister of Cywyllog, who marrried Modred, stating that she founded the Church of Gwennap in Cornwall.[1312] They state that ‘we may probably regard her as the foundress of Gwennap in Cornwall, which has as patroness S. Weneppa’.[1313] This issue cannot be resolved.

Yse

St Yse is another of the children of Brychan listed in the twelfth-century Life of St Nectan.[1314] Possible dedications are found at Mevagissey and at St Issey in Cornwall and at Plouisy in Brittany. See appendix A for a discussion of these place-names.

Daughters of Brychan in Brittany

The dedications to the children of Brychan in Brittany include specific children who left Britain to found churches in Brittany, and no story describes the entire Brychan family itself, either travelling to Brittany or being born there. One medieval document, does include a Life of Saint Ninnoc (see ch. 2), which refers a daughter of Brychan not venerated elsewhere.[1315]

Saint Alvoez or Aloué

Eluned daughter of Brychan is not readily connected to place-names in Brittany, although Joseph Loth suggested that the Breton name *Alvoez* shares similarities with the Welsh name *Elwedd*, the patron saint of Llanelwedd, a church in Breconshire near other dedications to Eluned and sometimes associated with her (see ch. 5).[1316]

[1310] Padel, *Cornish Place-Names*, pp. 92–93.
[1311] Roscarrock, p. 49.
[1312] LBS, vol. 4, p. 350.
[1313] LBS, vol. 2, p. 171.
[1314] Doble, *S. Nectan, S. Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall*, p. 6.
[1315] *Cartulaire de Quimperlé*, pp. 55–68.
[1316] Loth, *Les Noms des Saints Bretons*, p. 10.

Sainte Ceinmarch

Joseph Loth identifies 'Ceinmerch' as a possible dedication to Cain as Keyna in this place-name, which is a canton located in the arrondisement of Châteaulin in the department of Finistère in Brittany.[1317] As in the case of Eluned, Cain is not represented in other dedications in Brittany, and no other source suggests a connection.

Saint Enfail

In an entry about Saint Guenvael, Joseph Loth states that Loquenvel is dedicated to the Saint Enfail who is venerated as a martyr and daughter of Brychan in Carmarthen, although Loth concludes that 'there is no end to all these progeny of Welsh saints'.[1318] Hervé Abalain states that Envel refers to Guenvael.[1319] Bernard Tanguy also attributes the dedication to Saint Guenvael.[1320]

Saint Gurgon

Joseph Loth identifies Saint Gorgon as Gwrgon daughter of Brychan and the mother of Saint David, listing dedications in Morbihan, Côtes-d'Armor, and Finistère, giving as his authority *An Essay on the British Saints* by Rice Rees.[1321] The entry for Gwrgon by Rees, however, states that 'Gwrgon, daughter of Brychan, was married to Cadrod Calchfynydd, who flourished about A. D. 430'.[1322] Loth does not address the conflict between this assertion and the widely accepted tradition that Saint Nonne is the mother of St David with a strong cult at Dirinon.[1323] More recently, Hervé Abalain lists only one similar place-name, *Saint-Gorgon*, which refers unambiguously to the Roman soldier of that name martyred in 304.[1324]

Sainte Julitte

Saint Juliana appears in the list of the children of Brychan found in the Life of St Nectan, and in Cornwall, some dedications to St Julitta are attributed to Juliana daughter of Brychan while

[1317] J. Loth, *Chrestomathie Bretonne (Armorican, Gallois, Cornique)*, 3 vols (Paris: Emile Bouillon Librairie-Éditeur, 1890, vol. 1, p. 196.
[1318] Loth, *Les Noms des Saints Bretons*, p. 54.
[1319] H. Abalain, *Les Noms de Lieux Bretons* (France: Jean-Paul Gisserot, 2000), p. 80.
[1320] B. Tanguy, *Dictionnaire des noms de communes trèves et paroisses des Côtes-d'Armor* (Le Chasse-Maree: ArMen, 1992), pp. 131–132.
[1321] Loth, *Les Noms des Saints Bretons*, p. 46.
[1322] Rees, *An Essay on the British Saints,* p. 147.
[1323] Loth, *Les Noms des Saints Bretons*, p. 46.
[1324] Abalain, p. 107.

others are attributed to the Roman martyrs Juliana and her son Saint Cyr. Chapelle Sainte-Julitte in Lanjulitte near Crozon is not mentioned by Joseph Loth or Bernard Tanguy, but it is included here because of the proximity of Lanjulitte to nearby dedications to Saint Divy and Saint Aloué.

Saint Morven

Joseph Loth identifies the dedication of Lanorven with a Saint Morven whom he believes recalls St Morwenna at Morwinstow in Cornwall.[1325]

Sainte Nennoc

The Life of Saint Nennoc is found in the twelfth-century Cartulaire of Quimperlé.[1326] In this account, Nennoc, like her many brothers and sisters, chose a religious life, a decision in which she was supported eventually by her parents, after which she and her flock travelled specifically from Britain to Brittany where, with the permission of the local prince, she built a monastery near Ploemeur.[1327] This double monastery for both sexes called Lan-Ninnoc became known over time known as Lanénec.[1328] The Cartulaire of Quimperlé refers to the ruins of the monastery as proof of the saint's existence, stating that the ruins were later replaced by a Benedictine priory that was part of the Abbey of Sainte-Croix of Quimperlé.[1329] In 1636, Albert Le Grand's account of the Life of St Nennok refers to 'the priory of Landt-Nennok'.[1330] In addition to the site of her monastery, dedications include place-names and images of the saint located in Breton churches. Figure 130 shows a contemporary statue of Saint-Ninnog, one of the monumental statues found at La Vallée des Saints at Carnoët in the Côtes-d'Armor region of Brittany. This statue is part of a project of the Breton philosopher Philippe Abjean (*b.* 1953) designed to renew Christian places of worship and perpetuate traditional culture in contemporary society by evoking the Catholic saints and the 'ancient Celtic cults':[1331]

[1325] Loth, *Les Noms des Saints Bretons*, p. 96.
[1326] *Cartulaire de Quimperlé*, pp. 55–68.
[1327] *Cartulaire de Quimperlé*, pp. 55–68.
[1328] *Cartulaire de Quimperlé*, p. 61.
[1329] *Cartulaire de Quimperlé*, p. 62.
[1330] A. Le Grand, *Les vies des saintes del la Bretagne armorique, 1636* (Quimper: réédition Librairie Derrien, 1901), p. 274.
[1331] 'A Carnoët, de monumentaux saints de pierre veillent sur la campagne bretonne', Le Point Culture [online]. Available at http://www.lepoint.fr/culture/a-carnoet-de-monumentaux-saints-de-pierre-veillent-sur-la-campagne-bretonne-10-08-2010-1223886_3.php <Accessed 13 April 2020>



Figure 130. Sainte Ninnog Statue, La Vallée des Saints[1332]

Sainte Tebiau

The place-name *Landébia*, a town in the ancient diocese of Dol in the Côtes-d'Armor, suggests a connection with Tybïe daughter of Brychan, but the attribution is not straightforward. Joseph Loth identifies this place-name with Tybïe daughter of Brychan, but more recently both Bernard Tanguy and Hervé Abalain state although the name evokes Tybïe, the form *Landebiau* indicates a saint named *Tebiau*.[1333]

Saint Tusven

Dedications to Tudwen daughter of Brychan are indicated by two place-names. Bernard Tanguy identifies Saint Tusven as the patron of chapels at both Ploudalmezeau in Finistère and Llandudwen in Caernarvonshire, which indicate Tudwen daughter of Brychan.[1334] Joseph Loth speaks of Loc-tuen (now *Lotuën*) near the city of Kervignac in Morbihan as originally being dedicated for Tudwen.[1335] The Breton Saint-Tujen or Tujan may also indicate a

[1332] 'Sculptures', La Vallée des Saints [online]. Available at http://www.lavalleedessaints.com/sculptures-xsl-281.html <Accessed 3 February 2020>
[1333] Loth, *Les Noms des Saints Bretons*, pp. 71 and 116, and Abalain, p. 76.
[1334] B. Tanguy, *Dictionnaire des noms de communes trèves et paroisses du Finistère* (Chasse-Marée: ArMen, 1990), p. 43.
[1335] Loth, *Les Noms des Saints Bretons*, p. 124.

dedication to Tudwen. According to the Life of Saint Jaoua, Saint-Tujen succeeded Saint-Jaoua, a companion of Saint Paul-Aurelien, as patron of the church in Brasparts in Finistere; however, according to Bernard Tanguy, in the Life of Saint Jaoua his name was not *Tujen*, but *Tusveanus*, a name that corresponds to that of Saint Tudwen, patron of Llandudwen.[1336] A recent reinterpretation of Saint Tujen can be found at Les Vallée des Saints in Carnoët.[1337]

Sainte Touina

The identity of Sainte Touina in Plouha has been the subject of speculation since John Fisher suggested Dwynwen 'perhaps also has a cult in Brittany, as Sainte Douine or Twine, who has a chapel at Plouha, in Goëlo, Côtes du Nord, where she is there credited with the power to cure all fevers'.[1338]

Saint Yse

Joseph Loth associates dedications to Saint Izy with those to St Yse, one of the daughters of Brychan according to list of Brychan's children found in the Life of St Nectan.[1339] Bernard Tanguy notes that while Plouisy is an ancient Breton parish, its name appears only in the fourteenth century and in a form close to its current spelling.[1340] He states that the dedication refers to St Issey or Ydi of Cornwall; that is, Yse daughter of Brychan as listed in the Life of St Nectan and suggests that confirmation can be found in the place-name of *Lannidy* in the villages of Lanneanou and Plouigneau in Finistere and the Breton family name *Plouidy*.[1341]

Daughters of Brychan in Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man

As a note, the terms *Mannia*, *Manan*, and *Mynau* (e.g., in 'Bethan in Mannia') appear to refer to the same place, which could be either Manaw Gododdin in North Britain or Ynys Manaw, the Isle of Man, but the location of this place is out of scope for this thesis.[1342] It would appear that daughters of Brychan are not otherwise found in Scotland or the Isle of Man. The *Mothers of Irish Saints* tract found in the twelfth-century Book of Leinster (among others)

[1336] Tanguy, *Finistère*, pp. 43–44.
[1337] 'Sculptures', La Vallée des Saints [online].
[1338] LBS, vol. 2, pp. 391–392.
[1339] Loth, *Les Noms des Saints Bretons*, p. 68.
[1340] Tanguy, *Côtes-d'Armor*, p. 216.
[1341] Tanguy, *Côtes-d'Armor*, p. 216.
[1342] EWGT, p. 15.

includes a pedigree for 'Dína and Brachain, king of Brachineoc', whose ten children are identified as Mo-Goróc, Mo-Chonóc (Cynog), Diraid, Duban (Dyfnan), Cairinne (Caian), Cairpre, Iast, Ellóc (Dilic), Paan, Caeman, and Mo-Beóc.[1343] Of these, one name has been considered a daughter, discussed in the following section.

Carennia

In the *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, John Colgan identifies the fifth child (*Cairinne o Chil Chairinni* in Bartrum's text) as *Carennia*, a daughter of Dína and Brechanus:[1344]

> Sexta fuit S. Carennia (9) sive Canneria Abbatissa de Kill-charenne, feu infa fratribus ex Hibernia celebris, iuxta ipsae mox de ipsa-einsa, fratribus ex Hibernicis monumentis adducenda.[1345]

More recently, however, Pádraig Ó Riain confirms that Cairinne is a male saint, stating that 'because of the name ending in *-e*, Colgan took Cairinne to be a female'.[1346]

Unmarried daughters of Brychan: concluding remarks

As these saints are described, a picture begins to emerge of the various ways their stories may have evolved. The churches surrounded by llan enclosures and aged yew trees indicated foundations that could plausibly have existed before the Norman Conquest and the earliest written records. As wooden churches were rebuilt in stone and taxes were collected, records had to be generated, leaving evidence of place-names. Landowners had to protect their assets with documents of ownership, which required a flurry of charters and pedigrees to be created. Meanwhile, veneration of the saints continued, leaving traces in medieval praise poems, stories, and art. The Reformation required the compilation of new records of ownership, but repressed liturgy, martyrologies, and praise poems. Veneration of the saints continued in secret, as revealed by the martyrologies published overseas or unpublished, such as the compilations by Nicholas Roscarrock in the sixteenth century and Hugh Thomas in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In the nineteenth century these manuscripts and

[1343] EWGT, pp. 32–33. Note: Bartrum edited this text from published facsimiles of The Book of Leinster (*c.* 1160), The Book of Ballymote (*c.* 1400), The Great Book of Lecan (1416–1418), and The Book of Uí Maine (1394).
[1344] Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 312.
[1345] Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 312.
[1346] P. Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011), p. 145.

others held by antiquarians began to emerge, and they still continue to emerge as discoveries in libraries and private collections reveal.

The daughters of Brychan became symbols of civic identity in some areas, such as Llanelli, Brecon, and Merthyr Tydfil, where iconography includes the saints. One may also see images of the daughters of Brychan used to identify elements of Welsh culture, such as in the stained glass windows of 'founders of the faith' that has become a traditional fixture in cathedrals and major churches in Wales during the early twentieth century, further embedding these women in the national identity.

All the evidence leads to the conclusion that no single list is possible and that variation existed in the Welsh genealogies from the beginning. Compilers of later versions included duplicate names, which increased the size of the lists. The increasingly unwieldy pedigrees of the saints eventually were compiled as small books on their own, such as Lewis Morris's *Celtic Remains* and William Owen Pughe's *Cambrian Biography*. *The Myvyrian Archaiology* carried out the same mission of publishing every possible variation, and entire texts in the collection, such as Iolo Morganwg's 'Book of Thomas Truman', appear to have been invented, as well. To varying degrees, these editions of Lives of the Welsh saints are uncritical, in fact, a critical edition of all this material has yet to emerge. The invented material affected works by W. J. Rees, Rice Rees, and Sabine Baring-Gould and John Fisher as they attempted to sort out the names and texts, and the errors become obvious. Gilbert Doble, A. W. Wade-Evans, and Peter Bartrum compiled and sorted some of the material critically, but ignored texts with the taint of Iolo Morganwg, which leaves that material unexplained.

What the nineteenth-century accounts lost in traceability, they found in the variety of the legends told. Some accounts of the daughters are charged with emotional flair, in which characters like the murderous Corth take stage with the dying Tudful in dramatic enhancements of the original materials and Lluan is given a husband and child in Dál Riada while also martyred with her sister Tybïe near Gorslas and Llandybie in Carmarthenshire. In the gap between the obvious significance of ancient monuments and the lack of a clear story, civic hagiography increasingly finds a place in explaining past veneration to those seeking to understand their heritage; however, without a canonical repertoire of material, those representations can veer away from the actual and toward an imagined (and often romanticised) Age of the Saints or a quasi-historical account for tourists.

The concept of the daughters of Brychan comprises large and small fragments that never come into focus as a single portrait, like Impressionist paintings that show scenes shaped by personal interpretations and changing light. The fragments reflect the times during which the pieces were made, driven by specific personalities and a general need to hold on to the sanctity of well-known people and places. This opaque and fragmented quality has proved to be more meme than narrative, and the next chapter, Chapter 9 Conclusions, defines the results achieved by exploration of the meme of the daughters of Brychan and recommends further areas for study.

Chapter 9 Conclusions

The imagined legendary time after the Romans left Britain was populated not only with kings, poets, warriors, and saints, but also with the twenty-four saintly daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog, who was said to be the king of the area now called Breconshire. The meme of the saintly daughters of Brychan depicts these women not only as hermits and martyrs, but also as the mothers of kings, warriors, poets, and saints. Their traditions expressed the needs and hopes of the people who venerated them, and so their legends and dedications were reinterpreted during times of social and political change; therefore, interest in the daughters of Brychan did not end at the Reformation; in fact, the meme of the daughters of Brychan and the traditions of some of the best-known individual daughters continue to be transmitted.

The thesis defines a 'meme' as a small piece of cultural information transmitted from person to person by imitation; in this thesis, the meme is 'Brychan Brycheiniog had twenty-four daughters and all of them were saints', first stated by Gerald of Wales in *The Journey Through Wales* (see ch. 1). Memes are defined as being either transmitted through generations, such as parent to child (i.e., 'vertically') or from person to person (i.e., 'horizontally'). This approach reflects the nature of the considerable amount of fragmentary evidence. Instead of traditional hagiographic dossiers that include Lives of the saints, certified accounts of miracles, or historical records, the daughters of Brychan are not historical characters and were never considered to be canonised saints of the Roman Catholic Church. In fact, none of the men and women referred to as Welsh saints from the legendary time after the Roman retreat from Britain were canonised. In spite of the lack of traditional hagiographic proof, the daughters of Brychan are remembered in the names of many churches, holy wells, and other places; in genealogies, folk tales, and legends; and in poetry. Some ecclesiastical records, martyrologies, and liturgical documents also remain. Still, when formulating the research questions, it was understood that for a handful of these women, some information was available; for others, almost nothing was known. Some women had dedications in a number of geographic regions; others had a single church named for them or perhaps only a place-name. Studying the meme of the saintly daughters of Brychan facilitated an evaluation of the many types of evidence available for a longer timeframe that is typical for studies of medieval saints: from the medieval sources to the present time. The scope proved fruitful in demonstrating both the sustained transmission of the meme and the concerns of those who remembered them.

To analyse the extent to which the daughters of Brychan were considered saints, five research questions were proposed related to (a) the evidence of veneration, (b) beliefs about the women's sanctity, (c) the geographic extent of their cults, (d) changes in attitude toward the women over time, and (e) their continuing relevance, if any.

Evidence and changes in attitudes over time

The changes in attitude toward the daughters of Brychan is rooted in the evidence, so they are discussed together. The meme of the daughters of Brychan is one element of the larger politico-heroic myth of Brychan Brycheiniog, which exists in multiple versions in which a royal, eponymous father sires many extraordinary children.[1347] While the factors and timing related to the emergence of this myth are unknown, some medieval examples have survived. In these examples, the daughters of Brychan appear in genealogies about Brychan's family and as supporting characters in Lives of the saints. In several cases they are part of collections tied to abbeys: the Abbey of St Peter in Gloucester, the Abbey of St Nectan in Hartland in Devon, and the Abbey of the Holy Cross in Quimperlé in Brittany.

A small number of medieval manuscripts include texts that reveal the traditions that are known related to the daughters of Brychan. The medieval texts In twelfth-century Wales, possibly as a response to the incursions of Norman marcher lords (see ch. 2), the genealogical tract DSB was copied into the collection of religious texts now known as MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv for the Abbey of St Peter in Gloucester. The content of these texts DSB identified Brychan Brycheiniog as the child of an Irish king and British heiress of a kingdom in mid-Wales. Returning to Britain from Ireland with his parents, the child Brychan grew, was fostered, eventually became king, and reared twelve sons and twenty-three daughters. In addition to introducing the meme of Brychan's saintly daughters, Gerald of Wales also recounted that one of these daughters named Almedha (i.e., Eluned) was a martyr whose chapel was visited by pilgrims on her feast day. Also during the twelfth century, the Life of St Nectan written at Hartland Abbey described Brychan as a British king who married a British woman, left her to go to Ireland, returned eventually to his wife in Britain, and fathered a large number of children, all of whom left Britain to become hermits in Cornwall and Devon. The Life of St Nennoc is another twelfth-century hagiographical text, which was included in the cartulary compiled for the Abbey of the Holy Cross in Quimperle in Brittany.

[1347] Ferrier-Caverivière, 'Historical Figures and Mythical Figures', p. 581.

The Life of St Nennoc recounted how Brychan and his wife Meneduc had many children who had chosen religious lives, so that they hoped that their last child, Nennoc, would be their heir; however, Nennoc, too, chose a religious life, and after some discussion, her parents provisioned an expedition to Brittany, where she founded a double abbey in a place now known as Lanenec. Another tract called the Mothers of the Irish Saints, the earliest copy of which dates to the twelfth century, described the Irish Dína and her British husband Brychan, who were said to have had ten sons, all of whom were saints in the county of Leinster. The only medieval Life of a daughter of Brychan is the Life of St Keyna, which incorporated elements used in the Life of St Cadog, a text which, like DSB, was copied into MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv. Later medieval poems praising the saints as well as the poets' patrons also featured a number of the daughters of Brychan, including Dwynwen, Cain, and Tudful.

The medieval sources described the myth of the eponymous king and his many holy children, and veneration of the daughters of Brychan is proved by the textual references and the many dedicated churches, chapels, and holy wells in Wales, Cornwall, parts of England, and Brittany. This evidence about the daughters of Brychan changed radically after the Reformation, depending on whether the texts represented Protestant or Roman Catholic views. Protestant authors tended to describe activities at former shrines and holy wells as money-making schemes of monks or as superstitious legends; for example, the poems by Richard Carew and Robert Southey (see ch. 6) retold in verse the legend of the Well of St Keyne, where gullible rustics attempt to outsmart one another to the amusement of a visiting observer. Figure 1 demonstrates that this change largely removed the saint from the story, focusing instead on the superstitious practice at the well:



© 2020 Get Collectables

Figure 131. Churchman's Cigarette Cards 'Legends of Britain' series (1936)[1348]

According to the message of this cigarette card series (fig. 1), St Keyne was by 1936 a character of legend and not a religious figure, but the change in attitude can be perceived much earlier, when the legend of the Well of St Keyne was presented in a poem in Richard Carew's *Survey of Cornwall* (1602).

After the Reformation, Roman Catholic evidence of the daughters of Brychan usually repeated previously published texts for English Catholics. In rare cases, recusant Catholics recorded information about the Brychan family, such as the local Breconshire tradition of St Lhud (Eluned) documented by the herald Hugh Thomas in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (see ch. 5). Thomas's work reflects both his continuing veneration of the daughters of Brychan and also his anger at the desecration of St Eluned's Chapel after the Reformation, when it was abandoned, used for animals, and then left to collapse (see ch. 5).

During the Celtic Revival, a number of variations were added to the meme of the daughters of Brychan. Most of these additions can be traced back to the trend in late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century for antiquarian authors to compile collections of information about the saints in short summaries, sometimes called 'genealogies of the saints'. These collections, included *The Cambro-Briton* (1819–1822) edited by John Humphreys Parry (1786–1825),[1349]

[1348] 'Tobacco Cigarette Cards Legends of Britain 1936', Get Collectables [online]. Available at https://www.get-collectables.co.uk/tobacco-cigarette-cards-legends-of-britain-1936-3231-p.asp <Accessed 7 April 2020>
[1349] J. Parry, The Cambro-Briton and general Celtic repository, vols 1-3, (1819 – 1822)

The Cambrian Biography by William Owen Pughe, *Celtic Remain*s by Lewis Morris, *The Myvyrian Archaiology by William Owen Pughe, Iolo Morganwg,* and *Iolo MSS* by Taliesin Williams (see ch. 2). Drawn from late pedigrees that already included a great deal of variation, most were also influenced by 'The Book of Thomas Truman', a small book in Iolo Morganwg's handwriting. Morganwg claimed that he copied the material from an ancient manuscript, but that manuscript has not been found, and it is likely that he composed it. Tales about the daughters of Brychan from this book began to find their ways into other collections. The tales include (a) the children of Corth daughter of Brychan and St Brynach; (b) the ambush and death of Tudful, Brychan, and other family members at the hands of pagan Saxons; and (c) the martyrdoms at the hands of the pagan Saxons of Tybïe at Llandybïe and Gwen at Talgarth. The tale of Dwynwen and Maelon Dafodrill first appeared in the *Iolo MSS*, but was written by Taliesin Williams from source material provided by Lewis Morris, which Morris attributed to Hugh Hughes, the Red Bard of Anglesey (see ch. 7). These additions were widely copied during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and added to the four-volume LBS written by Sabine Baring-Gould and John Fisher.

As part of efforts to define a national history for Wales, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the daughters of Brychan were portrayed, not in text, but as heroic figures in stained glass in most of the cathedrals in Wales, as shown in figure 2:



St Gwladys, St Woolos Cathedral



St Tudful, Llandaff Cathedral

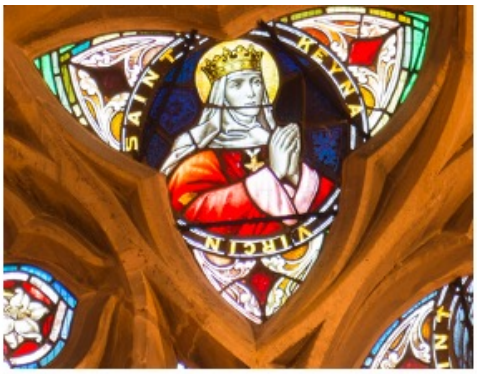

St Alud (Eluned), Brecon Cathedral



St Keyne, Brecon Cathedral



St Ceinwen, Bangor Cathedral



St Keyne, Cathedral of Our Lady of Sorrows, Wrexham



Brychan coat of arms, Brecon Cathedral

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Figure 132. The daughters of Brychan in Welsh cathedrals

The images emphasize the royal status of the daughters. Of the six images, three of the images portray the women crowned. Gwladys was said to be the wife of the king of Gwent, but Cain, who in all accounts is a hermit and renunciant, is depicted in two out of the three images robed in scarlet and wearing a crown. The settings for these images differ, as well. Plain backgrounds are used for the images of St Gwladys in St Woolos Cathedral, St Ceinwen in Bangor Cathedral, and St Keyne in the Cathedral of Our Lady of Sorrows. The others include references to their traditions. St Tudful is shown with St X on her left and St Y on her right; beneath her image is another window depicting the martyrdom of Brychan, Tudful, and others of her family. In Brecon Cathedral, St Alud is pictured outdoors with the Brecon Beacons behind her. She stands on the right side of St Brychan, who is robed as a king. On the left side of St Brychan is his son St Cynog, robed as a monk. The window of St Keyne in Brecon Cathedral shows her with ammonites at her feet, and flanked by two angels. Beneath this window is the scene of the death of St Keyne with St Cadog by her side.

The meme of the daughters of Brychan has continued to be used to express cultural change. One example is found in civic hagiography, the explanations of a saint's veneration created for a secular purpose, such as signs at a tourist site or the church history page on a community website (fig. 3):

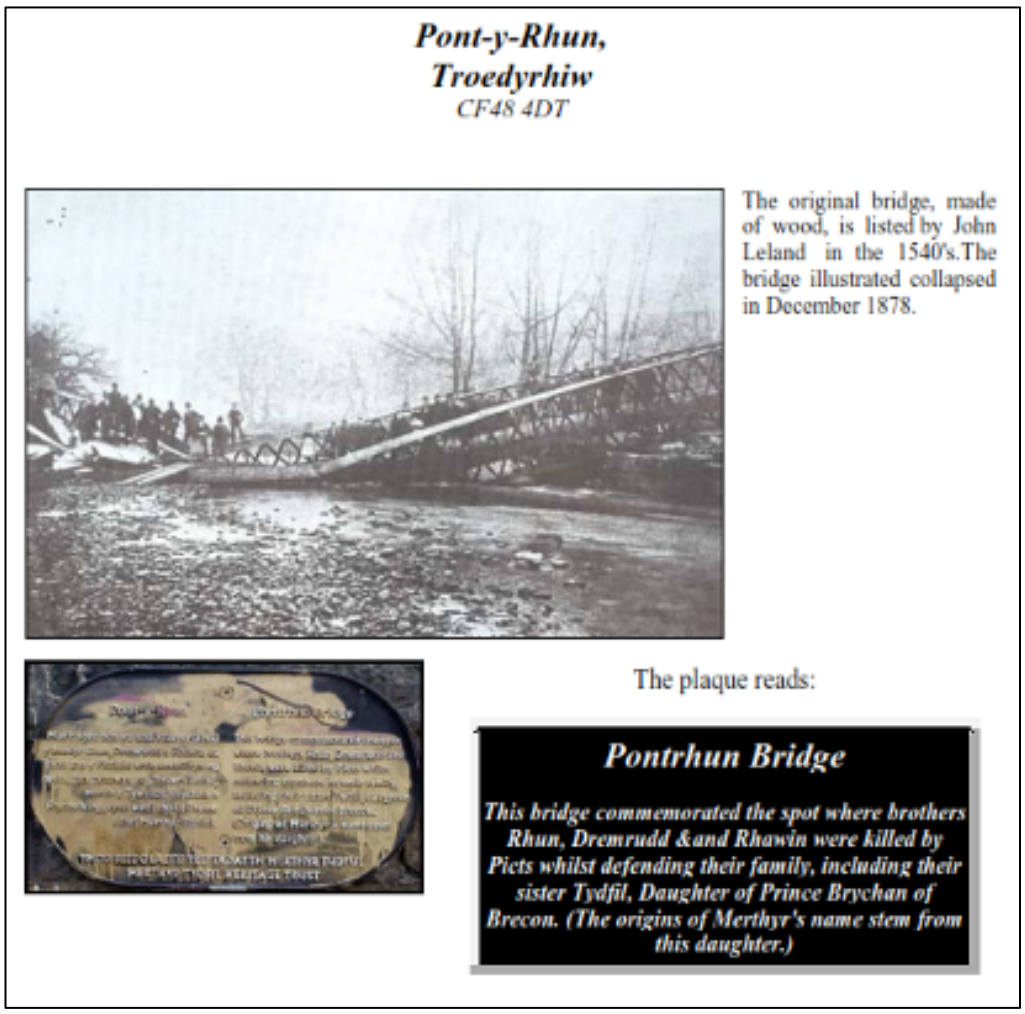
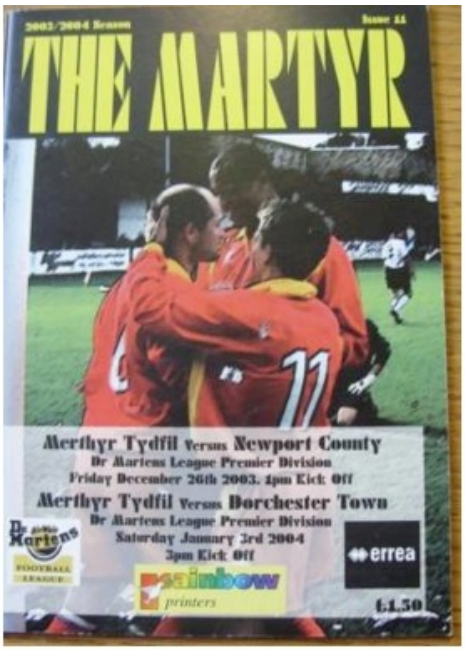


Figure 133. Commemoration of the death of Tudful and family at Pont-y-Rhun Bridge, Troed-y-rhiw, Glamorgan[1350]

On the one hand, dedicated churches are closing, reflecting reduced congregation size and difficulties in maintaining ancient structures but, on the other hand images and ideas about the daughters of Brychan are appearing on the Internet, where people can post their own thoughts and interpretations of the daughters of Brychan in blogs or post videos of their visits to shrines. As discussed in previous chapters, civic entities such as government councils, schools, and local clubs also have adopted images of the daughters of Brychan (e.g., Tudful, Keyna, and Elli) to represent communities that remember them (fig. 4):

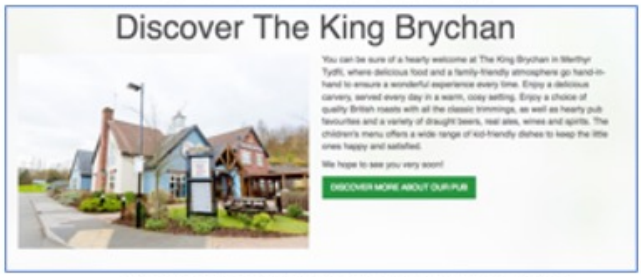
[1350] 'Pont-y-Rhun, Troedyrhiw', Merthyr Tydfil Heritage Trust [online]. Available at http://merthyrtydfilheritagetrust.org.uk/heritage-plaques-buildings-052.php <Accessed 10 April 2020>



A. Name of the local football club 'The Martyrs'



B. Saint Tudful on football club badges



C. Local Merthyr Tydfil pub dedicated to Brychan

Figure 134. St Tudful incorporated into the identify of Merthyr Tydfil

These images may be created for a number of reasons. The majestic figures of the daughters of Brychan in the cathedrals of Wales (fig. 2) build a sense of the strength and grace of the founders of the faith, while the sign at Pontyrhun (fig. 3) reminds the community of its past, but also explains the meaning of the story to visitors. The images used in the tokens (e.g., logos and insignias) in figure 4 are drawn from a local group's collective knowledge of the town's eponym. Note that the football club has chosen to take on the characteristics of their saint, calling themselves 'the Martyrs'.

The daughters of Brychan as saints and 'patterned lives'

The evidence consistently repeated about the daughters of Brychan is that they were saints; but related details in the transmission of the meme have sometimes changed. As discussed previously, Dwynwen has become the 'patron saint of lovers' and Merthyr Tydfil's football club has named their team The Martyrs. The sanctity of the daughters of Brychan seemingly can be made to fit a secular viewpoint.

The daughters of Brychan whose legends and tales find their source in Wales tend to have lives that follow the patterned life of a female saint in Wales, as it is described in the works of Elissa Henken and Jane Cartwright (ch. 1). Although Cain is the only daughter of Brychan who is the subject of a Life, it is still possible to discern familiar patterns in their fragmentary stories. These daughters face crises when they reach a marriageable age. The daughters

identified as married are given kings and heroes as husbands and their children are said to be saints, kings, poets, and warriors. Other daughters face choices that are forced upon them. Gwladys is abducted, marries her captor, Gwynllyw, and gives birth to St Cadog, and eventually all three of them are considered to be saints. the attempts by Eluned and Dwynwen to either maintain their chastity or choose their spouse result in either martyrdom or withdrawal from the world.

Traditions of the daughters of Brychan written outside Wales are different. In the Life of St Nectan, all of Brychan's children, male and female, travel to Cornwall to become hermits. The Life of St Keyna, follows a heroic pattern similar to that of a male Welsh saint, as described by Henken (see ch. 1). The Life of St Nennoc, written in Brittany, features a daughter whose parents ultimately support and fund her plan to embrace a religious life and found an abbey in Brittany (see ch. 8).

Iolo Morganwg's assertion that many members of Brychan's family were killed by pagan Saxons adds an element of random mayhem to the Welsh tradition of the female Welsh saints, although this trope is similar to the death of St Maches by robbers described in the Life of St Tatheus found in MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv.

Ultimately, a meme exists when it continues to be transmitted; therefore, Brychan Brycheiniog had twenty-four daughters and all of them were saints. No proof exists to suggest that they were ever historical characters, but there is also no doubt that they existed and continue to exist as a meme. Some individual daughters, such as Dwynwen, Cain, Eluned, and Tudful, are also remembered; others, like Bethan, Goleu, and Hunyd, much less so.

Shared dedications

A number of churches in Wales are dedicated to more than one saint (e.g., Llantrisant and Llanpumsaint), and it is reasonable to believe that twenty-four holy sisters would be remembered with church dedications to some or all of them. For example, the church in Llangwyryfon in Ceredigion is dedicated to St Ursula and the eleven-thousand virgins, who were all said to have been martyred together in Germany.[1351] The churches dedicated to daughters of Brychan do not follow this pattern, however.

[1351] J. Cartwright, *The Cult of St Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins* (Cardiff: UWP, 2016).

Traditions of the daughters of Brychan do not describe the influence of a mother on the daughters, and they also do not depict the influence of their sisters. Mother-daughter relationships are modelled in the Bible, such as the relationship between St Anne and the Blessed Virgin Mary. Although the medieval Life of St Keyna stresses that Keyna's mother is aware of the extraordinary nature of her child and raises her with care, the mother is not given a name. Relationships between holy sisters are also well documented in translated medieval Welsh Lives, such as the Lives of Mary Magdalene and Martha.[1352] In general, the medieval traditions of the daughters of Brychan do not portray the daughters having any contact with each other at their home, with the exception of the following description of the abduction of Gwladys in the Life of St Cadog:

> Then starting at once on their journey, when they [Gwynllyw and his warriors] reached the court of the aforementioned regulus, which is called Talgarth, they found the said virgin sitting with her sisters before the door of her chamber and at leisure in modest conversation, whom they immediately took by force, and beat a hasty retreat.[1353]

This endearing description of the daughters together creates the feeling of Brychan's court in Talgarth that is not found in other accounts. A late-twentieth-century stained glass window at St Gabriel's Church, Brynmill, Swansea comprises a number of panels of the Welsh saints, including Brychan's family, and figure 5 pictures three of the daughters of Brychan. At first glance they look like they are working quietly together, but as the viewer focuses on the image, it becomes apparent that each saint is isolated from the others. St Gwenfrewi and St Elli are sometimes identified as daughters of Brychan in some of the late pedigrees, but Gwenfrewi is much better known as the saint of Holywell and St Elli was a male bishop. The window shows St Gwenfrewi at prayer, while St Elli holds a chalice-like cup and and St Tudful holds a sword, the instrument of her martyrdom and an echo of the window of St Alud in Brecon Cathedral (see ch. 5):

[1352] J. Cartwright, *Mary Magdalene and her Sister Martha* (Washington, D.C: The Catholic University of America Press, 2013).
[1353] VSBG, p. 27.



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Figure 135. Daughters of Brychan, St Gabriel's Church, Brynmill, Swansea[1354]

The daughters of Brychan are rarely described together in any combination in the same story. One exception is the note by Iolo Morganwg that Tybïe and her sister Lluan lived together at Gelli Forwynion (Glade of the Virgins) in Carmarthenshire, where they were killed by pagan Saxons (see ch. 8). This account, however, is contradicted by DSB, which claims that she was married to the king of Dál Riada (also ch. 8).

Family gatherings

In a few situations, the Brychan family gather as a family. Charles Wilkins's nineteenth-century account of the death of St Tudful (see ch. 8), along with her father and brothers. The medieval Life of St Nectan also describes the one day of the year when the brothers and sisters would gather, an account full of family affection:

[1354] 'St Gwenfrewi, St Elli and St Tydfil: detail from Welsh Saints', Stained Glass of Wales Catalogue, ed. by Crampin, CAWCS, Aberystwyth [online]. Available at http://stainedglass.llgc.org.uk/image/8591#largeimage <Accessed 15 March 2020>

> But they were wont all of them, both his brothers and his sisters, to come together every year on the Vigil of the Circumcision of the Lord to the cell of the blessed Nectan their eldest brother, and to confer together on subjects relating to virtue and the necessity of desiring only the glory of the life of heaven. Afterwards they returned to their own abodes mutually edified and rejoicing with great gladness.[1355]

These are sparse vignettes for traditions of such a large family, but it seems clear that they were not intended to be seen interacting or forming social groups. They further the purpose of the texts in which they appear, which is to illustrate their sanctity or explain their traditions. In short, friendships and interactions among the sisters and between mothers and daughters is not part of the meme of the saintly daughters of Brychan. This is not true of the relationships between mothers and sons, and Gwladys is often portrayed with her son Cadog and with her husband Gwynllyw. In the Life of St Cadog, they communicate directly with each other, although Cadog plays the role of the father, correcting and instructing them.

Geographical extent of the Brychan tradition

As discussed in chapter 1, this thesis examines the geographic extent of veneration of the Brychan tradition. The dedications that are data points in the following geographic distribution maps are documented in appendix A in articles that include (a) the name, location, and GPS coordinates; (b) the earliest uses of the name in original orthography with dates and sources; (c) the type of dedication; (d) a description of the dedication; (e) any historical information and traditions relevant to the Brychan family; (f) adjacent dedications, if applicable; and (g) photographs of the site, when available.

To allow comparisons, the scope of the dedications included in the study are those for Brychan, his daughters, sons, grandchildren, and sons-in-law Gwynllyw and Brynach, whose stories are often part of Brychan family traditions. Some important saints said to be grandsons of Brychan are not included because they do not figure directly in any accounts of the daughters of Brychan, including St David. For the same reason, the kingdoms where the married daughters of Brychan were said to live in Scotland and north Wales are not included either. Dedications for all the different variations of the Brychan tradition have been included to the extent possible. Figure 6 shows the geographical distribution of Brychan and his extended family in the British Isles and Brittany:

[1355] Chope, *The Book of Hartland*, p. 217.

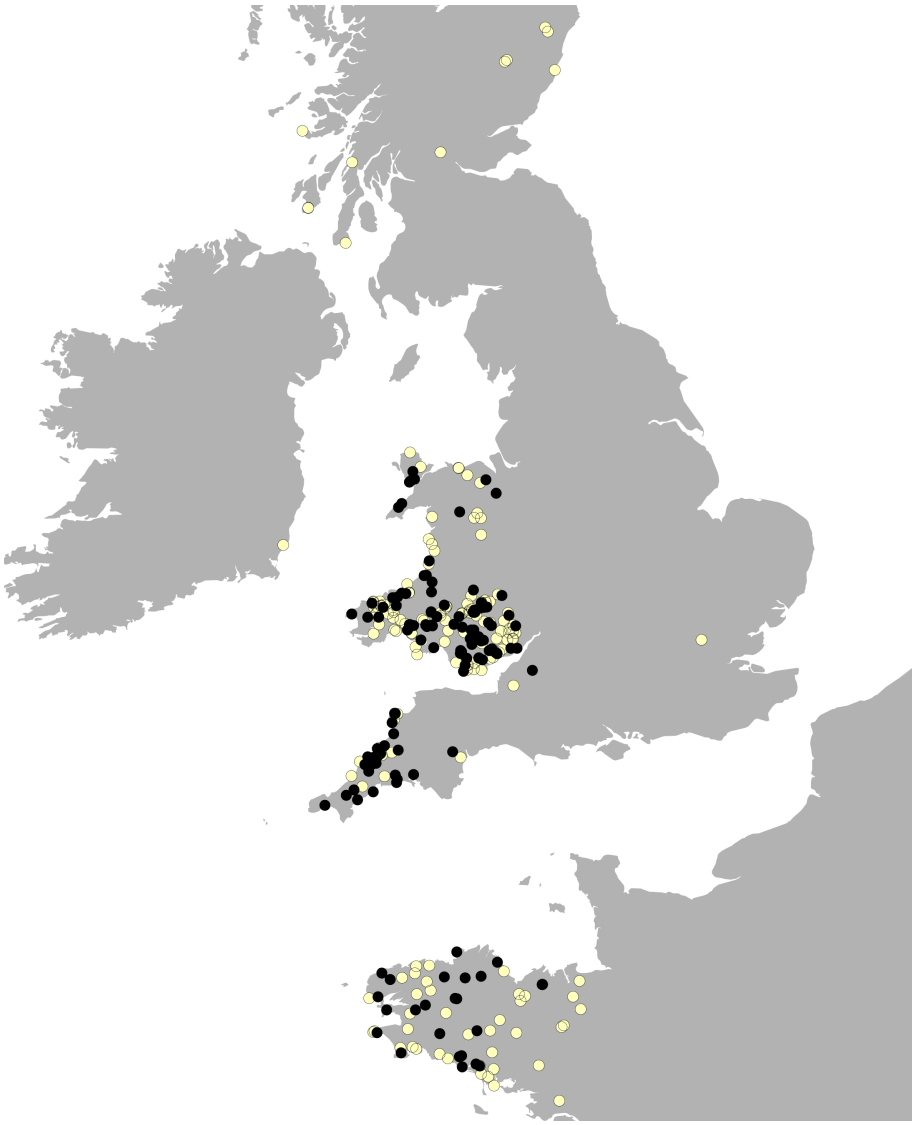


Figure 136. Geographic extent of Brychan family dedications (black=daughters, yellow=other family) members

The data indicates that while dedications to the sons and extended Brychan family are found in Wales, England, Cornwall, Scotland, Ireland, and Brittany, dedications to the daughters of Brychan are only found in Wales, England, Cornwall, and Brittany. The single dedication located near London marks the location of a holy relic of St Nectan rather than a church or well. Dedications in England are found near the Welsh border in Herefordshire and Somerset and in Devon near the abbey dedicated to St Nectan in Hartland. Based solely on the dedications, the overall tradition would appear to be strongest in south Wales, western Cornwall, and Brittany. Very few dedications to sons of Brychan are located in Ireland and Scotland. In Ireland dedications are only found in Leinster, where the saints' names fit those listed in the Mothers of the Irish Saints tract. Figure 7 demonstrates that dedications to the

daughters of Brychan are interspersed with those of other family members rather than located in separate areas.

Dedications in Carmarthenshire

Carmarthenshire does not figure largely in stories of the daughters of Brychan; however, dedications are found there for a number of daughters: Cain, Callwen, Clydai, Cynheiddon, Eluned (possibly), Ilid, Lluan, Tangwystl, Tudwystl, and Tybïe. Figure 7 shows the dedications in Carmarthenshire, with dedications to all extended family members on the left and only the daughters of Brychan on the right:

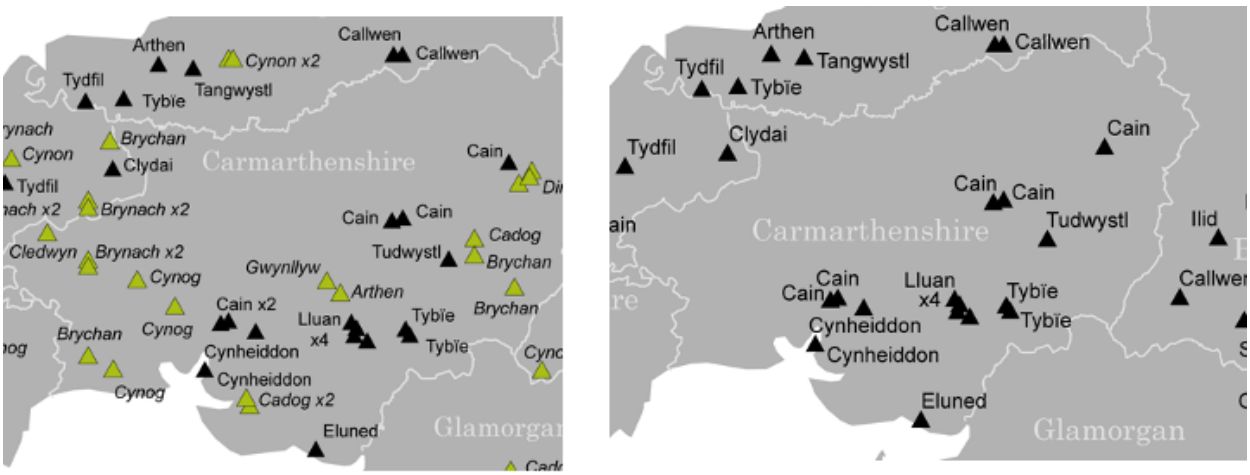


Figure 137. Comparison of all the family dedications (l.) and the daughters of Brychan (r.) in Carmarthenshire

For these daughters, two adjacencies can be noted. *Iolo MSS* states that Lluan and Tybïe lived at a place called Gelli Forwynion (Grove of the Virgins) near Llandybïe. Dedications to Lluan can be found at Gorslas, where St Lleian's Church and Capel Llanlluan are near Capel Farm, where remains of a chapel have been converted to a barn (see app. A) and near which a holy well is said to be located. Llandybïe is the site of St Tybïe's Church and two holy wells. The second adjacency is St Clydai's Church in the hamlet of Cledey, and St Cledwyn's Church in the hamlet of Llanglydwen. Although view A of figure 7 shows many dedications to other family members in the area, references to Clydai are only linked to Cledwyn. See chapter 8 and appendix A for further information.

Appendix A provides context and additional information related to the datapoints shown in the maps. For example, Figure 7 shows all the dedications as of equal importance, but they

are in fact very different. The dedication to Tudwystl is a ruined chapel that is now an outbuilding on Capel Tydist Farm near a field that was once the site of a medieval village. Capel Tydist Farm is west of the site of a Roman villa located on a farm named Llys Brychan, on the foothills of Garn Goch, an Iron Age fortification. Llys Brychan is not far from Llangadog, where a church is dedicated to St Cadog. Two nearby dedications to Cain are place-names only. This sparsely populated mountain country around the Tywi River appears to have retained echoes of the Brychan tradition, but the reason is not revealed by the landscape. No known stories about the Brychan family are set in this region.

Dedications in Breconshire

Breconshire is the central location for the written Brychan tradition, including a number of places mentioned in the medieval sources, beginning with the name of the county. Once again, as shown in figure 8, dedications to the daughters of Brychan are interspersed with those of other members of the family.

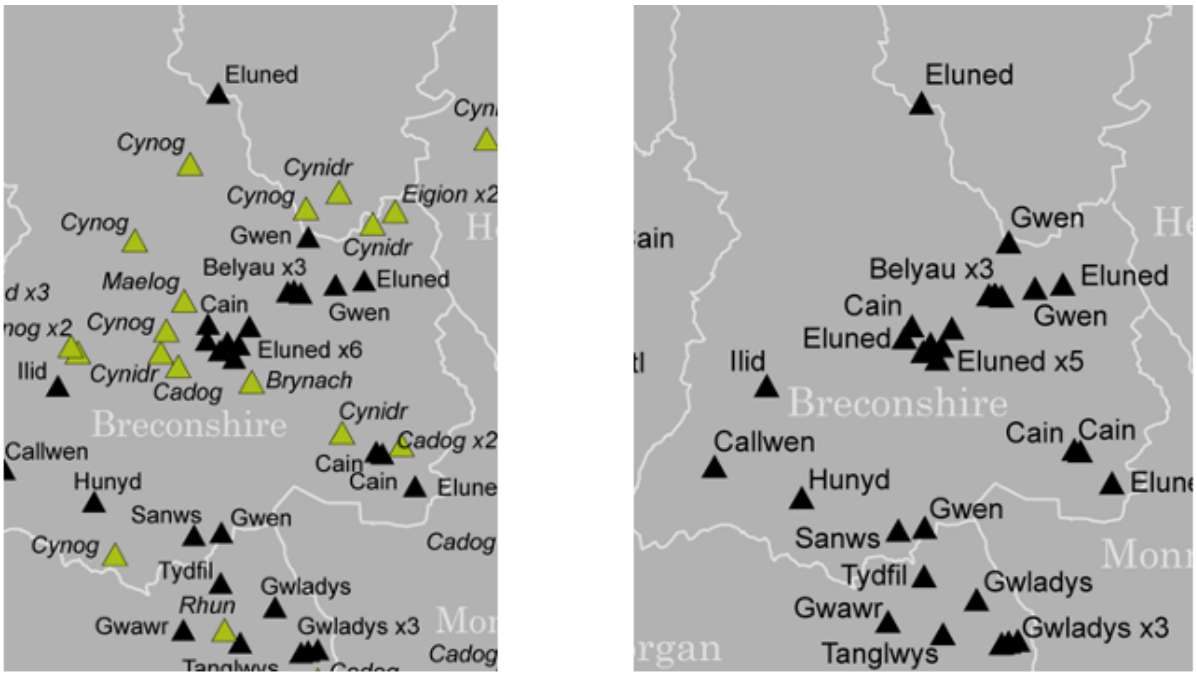


Figure 138. Breconshire dedications

Dedications are found to sons Cynog and Rhun, grandsons Cadog, Cynidr, Eigion, and Maelog and to son-in-law Brynach. Dedications to twelve daughters of Brychan are noted, some with multiple dedications. They are Belyau, Cain, Callwen, Eluned, Gwawr, Gwen,

Gwladys, Hunyd, Ilid, Sanws, Tanglwys, and Tydfil. many of these dedications, however, reflect a previous and not current state of veneration; for example, the Church of St Gwendoline in Talgarth has for some years been a community centre instead of a church, and the churches dedicated to St Cynog in Battle and Merthyr Cynog (his cult centre) are closed. Dedications to Eluned at Llanelieu and Llanelwedd are uncertain. The church at Llanelieu is closed and the church in Llanelwedd appears to have always been dedicated to St Matthew (see ch. 5).

Dedications in Anglesey

The dedications in Anglesey (fig. 9) are far from Breconshire, but a significant adjacency can be found in dedications to St Dwynwen on Ynys Llanddwyn and the two churches dedicated to Ceinwen at Cerrigceinwen and Llangeinwen. A church dedicated to St Dyfnan is on the far side of the island. Of these places, only St Ceinwen's Church at Llangeinwen is still used as a church. The ruins of Ynys Llanddwyn are now part of a wildlife preserve and the churches at Cerrigceinwen and Llanddyfnan were closed and sold early in the twenty-first century.

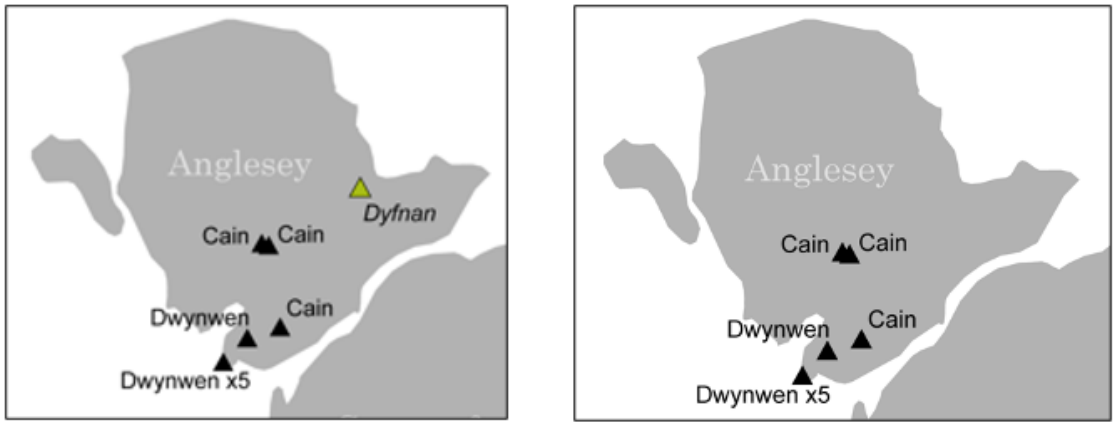


Figure 139. Anglesey dedications

St Dwynwen's holy wells are well known, but a holy well near the doorway to St Ceinwen's Church at Cerrigceinwen was once known for its healing properties (see ch. 6 and app. A).

The areas without Brychan family dedications are also interesting, as shown in figure 10. The ancient counties of Denbighshire, Montgomeryshire, and Radnorshire have few, if any, dedications to the Brychan family. Even so, dedications to six daughters can be found: Cain, Gwawr, Nyfain, Tudful, and Tudwen. Other family members include sons and grandsons of Brychan.

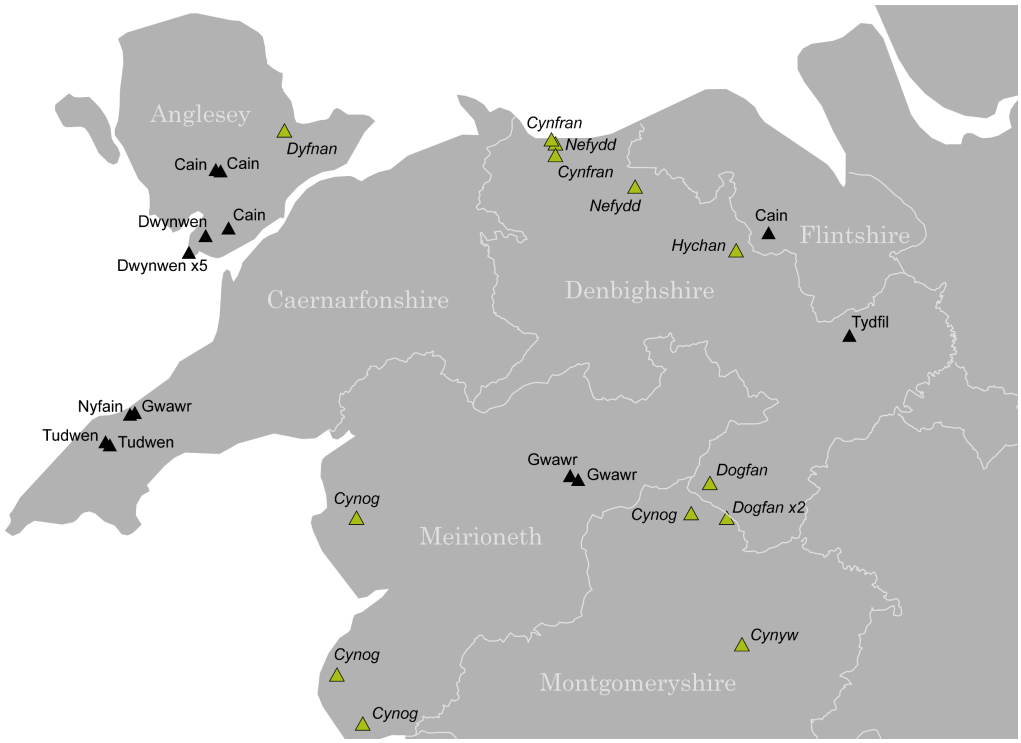


Figure 140. Brychan family dedications in north Wales

Figure 11 illustrates the interconnected nature of the dedications using the south Wales dedications, which seem at first glance to form no pattern that relates to written evidence about the Brychan family, brief and fragmented as those sources are. In *Martyrs and Memorials*, p. 30, David Parsons states that the place-names and the pedigrees both draw on shared traditions of the saints in south-east Wales, emerging from the same milieu of stories, whatever the truth of those stories.[1356] Those traditions and the extent of their commonality remains largely unknown, but figure 11 gives an inkling of how much potential data is available.

[1356] Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials*, p. 30.

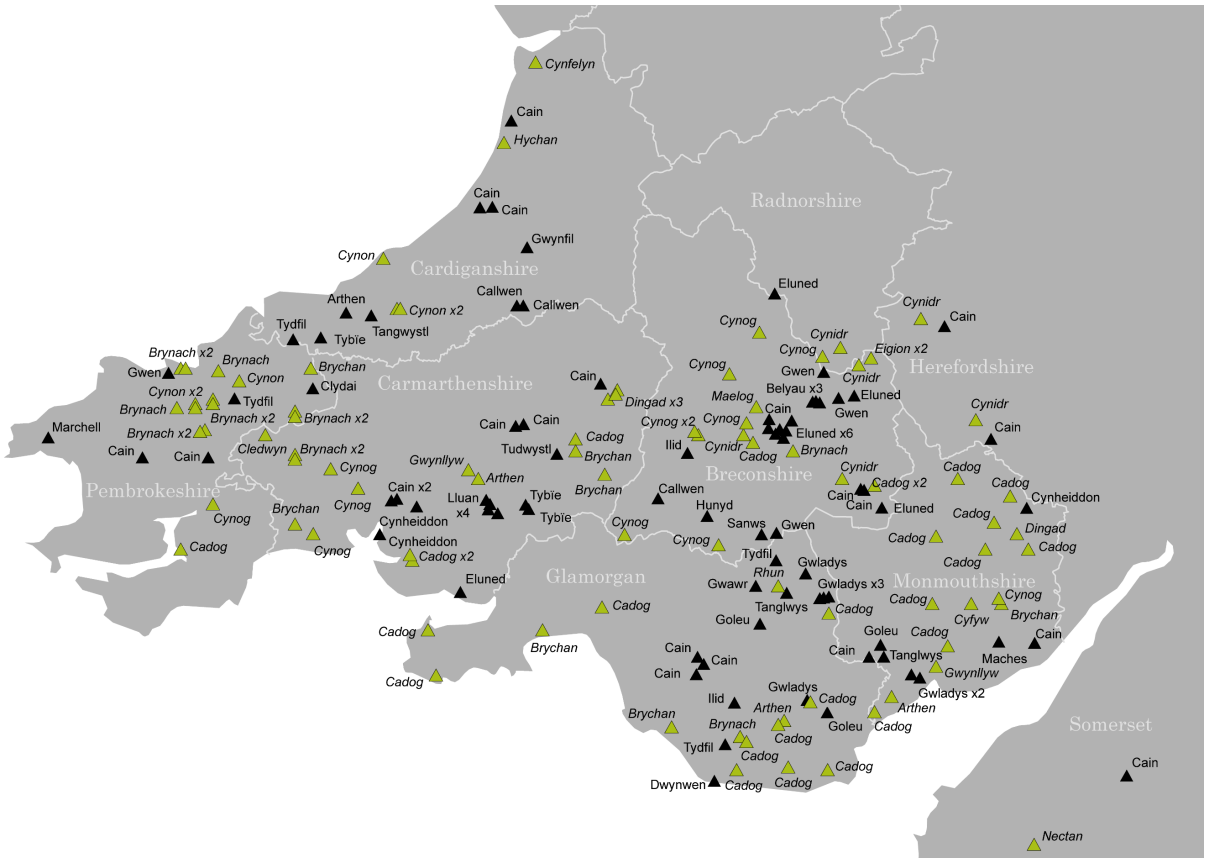


Figure 141. Brychan family dedications in south Wales

Dedications to purported grandsons Cadog and Cynog comprise a large number of the dedications noted for the family in south Wales. The dedications to St Brynach also form a considerable percentage of the total. St Brynach was said to have come to Wales with Brychan and was one of his inner circle, and he was described as having married one of Brychan's daughters. The marriage of Corth and Brynach and the list of their children, however, is a late invention of Iolo Morganwg. In the article 'Martyrs and local saints in late antique Britain', Richard Sharpe wrote that 'the catalogue of Brychan's saintly progeny was very likely created from saints known from the names of places'.[1357] Brychan's daughter Corth is a case in point. The name Corth is a late addition and likely the result of a copying error that changed the place-name Mynydd Cymorth, the location where Cynheiddon was said to live, to Corth daughter of Brychan. [1358]

[1357] Sharpe, 'Martyrs and Local Saints in Late Antique Britain', in *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, ed. by A. Thacker and R. Sharpe (Oxford: OUP, 2002), pp. 75–155, p. 143.
[1358] EWGT, pp. 16, 19, 44, and 83. In DSB, 'Keneython filia Brachan in y minid Cheuor in Kedweli', in CB, 'Koneidon apud Kydwely in monte Kyfor' and 'Kenedlon apud Mynyd Kymorth', in JC20, 'Ryneidon verch Vrachan yg Kitweli yMynyd Kyuor', and in PB, 'Kenedlon verch Vrychan yn y Mynydd [Kymorth]'.

It is interesting to see how the dedications end abruptly at the borders of Radnorshire to the north of Breconshire and Herefordshire to the east. A few churches are located just over the borders, but it would seem that veneration of the Brychan family did not extend into England or north into Radnorshire.

Appendix A is the primary source of further information about the many dedications to the Brychan family. In general, these churches are found on many types of terrain, but are usually small and located away from towns. Figure 12 shows examples of some of the dedications in Wales to demonstrate the variety found there.



A. Llanilid, Glamorgan

B. Capel Tydist Farm, Carmarthenshire

C. St Gwynno's Church, Breconshire

D. St Clydai's Church, Pembrokeshire

Figure 142. Types of dedications to the daughters of Brychan

One rare example of a town-based church is St Gwladys's Church in Bargoed, but that church is a modern replacement for St Gwladys's Chapel in Gelligaer, a ruin located in mountainous country, far from the nearest habitation. Another larger church is St Tydfil's Old Parish Church in Merthyr Tydfil, where the town grew up around the church. In Wales and Cornwall, names of Brychan's children are attached to churches and holy wells, but also to geographic landmarks, such as islands (Ynys Llanddwyn), mountains (Cefn Cil-Sanws), and rivers (Afon Leri). Place-names also include the names of farms, bridges, and fields.

It is likely that in many cases people locally identified as extraordinary were later made the subject of saints' Lives constructed to explain the names of geographical features and place-names. Still, if the Brychan story was derived from local place-names, how did such a variety

of the same names come to be found in so many different places? In any case, buildings cannot be said to reveal the beliefs that built them. These names may demonstrate past devotion at the place where they are found, but they may not necessarily prove that parishioners of a related place believed the same things. The differences in the lists of daughters in Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany shows that the story travelled, and was changed in the process of transmission . It could be that a story about a stranger with rights of kingship returning to become the patriarch and the eponym of a British region was a popular trope, spread widely and retold locally, so that the names of Brychan's daughters could still have been derived from place-names in the area where a branch of the story evolved.

More intriguing are the personal collections of recusant antiquarians, which languished in archives until rediscovered. As we have seen, the Celtic Revival created a popular enthusiasm for previously unpublished material, which resulted in publication of a number of the ancient manuscripts of Wales; initially by antiquarians and then increasingly by scholars. As discussed in chapter 2, the need to create of a sense of Welsh national identity flowed as we have seen from the desire to explore the past again. In this search, the Brychan family tradition provided an origin story, although as the stories were published the fragmentary and contradictory nature of the material resulted in the designation of this family as 'shadowy', 'semi-legendary', or 'legendary'. It was only when historicity was no longer the only measure of validity that the value of these ancient traditions could be appreciated.

The emerging study of memes provided a framework for viewing traditions of the saints as complex bundles of fragments of cultural information that are combined, reshaped, and redecorated as needed to comprise the identity of a people, shaped either naturally through the evolution of popular tradition or as a political tool, as in the case of invented traditions. The vanished churches, uncertain dedications, brief references in poems, emerging and vanishing names of daughters of Brychan all contribute.

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THE ENDURING MEME OF THE SAINTLY DAUGHTERS OF BRYCHAN BRYCHEINIOG

JEANNE EVANS MEHAN, BA, MA

SUPERVISED BY PROFESSOR JANE CARTWRIGHT AND DOCTOR DAVID N. PARSONS

VOLUME 2: APPENDIX A GAZETTEER

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Introduction

Appendix A is a collection of place-names related to the children of Brychan, encompassing dedications in Wales, Cornwall, Brittany, England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, to establish a foundation for their study and to demonstrate the variety, scope, and complexities of these dedications.

How this appendix is organized

Dedications are grouped by major geographic area, in this order: Wales, England, Cornwall, and Brittany. Within each geographic area, place-names related to the daughters of Brychan are grouped first, followed by dedications to other family members. When possible, each place-name includes the location of the place-name, the etymology of the name, the earliest documented usages of the place-name, and a discussion of the location and any special features of the site, including photographs of buildings and features related to the veneration of a saint.

Scope

The extensive genealogical connections between the founders of the faith during the Age of the Saints and the political kingdoms addressed by the Three Holy Families of Wales is germane to this discussion, but beyond the scope of this thesis, which is limited to the daughters of Brychan. For this reason place-names are limited to those of those members of the immediate family of Brychan Brycheiniog who can best add to the discussion about the daughters, including the parents of Brychan, Brychan, his wives, sons, significant spouses of the daughters, and those grandchildren whose place-names add context to place-names. For example, St Cadog is included because his dedications are so often near to those of his mother St Gwladys, his father St Gwynllyw, and his grandfather Brychan Brycheiniog. For the same reason, place-names for St David are only included for dedications in Brittany, where St Nonne is considered a daughter of Brychan and where her dedications are often adjacent to those of her son.

The Brychan family in Wales

Because of the large number of dedications to the children of Brychan in Wales, this gazetteer section is organized by county. As with other dedications in the United Kingdom, OS map coordinates are the standard[1].

For descriptions and histories of churches, monuments, and other features, a number of online resources were used as standards. The Royal Commission of Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales (RCAHMW) Coflein database was supplemented by the reports generated by the four county archaeological trusts: the Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust, the Dyfed Archaeological Trust, the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust, and the Gwynedd Archaeological Trust.[2] In some cases, the British Listed Buildings database contributed.[3] These online resources were in addition to historical records, such as charters, tax records, and legal documents.

The *Dictionary of the Place-Names of Wales* by Hywel Wyn Owen and Richard Morgan was used as the baseline for place-names in Wales, often supported by references for specific geographical areas, such as B. G. Charles' *Place-Names of Pembrokeshire*.[4] In some cases, texts were aviailableaddress problems relating to studying place-names related to the study of the saints in Wales, such as David Parsons' *Martyrs and Memorials:* Merthyr *Place-Names and the Church in Early Wales* and Francis Jones' *The Holy Wells of Wales*.[5] When possible, information about place-names was derived from the online RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names database.[6]

[1] Ordnance Survey (OS) Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/ <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[2] RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/ <Accessed 11 April 2020> and Archwilio: The Historic Environment Records of Wales [online]. Available at https://archwilio.org.uk/arch/ <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[3] British Listed Buildings [online]. Available at https://britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/ <Accessed 20 November 2018>
[4] H. Owen and R. Morgan, *Dictionary of the Place-Names of Wales* (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 2007), pp. 81–82 and B. G. Charles, *The Place-Names of Pembrokeshire*, 2 vols (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1992)
[5] D. Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials:* Merthyr *Place-Names and the Church in Early Wales* (Aberystwyth: University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2013) and F. Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1954).
[6] RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/ <Accessed 11 April 2020>

Anglesey dedications

Anglesey is the site of dedications to Ceinwen, Dwynwen, and Dyfran. A dedication to Gwen is possible, but uncertain, but the presence of dedications so far from Breconshire is a larger mystery. The cult centres for Dwynwen and Ceinwen are located in the Newborough area in south-west Anglesey, close to the ancient Court of the Princes at Llys Rhosyr, now Newborough. As discussed in Chapter 6 Cain and Chapter 7 Dwynwen, Ynys Llanddwyn was known to be a popular medieval pilgrimage site, but there are no indications of pilgrimages to Ceinwen's churches and wells, although Cerriceinwen had a healing well that can still be seen next to the church.

Daughters

Both Ceinwen and Dwynwen both had dedications in close proximity in the south-west corner of Anglesey. These dedications are found in areas with legends of a submerged land that hints at prehistoric memory, supported by archaeological finds and numerous wells and springs. These issues are discussed in Chapter 7 Dwynwen.

Ceinwen

Ceinwen appears first in *Plant Brychan*, where she appears along with Dwynwen and associated with Anglesey.[7] Both churches dedicated to her are found in the south-west corner of the island, near Ynys Llanddwyn and Llys Rhosyr, the medieval court of the Welsh princes.

Ffynnon Ceinwen, Cerrigceinwen [SH 42355 73719][8]

'well of the stones of Ceinwen', *ffynnon* well + *cerrig* stones + pers. n. *Ceinwen*

Figure A-1 shows the 'stones of Ceinwen', an outcrop of a vein of coarse porphyry in the front of the church, described in 1849 by Samuel Lewis as 'a group of prophyritic rocks of a singularly wild and romantic appearance'.[9]

[7] *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts* (EWGT), ed. by P. Bartrum (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1966), p. 83.
[8] 'St Ceinwen's Church, Cerrigceinwen', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/238/details/st-ceinwens-church-cerrigceinwen <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[9] S. Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales* (London, S. Lewis, 1849), pp. 238–241 [online]. Available at http://www.british-history.ac.uk/topographical-dict/wales/pp238-241#p8 <Accessed 11 April 2020>



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Figure A-1. Rock Formation and holy well at Cerrigceinwen

RCAHMW Coflein reports that the holy well is formed naturally in the rock on the south side of the churchyard (see fig. A-1), where it is listed as a Class A well credited with healing properties.[10] This description is derived from an article written in 1846 by Henry Longueville Jones describes its location as in the churchyard, on the southern side, formed naturally in the rock, 'and once much resorted to as a spring that could cure many diseases'.[11] Francis Jones confirmed that a neglected well in Cerrig Ceinwen churchyard was credited with healing qualities and that it probably commemorated St. Ceinwen.[12]

[10] 'Cerrig Ceinwen, Holy Well', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/32148/details/CERRIG+CEINWEN%2C+HOLY+WELL/ <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[11] H. Longueville Jones, 'Mona Mediaeva', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, vol. 1, issue 1, (January 1846), pp. 64–65.

[12] F. Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales* (HWW) (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1954), p. 141.

St Ceinwen Church, Cerrigceinwen [SH 42355 73719][13]

'stones of Ceinwen', *cerrig pl. of carreg*, pers. n. *Ceinwen*[14]

> *Kareckeynweyn* (1254), *Carrykkynweyn* (1352), *Karickywen* (1535), *Cerrig-ceinwan* (1746–1747), *Cerrig Ceinwen* (1753), *Cerrigceinwen* (1890)[15]

St Ceinwen Church (fig. A-2), closed since 2013, is located in the community of Llangristiolus. Although rebuilt in modern times, fittings from the earlier church include the twelfth-century font and gravestones dating from the ninth to the twelfth centuries that have been incorporated into the fabric of the external church structure.[16]



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Figure A-2. St Ceinwen Church (closed), Cerrigceinwen

St Ceinwen Church, Llangeinwen [SH 44081 65816][17]

'church of Ceinwen', *llan*, pers. n. *Ceinwen*

[13] 'St Ceinwen's Church, Cerrigceinwen', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[14] H. Owen and R. Morgan, *Dictionary of the Place-Names of Wales* (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 2007), pp. 81–82.
[15] Owen and Morgan, pp. 81–82.
[16] 'St Ceinwen's Church, Cerrigceinwen', Gwynedd Archaeological Trust (GAT) [online]. Available at https://www.archwilio.org.uk/arch/query/page.php?watprn=GAT5352&dbname=gat&tbname=core <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[17] 'Llangeinwen', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/53.16604,-4.32150,7/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>

St Ceinwen Church (fig. A-3) sits between the two settlements of Dwyran and Newborough in south-west Anglesey, mostly hidden behind a row of trees.[18] The church (fig. A-3) is in the Parish of Bro Dwynwen, Deanery of Synod Ynys Mon, Archdeanery of Bangor, Diocese of Bangor.[19] The church is built of limestone rubble with twelfth-century north and south walls, a later medieval chancel, nineteenth-century north chapel, and a west tower. The present nave is dated to the twelfth century by a round-headed blocked door in the north wall (view B of fig. A-3).[20] The church was restored early in the twentieth century.[21].



A. St Ceinwen Church

B. Norman doorway, St Ceinwen Church

C. Views of ninth- to eleventh-century broken tombstones built into church buttresses

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Figure A-3. St Ceinwen Church, Llangeinwen, with views of early medieval carved stones

The rectilinear churchyard is bounded by a stone wall, with an entrance on the east side.[22] The church houses a thirteenth-century font and three memorials dating from 1591 to 1728.[23]

[18] 'St Ceinwen', The Parish of Llangeinwen a Llanfair-yn-y—Cwmwd in the Diocese of Bangor, The Church in Wales [online]. Available at https://parish.churchinwales.org.uk/b027/churches-en/st-ceinwen_-en/ <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[19] 'St Ceinwen's Church', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/202/details/ST+CEINWEN'S+CHURCH/ <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[20] 'St Ceinwen's Church', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

[21] 'St Ceinwen's Church', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

[22] 'St. Ceinwen's Church, Llangeinwen', GAT [online].

[23] 'St. Ceinwen's Church, Llangeinwen', GAT [online].

Dwynwen

The cult of Dwynwen at Ynys Llanddwyn in the south-west corner of Anglesey is discussed in depth in Chapter 7, but this gazetteer describes the structures and geographic features found at the site. The unusual geology of the small island, reachable at low tide, produced several springs and small watercourses which have been influenced by underlying boulder clay and shifting sand.[24] The island shows archaeological evidence that that the region that once comprised Llanddwyn Parish was inhabited 'centuries if not millenia before Christ, in the period between Old and New Stone ages', based on discoveries there of beaker fragments, mounds of shells, bone needles, and an area for making flint tools.[25] Over time, the area was covered with farms, presided over by Llys Rhosyr, a court of the princes of North Wales, and the adjacent pilgrimage site at Llanddwyn that included St Dwynwen Church and holy wells where pilgrims gathered. Pilgrims traveled by ferry to Llanddwyn as well as by land. After the conquest of Wales by Edward I, Llys Rhosyr became known as Newborough, which remains the name of what is now a small town. After the Reformation, Llanddwyn became the property of local landowners and the structures on the island fell to ruin, while medieval accounts of healing found at the wells were replaced by stories of divination and fortune-telling practiced there. Over-harvesting of marram grass to make woven mats of caused erosion at the small farms adjacent to the shore, eventually making the land impossible to farm, and the area around Llanddwyn is now a nature reserve, where a visitor centre presents information about the wildlife and the previous veneration of St Dwynwen at the church and holy wells.[26]

In addition to the wells associated with the cult of St Dwynwen, other wells serve the island. In an unpublished account from 1920 by local historian Owen Williamson, Williamson identifies an enclosed well close to the Pilot's Cottages as the source of fresh water to the cottages. He also wrote that water collects in a rough basin that spills to Pilot's Cove.[27] An additional watercourse that springs from below the churchyard may also have been used at the rector's house.[28]

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[24] T. Morgan, 'St Dwynwen's Church, Ynys Llanddwyn', 2012, p. 19, GAT [online]. p. 19. Available at https://archwilio.org.uk/arch/query/page.php?watprn=GAT44650&dbname=gat&tbname=event&sessid=CHI21tnsgzp&queryid=Q4256700015866180 29 <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[25] H. Owen, '*Hanes Plwyf Niwbwrch, Mon - History of Newborough, Anglesey*, pp. 1–2 [online]. Available at http://www.tpwilliams.co.uk/newborough/newb_index.htm <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[26] Bangor, Bangor University Archive, MS Bangor 7390, p. 25. Note: Author is O. Williamson and title is *Guide to Newborough and Llanddwyn*.

[27] MS Bangor 7390, p. 35.

[28] MS Bangor 7390, p. 35.

Of the medieval structures at Ynys Llanddwyn, ruins of the church, rector's house, sexton's house, and a structure called Merddyn Cul can be seen, while nineteenth century cottages, lighthouses, and boathouses remain from the lifeboat operations on the island that protected the shipping trade in the Menai Straits. Two crosses placed on the island by the nineteenth-century owner indicate his acknowledgement of the past holiness of the place. The land is now publically owned and managed by several government agencies.

Crochan Llanddwyn, Newborough Forest [SH 4098 6478][29]

'cauldron of the church of Dwynwen', *crochan* pot or cauldron + *llan* church + *Dwynwen* pers. n.

Crochan Llanddwyn, named for the island rather than for the saint, is a pool on the mainland in Newborough Forest, although Francis Jones describes it as 'one of the wells at Ynys Llanddwyn'.[30] This well is reported as having been used for divination, and RCAHMW Coflein lists it as 'Crochan Llanddwyn, Wishing Well'.[31] A difference of opinion exists about the state of the well. RCAHMW Coflein states 'Now destroyed by construction of reservoir'. [32] The Gwynedd Archaeological Trust also reports that 'Crochan Llanddwyn has been destroyed by the construction of a water reservoir by the Forestry Commission'[33]. A local writer clarifies that the pool remains, although 'very neglected and overwhelmed by weeds and algae, and forestry workings have obliterated its original form.'[34] The same writer updated this account, stating that the well was cleared in 2014. Figure A-4 shows its condition at that time.[35]

[29] 'Crochan Llanddwyn Well, Newborough', GAT [online]. Available at https://www.archwilio.org.uk/arch/query/page.php?watprn=GAT3073&dbname=gat&tbname=core <Accessed 4 November 2018>
[30] HWW, p. 142.
[31] HWW, p. 142, and 'Crochan Llanddwyn, Wishing Well', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/32149/details/crochan-llanddwynwishing-well <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[32] HWW, p. 142, and 'Crochan Llanddwyn, Wishing Well', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[33] 'Crochan Llanddwyn Well, Newborough', GAT [online].
[34] 'A Walk to the Wishing Well—Crochan Llanddwyn', Newborough Anglesey [online]. Available at https://newboroughanglesey.wordpress.com/2013/04/16/a-walk-to-the-wishing-well-crochan-llanddwyn/ <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[35] 'A walk to the wishing well—Crochan Llanddwyn', Newborough Anglesey [online].



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Figure A-4. Crochan Llanddwyn, Newborough Forest[36]

Ffynnon Dafaden, Ynys Llanddwyn [SH 38842 62888][37]

'wart well', *ffynnon*, well + *dafaden*, wart

Figure A-5 shows Ffynnon Dafaden, which is located on the headland where Llanddwyn church stood.[38]

[36] 'A walk to the wishing well—Crochan Llanddwyn', Newborough Anglesey [online].
[37] 'Ynys Llanddwyn', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/53.13871,-4.41070,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[38] HWW, p. 143.



Figure A-5. Ffynnon Dafaden, Ynys Llanddwyn, in 2017[39]

Ffynnon Ddwynwen (lost), Ynys Llanddwyn

'well of Dwynwen', *ffynnon,* well + *Dwynwen*, pers. n.

The confusion between Ffynnon Ddwynwen and Ffynnon Fair on Ynys Ddwynwen, supposedly near the ruins of St Dwynwen Church is compounded by the difficulties in identifying the location of either one. Samuel Lewis stated that Ffynnon Ddwynwen and Ffynnon Fair are one and the same.[40] Baring-Gould and Fisher also call it Crochan Llanddwyn, saying that auguries were favourable to lovers if the well bubbled while ceremonies were performed.[41] Crochan Llanddwyn, however, is on the mainland in Newborough Forest, as described in the previous entry. Francis Jones describes Ffynnon Ddwynwen as a well or spring in the vicinity of the ruins of St Dwynwen's church that cannot be located. RCAHMW Coflein repeats Jones' assessment.[42]

[39] ' Ffynnon Dafaden—holy well or sacred spring in Anglesey', Megalithic Portal [online]. Available at http://www.megalithic.co.uk/article.php?sid=46062 <Accessed 11 April 2020> Copyright 2017 by Tim Prevett.
[40] HWW, p. 141.
[41] HWW, p. 141. See also S. Baring-Gould and J. Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints* (LBS), 4 vols (London: Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1907–1913), vol. 4, pp. 389–391.
[42] 'Ffynnon Dwynwen, Llanddwyn Island', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/32158/details/ffynnon-dwynwen-llanddwyn-island <Accessed 11 April 2020>

Using Francis Jones' *The Holy Wells of Wales* (HWW) as its source, the RCAHMW describes Ffynnon Ddwynwen as a well or spring in the vicinity of St Dwynwen's church, now in ruins, and asserts that the well cannot now be located.[43]

Ffynnon Fair (lost), Ynys Llanddwyn

'well of Mary', ffynnon, *well* + *Mair*, pers. n.

Ffynnon Fair, now lost, is often confused with Ffynnon Ddwynwen (see previous entry), and Francis Jones writes that they are different names for the same well.[44] Samuel Lewis writes that 'the church became an abbey for monks of the Benedictine order, who derived a large revenue from the resort of strangers, who came to inquire into their future destiny, which was predicted by the leaping of fish, and the appearance of the water of a well, still called Fynnon Vair, or "St. Mary's well"'. Francis Jones repeats this view, as do Baring-Gould and Fisher.[45]

Ffynnon y Sais, Ynys Llanddwyn [SH 38895 63132][46]

'well of the English', *ffynnon* well + *sais* Englishman, Saxon

Ffynnon y Sais is a small fresh water spring that emerges from the shingle at the top of the beach and runs in a small stream across the beach towards the sea. The spring is relatively small, and probably just noted as a source of fresh water; however, the bay in which it is located is called Trwyn Ffynnon y Sais.

Merddyn Cul, Ynys Llanddwyn [SH 38842 62888]

The ruin called Merddyn Cil or Cul is located on Ynys Llanddwyn near the mainland (fig. A-5). Early antiquarians did not suggest a purpose for the building; for example, in 1846, the article 'Mona Mediaeva' describes the site as 'of very rude construction, forming perhaps a tower, oblong in form, and of dressed rubble work, without mortar. Its date is quite problematical'.[47] In 1920, the Anglesey antiquarian Hugh Owen described it only as an 'oblong, rudely constructed structure'.[48] More recent accounts identify the ruin as having been a well chamber:

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[43] 'Ffynnon Ddwynwen, Ffynnon Fair', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. See also HWW, p. 141.
[44] HWW, p. 141.
[45] HWW, p. 141, and LBS, vol. 2, p. 391.
[46] 'Ffynnon y Sais', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/a960c133-34a2-47c6-998a-e200e1cd6a97 <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[47] Anon., 'Mona Mediaeva, No. IV', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, (vol. 1, no. IV, October 1846), pp. 425–426.
[48] Owen, p. 5.

> The most impressive structure is Merddyn Cil, which appears to consist of an elongated well chamber, partly filled with debris, but about 2 metres deep. At one end there may be the remains of steps leading down from an attached an oblong building aligned south west to north east on a distinct terrace. There may be other buildings, but sand has obscured the precise lay-out. A faint stream, perhaps later used as a donkey-track, suggests the drainage is north east to the bay east of Gwddw Llanddwyn.[49]

Rector's house (ruin), Ynys Llanddwyn [SH 38694 62763]

It is uncertain whether the church was ever part of an abbey; however, a structure adjacent to the church ruins seems to have been used for living quarters. Based on accounts of the prebend of Llanddwyn, Richard Cyffin, holding meetings on the island in preparation for the arrival of Henry Tudor, soon to be Henry VII, one could expect a rectory, at the least. The RCAHMW inventory of Anglesey describes the house as being sixty yards from the church, showing the remains of collapsed walls 'approximately 55 ft by 20 ft with a small projection at one end'.[50]

St Dwynwen Church (ruin), Ynys Llanddwyn [SH 38694 62763]

The ruins of St Dwynwen Church show a cruciform structure with a nave and south porch, north and south transepts and a large chancel, with a stair tower in the angle between the north transept and chancel.[51] The ruins were stabilised in 2016, as shown in figure A-6.

[49] Morgan, 'St Dwynwen's Church, Ynys Llanddwyn', p. 20, GAT [online].
[50] *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Anglesey* (IAMA), ed. by the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire (London: William Clowes & Son, 1937), p. 119.
[51] Morgan, 'Saint Dwynwen's Church, Ynys Llanddwyn', 2012, p. 5, GAT [online].



A. Ruins of St Dwynwen Church



B. Detail of church ruins



C. Sign describes post-Reformation ruin of St Dwynwen Church

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Figure A-6. St Dwynwen Church, Ynys Llanddwyn

Sexton's House (ruin), Ynys Llanddwyn [SH 38842 62888][52]

The Royal Commission's inventory of Anglesey also identifies a second building, located 500 yards north-east of the church 'in a ruined condition', with only the south-east gable and chimney stack still standing.[53] At that time, examiners found a stone in the ruins carved with the date of 1664 and a shield with the arms of Llywarch.[54] The stone and the ruins disappeared during demolition completed by the time the volume was published in 1937.[55]

Ynys Llanddwyn [SH 38842 62888][56]

'island of the church of Dwynwen', *ynys* island + *llan* church + pers. n. *Dwynwen*

> *Llanddwyn* (1349), *ch. St. Donwenne* (1384), *ll.ddwyn* (1480–1481), *a little isle caullid Sainct Dunwen* (1536–1539), *Llanddwyn Abbey* (1795), *Llandwyn Point* (1818), *Llanddwyn Island* (1939)[57]

[52] 'Ynys Llanddwyn', OS Maps [online].
[53] IAMA), p. 119.
[54] IAMA, p. 119.
[55] IAMA, p. 119.
[56] 'Ynys Llanddwyn', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/53.13871,-4.41070,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[57] Owen and Morgan, p. 501.

Ynys Llanddwyn can be reached by sea at the port of Pilot's Cove and from land by means of a causeway at low tide. The island is the site of the medieval church of St Dwynwen, several other structures, and several holy wells.[58]

Gwen

Gwen daughter of Brychan could possibly have had a cult in north-east Anglesey, but if so it is unconfirmed, except in the following place-name.

Capel Gwen Hir, Amlwch [SH 3943 9355][59]

This chapel, possibly dedicated to St Gwen, was located about one-quarter mile south-east of the church and has been demolished and replaced with farm buildings.[60]

Other family of Brychan

Dyfnan

The only indication of a cult for Dyfnan son of Brychan is St Dyfnan Church in Llanddyfnan in Anglesey. As with Ceinwen and Dwynwn, the medieval church would indicate veneration of long standing at this church.

St Dyfnan Church, Llanddyfnan [SH 50200 78599][61]

'church of Dyfnan', *llan*, church + *Dyfnan*, pers. n.

> *Rectoria Ricardi in ecclesia de Landyman* (1291)[62]

The Gwynedd Archaeological Trust describes the fourteenth-century parish church of St Dyfnan Llanddyfnan parish church is dedicated to St. Dyfnan and is located in the diocese of Bangor.[63] The church was mentioned in the 1254 Norwich taxation.[64]

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[58] Owen and Morgan, p. 501.
[59] 'Capel Gwen Hir', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/43563/details/capel-gwen-hir <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[60] 'Capel Gwen Hir', Coflein [online].
[61] 'Llanddyfnan', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/53.28314,-4.24843,15/pin <Accessed 5 November 2018>
[62] 'Benefice of Llanddyfnan', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=BN.AN.WY.03 <Accessed 10 November 2018> Note: The patronage was *ecclesiastical*, Bangor, Caernarvon, bishop.
[63] 'St. Dyfnan's, Llanddyfnan Parish Church, Llanddyfnan', GAT [online]. Available at https://www.archwilio.org.uk/arch/query/page.php?watprn=GAT6956&dbname=gat&tbname=core <Accessed 10 November 2018>
[64] 'Llanddyfnan Parish Church, Llanddyfnan', GAT [online].

Breconshire dedications

One would expect Breconshire to be the site of dedications to most of the children of Brychan and Brychan Brycheiniog himself; however, some children evidently had strong cults there, while others did not. Other than the place-names of county and city, place-names related to Brychan are scarce. The grave of his Irish father Anlach at Llanspyddid is documented, but the grave of Brychan has not been found. Dedications to daughters Eluned, Cain, Belyau, and Gwen as well as to son Cynog and grandsons Cadog and Cynidr are found, described in the following entries.

Daughters of Brychan

While the cult centre for Cain is likely St Ceinwyr Church at Llangeinor in Glamorgan between the two branches of the Ogmore River, some dedications to her are found in Breconshire. The chapel of St Eluned, once the site of pilgrimages, is situated on Slwch Farm on the slopes of Slwch Tump and on the outskirts of the town of Brecon. Other places are connected with Eluned, and one of them, mentioned in Hugh Thomas's account of St Eluned (see ch. 5), Llanfilo, is also the cult centre for Belyau and the only dedication to this saint. Gwendoline is the patron saint of St Gwendoline Church in Talgarth, the town considered to have been the site of Brychan's court. Another dedication to Gwendoline is located in Llyswen. No certain dedication for Hunyd can be found, but it is suggested that the Stone of Meltheu where she was said to have been buried has been suggested to be Ystradfellte. These dedications are discussed in the following entries.

Belyau

The only dedications to Belyau daughter of Brychan are found in the hamlet of Llanfilo on the outskirts of Brecon, where a church and holy well are named for the saint.[65]

Alltfillo, Llanfilo [SO 11260 331561][66]
'hill of Bilo', *allt*, hill, pers. n., *Belyau*

[65] Owen and Morgan, p. 251.
[66] 'Allt Filo', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.99259,-3.28353,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>

A large British camp a little westward of the church on Alltfillo Hill.[67] There are several British camps which, as a rule, occupy the characteristic position of these strongholds — the brow or side of a hill. In Benni wood, near Brecon, is one almost entirely concealed by trees, with its ditch altogether obliterated. A large oval encampment crowns the summit of Pen y Crug, two miles north-west of Brecon, and a triangular camp, defended by a ditch and ramparts of stones, stands in a position of great natural strength near Crickhowell. Other camps are situated at Alltfinio (errata: should read Alltfilo), near Glasbury, near Talgarth, and at Castell Dinas.[68]

Ffynnon Filo, Llanfilo [SO 11812 33279][69]

'the well of Bilio', *ffynnon* well + pers. n. *Bilio*[70]

Ffynnon Filo is in Llanfilo parish near St Bilo Church.[71]

St Bilo Church, Llanfilo [SO 11899 33249][72]

'the church of Bilo', *llan* church + pers. n. *Bilo*

> *Lanbilio* (c. 1203–1214), *Ecclesia de Lambilien* (1291), *Lanbyliun* (1291)
> *Lamvilio* (1399), *ll. fillo* (*c.* 1566)[73]

Bilio (or Beilo) may be Belyau, one of the many daughters of the legendary Brychan Brycheiniog recorded as saints.[74] At Llanfilo, about five and one-half miles from Brecon, St Bilo Church (fig. A-7) and Ffynnon Filo, are dedicated to Belyau. In the legend of St Eluned collected by Hugh Thomas, Llanfilo, along with Llanddew and Llechfaen, are places where St Eluned wandered before finding sanctuary and then martyrdom at Slwch Manor.[75]

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[67] T. Walford, *The Scientific Tourist Through England, Wales, & Scotland* (London: John Booth, 1818), no pg numbers. Available at https://archive.org/stream/scientifictouris02walfiala#page/n5/mode/2up <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[68] C. Evans, *Breconshire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), p. 91.
[69] 'Llanfilo', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.99259,-3.28353,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[70] Owen and Morgan, p. 251.
[71] HWW, p. 145.
[72] 'Llanfilo', OS Maps [online].
[73] Owen and Morgan, p. 251.
[74] Owen and Morgan, p. 251.
[75] T. Jones, 'The Daughters of Brychan: their importance in the history of Breconshire', Brycheiniog, vol. 15 (1976–1977), pp. 17–58.



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Figure A-7. St Bilo Church, Llanfilo

Cain

Dedications to St Cain in Breconshire are problematic, illustrating the issues related to the uncertainty of the saint's name (see ch. 6). These issues are discussed fully in Chapter 6 Cain, but one example of this difficulty is the dedication of St Ceneu Church and holy well in Llangenny near Crickhowell. While Theophilus Jones and Nicholas Carlisle assert that Cenau was a daughter of Brychan, others claim that the name refers to a male saint.[76] There is no way to prove things either way. Another issue is the variation in the saint's name even when it is certain that Cain daughter of Brychan is intended. A case in point is St Keyne Chapel in Brecon Cathedral, which was created in the space formerly held by the Corvisors' Chapel as an early-twentieth-century project sponsored by Gwenllian Morgan, the historian and mayor of Brecon whose interest in the Brychan family resulted in several dedications during her

[76] N. Carlisle, *Topographical Dictionary of the Dominion of Wales* (London: W. Bulmer & Co., 1811), p. xxxi.

lifetime. Keyne is the name used in *Nova Legenda Anglie* and dedications in England and Cornwall, but Cain, Ceinwen, and Cein Wyry are names for this saint in Wales.

Ffynnon Geneu, Llangenny [SO 20124 17965][77]

'well of Ceneu', *ffynnon* well, pers. n. *Ceneu*

> *St Geney's Well* (1811)[78]

Ffynnon Ceneu appears on the First Edition OS Map directly south of St Cenau Church and Rectory.[79] The antiquarian Nicholas Carlisle (1771–1847), whose comments about the holy well near St Ceneu Church at Llangenny were later quoted by Samuel Lewis and Francis Jones, speaks of '*St. Geney's Well*, which is not without its fame among the Inhabitants of the Parish'.[80] Carlisle relates that twenty years previously a farmer, who was demolishing the supposed oratory of the saint, found an ancient bell 'of curious form, made of hammered iron, but plated within and without, with a kind of bell metal', saying that the bell was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1809.[81]

St Ceneu Church, Llangenny [SO 20124 17965][82]

'church of St Ceneu', *llan* church, pers. n. *Ceneu*

> *ll.gene* (*c.* 1566)[83], *Llangenye* (1578)[84], *Llangeney* (1554, 1609–1610, and 1832),[85] *Llangenny* (1547–1551)[86]

St Ceneu Church (fig. A-8) is in Llangadog Crug Howel Parish and the Diocese of Swansea and Brecon, located two kilometers east of of Crickhowell in south-east Breconshire.[87] Most of the structure was built in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, though the north aisle, once the nave, is almost certainly earlier.[88]

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[77] 'Llangenny', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.85509,-3.10454,17/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[78] Carlisle, no page numbers (NPN). See also Lewis, pp. 35 and 113, and HWW, p. 145.
[79] 'St Cennen's Church, Llangenny', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_collection&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLExsYW5nZW5ueV9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=301741#tabs-4 <Accessed 24 June 2018>
[80] Carlisle, NPN.
[81] Carlisle, NPN.
[82] 'Llangenny', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.85509,-3.10454,17/pin <Accessed 10 November 2018>
[83] R. Morgan and R. Powell, *A Study of Breconshire Place-Names* (Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 1999), p. 105.
[84] Morgan and Powell, p. 105.
[85] Morgan and Powell, p. 105.
[86] Morgan and Powell, p. 105.
[87] 'Church of St Cenau, Llangenny', *CPAT Brecknockshire Churches Survey* [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/301741/details/st-cennens-church-llangenny <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[88] 'Church of St Cenau, Llangenny', *CPAT Brecknockshire Churches Survey* [online].



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Figure A-8. St Cenau Church, Llangenny

St Keyne Chapel, St John the Evangelist Cathedral, Brecon [SO 04440 29000][89]

Early in the twentieth century, the south guild chapel of the Corvisors in the Cathedral of St John the Evangelist in Brecon was renamed for St Keyne, and a number of stained glass windows were added to the chapel, emphasising legends of medieval Brecon. [90] Brecon historian Gwenllian Morgan wrote that the chapel 'was restored as a memorial to the late Miss Bevan for the use of the women of the Diocese, who, on coming to their Cathedral, will find a place for prayer and meditation set apart for them, in commemoration of one whose whole life was devoted to service for others.'[91]

One three-light window (fig. A-9) in the chapel honours medieval lords of Breconshire who were builders of the Priory of St John the Evangelist: Humphrey de Bohun (1276–1322), Earl of Hereford; Giles de Braose (1176–1215), Bishop of Hereford; and Edward Stafford (1478–1521), Duke of Buckingham.[92]

[89] 'Aberhonddu/Brecon', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.94762,-3.39168,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[90] 'Giles de Breos of Humphrey de Bohun and Edward Stafford', Stained Glass in Wales Catalogue, ed. by M. Crampin Aberystwyth, 2011, University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, Aberystwyth, 2011. See also 'Focus on...St Keyne's Chapel', St Keyne's Chapel [online]. Available at https://www.breconcathedral.org.uk/visiting/information-boards/st-keynes-chapel/ <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[91] G. Morgan, *Brecon Cathedral* (Brecon: Brecon Cathedral, 1903, rev. 1944), unnumbered pages.
[92] 'Giles de Breos of Humphrey de Bohun and Edward Stafford', Stained Glass in Wales Catalogue, ed. by M. Crampin Aberystwyth, 2011, University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, Aberystwyth, 2011. See also 'Focus on...St Keyne's Chapel', St Keyne's Chapel [online].



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Figure A-9. The builders of Brecon Priory: Humphrey de Bohun (left), Giles de Braose (centre), and Edward Stafford (right)

The three-light stained glass window (fig. A-10) above the lords of Breconshire contains figures of the Founders of the Faith (i.e., St Cynog, Brychan Brycheiniog, and St Alud).[93] The figures are pictured against the Brecon Beacons and surmounted with the Brychan coat of arms as drawn by Hugh Thomas (see ch. 4).

[93] Morgan, unnumbered pages.



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Figure A-10. Founders of the faith in Breconshire: St Cynog (left), Brychan Brycheiniog (centre), and St Alud (right)

The next three-light set of windows (fig. A-11) shows three local saints, two of which are related to Brychan Brycheiniog: St Keyna, St Cadog, and St Illtud.



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Figure A-11. St Illtud (left), St Keyne (centre), and St Cadog (right)

Callwen

Callwen is one of the daughters of Brychan introduced in the late genealogies, as discussed in Chapter 8 Other Daughters of Brychan. Another dedication is described in the dedications in Ceredigion at Cellan.

St John the Baptist Church (formerly St Callwen Chapel), Glyntawe [SN 84610 16501][94]

*Cappel Callwe*n (1774)[95], *Capel-Callwen* or *Blaen-Glyntawe* 1849[96],

The Church of St John the Baptist (fig. A-12) is located in the upper Tawe valley, set back from the road in a churchyard used as a cemetery.[97] The church is a nineteenth-century building on the more ancient site of Capel Callwen, rebuilt in 1840 and again in 1892 and 1893.[98] The church was re-dedicated to St John the Baptist in 1964–1965.[99]

[94] 'Glyntawe', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.83517,-3.67610,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[95] R. Powell, 'The Place-Names of Devynock Hundred IV Glyntawe', *Brycheiniog*, vol. 24 (1990–1992), pp. 99–113.

[96] S. Lewis, 'Capel-Callwen – Cardiff', *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales* (London: S Lewis, 1849), pp. 150–158, British History Online [online]. Available at http://www.british-history.ac.uk/topographical-dict/wales/pp150-158 <Accessed 11 April 2020>.

[97] 'Church of St John the Baptist, Callwen, Glyntawe', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/421229/details/st-john-the-baptists-church-callwen-glyntawe <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[98] 'Church of St John the Baptist, Callwen, Glyntawe', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

[99] 'Church of St John the Baptist, Callwen, Glyntawe', RCAHMW Coflein [online].



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Figure A-12. St John's Church on the site of the former St Callwen's Chapel[100]

Eluned

Dedications to Eluned ferch Brychan exist at several Breconshire churches in edition to St Eluned's Church and Holy Well. Those places described in Hugh Thomas's account of St Eluned are also described. For more information, see Chapter 4 Hugh Thomas and Chapter 5 Eluned.

Bishop Gower Well, Llanddew [SO 05541 30739][101]

'church of God', *llan*, church + *Duw*, God

Ecclesia de Llandon (1291)[102]

Llanddew was an early medieval clas foundation, and the Bishop of St Davids built a palace there during the twelfth century, and part of the ruins include a vaulted structure called Bishop Gower's Well. [103] There is a tradition that Eluned, a daughter of Brecon, fled to St David Church in Llanddew about 500 AD.[104]

[100] J. Ball, 'St John's Church, Callwen, Glyntawe, Breconshire', Images of Wales [online]. Available at http://www.jlb2011.co.uk/walespic/churches/callwen1.htm <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[101] 'Llanddew', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.96708,-3.37632,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[102] 'Church of St David, Llanddew, Brecknockshire Churches Survey [online]. Available at http://www.cpat.demon.co.uk/projects/longer/churches/brecon/16819.htm <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[103] 'Church of St David, Llanddew, Brecknockshire Churches Survey [online].
[104] 'Church of St David, Llanddew, Brecknockshire Churches Survey [online].

Crug Gors Auail, Brecon [SO 05567 28446][105]

DSB identifies Crug Gors Auail (a rough translation of Slwch Tump) as the home of Eiliueth, daughter of Brychan.[106]

St Ellyw Church, Llanelieu [SO 18431 34217][107]

'church of Eleu', *llan*, pers. n. *Eleu* (Eluned?)

> *Langelen* (1148–?55), *Langeleu* (1210), *Llangelew*, *Llangelow* (*c.* 1285–1290), *Llanelewyth* (1406), *Llaneliw* (1482), *Llanelyw* (1587)[108]

St Ellyw's Church at Llanelieu (fig. A-13) is now owned by the Friends of Friendless Churches.[109] The church, a small and relatively simple structure in a large irregular churchyard, is set in a remote spot some three kilometres east of Talgarth. [110] Internally the church is significant for its rood screen remains, wall paintings, and wall monuments. [111]



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Figure A-13. St Ellyw's Church, Llanelieu

[105] 'Slwch Tump', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.94648,-3.37532,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[106] EWGT, p. 16.
[107] E. Davies, Rhestr o Enwau Lleoedd (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1967), p. 61. For map coordinates, see 'Llanelieu', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/52.00038,-3.18958,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020
[108] Owen and Morgan, pp. 237–238.
[109] 'Church of St Ellyw', Llanelieu', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online]. Available at http://www.cpat.demon.co.uk/projects/longer/churches/brecon/16843.htm <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[110] 'Church of St Ellyw', Llanelieu', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online].
[111] 'Church of St Ellyw', Llanelieu', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online].

Figure A-14 shows the interior of the church, which is now used for concerts and public events. There is no certainty that this church is dedicated to Eluned daughter of Brychan, and a number of suggestions have been made as to patron saint of the church, which are discussed in Chapter 5 Eluned.



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Figure A-14. Rood Screen at St Ellyw's Church, Llanelieu

St Eluned Chapel, Brecon [SO 05567 28446][112]

Capellam Sancte Haellilde (1152), *Sanctae Almedae ecclesia* (1188), *Sancte Elivehe* (1412)

See chapter 5 St Eluned for a discussion of the chapel, where by tradition St Eluned was martyred, resulting in a healing well. Her cottage became a chapel, where an annual festival drew crowds, as described by Gerald of Wales. After the Reformation, the chapel became a ruin, and now nothing remains. Figure A-15 shows the location where the chapel existed on a hill below Slwch Tump near Slwch Lane, looking down to Slwch Manor (now Slwch Farm), as described in London, British Library, MS Harley 4181, by Hugh Thomas:

[112] 'Slwch Tump', OS Maps [online].



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Figure A-15. St Eluned Chapel, Slwch Farm, Brecon

St Eluned Well, Brecon [SO 05567 28446][113]

The water from St Eluned Well (also called Penginger Well) has been diverted for use on Slwch Farm, but the original site is still evident (fig. A-16).[114]

[113] 'Slwch Tump', OS Maps [online].
[114] HHW, p. 146. See also 'Slwch Tump', OS Maps [online].



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Figure A-16. St Eluned Well, Slwch Farm, Brecon

Llanelwedd [SO 0472 5180][115]

Llanelweth (1283), *Thannelwyt* (1291), *Ll.elwedd* (*c.* 1560–1566)[116]

A. W. Wade-Evans suggests that Llanelwedd is dedicated to Eluned in Parochiale Wallicanum.[117] While Llanelwedd would seem a logical place to be dedicated to Eluned and the town name may refer to her, the church is dedicated to St Matthew.[118]

Slwch Farm, Brecon [SO 06430 28742][119]

According to Hugh Thomas's account of St Eluned, the saint was given sanctuary at this manor and built her oratory nearby, a view shown in figure A-17. Slwch Lane runs from the manor to the site of her oratory, later her chapel, and from there to Cerrigcochion Road and to Brecon town. The OS map indicates that Slwch Farm was once a moated site.[120]

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[115] Wade-Evans, p. 23. 'St Matthew's Church, Llanelwedd', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/418256/details/st-matthews-church-llanelwedd <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[116] Owen and Morgan, p. 239.
[117] Owen and Morgan, p. 239.
[118] 'St Matthew's Church, Llanelwedd', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[119] 'Slwch Farm', OS Maps [online].
[120] 'Slwch Farm Garden, Brecon', Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/86110/details/slwch-houseslwch-farm-brecon <Accessed 11 April 2020>



©2014 Eric Mehan
Figure A-17. Slwch Farm as seen from the site of St Eluned Chapel, Slwch Lane following the line of trees

Slwch Tump, Brecon [SO 05567 28446][121]

'marsh hill', slwch slough, muddy place + tump

> *Slwch Farm* OSM, *The Slough…name of a house and manor* (1698), *Slough* (1556), *Slwch Tump* (1809) [122]

The modern map presentation of the name defies translation, but the earlier forms suggest a Welsh form of the old English *slóh*, deriving from *slóhtre* 'slough, muddy place' (DEPN).[123] This is probably the origin of the Gloucester *Slaughter* and it is tempting, but pure conjecture, to connect the latter at face value, as some have done, with the tradition of *St Eluned's* martyrdom on the *Slwch*.[124] Another earlier view: 'Apart from the two roads already mentioned from Upper Chapel and Battle, which approach the site from the north and north-west, the road which approaches the Priory bridge from the east deserves notice. It appears to be part of an early route from the Talgarth area, and is traceable over the whole of its length, crossing Slwch Hill (where St Elyned's chapel was set alongside it before about 1150) and

[121] 'Slwch Tump', OS Maps [online].
[122] R. Powell, 'Early place-names in the former borough of Brecknock', Brycheiniog, vol. 25 (1992–1993), pp. 16–26, p. 24.
[123] R. Powell, 'Early place-names in the former borough of Brecknock', p. 24.
[124] R. Powell, 'Early place-names in the former borough of Brecknock', p. 24.

descending to the bridge via King Street. This route was clearly aimed at the Priory, or the early settlement, or possibly the castle, rather than the later town site, and presumably was superseded in favour of the route south of Slwch Hill as the later town grew up further south.'[125]

Gwen

Many dedications to Gwen can be found in in Wales, Scotland, England, Cornwall, and Brittany, but a number of sources place the centre of the cult of St Gwen daughter of Brychan in the village of Talgarth in Breconshire, just north of the town of Brecon. *De Situ Brecheiniauc* calls her 'Gwen filia Brachan in Talgarth', repeated in the *Cognatio Brychan* entry, 'Gwenn apud Talgarth'.[126] The MS Jesus College 20 item, 'Gwenn verch Vrachan yn Talgard' is nearly identical, and the same passage in *Plant Brychan*, although corrupted, continues the same statement: 'Gwen verch Vrych[an yNhal]garth'.[127] This structure remains in use, although no longer for church services. Two other churches dedicated to Gwen are located in Llyswen and Vaynor in Breconshire, and it is possible that chapels in Pembrokeshire and Anglesey dedicated to Gwen may be dedicated to this daughter of Brychan. Although compilations by Iolo Morganwg state that Gwen was killed by pagan Saxons, no earlier sources confirm this account. See Chapter 8 for a discussion of Gwen.

St Gwendoline Church, Llyswen [SO 12936 38402][128]

'white court', *llys* court + *gwyn*, *gwen* white[129]

Lisewan (*c.* 1127), *Liswen* (13thC), *y llyswen* (*c.* 1566)[130]

Owen and Morgan state that the significance of the word 'gwyn' is not clear.[131] It could, however, relate in some way to St Gwendoline, patron saint of the church in Llyswen. They state that local traditions describe it as 'the gorgeous palace of the Princes of South Wales' and locate it in the *Warren Field near Dderw*'. [132] The Church of St Gwendoline (fig. A-18) is located close to the River Wye and a few kilometres north-east of Brecon, part of the

[125] D. Morgan, 'Towards a Topography of Early Brecon', *Brycheiniog*, vol. 23 (1988–1989), pp. 23–41, p. 37 [online]. Available https://journals.library.wales/view/1380216/1384193/38#?xywh=-36%2C277%2C3270%2C2223 <accessed 11 April 2020>
[126] EWGT, pp. 16 and 19.
[127] EWGT, pp. 43 and 82.
[128] 'Llyswen', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/52.03717,-3.27067,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[129] Owen and Morgan, p. 301.
[130] Owen and Morgan, p. 301.
[131] Owen and Morgan, p. 301.
[132] Owen and Morgan, p. 301.

Diocese of Swansea and Brecon in the Church in Wales.[133] Based on the small, circular churchyard and dedication to Gwendoline, one of the daughters of Brychan, the church is believed to have been founded in the early medieval era.[134]



Figure A-18. St Gwendoline Church, Llyswen[135]

The church includes a single-light window showing St Gwendoline (fig. A-19) by Carl J. Edwards, installed in 1959, which depicts the saint standing, glancing downward, and lower panes show a crown, cross, martyr's palm, and the window's dedication.[136]

[133] 'Church of St Gwendoline, Llyswen', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online]. Available at http://www.cpat.demon.co.uk/projects/longer/churches/brecon/16902.htm <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[134] 'Church of St Gwendoline, Llyswen', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online].
[135] 'Church of St Gwendoline, Llyswen', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online].
[136] 'St Gwendoline', Stained Glass in Wales Catalogue, ed. by M. Crampin, 2013 University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, Aberystwyth [online]. Available at http://stainedglass.llgc.org.uk/object/4516 <Accessed 11 Sptil 3030>



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Figure A-19. St Gwendoline window, St Gwendolines Church, Llyswen

St Gwendoline Church, Talgarth [SO 15727 33816][137]

Ecclesia de Talgarch (1291)[138]

St Gwendoline Church in Talgarth is closed for religious services, but remains a community centre. Talgarth Church is in the Diocese of Swansea and Brecon, in the community of Talgarth in the county of Powys.[139] The large church is may have originated as a 'clas' church, and the church is said to have the tomb of St Gwendoline. Between 1093 and 1095 Bernard de Neufmarche granted the church to The Priory of St John in Brecon. [140] In the Taxatio of 1254 the church was referred to as 'Ecclesia de Talgarth'. [141] The earliest building

[137] 'St Gwendoline Church, Talgarth', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.99637,-3.22886,18/pin <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[138] 'Benefice of Talgarth', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.manuscriptsonline.org/search/results?kw=Talgarth&lang=a&sr=tx v<Accessed 11 April 2020>
[139] J. Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*, 2 vols (London: Longman, Green, 1912), vol. 1, p. 272.
[140] 'Church of St Gwendoline, Talgarth', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online]. Available at http://www.cpat.demon.co.uk/projects/longer/churches/brecon/16959.htm <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[141] 'Church of St Gwendoline, Talgarth', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online].

plan suggests a thirteenth-century cruciform church on basis of surviving north transept, which may indicate the former existence of an early medieval 'clas' foundation for which there is no other evidence.[142]

Talgarth has been considered to be the Garthmadrun where Brychan's court was located, even though no remains of this court have been found.[143]

St Gwynno Church, Vaynor [SO 05027 10558][144]

St Gwynno's Church was a parish church during the medieval period, belonging to the Deanery of Carmarthen, and was a possession of the Cistercians of Whitland Abbey.[145] After the dissolution the advowson fell to the Crown but ended up in private patronage.

A ruined church tower dated to 1291, rest of church demolished 1869. St Gwynno, a male saint, seems to have nothing to do with Gwendoline, but we'll have to pin down whether the church dedication still fits.

Hunyd

Ystradfellte names fit the reference to the Stone of Meltheu in DSB which is identified as Hunyd's grave.[146]

Ystradfellte [SN 9306 1345][147]

The community of Ystradfellte has been suggested as a likely location of the Stone of Meltheu mentioned in *De Situ Brecheiniauc* as Hunyd's grave. The church is dedicated to St Mary.[148]

Ilid

St Ilid Church, Llanilid, Crai [SN 89684 24349][149]

'church of Ilid', *llan* church, pers. n. *Ilid*

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[142] 'Church of St Gwendoline, Talgarth', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online].
[143] J. Lloyd, vol. 1, p. 272.
[144] 'Faenor/Vaynor', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.78609,-3.38056,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[145] 'St Gwynio's Church, Llanwilio', RCACMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/413010/details/st-gwynnos-church-llanwilio <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[146] EWGT, p. 15.
[147] 'St Mary's Church, Ystradfellte', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/413326/details/saint-marys-church-ystradfellte <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[148] 'Church of St Mary, Ystradfellte', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[149] Davies, p. 67. For map coordinates, see 'Crai', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.90672,-3.60499,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>

St Ilid Church in Llanilid (fig. A-20) on the north-east edge of the village of Crai is constructed of sandstone under a slate roof and set in a triangular churchyard.[150] The church comprises a single chamber nave and chancel under a single roof with three-sided apse, timbered bell-canopy over west gable wall, gabled south-west porch and north-east vestry under a catslide roof. The church is lit through lancet windows, triple lancets in west gable. Stained glass in the nave north window is by Celtic Studios (1983), and in the east window glass dated 1924.[151]



Figure A-20. St Ilid Church, Llanilid, Crai[152]

This church is also called Crai Chapel.

Sanws

Cefn Cilsanws [SO 02441 10277][153]
'retreat of Sanws', *cil* retreat + *Sanws* pers. n.

[150] 'St Ilid's Church, Crai', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/421227/details/st-ilids-church-crai <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[151] 'St Ilid's Church, Crai', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[152] 'St Ilid Crai', The Church in Wales [online]. Available at https://parish.churchinwales.org.uk/s450/churches-en/st-ilid_-en/ <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[153] 'Cefn Cilsanws', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.78263,-3.41565,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>

Cil may derive from *kil*, which is Irish for church. Sanws is said to be a daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog (see ch. 8), and this mountain is the site of a Neolithic cairn where a spear and human remains were found in 1908.[154]

Other family of Brychan

Of the sons of Brychan, Cynog has a number of dedications in Breconshire, with his grave said to be at Merthyr Cynog. A legend exists that Rhein son of Brychan is buried at Llandefaelog. Cynidr, said to be the son of Gwynllyw and either Ceingar or Gwladys, both daughters of Brychan, has a number of dedications, as has Cadog. Others son of Gwynllyw and Gwladys, Cadog and Eigon, also have dedications in Breconshire.

Brychan Brycheiniog

Considering that Brychan is the eponym of the county of Breconshire, few place-names in the county other than the county and town use his name. The grave of Anlach, his father, is said to be at St Cadwg Church in Llanspiddyd, and Garthmadrin, described as Brychan's court, is considered to be Talgarth, and the crannog at Llangorse Lake is considered home to his descendents. Actual structures or monuments are harder to find. The Roman villa in Carmarthenshire called Llys Brychan is near dedications to several of his children, but Brychan himself seems to have given his name to Breconshire rather than occupying identifiable space there.

St John the Evangelist Cathedral, Brecon [SO 04430 29000][155]

The stained-glass three-light window of the founders of the faith in Breconshire (fig. A-10) shows Brychan standing between his son Cynog and daughter Alud (i.e., Eluned), in a chapel renamed for his daughter Keyne (i.e., Cain). Other heroic characters from Brecon history are also portrayed in the chapel.

See also *St Keyne Chapel, St John Cathedral*

[154] 'Cefn Cil Sanws Cairn 1', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/275075/details/cefn-cil-sanws-cairn-i <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[155] 'St John's Cathedral; Brecon Cathedral, Brecon', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/96574/details/st-johns-cathedralbrecon-cathedral-brecon <Accessed 11 April 2020>

Brynach

St Brynach Church, Llanfrynach [SO 07491 25672][156]

'church of Brynach', *llan*, church +*Brynach*, pers. n.

Ecclesia de Lambernach (1291)[157]

St Brynach's church is located in the village of Llanfrynach four kilometres from Brecon.[158] The Victorian church is attached to a medieval tower and contains only a few items of interest, like a medieval font and the only survivor of three early medieval stones found during the rebuilding of 1885.[159] The churchyard is large for a village church and may once have been more curvilinear than it now appears.[160]

Cadog

Ffynnon Gatwg, Llangadog, Crickhowell [SO 21792 18427][161]

'well of Cadog', *ffynnon* well + pers. n. *Cadog*

Ffynnon Catwg is located just north-west of St Catwg Church in Llangadog near Crickhowell.[162]

St Cadog Church, Llangadog, Crickhowell [SO 21792 18427][163]

Ecclesia de Lancadok' (1291)[164]

This church is in Crickhowell, near St Ceneu's Church at Llangeneu.[165]

St Cadog Church, Llanspyddid [SO 01101 28177][166]

Llanspitit (1100)[167], *Lanespetit* (c. 1200), *Lamdespidic* (1127), *ll. ysbyddaid* (*c. 1566), Ecclesia de Landespetit* (1291)[168], *Llanspythytt* (1535) [169]

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[156] 'Llanfrynach, Breconshire', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.92186,-3.34659,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[157] 'Benefice of Llanfrynach', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=DA.BC.BN.17 <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[158] 'Church of St Brynach, Llanfrynach', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online].

[159] 'Church of St Brynach, Llanfrynach', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online].

[160] 'Church of St Brynach, Llanfrynach', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online].

[161] 'Crickhowell', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.85893,-3.13704,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[162] HWW, p. 145.

[163] 'Crickhowell', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.85893,-3.13704,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[164] 'Benefice of Llangattock', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=DA.BC.BN.12 <Accessed 11 April 2020> Note: Patron of this church was *secular*, John Pauncefot , miles and lord of Crokhowell.

[165] HWW, p. 145.

[166] 'Llanspyddid', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.94328,-3.44019,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[167] Owen and Morgan, p. 279.

[168] 'Benefice of Llanspyddid', Taxatio [online]. https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=DA.BC.BN.26 <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[169] 'Church of St Cattwg, Llanspyddid', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online]. Available at http://www.cpat.demon.co.uk/projects/longer/churches/brecon/16891.htm <Accessed 11 April 2020>

St Cadog Church is a small, simple structure on the southern edge of the Usk Valley three kilometres west of Brecon. Medieval fabric survives, and together with remnants of the original windows, may date to the early fourteenth century.[170] The dedication, location and morphology of the churchyard indicate that this is an early medieval foundation, a view perhaps reinforced by the pillar stone in the churchyard.[171]

The church yard is said to be location of the grave of Anlach, king of Ireland and father of Brychan, with his gravestone, shown in figure A-21:



A. St Cadog Church, Llanspyddid



B. Early medieval stone said to be grave of Anlach

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Figure A-21. St Cadog Church, Llanspyddid (left) and Anlach gravestone (right)

Cynog

The centre of Cynog's cult is Merthyr Cynog, although a number of other churches dedicated to St Cynog are located in Breconshire.

St Cynog Church, Battle [SO 00826 30974][172]

Capella de Batell (1535)

[170] 'Church of St Cattwg, Llanspyddid', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online].
[171] 'Church of St Cattwg, Llanspyddid', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online].
[172] 'Battle', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.96836,-3.44501,7/pin <accessed 11 April 2020>

The village of Battle is named for Battle Abbey, the foundation for St Cynog's Church, of which it was a part.[173] The dedication, location, and morphology of the earlier enclosure suggest an early medieval origin for the church. [174] Early references to Battle, even late medieval ones, are rare. [175] St Cynog Church is near the edge of the Ysgir valley about three kilometres north-west of Brecon.[176] The church is a simple structure rebuilt in 1880 with no early features apart from its roof. The rectangular churchyard disguises a suA-circular predecessor.[177]

*St Cynog Church, Bochrwyd/Boughrood [**SO 12788 39290**]*[178]

Ecclesia de Boghrod (1291)[179]

Boughrood Church (fig. A-22) is in the Diocese of Swansea and Brecon, in the community of Glasbury in the county of Powys.[180] The location, dedication, and the shape of the churchyard point to an early medieval foundation here.[181]



Figure A-22. St Cynog Church, Bochrwyd/Boughrood[182]

[173] 'St Cynog's, Battle', The Parish of Dan yr Epynt, The Church in Wales [online].
[174] 'St Cynog's, Battle', The Parish of Dan yr Epynt, The Church in Wales [online].
[175] 'St Cynog's, Battle', The Parish of Dan yr Epynt, The Church in Wales [online].
[176] 'St Cynog's, Battle', The Parish of Dan yr Epynt, The Church in Wales [online].
[177] Church of St Cynog, Battle' Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online].
[178] 'St Cynog's Church, Boughrood', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/302682/details/st-cynogs-church-boughrood <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[179] 'Benefice of Boughrood alias Bochrwyd', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=DA.BC.EL.13 <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[180] 'Church of St Cynog, Boughrood, Radnorshire Churches Survey [online]. Available at http://www.cpat.demon.co.uk/projects/longer/churches/radnor/17716.htm <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[181] 'Church of St Cynog, Boughrood, Radnorshire Churches Survey [online].
[182] 'Church of St Cynog, Boughrood, Radnorshire Churches Survey [online].

St Cynog Church, Defynnog [SN 92706 27685][183]

Ecclesia de Devonnoc (1254, 1291)[184]

St Cynog Church in Defynnog (fig. A-23) is believed to have an early medieval origin, based on its dedication and site.[185] Features identified as dating from before the Norman Conquest include the font, stoup, the incised stone, and the architecture of the north wall of the nave.[186] Nevertheless it is generally understood that this was a mother church for the region.[187]



Figure A-23. St Cynog Church, Defynnog[188]

St Cynog Church (ruin), Llangynog, Dunhonw [SO 0245 4599][189]

The late medieval St Cynog Church in Llangynog, built of local stone with a slate roof, was a simple rectangular structure with no division between nave and chancel, rebuilt in 1882, closed for divine service in 1916, deconsecrated in 1963, and demolished in 1964.[190]

The local parish website states that all that remains of the church is a sheltered yard with an altar built of the stones from the ruined building. The church itself was demolished for safety

[183] 'St Cynnog's Church, Defynnog', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/401782/details/st-cynnogs-church-defynnog <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[184] 'Church of St Cynog, Defynnog', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online]. Available at http://www.cpat.demon.co.uk/projects/longer/churches/brecon/16764.htm <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[185] 'Church of St Cynog, Defynnog', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online].
[186] 'Church of St Cynog, Defynnog', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online].
[187] 'Church of St Cynog, Defynnog', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online].
[188] 'Church of St Cynog, Defynnog', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online].
[189] 'St Cynog's Church, Llangynog', RCAHMW [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/12254/details/st-cynogs-church-llangynog <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[190] 'St Cynog's Church, Llangynog', RCAHMW [online].

after it fell into ruin. A few memorial stones remain (see fig. A-24), and the community traditionally hold an annual service there on the first Sunday in June.[191]



Figure A-24. Site of St Cynog Church, Llangynog[192]

St Cynog Church, Merthyr Cynog [SN 98513 37419][193]

'shrine of Cynog', *merthyr* shrine+ *Cynog* pers. n.

> *Marchelcanoc* (1217), *Merthir* (1291–1292), *Merthir Kenoc* (1390), *Sc'i Canoci* (1491)[194]

By tradition Merthyr Cynog (fig. A-25) is the burial-place of St Cynog, the son of Brychan, who established a settlement here before 500.[195] It was reputedly a clas church in the early medieval period. The Taxatio Ecclesiastica of 1291 identified the church as 'Ecclesia de Merthir' and gave it a remarkably high value, implying a church of exceptional status.[196] The Church of Wales describes the Church of St Cynog as a twelfth-century structure, calling it

[191] 'About the Church', Welcome to St Cynog's, Llangynog [online]. Available at https://www.builthgroup.org.uk/st-cynogs-llangynog/ <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[192] 'About the Church', Welcome to St Cynog's, Llangynog [online].
[193] 'St Cynog's Church, Merthyr Cynog', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/301743/details/st-cynogs-church-merthyr-cynog <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[194] Parsons, Martyrs and Memorials, p. 68.
[195] 'Church of St Cynog, Merthyr Cynog', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online].
[196] 'Church of St Cynog, Merthyr Cynog', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online].

the mother church for the area and and stating that St Cynog is buried in the churchyard.[197] Within this parish are other churches dedicated to St Cynog at Battle (now closed, although the churchyard remains open) and at Capel Dyffryn Honddu, while a further dedication to St Cynidr, a grandson of Brychan, is at Aberyscir.[198]



Figure A-25. Aerial View of Merthyr Cynog[199]

St Cynog Church, Penderyn [SN 95093 08376] [200]

'bird's head', *pen* head + *aderyn* var. *ederyn* bird[201]

Spemederm 1281), *Pennyderyn* (1291), *Penederyn* (1372) [202]

Large oval burial ground and hill-top site suggest an early medieval foundation, but the late medieval stoup and reclaimed roof bosses are the earliest surviving features. Architecturally the earliest part of the present building is the post-medieval west tower. The remainder of the

[197] 'St Cynog's, Merthyr Cynog', The Parish of Dan yr Epynt in the Diocese of Swansea and Brecon [online]. Available at http://parish.churchinwales.org.uk/s467/churches/st-cynogs-merthyr-cynog_-en/ <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[198] 'St Cynog's, Merthyr Cynog', The Parish of Dan yr Epynt in the Diocese of Swansea and Brecon [online].
[199] T. Driver, 'RCAHMW colour oblique aerial photograph of Merthyr Cynog', RCAHMW Coflein[online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/301743/details/st-cynogs-church-merthyr-cynog#images <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[200] 'St Cynog's Church, Penderyn', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/96085/details/st-cynogs-church-penderyn <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[201] Owen and Morgan, p. 364.
[202] Owen and Morgan, p. 364.

church was restored in 1843 and 1876, then rebuilt in 1895/6 by E.M. Bruce Vaughan, architect of Cardiff. Internally the church contains some fine stained glass windows.[203]

Plaque on the side of the church reads:

A church dedicated to Saint Cynog has stood on this site since the 6th century AD. Burned to the ground around 1290 AD by the soldiers of the Lord of Glamorgan, following the capture of Morlais Castle, it was rebuilt on a larger scale before the end of the century. In 1895/6 the nave and chancel were rebuilt giving a more modern appearance to the ancient fabric. The tower, a holy water stoup and some embellished bosses from the old roof remain from the medieval building. Also noteworthy are the exceptional stained glass windows, including one in memory of the famous engineer, William Menelaus.[204]

*St Cynog Church, Ystrad Gynlais [**SN 78720 10056**]*[205]

'vale of (the river) Cynlais', *ystrad* valley + *Cynlais* pers. n.[206]

Stradgenles (1372), *Estradgynles* (1493), *ystrat gynlei*s (late 15th cent.) [207]

The Church of St Cynog is in the diocese of Swansea and Brecon, designed in the Gothic style, and built by Benjamin Ferrey (and possibly the Reverend Thomas Walters) between 1858 and 1861.[208] The location and dedication of the church suggests an early medieval origin, which may be reinforced by the inscribed stones set in the chancel wall and taken from the old church.[209] A Norman church on a raised platform reputedly was built fifty metres north of the present building.[210]

Cynidr

St Cynidr, identified as the son of Gwynllyw and either Ceingar or Gwladys. Either way, a number of churches in Breconshire are dedicated to him. For more information about Ceingar and Gwladys, see Chapter 8 Other Daughters of Brychan.

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[203] 'St Cynogs Church, Penderyn', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[204] 'Colour digital photograph showing a plaque, which details a brief history of St Cynog's Church, Hirwaun; Glamorgan', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/archive/6220364/details/504 <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[205] 'Church of St Cynog, Ystradgynlais', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/416382/details/st-cynogs-church-ystradgynlais <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[206] Owen and Morgan, p. 504.
[207] Owen and Morgan, p. 504.
[208] 'Church of St Cynog, Ystradgynlais', RCAHMW [online].
[209] 'Church of St Cynog, Ystradgynlais', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online]. Available at http://www.cpat.demon.co.uk/projects/longer/churches/brecon/16979.htm <Accessed 11 July 2017>
[210] 'Church of St Cynog, Ystradgynlais', RCAHMW [online]. >

Ffynnon Gynidr, Glasbury [SO 16400 41200][211]

'the well of Cynidr', *ffynnon* well, *Cynidr* pers. n.

The pre-Norman church associated with Ffynnon Gynidr was probably located nearby and a field across the road opposite is known as Cae Ffynnon.[212] Its former significance was still remembered as a wishing well up to 1949.[213] J.E. Lloyd writes that Cynidr was strongly connected to Glasbury, even though the church dedication long ago was changed to St Peter, and he specifically mentions Ffynnon Gynidr.[214]

St Cynidr and St Mary Church, Aberyscir [SO 0004 2967][215]

Ecclesia de Sancto Kenedr (1291)[216]

The medieval St Mary and St Cynidr Church (fig. A-26) on the outskirts of Brecon is adjacent to the Roman fort of Y Gaer (also called Brecon Gaer), which was first built around AD 75.[217] Although some of the medieval fabric may remain in some features in the church, almost all of the building was rebuilt in 1860 by C. Buckeridge.[218]

[211] 'Ffynnon Gynydd', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/52.06284,-3.22087,17/pin <Accessed 26 October 2018>
[212] 'Well house to St Cynidr's Well', British Listed Buildings [online]. Available at https://britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/300017202-well-house-to-st-gynidrs-well-glasbury <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[213] 'Well house to St Cynidr's Well', British Listed Buildings [online].
[214] Lloyd, vol. 1, p. 272.
[215] 'St Mary and St Cynidr's Church', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/12314/details/st-mary-and-st-cynidrs-church <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[216] 'Benefice of Llangynidr', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/search?form=diocese&diocese=DA <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[217] 'Church of St Cynidr and St Mary, Aberyscir', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online]. Available at http://www.cpat.demon.co.uk/projects/longer/churches/brecon/16704.htm <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[218] 'Church of St Cynidr and St Mary, Aberyscir', Brecknockshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online].



Figure A-26. St Mary and Cynidr Church, Aberyscir[219]

St Cynidr and St Mary Church, Llangynidr [SO 1554 1941][220]

Llangunider (1887)[221]

St Cynidr and St Mary Church (fig. A-27) is located nine miles south of Brecon in the town of Llangynidr, also named for St Cynidr. The church almost certainly has its origin in the early medieval period, but there are no visible remains of this date surviving, although the circular churchyard is also indicative of an early date.[222] It was completely rebuilt after a fire in 1928 and only a broken font and a few other fixtures survive from the earlier building, although much of the masonry was re-used.[223]

[219] 'St Cynidr and St Mary Church, Aberyscir', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[220] 'St Mary & St Cynidr's Church, Llancynidr', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/403798/details/st-mary-and-st-cynidrs-church <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[221] 'Llangynidr Brecknockshire', A Vision of Britain [online]. Available at http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/place/6454/names <Accessed 11 April 2020> Note: Source is J. Bartholomew, *Gazetteer of the British Isles* (Edinburgh: Bartholomew, 1887).
[222] 'St Mary & St Cynidr's Church, Llancynidr', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[223] 'St Mary and St Cynidr's Church, Llancynidr', RCAHMW Coflein [online].



Figure A-27. St Cynidr and St Mary Church, Llancynidr (1920)[224]

St Peter Church (formerly St Cynidr), Glasbury [SO 17700 38800][225]

Ecclesia de Glasbur' (1291)[226]

The present St Peter and St Cynidr Church in Glasbury (fig. A-28) is the last of a succession of churches, the earliest of which was said to have been founded by St Cynidr in the early sixth century.[227] The precise location of that first church is uncertain, but it probably lay under the site of the later Norman church, which is near the confluence of the rivers Llynfi and Wye. [228] Originally a simple wattle, timber, or dry-stone structure, it may have been re-built and enlarged several times over the centuries.[229] In 1088, Bernard Newmarch presented the church of St.Cynidr to God, to St. Peter, and to the abbot and monks of Gloucester. The

[224] 'St Mary and St Cynidr's Church, Llancynidr', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[225] 'St Peter Church', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/52.04147,-3.20133,17/pin <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[226] 'Benefice of Glasbury', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=DA.BC.BN.03 <Accessed 11 April 2020> Note: Patrons were *monastic*, Gloucester, Glos, abbey, *Benedictine Monks*
[227] 'St Peters, Glasbury', Wye Valley Parishes [online]. Available at http://wyevalleyparishes.co.uk/our-churches/glasbury-2/ <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[228] 'St Peters Glasbury', Wye Valley Parishes [online].
[229] 'St Peters Glasbury', Wye Valley Parishes [online].

Abbey of St Peter Gloucester retained the church, with its chapels and lands, and likely rebuilt and rededicated them to St Peter in the twelfth century.[230]



Figure A-28. St Peter and St Cynidr Church, Glasbury[231]

Eigon

Eigon son of Gwladys daughter of Brychan and Gwynllyw is said to be venerated at St Eigon Church in Llanigon in Breconshire, although two other dedications are possible: one, to a daughter of St Caradog or, two, to St Eigion son of Caw.[232]

Ffynnon Eigion, Llanigon [SO 2137 3992]

According to LBS, Ffynnon Eigion is 'not far distant from the church.[233] Francis Jones also suggests this dedication, referring to it as 'the boiling well'.[234]

St Eigon Church, Llanigon [SO 2137 3992][235]

Ecclesia de Laneygan (1291)[236], St Eguinus (1254)[237]

St Eigon Church (fig. A-29) is a medieval church with a seventeenth-century belfry over the south porch, repaired and restored during the nineteenth century.[238] The nave dates from the

[230] 'St Peters Glasbury', Wye Valley Parishes [online].
[231] 'St Peters Glasbury', Wye Valley Parishes [online].
[232] Zaluckyj, pp. 220–222.
[233] 'Parish Church of St Eigon', British Listed Buildings [online]. Available at https://britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/300006623-parish-church-of-st-eigon-llanigon <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[234] 'Parish Church of St Eigon', British Listed Buildings [online].
[235] 'St Eigon's Church, Llanigon', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/308046/details/st-eigons-church-llanigon <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[236] 'Benefice of St Eigon', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=DA.BC.BN.02 <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[237] W. Lunt, *The Valuation of Norwich* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1926), p. 475.
[238] 'Parish Church of St Eigon', British Listed Buildings [online].

thirteenth century, the south porch from the fourteenth century, and the vestry from the nineteenth century.[239] The church was damaged in 1941, but the repairs are not easily identified.[240]



Figure A-29. St Eigon Church, Llanigon

The church was once covered in wall paintings, as described by Theophilus Jones: 'bedaubed with caricatures of death and time, a wretched imitation of the King's arms, and 'many a holy text strewn around', instead of which a little white lime would be more ornamental'.[241]

Rein

The grave of Rein son of Brychan is identified in the early Brychan genealogies; in De Situ Brecheiniauc, as 'Sepulchrum Rein filii Brachan in Landeuailac' and in Cognatio Brychan as 'Reyn filius Brichan iacet apud Llanvayloc'.[242]

[239] 'Parish Church of St Eigon', British Listed Buildings [online].
[240] 'Parish Church of St Eigon', British Listed Buildings [online].
[241] 'St Eigon's Church, Llanigon', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[242] EWGT, pp. 16 and 19.

Llandefaelog Tre'r Graig [ST 05987 76685][243]

'church of Maelog on the rock', *llan* church + *Maelog* pers. n. + *tre* town + *yr* the + *craig* rock

The Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust describes Llandefaelog Tre'r Graig as a small settlement with a former church and a couple of farms located on the northern lip of the steep-sided upper Llynfi valley some four kilometers south of Talgarth. Its earliest appearance in documents is as late as 1535, when it was termed Llandevaylok Tref Crayg, for earlier records do not permit the differentiation of this from Llandefaelog Fach.[244]

St Maelog Church, Llandefaelog Fach [SO 034 323][245]

The tall, inscribed cross-slab in three pieces was formerly located in the churchyard, and is now fixed to the north wall of the west tower of the church.[246]

Caernarfonshire dedications

Daughters of Brychan

Caernarfonshire is said to have dedications to Gwawr, Kerdech, Nyfain, and Tudwen, which are discussed in the following entries. While Caernarfonshire, like Anglesey, is physically distant from Breconshire, these dedications, are cult centres for these saints.

Gwawr

Gwawr was said to be one of the married daughters of Brychan, so this dedication is surprising. The dedication, however, is not certain. Chapter 8 Other Daughters of Brychan discusses traditions related to Gwawr.

Ffynnon Gower, Llangower [SH 90383 32285][247]

Ffynnon Gower is depicted on historic OS Maps (1888 to 1901) and is located some six-hundred-and-fifty metres south-south-west of St Gwyr Church.[248] Its exact position in the

[243] 'St Cadoc's Church, Pendoylan', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/409961/details/st-cadocs-church-pendoylan#archive <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[244] 'Llandefaelog Tre'r Graig', Historic Settlements Survey – Brecknockshire (2009), CPAT [online]. Available at http://www.cpat.org.uk/ycom/breck/llandefaelogtrergraig.pdf <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[245] 'Cross-slab in Llandefaelog Fach Parish Church', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/275614/details/cross-slab-in-llandefaelog-fach-parish-church <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[246] 'Cross-slab in Llandefaelog Fach Parish Church', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[247] 'Ffynnon Gower, Llangower', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/32385/details/ffynnon-gower-llangower <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[248] 'Ffynnon Gower, Llangower', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

boggy ground is reported as difficult to find, and another spring is close by.[249] An associated standing stone, Llech Gower was referred to in the latter part of the seventeenth century.[250] According to local legend another well was situated in the middle of what is now Llyn Tegid (Bala Lake), with the old village around it.[251]

St Gwyr Church, Llangower [SH 90383 32285][252]

'church of Gwawr', *llan* church + *Gwawr* pers. n.

Ecclesia de Langeweyr (1291)[253]

St Gwyr Church (fig. A-30), located near Bala Lake, is situated in an irregular churchyard that is roughly square.[254] The church is now closed. The former Llangower Rectory is situated immediately south-east of the church, and a holy well, Ffynnon Gower, is said to be found six-hundred-and-fifty metres south-west of the church.[255]



Figure 30. Llangower Church, now closed (from Geograph)

[249] 'Ffynnon Gower, Llangower', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[250] 'Ffynnon Gower, Llangower', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[251] 'Ffynnon Gower, Llangower', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[252] 'St Gwawr's Church, Llangower', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/43865/details/st-gwawrs-church-llangower <Accessed 11 April 2020> See also A. Davidson, 'Parish Churches', in *History of Merioneth*, ed. by J. Smith and Ll. Smith (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 2001), pp. 361–362.
[253] 'Benefice of Llangower', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=AS.AS.PE.05 <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[254] 'St Gwawr's Church, Llangower', RCAHMW [online].
[255] 'St Gwawr's Church, Llangower', RCAHMW [online].

In *A Tour in Wales*, Thomas Pennant attributed the dedication of this church to Gwawr daughter of Brychan:

> Pass by Llanyckil church, dedicated to St. Beuno; and see, on the opposite side, Llangower, dedicated to St. Gwawr, mother of the Cambrian bard Llowarch Hên. Beneath flows Avon Gwawr, the only feed of the lake on that side.[256]

Kerdech

De Situ Brecheiniauc records that Kerdych 'iacet in Thywin in Merioneth' (lies in Tywyn in Merioneth); however, no place-name or dedication to her has been found there, nor can references be found at Llandegwin, mentioned in *Cognatio Brychan* or Glan Tywi, referenced in MS Jesus College 20.

Nyfain

As discussed in Chapter 8 Other Daughters of Brychan, Nyfain was identified as one of the married daughters of Brychan, said to be married to Cynfarch Oer and mother of the hero and poet Llywarch Hen. Dedications in Nefyn have been attributed to Nyfain, although the church and well are dedicated to St Mary.

Ffynnon Fair, Nefyn [SH 30728 40583][257]

'well of Mary in Nefyn', ffynnon, *well* + pers. n. *Mair* + yn, *in* + pers. n. *Nefyn*

Ffynnon Fair is an ornate stone structure situated near the centre of Nefyn town. Built in 1868 by the Nefyn Corporation, the square well house has various inscriptions on slate plaques and a stone pyramidal roof with a bronze or copper finial. A small boarded door to the rear with iron railings and four steps leads down to a sunken area.[258]

Llŷn Maritime Museum (formerly St Mary Church), Nefyn [SH 30870 40645][259]

The RCAHMW documents a long-standing association of the church with Nyfain daughter of Brychan; however, the former St Mary Church in the centre of Nefyn has become the Llŷn Maritime Museum.[260] In the twelfth century, the church, then owned by the Augustinian

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[256] T. Pennant, *A Tour in Wales 1770* (London: Henry Hughes, 1778–1783), p. 75 [online]. Available at http://name.umdl.umich.edu/004889634.0001.002 <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[257] 'St Mary's Well, Stryd y Ffynnon, Nefyn', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/418586/details/st-marys-well-stryd-y-ffynnon-nefyn <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[258] 'St Mary's Well, Stryd y Fynnon, Nefyn', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[259] 'St Mary's Church, Nefyn', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLE5lZnluX3NlYXJjaHR5cGUsYWR2YW5jZWRfb3Jh&numlink=43787#tabs-4 <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[260] 'St Mary's Church, Nefyn', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

Canons of Haughmond Abbey, was named Llanfair-yn-Nefyn, and in the thirteenth century a priory was attached to the church.[261] The church registers date from 1694.[262]

Tudwen

St Tudwen, along with Edwen, Gwenrriw, and Gwenedydd, appear in later genealogical lists, and her sole dedications are located on the Lleyn Peninsula at St Tudwen Church and Ffynnon Dudwen. See also Chapter 8 Other Daughters of Brychan.

Ffynnon Dudwen, Llandudwen [SH 27404 36864]

'well of Tudwen', *ffynnon*, well + *Tudwen*, pers. n.

Ffynnon Dudwen is situated in a field a couple of hundred yards from the little church of Llandudwen around two miles to the east of Tudweiliog.[263] In the twentieth century it was generally stated that the well was lost, but efforts by local enthusiasts and Gwynedd Council in recent years have led to the rediscovery and restoration of the well so that it can once again be visited.[264]

St Tudwen Church, Llandudwen [SH 27404 36864][265]

'church of Tudwen', *llan*, church + *Tudwen*, pers. n.

Tutdey (1254), *ll.dydwen* (*c.* 1566), *Llandidwen* (1679), *Llandudwen* (1838)[266]

Tudwen is said to have been one of the many daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog (alongside Ceinwen and Dwynwen), although she does not appear in the majority of lists of his children. The church at Llandudwen is the only church that bears her name. It is suggested that the church was founded on the site of Tudwen's grave in the fifth century.

St Tudwen Church (figs. A-31 and A-32), dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is accessed from a narrow tree-lined path. The church was once at the centre of a larger community, however population has drifted away from the area, the parish being abolished in 1934 and split between Tudweiliog and Buan. The church, however, is still active and used regularly for services.

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[261] 'St Mary's Church, Nefyn', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[262] 'St Mary's Church, Nefyn', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[263] 'Ffynnon Dudwen', Well Hopper [online]. Available at https://wellhopper.wordpress.com/tag/welsh-folklore/ <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[264] 'Ffynnon Dudwen', Well Hopper [online].
[265] 'St Tudwens Church', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/43815/details/st-tudwens-church <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[266] Owen and Morgan, p. 233.



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Figure A-31. Pathway to St Tudwen Church, Llandudwen



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Figure A-32. St Tudwen Church, Llandudwen, Caernarfonshire

Other family of Brychan

Very little interest in the sons and extended family of the Brychan is reflected in the place-names of Caernarfonshire, although the name of Cynog appears.

Cynog

The following two Caernarfonshire place-names may indicate interest in Cynog, but neither of the names applies to a religious site.

Caergynog Farmouse, Llanbedr [SH 6213 2725][267]
'fort of Cynog', *caer* fort, castle + *Cynog* pers. n.

Described as an outbuilding, Caergynog is a stonewalled, three-bay, cruck-framed beudy with with a two-bay, cruck-framed addition.[268]

Nant-y-Cynog, Llanegryn [SH 58453 04059][269]
'the stream of Cynog', *nant* stream + *y* the + *Cynog* pers. n.

Nant-y-Cynog is recorded from 1898 to 1908 in the OS Second Edition Maps.[270]

Nant-y-Cynog, Tywyn [SN 61948 99184][271]
'the stream of Cynog', *nant* stream + *y* the + *Cynog* pers. n.

The OS Second Edition Map of 1898 to 1908 shows Nant-y-Cynog located among place-names related to Felin-llyn-pair mine.[272]

Carmarthenshire dedications

Many dedications to the Brychan family are found in Carmarthenshire, with cult centres for daughters Cynheiddon, Lluan, Tybïe, and Tydwystl and dedications also for Cain and Eluned. Place-names related to Brychan Brycheiniog also indicate his influence in the area, as do dedications to sons Arthen, Cynog, and Dingad and grandson Cadog. Sons-in-law Brynach and Gwynllyw also have dedications in Carmarthenshire.

Daughters of Brychan

The daughters of Brychan with dedications in Carmarthenshire include Cain, Cynheiddon, Lluan, Tybïe, and Tydwystl.

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[267] 'Caergynog', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/28255/details/caergynog <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[268] 'Caergynog', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[269] 'Nant-y-Cynog', RCAHMW List of Historic Place Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/14a4e2f3-92a9-4752-88b0-f8cd5da77f3c <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[270] 'Nant-y-Cynog', RCAHMW List of Historic Place Names [online].
[271] 'Nant-y-Cynog', RCAHMW List of Historic Place Names [online].
[272] 'Nant-y-Cynog', RCAHMW List of Historic Place Names [online].

Cain

A variety of dedications to Cain are located in Carmarthenshire, some with roots that lead to related places, such as the chapel dedicated to Cain was attached to nearby Talley Abbey, which was, in turn, one of the holdings of the Abbey of St Peter in Gloucestershire, which also owned the Church of St Keyne near Ewyas and Maenor Gain near Llangain.[273] Some churches, such as St Cynyr Church at Llangunnor, are not dedicated to Cain. These dedications are uncertain, as is often the case with Cain. See Chapter 6 Cain for more information about these places.

Capel Llanceinwyryf, Dan-y-Capel Farm, Talley [SN 61204 29205][274]

'chapel of Cain the virgin', *capel* chapel + *llan* church + *cein* Cain pers n. + *wyryf* virgin

Llanceinwyryf (1331)[275]

The first mention of this chapel dates from a Talley Abbey Charter of 1331 during the reign of Edward III, which identifies the chapel as dedicated to Cain the Virgin.[276] The chapel no longer exists, but the RCAHMW identifies its location as a field immediately north of Dan-y-Capel Farm nearly four miles south-west of Talley Abbey, noting that staff visited the farm in 1913 when it was noted that 'stone foundations were occasionally encountered during ploughing'.[277] The RCAHMW also noted that there were two other small chapels in the vicinity although their names and locations had dropped out of rememberance.[278] The name of the farm (*dan-y-capel* means 'beneath the chapel') supports this view, as does the name of the nearest farm, still named *Llwyncynhwyra*, a corruption of the original name of the chapel.[279] Figure A-33 shows views of Dan-y-Capel Farm.

[273] 'Houses of Benedictine monks: The abbey of St Peter at Gloucester', in *A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 2*, ed. by W. Page (London: Victoria County History, 1907), pp. 53–61, *British History Online [online] Available at* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/glos/vol2/pp53-61 <Accessed 11 November 2018>.
[274] 'Capel Llanceinwyryf, Possible Church Site, Danycapel', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/417581/details/capel-llanceinwyryf-possible-church-site-danycapel <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[275] J. Daniel-Tyssen, Royal Charters and Historical Documents Relating to the Town and County of Carmarthen and the Abbeys, ed. and annot. By A. Evans (Carmarthen: William Spurrell, 1878), p. 62.
[276] Daniel-Tyssen, p. 62.
[277] 'Capel Llanceinwyryf, Possible Church Site, Danycapel', RCAHMW Coflein [online] and Daniel Tyssen, pp. 60–72.
[278] 'Capel Llanceinwyryf, Possible Church Site, Danycapel', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[279] Daniel-Tyssen, p. 62.



A. Side view of Dan y Capel farm house



A. Another side view of Dan y Capel farm house



C. Below the farm house



A. Fields by the farm house

©2015 Eric Mehan

Figure A-33. Dan-y-Capel Farm, site of Capel Cain Wyry, Carmarthenshire

See also *Llwyncynhwyra* and *Llwyncynyrys*.

Green Castle (formerly Maenor Gain) [SN 39497 16075][280]

Egliskein (1115–1147)[281]

This medieval manor near St Cain Church at Llangain was once held by the Abbey of St Peter in Gloucestershire, and later became known as Green Castle.[282] The following account reports the history of the manor:

> At Green Castle are still faintly traceable the lines of what was doubtless a mound-and-bailey castle. In the times of the Welsh princes the parish of Llangain consisted of, or contained, a tract called Maenor Gain. This part of the county of Carmarthen seems to have passed early into the possession of the Normans, one of whom named Alfred Dryne (or Dryve), sometime

[280] 'Old Castle Farm, Llangain', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.81977,-4.34325,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[281] 'Green Castle Woods, Llangain', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/302212/details/green-castle-woods-llangain <Accessed 11 April 2020> See also 'Old Castle Farm, Llangain', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.81977,-4.34325,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[282] *Inventory of Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire: V – County of Carmarthenshire* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1917), p. 149. [online]. Available at https://books.google.co.uk/books?printsec=frontcover&id=7gAABQpMpAYC&hl=en#v=onepage&q=Cain&f=false <Accessed 11 April 2020> Hereafter, *Inventory of Carmarthenshire*.

> during the episcopate of Bernard of St Davids (1115–1147) granted the prior and convent of St Peter, Carmarthen, a carucate of land in Egliskein, cum capella infra terminos ejusdem terrae sila (Inspeximus charter, 31 Hen. III) together with a carucate of land called Pentewey (Pen Twyi). Maenor Gain became Manor Gain, and the mound castle on the summit of the hill above the Tywi was doubtless the caput of the manor. Somewhere about the 15th century the small lordship of Manor Gain passed into the hands of an English family called Rede, or Read, by one of whom the new castle was built. The name of Green Castle was continued, and the original site became 'the old castle', which the neighbouring farm still bears.[283]

This account was printed in 1917, but Green Castle and Green Castle Woods are documented in RCAHMW Coflein, and just south is located Old Castle Farm, which appears on the OS less than one mile from St Cain Church in Llangain.[284]

Llwyncynhwyra, Cwmdu, Talley [SN 60987 28943][285]

'grove of Cain at nightfall', *llwyn* grove + pers. n. *Cain Wyry +hwyra* to delay, become night

A previous entry for Capel Llanceinwyryf describes how the chapel, now lost but once located near Cwmdu by a farm now called Dan-y-Capel, was included in a gift to Talley Abbey in 1331.[286] The name of farm nearest to Dan-y-capel is called Llwyncynhwyra (fig. A-34), a corruption of the name Llanceinwyryf.[287] A business called Grove Software Test Company lists its address as Llwyncynwyra, Cymdu, Llandeilo.

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[283] *Inventory of Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire: V – County of Carmarthenshire* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1917), p. 149. [online]. Available at https://books.google.co.uk/books?printsec=frontcover&id=7gAABQpMpAYC&hl=en#v=onepage&q=Cain&f=false <Accessed 24 August 2018> Hereafter, *Inventory of Carmarthenshire*.

[284] 'Green Castle Woods, Llangain', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. See also 'Old Castle Farm, Llangain', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.81977,-4.34325,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[285] 'Old Castle Farm, Llangain', OS Maps [online].

[286] Daniel-Tyssen, p. 62 [online].

[287] J. Daniel-Tyssen, 62 [online].



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Figure A-34. Llwyncynhwyra near Dan-y-Capel Farm

See also *Capel Llanceinwyryf* and *Llwyncynhyrys*.

Llwyncynhyrys, Llandovery [SN 74716 36272][288]

'tangled grove of Cain', *llwyn* grove + *Cain* pers. n. + *dyrys* wild, tangled

Llwyncynhyrys, located two miles north-west of Llandovery, is a community near Cilycwm that bears a name that is a corruption of *Capel Llanceinwyryf*, a former chapel dedicated to St Cain and located four miles south-west of Talley Abbey.[289]

St Cain Church, Llangain [SN 38591 16058][290]

'church of Cain', *llan* church + *Cain* pers. n.[291]

> *St. Keyn* (1174–1176), *Egluyskeyn* (1180–1184), *Mainergein* (1288), *Langau* (1291), *Maynorgeyn* (1395), *ll. gain* (*c.* 1566), *Llangaine* (1598)[292]

St Cain Church (fig. A-35) sustained structural damage in 2015 and has been closed since that time. The church is for sale as of 2018. Built some ten meters south of an earlier site outside the southern boundary of the current churchyard, the present church was built in 1871; local tradition says that the old church was given the bell from Capel Llangynheiddon

[288] 'Llwyncynyrys', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.99854,-3.79677,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[289] Daniel-Tyssen, p. 62.
[290] 'St Cain Church, Llangain', OS maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.81977,-4.34325,7/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[291] Owen and Morgan, pp. 254–255.
[292] Owen and Morgan, pp. 254–255.

(named for Cynheiddon, another daughter of Brychan) when the chapel fell into disuse.[293] The octagonal basin of what was probably the font of the earlier church serves as a flower-pot in the churchyard.[294] Haydn Williams, author of *St. Cain's Church Llangain: A Brief History and Guide*, confirms that 'there is no doubt that Llangain and Capel Cain in former Carmarthenshire are to be associated with the cult of St Keyne'.[295]



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Figure A- 35. St Cain Church, Llangain

Cynheiddon

Cynheiddon was venerated at a chapel which is now lost near Banc-y-Capel and it is possible another chapel to her was located at nearby Ferryside. See also a church dedicated to St Cenedlon in Monmouthshire.

Capel Llangynheiddon, Banc-y-Capel [SN 42997 15080][296]

'chapel of Cynheiddon', *llan* church + *Cynheiddon* pers. n.

[293] 'St Cain's Church, Llangain, Site of', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/418021/details/st-cains-church-llangain-site-of <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[294] Inventory of Ancient and Historical Monuments: V – Carmarthenshire [online].
[295] H. Williams, *St. Cain's Church Llangain: A Brief History and Guide* ((Narberth: Tredemi Print, 1989), p. 7.
[296] 'Banc-y-Capel', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.81225,-4.27895,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>

chaple of Llangenhython (1552)[297], *Capel-llangenheiddon* (1831)[298], *Capel Llangynheiddon* (1930)[299]

RCAHMW Coflein reports that Capel Llangynheiddon is first mentioned in the 1100s, when it was described as a chapel of ease to Llandefaelog[300] The 1552 inventory of church goods commanded by Edward VI includes a record for 'Llandevaylog cu'capell' that records this possession: 'It'm a chalyce in the chaple of Llangenhython'.[301] The chapel is thought to have still been standing in 1700.[302] In *Parochiale Wallicanum*, A. W. Wade-Evans states that a Calvinistic Methodist chapel is now on the spot where Capel Llangynheiddon once stood.[303] RCAHMW Coflein reports that some mounds of earth are said to mark the site of the chapel.)[304] The bell of Capel Llangynheiddon was taken to St Cain Church in Llangain, after the chapel fell into disuse, and now that church is closed, too.[305] Figure A-36 shows the location of the chapel, although no trace remains:

[297] Daniel-Tyssen, p. 31.
[298] OS Map (1831), p. 441
[299] A. Wade-Evans, *Parochiale Wallicanum* (Stow-on-the-Wold, H. J. Alden, 1911), p. 29, Archive.org [online]. Available at https://archive.org/details/cu31924029444795/page/n3 <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[300] 'Capel Llangynheiddon, Chapel Site, Bancycapel', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/12664/details/CAPEL+LLANGYNHEIDDON%2C+CHAPEL+SITE%2C+BANCYCAPEL/ <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[301] 'Capel Llangynheiddon, Chapel Site, Bancycapel', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[302] 'Capel Llangynheiddon, Chapel Site, Bancycapel', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[303] Wade-Evans, p. 29.
[304] 'Capel Llangynheiddon, Chapel Site, Bancycapel', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[305] 'Capel Llangynheiddon, Chapel Site, Bancycapel', RCAHMW Coflein [online].



A. Vicinity of Capel Llangynheiddon looking west

B. Vicinity of Capel Llangynheiddon looking south

C. Vicinity of Capel Llangynheiddon looking south

D. Vicinity of Capel Llangynheiddon looking north

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Figure A-35. Possible location of Capel Llangynheiddon at the Banc-y-Capel crossroads

Thornley Jones, who viewed the children of Brychan as historical figures, seems to have taken literally Iolo Morganwg's story that Cymorth was a daughter of Brychan who married St Brynach, and he uses the presence of Mynydd Cyfor and Llanfyrnach near Capel Llancynheiddon as proof that Cymorth, Cynheiddon, Elli, and Brynach all lived together in a settlement of Irish Christians on land provided by Brychan.[306]

Capel Llangynheiddon, Ferryside [SN 36630 10328][307]

'chapel of the church of St Cynheiddon', *capel* chapel + *llan* church + *Cynheiddon* pers n.

According to Geoffrey Davies, a second Capel Llangynheiddon was a chapel of ease at Ferryside until it was replaced by the village church of St Thomas in 1875 as the village expanded.[308]

[306] T. Jones, 'The Daughters of Brychan: Their Importance in the History of Breconshire', pp. 17–58.
[307] 'Ferryside', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.76773,-4.36898,7/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[308] Davies, p. 54.

Eluned

Two towns called Llanelli in Carmarthenshire and Monmouthshire have been said to be dedicated to Eluned, although there seems to be no consensus as to the attribution. Some iconography for the town of Llanelli in Carmarthenshire depicts a woman saint carrying the palm of a martyr, leading some to attribute the dedication to Eluned. Dedications to St Elli are usually either attributed to St Elli, a disciple of St Cadog, or to a St Elli whose other names are Ellyw or Almedha, called St Eluned of Brecon. A. W. Wade-Evans states that St Elli is the patron saint of Llanelli.[309] Among those attributing the dedication of Llanelli to a daughter of Brychan include Nicholas Pevsner in his book about Powys in the *Buildings of Wales* text.[310] In 1912, Thomas Morgan assigned the dedication to Eluned ferch Brychan, saying, 'The church was dedicated to Ellyw, a descendant of Brychan, and a saint of the fifth century.[311] He went on to say that Llanelliw, giving as proof a map published in 1788 by a Mr. William Owen, where the location is spelled *Llanelliw*.'[312] That said, the city council has hedged its bets and has two coats of arms, shown in figure A-37, one of which depicts St Elli as a male saint and the other of which shows her as a female saint, both of whom carry the martyr's palm.[313]

[309] Wade-Evans, p. 29.
[310] 'Benefice of Llanelli', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=DA.CM.KI.02 <Accessed 11 November 2018>
[311] Morgan, p. 108.
[312] Morgan, p. 108.
[313] 'Llanelli', Heraldry of the World [online]. Available at http://www.ngw.nl/heraldrywiki/index.php?title=Llanelli <Accessed 7 November 2018>



Official blazon
Arms : Barry wavy Argent and Azure on a Pile overall issuing in base Vert a Male Figure representing St. Elli Argent nimbed Or the Church and Palm held in his hands also Or on a Chief Azure an Anchor its ring fracted Gold between two Coils of Tinplate in perspective the edge of the dexter upwards and that of the sinister downwards both proper.
Crest : On a Mural Crown checky Or and Azure with Pennons between the battlements pendant Gules a Dragon statant also Gules the underwing Vert armed also Vert holding up in the dexter paw a Saucepan the handle inwards Gold; Mantled Gules and Vert doubled Argent.
Motto : 'CYFOETH CYMDEITHAS: CYMUNED' - A society's weath is its community.
Origin/meaning
Llanelli Town Council was created under provisions contained in 1972 and the arms were granted on 15th July, 1981.
The arms show St. Elli between the waves. The chief shows two coils of tinplate and an anchor, symbolising industry and the harbour in the town. The crest shows the Welsh Dragon.
The motto: CYFOETH CYMDEITHAS: CYMUNED can be translated as A Society's Wealth is its Community.



Official blazon
Arms : Per chevron Argent and Gules in chief two Lymphads Sable and in base a figure representing St. Elli of the first.
Crest : Issuant from a Mural Crown proper two Dragons' Wings Gules each charged with a Fess chequy Or and Azure.
Motto : 'YMLAEN LLANELLI' - Forward Llanelli
Origin/meaning
The arms were officially granted on October 22, 1913.
The main feature of the arms is a depiction of St. Elli, who was martyred in about 600 AD, and whose shrine gave the town its name. The two ships refer to the town's port.
The crest has a mural crown for a borough council, from which rise the wings of the red dragon of Wales. The blue and gold chequers come from the arms of the Stepney family who developed the town, provided the first mayor and paid for the grant of arms.
The motto "Ymlaen Llanelli" means Onward Llanelli.

Figure A-37. Llanelli coats of arms[314]

St Ellyw Church, Llanelli [SN 50513 00366][315]

'church of Elli', *llan* church + pers. n. *Elli*

Ecclesia de Lanecly (1291)[316]

The church is located in the centre of town and has a triangular churchyard whose south and east boundaries are dilineated by Bridge Street and Thomas Street.[317] The church is first mentioned in documents of the eleventh century and was a parish church in the medieval period.[318] In the thirteenth century the living was in the patronage of Patrick de Chatworth, Lord of Kidwelly, and after his death the patronage passed to the Crown.[319] In the late fourteenth century the tithes were appropriated by John of Gaunt to the collegiate church of St Mary, Leicester. Until the reformation the parish had four subordinate chapels.[320]

[314] 'Llanelli', Heraldry of the World [online].
[315] 'Llanelli', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.68211,-4.16367,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[316] 'Benefice of Llanelli', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=DA.CM.KI.02 <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[317] 'St Ellyw's Church, Bridge Street, Llanelli', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/12684/details/st-ellyws-church-bridge-street-llanelli <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[318] 'St Ellyw's Church, Bridge Street, Llanelli', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[319] 'St Ellyw's Church, Bridge Street, Llanelli', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[320] 'St Ellyw's Church, Bridge Street, Llanelli', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

Lluan

While DSB, CB, JC20, and PB state that Lluan was married to the king of Dál Riada (see ch. 8 sec. on the married daughters of Brychan), a number of dedications have been attributed to her in Gorslas, near dedications to family members Tybïe, Hychan, and Arthen. Reservations have been voiced, however. A. W. Wade-Evans notes that he is tempted to describe the dedication to Lluan daughter of Brychan, but 'the name, however, is spelt *Llanllian* in the Church Goods Inventories of 1552 and *Capell Llanlloian*, with no dedication, by Browne Willis, and he concludes that 'the latter may be a misprint for Capell Llanlleian, as though he would have it to mean "the llan of a nun"'.[321] Daniel-Thyssen supports both views, saying that the name should be spelled Llanlleian (i.e., the Nun's Church), but that the nun referred to is Lluan daughter of Brychan.[322]

Medieval records show that Manor Llanlluan was owned by the Diocese of St David, and the original chapel was likely located at Capel Farm, where an outbuilding has been identified as the original chapel, with evidence of graves and a nearby well.[323] Since that time a Calvinist chapel named Capel Llanlluan was built north of the farm while St Lleian Church was built in 1879 in Gorslas.[324]

Capel Llanlluan (ruin), Capel Farm [SN 55631 15526][325]

'chapel of the church of Lluan', *capel* chapel + *llan* church + *Lluan* pers. n. (also could mean *lleian* nun)

> *lanllia is chaple* (1552)[326]

The chapel is thought to have been located on the farm of Capel, where there is noted to have been a small burial ground with faint traces of an enclosing wall.[327]The current owner of Capel Farm pointed out the building that was once Capel Llanlluan (fig. A-38), now restored for use as a barn. The farmer believes the holy well is in an adjacent field.

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[321] Wade-Evans, p. 31.
[322] Daniel-Thyssen, p. 31.
[323] Daniel-Thyssen, p. 31.
[324] Daniel-Thyssen, p. 31.
[325] Davies, p. 22. See also 'Capel Llanlluan', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/db7572f8-0e78-4e43-aafa-b9401dc74690 <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[326] Daniel-Thyssen, p. 31.
[327] 'Capel Llanlluan, Chapel Site, Capel Farm', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/417590/details/capel-llanlluan-chapel-site-capel-farm <Accessed 11 April 2020>



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Figure A-38. Original site of Capel Llanlluan, now a barn at Capel Farm

See also *St Lleian Church, Gorslas*.

A. W. Wade-Evans notes that while he is tempted to describe the dedication as to Lluan daughter of Brychan, except that 'the name, however, is spelt Llanllian in Church Goods Inventories, 1552 (Evans's Church Plate of Carmarthenshire, p. 123), and Capell Llanlloian, with no dedication, by Browne Willis (Par. Anglie, p. 189), saying that 'the latter may be a misprint for Capell Llanlleian, as though he would have it to mean "the llan of a nun"'.[328] Daniel-Thyssen backs both approaches, saying that the name should be spelled Llanlleian (i.e., the Nun's Church), but that the nun refers to Lluan daughter of Brychan, who had been the wife of Gavran ab Dynwal Hen, whose son was Aeddan the Traitor.[329]

Ffynnon Lluan, Capel Farm [SN 55631 15526][330]

'well of Luan', *ffynnon* well + *Luan* pers. n.

A holy well, referred to on the OS First Edition Map only as 'well' is possibly associated with the chapel, located adjacent to a footpath (oriented north-south) and a track leads to it from Capel Farm, running west-north-west for some two hundred metres.[331]

[328] Wade-Evans, p. 31.
[329] Daniel-Tyssen, p. 31.
[330] E. Davies, *Rhestr o Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 22. See also 'Capel Llanlluan', LHPP [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/db7572f8-0e78-4e43-aafa-b9401dc74690 <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[331] HWW, p. 167.

Llanlluan Calvinistic Methodist Chapel, Gorslas [SN 55680 15880][332]

Llanlluan Calvinistic Methodist Chapel was built in 1839 and rebuilt in 1860 and 1901.[333] The present building (fig. A-39) was designed by architect J.W. Jones and built in the simple round-headed style of the gable entry type.[334]



Figure A-39. Capel Llanlluan[335]

St Lleian Church, Gorslas [SN 56956 13912][336]

St Lleian Church was built in 1866 as a church school and converted to a parish church in 1879 as part of the parish of Gorslas, and it remains a parish church.[337] According to the Church in Wales, the parish developed to serve the coal mining community in the late nineteenth century, which no longer exists, although a memorial window in St Lleian Church depicts a miners lamp.[338] This fairly modern church is less than a mile south of Capel Llanlluan, now a barn on Capel Farm, and about two miles away from the new chapel at Capel Llanlluan.

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[332] 'Llanlluan Calvinistic Methodist Chapel, Maes-y-Bont, New Llanlluan', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/6321/details/llan-lluan-calvinistic-methodist-chapel-maes-y-bontnew-llanlluan <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[333] 'Llanlluan Calvinistic Methodist Chapel, Maes-y-Bont, New Llanlluan', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

[334] 'Llanlluan Calvinistic Methodist Chapel, Maes-y-Bont, New Llanlluan', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

[335] 'Robert Scourfield Collection', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/archive/6203085/details/504 <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[336] 'St Lleian's Church, Gorslas', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/418399/details/st-lleians-church-gorslas <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[337] 'St Lleian's Church, Gorslas', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

[338] 'St Lleian's Gorslas', The Church in Wales: The Parish of Gors-las in the Diocese of St David's [online]. Available at https://parish.churchinwales.org.uk/d159/churches-en/st-lleians-gorslas_-en/ <Accessed 11 April 2020>

Tybïe

A number of dedications to Tybïe can be found in the area around Llandybïe, including St Tybïe Church, said to be the site of her martyrdom, although the only account of her death at the hand of pagan Saxons comes from Iolo Morganwg. She was said to live with her sister Lluan at Gelli Forwynion, the Grove of the Virgins. Tybïe's Well is located about half a mile south of the church just off the main road. See Chapter 8 Other Daughters of Brychan for more information about these accounts.

Ffynnon Tybïe, Llandybïe [SN 62294 14658][339]

'well of Tybïe', ffynnon, well + pers. n. Tybïe

Ffynnon Tybïe is also referred to as Ffynnon 'Bïe and Ffynnon Tabitha, and the well has been described as 'formerly much resorted to'.[340]

Penralltybïe (Penalltgibïe) [SN 2646 4425]

'hilltop of Tybïe', *pen* top + *allt* hillside + *Tybïe* pers. n.

PenrallTybïe is a farm to the east of Blaen-pant, located near extensive woodland between Pont Hirwern and Capel Tygwydd.[341]

St Tybïe's Church, Llandybïe [SN 61749 15401][342]

'church of Tybïe', *llan*, church + *Tybïe*, pers. n.

> *Landebyeu (1284, 1348), Llandebye (1535), ll. dybie (c. 1566), Llandebea (1607)*[343]

St Tybïe's Church (fig. A-40) is located in the centre of the town of Llandybïe. The Inventory of Church Goods in Carmarthenshire conducted for Edward VI in 1552 notes these entries for St Tybïe's Church:

> In p'mis, a chalyce.
> Ite'm, iij belles, great & smalle.[344]

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[339] 'Tybïe's Well', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/4882bb09-1c3a-47e2-8bbe-ed10fa46167c <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[340] HWW, p. 164.

[341] F. Jones, *Historic Cardiganshire Houses and Their Families*, ed. by C. Jones (Location: Brawdy Books, 2000), pp. 228–229. Hereafter, *Cardiganshire Houses*.

[342] 'Llandybïe', OS maps [online]. Available as https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.82009,-4.00725,7/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020> See also Davies, p. 59.

[343] Owen and Morgan, p. 233.

[344] Daniel-Tyssen, p. 31.



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Figure A-40. St Tybïe Church, Llandybïe

Tydwystl

Tydwystl is identified as a daughter of Brychan in the genealogies of Brychan's family, and the following dedication at Capel Tydist in Carmarthenshire is the only dedication to her. It should be noted that this dedication, which includes an adjacent deserted medieval settlement, is near to Llys Brychan, a farm built on the site of a Roman villa. (see the Llys Brychan entry later in the Carmarthenshire gazetteer). See also Chapter 8 Other Daughters of Brychan.

Capel Tydist Farm, Bethlehem [SN 67180 24173][345]

'chapel of Tydwystl', *capel* chapel + *Tydist* pers. n. (Tydwystl[346])

Merthir Tudhistil (*c.* 1200)[347], *Merthyr Tutbistyl* (*c.* 1500)[348]

Capel Tydist is an isolated farm in the foothills of Ystryd Towy about three miles west of Bethlehem and close to Llys Brychan, with ruins of a medieval settlement adjacent to the farm. situated some 460m south-east of the River Towy.[349] The chapel site shown on historic (1887 and 1906) and modern OS maps is believed to be located on the site of an outbuilding of Capel Tydist Farm (see fig. A-41). In 1858 it was noted that the north and east sides of the

[345] 'Capel Tydist', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.91025,-3.86849,14/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[346] Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials*, p. 97: '*tud*, 'people', and *gwystl*, 'hostage', as in the common medieval Tangwystl'.

[347] EWGT, p. 15.

[348] EWGT, p. 18.

[349] Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials*, pp. 96–97. For a description of the medieval settlement adjacent to the chapel, see 'Capel Tydist, Deserted Rural Settlement', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLFR5ZGlzdF9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=413359#tabs-4 <Accessed 2 October 2018>

barn were portions of the chapel, and that there were graves in its interior where human remains had been uncovered a few years previously.[350]



Figure A-41. Capel Tydist Farm, Bethlehem

Other family of Brychan

Carmarthenshire seems to be especially rich in dedications to the male Brychan family members. This section lists dedications to Brychan Brycheiniog and to sons Arthen, Cynog, and Dingad. Cadog son of Gwynllyw and Gwladys daughter of Brychan also has dedications in this county, as do sons-in-law Brynach and Gwynllyw.

Arthen

The community of Llanarthney is fairly close to dedications to Lluan and Capel Llanlluan and Tybïe at Llandybïe.

St David Church (formerly St Arthen), Llanarthney [SN 53496 20306][351]
'church of Arthen', *llan*, church + *Arthen*, pers. n.

[350] Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials*, pp. 96–97.
[351] 'Recorded Name: Llanarthney', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/fba0d772-5c77-4d56-8bef-668399465fde <Accessed 11 April 2020>

St Arthen's Church (1898–1908)[352]

In the Parish of Llanarthney and the town of Llanarthney, St David Church was once dedicated to Arthen son of Brychan, as shown in the OS map. The medieval church with curvilinear churchyard, now dedicated to St David, was once dedicated to St Arthen according to the 1888 OS Mapping.[353] During the medieval period the church was a chapel in the deanery of Stradtowy and belonged to the Bishops of St David's as a prebend of the collegiate church at Brecon until 1290, when the prebend was appropriated to the prior of the Knights Hospitaller.[354] A twelfth century wheel-cross, known as the 'Cross of Elmat', was built into the ground floor of the tower, but the wheel-cross has since been moved.[355] This church is near churches and holy wells dedicated to St Lluan at Gorslas and St Tybïe at Llandybïe.

Brychan Brycheiniog

One of the most interesting remnants of the Brychan cult is Llys Brychan Farm in the hill country near the prehistoric settlement at Garn Coch and, later, near a Roman fort. The place-name Tir a Beddau is also linked to a legend of Brychan. Later dedications showing Brychan with his many children in stained glass windows demonstrate a desire to recall him as the progenitor of saints and prove that his influence extended well beyond Breconshire.

Llys Brychan Farm (Roman villa), Bethlehem [SN 70672 25386][356]

'court of Brychan', *llys*, court + *Brychan*, pers. n.

Llys Brychan (1804)[357], *Llys Brychan* (1832)[358]

The Roman villa known as Llys Brychan comprises the remains of a building complex of considerable size that may have been a rural villa built to emphasise the status, wealth, and Romanised cultural values of wealthy members of the local native tribe. Remains extend over an area about ten by three metres with foundations of two or possibly three rooms. Finds have included hypocaust tiles, painted wall plaster, roofing slates and two fragments of mortarium.

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[352] 'Recorded Name: Llanarthney', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online].
[353] 'Recorded Name: Llanarthney', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online].
[354] 'Recorded Name: Llanarthney', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online].
[355] 'Recorded Name: Llanarthney', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online].
[356] Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales (NLW), NLW Map 26. *See also* W. Goode, 'Llys Brychan', *Maps of the Danyrallt Estate, Carmarthenshire* (1832), Map 26 [online]. Available at http://copac.jisc.ac.uk/id/2277335?style=html&title=Llysbrychan <Accessed 11 November 2018>
[357] R. Fenton, *Tours in Wales (1804–1813)*, ed. by J. Fisher (London: The Bedford Press, 1917), p. 2.
[358] MS NLW Map 26. *See also* W. Goode, 'Llys Brychan', *Maps of the Danyrallt Estate, Carmarthenshire* (1832), Map 26 [online].

Pottery and coins suggest occupation from the beginning of the third century to the late fourth century.

Llys Brychan first came to be noticed at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1804 and 1809 Theophilus Jones (1758–1812) published the first and second volumes of his *History of the County of Brecknock*, later combined in a single volume in 1898, in which he spoke of Llys Brychan as a means of defining the boundaries of Brychan's territories:

> At Duffryn Cyrdrych, in the parish of Llanddoisant, in Carmarthenshire, were formerly considerable ruins and excavations, called Llys Brychan, or the court of Brychan, where this regulus probably resided occasionally : and if so, we conceive his territory comprehended the whole of the country on the East side of the Towy, as far down as Llandilo fawr, from whence the boundary line crossed Southward to Llandebie, and followed the Loughor to its fall into the sea.[359]

In 1804, Richard Fenton traveled to Carmarthenshire, where he visited Llys Brychan in person:

> A place near Danyrallt called Llys Brychan, where nothing appears above ground but a Cottage; but on digging lately a great deal of very ancient masonry found, and a stone with a figure of a Lamb on it, which appeared to have been cast in some soft clay indurated by fire. Perhaps here Brychan Brycheiniog might have had a palace or some occasional residence.[360]

The place must have caught Fenton's imagination because he visited Llys Brychan again when he returned to Carmarthenshire in 1809, reporting:

> On this spot now stands a small farm house, in the Hedges round which are thickly interspersed fragments of all sorts of Roman bricks. In digging their Garden lately they came to masonry, with true Roman cement, formed of lime and bits of bricks and gravel. An old woman in the neighbourhood says that she remembers the discovery of some chambers underground, which she called Vaults (perhaps Baths), with much bricks, and work such as never was seen in the Country made of the Stone of the Country pounded into a powder, and then made into a paste, and so baked; of a bluish colour, extremely thick and well wrought.
>
> There are no indications, that I could even fancy, of a Square agger with rounded Angles, to prove it a Station; but the whole place, by fences and cultivation, has undergone such changes that such marks might be done away. I think it was more probably a Villa, and that the Station is yet to be discovered. On the side of the present high road, close to the Hedge

[359] Jones, The History of Brecknockshire, vol. 1, p. 9 n.1.
[360] Fenton, Tours in Wales (1804–1813), p. 2.

> opposite this spot, there is a pretty large Maen hir, and still farther on there were two others of the same kind, but now removed. I looked minutely over the existing one, but could find nothing like an inscription, otherwise I should have concluded them to have been milliaries.[361]

On the same day Fenton also visited the vicar of Llansadwrn and later noted: 'I saw there some pieces of true Roman brick, found at Llys Brychan'.[362] In 1832, Llys Brychan was included as map 26 in a collection by W. Goode called *Maps of the Danyrallt Estate*.[363]

An archaeological study took place during 1961 and 1962, when M. G. Jarrett of Cardiff University carried out excavations and published his research in the *Carmarthenshire Antiquary* in 1962.[364] RCAHMW Coflein identifies four specific locations of interest: a possible chapel site, a leat (that is, an artificial watercourse or aqueduct dug into the ground, especially one supplying water to a watermill or its mill pond), the Roman villa site, and the farmhouse itself.[365] The Roman villa was the subject of a geophysical survey by the Dyfed Archaeological Trust in 2009, followed by trial excavations conducted in 2011.[366] Figure A-42 shows the Roman wall built into the orchard and the ruins in the field immediately east of the house.

[361] Fenton, Tours in Wales (1804–1813), pp. 68–69.
[362] Fenton, Tours in Wales (1804–1813), p. 72.
[363] Aberystwyth, NLW, NLW Map 26. *See also* W. Goode, 'Llys Brychan', *Maps of the Danyrallt Estate, Carmarthenshire* (1832), Map 26 [online].
[364] M. Jarrett, 'Excavations at Llys Brychan,Llangadog, 1961', *Carmarthen Antiquary*, 4 (1962), pp. 2–8.
[365] 'Llys Brychan', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/17534/details/llys-brychan <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[366] J. Meek, Exploration Tywi! Llys Brychan, Bethlehem, Archaeological Evaluation 2009. Dyfed Archaeological Trust Report No. 2010/24, Project Record No. 99390 (unpublished). http://www.dyfedarchaeology.org.uk/tywi/llysbrychan.pdf <Accessed 11 April 2020>



A. Orchard behind the farm house with Roman wall



B. Field beyond the wall showing ruins



C. Closeup of ruins



D. View from the ruins back to the wall and the house

© 2015 Eric Mehan

Figure A-42. Views at Llys Brychan Farm

St Margaret Marloes Church, Eglwyscummin [SN 23092 10649][367]

'endowed church', *eglwys* church + *cymyn* endowed[368]

> *Egluscumin* (1248–1255), *Egluskymin* (1307), *Egloiscymyn* (1488), *eglwys gymyn* (*c.* 1566), *The Communion Church* (1831), *Eglwys-cymmyn* (1343)[369]

St Margaret Marloes Church is a Grade I Listed medieval church with vaulted nave and porch, restored in the Arts and Crafts style of Philip Webb, where a stained glass window in the south nave on the left side portrays St Teilo and St Brychan dated 1915 and signed by F. C. Eden.[370] The portrayal shows Brychan with three of his sons and includes the Brychan coat of arms.

[367] 'St Margaret's Church; St Cyffig's Church, Eglwyscumin', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/107301/details/st-margarets-church-st-cyffigs-church-eglwyscumin <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[368] Owen and Morgan, p. 95.
[369] Owen and Morgan, p. 95.
[370] 'Church of St Margaret Marloes', British Listed Buildings [online]. Available at http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/300009389-church-of-st-margaret-marloes-eglwyscummin#.WNr8qxAfy-o <Accessed 11 April 2020>

St Gabriel Church, Brynmill, Swansea [SS 63698 92210][371]

In the Church of St Gabriel in Swansea, a series of stained glass windows features numerous Welsh saints, including a number of the children of Brychan and Brychan himself, shown with his wife and four of his children (fig. A-43).[372] These windows were commissioned in 1949 and installed in two stages, with the central portion installed in 1949 and the outer portions in 1959.[373] Martin Crampin notes that the design favors the saints of South Wales.[374]



Copyright 2013 M. Crampin

Figure A-43. St Brychan and his children, Welsh saints window, St Gabriel Church, Brynhill, Swansea[375]

[371] 'Brynmill', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.61218,-3.96991,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[372] 'Church of St Gabriel, Brynmill, Swansea', Stained Glass of Wales Catalogue, ed. by M. Crampin, Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, Aberystwyth [online]. Available at http://stainedglass.llgc.org.uk/object/2338 <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[373] 'Church of St Gabriel, Brynmill, Swansea', Stained Glass of Wales Catalogue, ed. by M. Crampin, Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, Aberystwyth [online].

[374] 'Church of St Gabriel, Brynmill, Swansea', Stained Glass of Wales Catalogue, ed. by M. Crampin, Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, Aberystwyth [online].

[375] 'Welsh Saints', Stained Glass in Wales Catalogue, ed. by M. Crampin (University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, Aberystwyth, 2016. http://stainedglass.llgc.org.uk/object/2338 (Accessed 11 April 2020)

Tir y beddau, Llangadog [SN 75804 20571][376]
'the ground of the graves' *tir* ground + *y beddau* the graves

The name of Cylchau, 'the circles' is given on the OS map to a tract of mountain land on the banks of the Sawdde Fechan brook, which at the point above indicated is the parish boundary; however, the local name in regular use is,'Tir y beddau'.[377] On the stretch of land between the Sawdde fechan and the Ceulan brook are several more or less disturbed and scattered patches of stones which seem to be the bases of small cairns, similar to others in the parish of Quarter Bach about two miles to the south.[378] Local tradition connects Tir y beddau with a victory won by Brychan Brycheiniog, who afterwards walked from the battlefield to the summit of Garreg las, drinking the water from the hollows of the stones he passed on his upward way.[379]

Brynach
The centre of Brynach's cult is at Nevern in Pembrokeshire, but churches dedicated to Brynach can be found in Breconshire as well as Carmarthenshire.

St Brynach Church, Llanboidy [SN 21762 23161][380]
'cowshed brook', *nant* brook + *beudy* cowshed[381]

> *Lanbedeu* (1175–1176), *Nambeude* (1264), *Nanthendu* (c. 1291), *Lanbendy* (1352), *Nantbeaudy* (1361), *Nantbeudi* (1541), *llanbeydy* (1602), *Llan-Boydy* (*c.* 1700), *Llanbeudy* (1801)[382]

The medieval church of St Brynach belonged to the deanery of Carmarthen before being taken over, first by the Cistercians of Talley Abbey and second by the bishops of St Davids as a prebend of the collegiate church of St David at Llanddewibrewi.[383]

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[376] 'Tir y beddau', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/4575f298-f234-49e0-ae8a-5829082e1b9e <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[377] *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire: V – County of Carmarthenshire* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1917), p. 148 [online]. Available at https://books.google.co.uk/books?printsec=frontcover&id=7gAABQpMpAYC&hl=en#v=onepage&q=Brychan&f=false <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[378] An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire: V – County of Carmarthenshire, p. 148 [online].
[379] An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire: V – County of Carmarthenshire, p. 148 [online].
[380] 'Llanboidy', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.87846,-4.59084,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[381] Owen and Morgan, p. 221.
[382] Owen and Morgan, p. 221.
[383] 'St Brynach's Church, Llanboidy', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/310033/details/st-brynachs-church-llanboidy <Accessed 12 April 2020>

Ffynnon Frynach, Llanboidy [SN 21762 23161][384]
'well of Frynach' *ffynnon* well + *Brynach* pers. n.

Ffynnon Frynach situated at the head of a small wooden valley. The water seeps from the rock surface and is now collected in two slate troughs, and there is no sign of a well chamber.[385]

Cadog
Several churches are dedicated to Cadog in south Carmarthenshire in Kidwelly and in north-east Carmarthenshire at Llangadog, which is near dedications to a number of other Brychan family members.

Capel Cadoc, Kidwelly [SN 41100 07500][386]
'chapel of Cadog', *capel* chapel + *Cadog* pers. n.

No trace of the building of Capel Cadoc remains, but is known to have been located around three-hundred and sixty metres north-north-east of Kidwelly Castle, and the two would have been contemporary.[387] The chapel is mentioned in documents of around 1150 relating to land grants to the relatively newly established Benedictine priory now called St Mary Church. [388] Cadog's name survives in the nearby names 'Llangadog' and 'Waungadog';[389] also, 'Cadock's Mill' is mentioned in documents of 1609 and 1779.[390] Cadock's Mill is the modern Middle Mill situated south-east of Capel Cadoc.[391]

Our Lady and St Cadoc Roman Catholic Church, Kidwelly [SN 41108 06780][392]
The Roman Catholic Church of Our Lady and St Cadoc in Kidwelly is of fairly recent construction. The earlier private chapel at Pembrey House was moved to a disused school in

[384] 'Llanboidy', OS Maps [online].
[385] M. Ings, *Medieval and Post-Medieval Holy Wells: A Threat-Based Assessment*, 2012. Dyfed Archaeological Trust [online]. Available at http://www.dyfedarchaeology.org.uk/projects/holywellsadditionalsites2012.pdf <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[386] 'Capel Cadoc, Chapel Site, Kidwelly', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/418/details/capel-cadoc-chapel-site-kidwelly <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[387] 'Capel Cadoc, Chapel Site, Kidwelly', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. See also OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.74361,-4.30297,18/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[388] 'Capel Cadoc, Chapel Site, Kidwelly', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[389] 'Capel Cadoc, Chapel Site, Kidwelly', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[390] 'Capel Cadoc, Chapel Site, Kidwelly', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[391] 'Capel Cadoc, Chapel Site, Kidwelly', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[392] 'Our Lady and St Cadoc Church, Kidwelly', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.73715,-4.30253,7/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>

Morlan Terrace and then to a building in Pencoed Road, which was demolished to make room for a car park when the new church was opened in 1975.[393]

St Cadog Church, Llangadog [SN 70835 28261][394]

'church of Cadog', *llan* church + pers. n. *Cadog*

Ecclesia de Landekadock (1291)[395]

The medieval Church of St Cadog in the town of Llangadog is one of the churches dedicated to Brychan family members along the road from Brecon to Carmarthen, such as St Cynog Church in Defynnog and St Dingat Church in Llandovery.[396] The curvilinear churchard could be associated with a very large former outer enclosure.[397] The octagonal font is late medieval in date. [398] The church was repaired in 1694, according to a plaque on the tower. Before 1889 the church was said to have had a 'rude mural painting of the Doom'.[399]

Cynog

The geographical extent of the Cynog cult is demonstrated by Cynog churches at Meidrum in the west of Carmarthenshire, at Llaugharne in the south, at Defynnog in the east, and Llangynog near Carmarthen.

Capel Cynog, Meidrum [SN 29379 20952][400]

'chapel of Cynog', *capel*, chapel + *Cynog*, pers. n.

Capel Kynnog (1804–1813)[401]

Richard Fenton reports that Edward Lhuyd wrote: 'There is a well at Capel Kynnog that cures *Kryd y wrach*. There are pearls in the rivers here.' The church is dedicated to St David.

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[393] 'Parish History', Burry Port & Kidwelly Catholic Parish [online]. Available at http://burryportkidwellycatholic.blogspot.com/p/parish-history.html <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[394] 'Llangadog', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.93783,-3.88032,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[395] 'Benefice of Llangadock', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=DA.CM.YT.03 <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[396] 'St Cadog's Church, Llangadog', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/301823/details/st-cadogs-church-llangadog <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[397] 'St Cadog's Church, Llangadog', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[398] 'St Cadog's Church, Llangadog', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[399] 'St Cadog's Church, Llangadog', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[400] 'Meidrum', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.85646,-4.30574,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[401] Fenton, *Tours in Wales (1804–1813),* p. 332. Note: Fenton describes the material in appendix IV as 'Lhuydiana' from MS 2.59, giving the date as 1696 and following years.

Merthyr Cynog, Llaugharne [SN 250 094][402]
'shrine of Cynog', *merthyr* shrine + *Cynog* pers. n.

> *Casteloyd and Merthkenang* (1307), *Mertherkenang* (1307), *m. Castle lloyde or Merkinock o. mertel kjnock* (1593), *Castle Lloyd and Merthyr Cynog in Tallagharne, co. Carmarthen* (1632), *Marckynnog* (1739)[403]

The name of Parc-Cynog Farm may represent a survival of the name Merthyr Cynog, supported by the presence of Cynog's well one-half mile from the farm, while nother Parc-cynog is located a little to the north of Cynog's well, and while this dedication is less certain, it also could be the site of Merthyr Cynog.[404] David Parsons notes:

> The fact of two medieval sites called Merthyr Cynog, some fifty miles apart, raises questions. Whether this is an outlier of the well-known cult of Cynog ap Brychan, or whether we have here a distinct saint, is unknown. Llangyng CRM lies some seven miles to the north-east, and seems likely to involve the same dedication as Merthyr Cynog CRM: perhaps this is a local saint, otherwise unknown. Certainly the personal name Cynog was borne by several individuals in early Wales, and so duplication is quite possible.[405]

St Cynog Church, Defynnog [SN 92750 27795][406]
'territory belonging to Dyfwn', *Dyfwn* pers . n. + terr.suff. *-og*[407]

> *Deuannoc* (1202-1214), *Devennoc* (1265), *de Vennok* (1372), *Devennock* (1406), *y ddyfynoc* (*c.* 1566), *y Ddyfynnog* (1778)[408]

The local church, dedicated to Saint Cynog, contains an ancient stone with Ogham inscriptions and is a grade I listed building.[6] Hywel Wyn Owen and Richard Morgan write that 'some antiquarians fancifully proposed that Defynnog derived from 'Tref Cynog' 'Cynog's farm' (tref), but they define the name as 'territory belonging to Dyfwn'.[409]

St Cynog Church, Llangynog [SN 34435 16893][410]
'church of Cynog', *llan* church + *Cynog* pers. n.

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[402] Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials*, pp. 70–72.
[403] Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials*, pp. 70–72.
[404] Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials*, pp. 70–72.
[405] Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials*, pp. 70–72.
[406] 'Devynock', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/6f5d6b0A-8c5e-4be8-a99e-c1688dbfd3cf <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[407] Owen and Morgan, p. 120.
[408] Owen and Morgan, p. 120.
[409] Owen and Morgan, p. 120.
[410] 'Recorded Name: Llangynog', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/d438c67a-b517-46eA-9c41-b1d1186af356 <Accessed 11 April 2020>

Llangynnog (1710)[411], *Llangunnock* (1805-1869)[412], *Llangunnoe* (1870-1872)

St Cynog's Church (fig. A-44) is situated within a circular churchyard, whose south, east and north boundary is delineated by the adjacent road.[413] A crop mark identified by the Dyfed Archaeological Trust in the field to the south-west of the churchyard is thought to be part of a concentric outer enclosure. [414] An Iron Age enclosure is noted further to the west, and the sites may be associated. During the medieval period, St Cynog Chapel was a chapel of Llanstephan belonging to the Deanery of Carmarthen, and by 1833 Llangynog was a parish.[415] The nave is thought to date to the thirteenth century and the chancel to the fourteenth century.[416] Windows were replaced during the nineteenth century.[417]



Figure A-44. Aerial View of St Cynog Church, Llangynog[418]

Dingad

Llandovery is the site of several dedications to Dingad son of Brychan. See also Dingestow in Monmouthshire.

[411] G. Griffiths, 'A Visitation of the Archdeaconry of Carmarthen, 1710', *National Library of Wales Journal*, vols. XVIII/3 and XIX/3, (Summer 1974 and Summer 1976), pp. 313.
[412] OS of Great Britain New Popular Edition, Sheet 142 - Hereford, Licence: CC BY-SA 4.0
[413] 'St Cynog Church, Llangynog', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[414] 'St Cynog Church, Llangynog', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[415] 'St Cynog Church, Llangynog', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[416] 'St Cynog Church, Llangynog', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[417] 'St Cynog Church, Llangynog', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[418] T. Driver, 'RCAHMW colour oblique aerial photograph showing circular churchyard of St Cynog's Church, Nantego, Llangynog', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/archive/6357266/details/504 <Accessed 11 April 2020>

Llandingad Within Parish, Llandovery [SN 76850 34951][419]

The parish of Llandingad Within was recorded in the second edition of the OS Maps as being on the northern outskirts of Llandovery and one-third of a mile from the site of Loventium Roman Station.[420]

Llandingad Without Parish (lost), Llandovery [SN 75748 33311][421]

The Parish of Llandingad Without was recorded in 1898—1908 on the OS Second Edition Map and the GB1900 website. The present OS Map shows the name in that area is Llwynjack, which looks like a farm adjoining the Tywi River. It would seem that Llandingad Without is now gone.

St Dingat Church, Llandovery [SN 76744 34868][422]

Ecclesia de Lanemdenery (1291)[423]

After the Norman Conquest, St Dingat Church was a parish church in the Deanery of Stradtowy, and St Dingat Church remains a parish church, now part of the Rural Deanery of Llangadog and Llandeilo.[424]

Gwynllyw

Capel Gwynllyw, Llanegwad [SN 52024 21532][425]

chaple of Saynt Gwnlei (1552)[426]

A farm called Capel Isaf is named after a chapel of ease dedicated to St Gwynllyw.[427] The earliest known reference to this chapel is the inventory of church assets required by King Edward VI in 1552, when the chapel was said to have possessed a chalice and a bell.[428] The

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[419] 'Recorded name: Llandingat Within', RCAHMW List of Historic Place Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/3de920ba-46c6-421f-85bd-d14d01993d66 <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[420] 'Recorded name: Loventium Roman Station (Site of)', RCAHMW List of Historic Place Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/1e1c20c4-27f1-4f37-ba2e-4ebf822d8465 <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[421] 'Recorded name: Llandingat Without', RCAHMW List of Historic Place Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/d3d8e1b0-f8c3-4ea4-a25a-b191b09f7ee9 <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[422] 'St Dingad Church, Llandovery', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.99854,-3.79677,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[423] 'Benefice of Llandovery', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=DA.CM.YT.02 <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[424] 'St Dingat's Church, Llandovery', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/104065/details/st-dingats-church-llandovery <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[425] 'Llanegward, OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.87268,-4.15086,15/pin <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[426] Daniel-Thyssen, p. 30.

[427] L. John, 'Capel', Llanelli Community Heritage [online]. Available at http://www.llanellich.org.uk/files/32-capel <Accessed 11 April 2020>

[428] L. John, 'Capel', Llanelli Community Heritage [online].

chapel appears on some of sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century maps of Wales, but in 1729 it was recorded as a ruin.[429]

Ceredigion dedications

Daughters of Brychan

Cain

Cae Cain, Aberystwyth Parish [SN 59289 81627]
'Cain's field', *cae* field + *Cain* pers. n.

When recorded: Circa 1840. Primary Source: none. Secondary Source: Cynefin

Cae Cain, Llanrhystud Anhuniog Parish [SN 56027 66754]
'Cain's field', *cae* field + *Cain* pers. n.

When recorded: Circa 1840. Primary Source: none. Secondary Source: Cynefin

Cae Cain, Llansantffraed Parish [SN 53894 66653]
'Cain's field', *cae* field + *Cain* pers. n.

When recorded: Circa 1840. Primary Source: none. Secondary Source: Cynefin

Callwen

Pádraig Ó Riain states that the Demetian Calendar, which may have been compiled at Llangeitho in the sixteenth century, lists Callwen and Gwenfyl under 1 November, where they are described as daughters of Brychan.[430] O Riain states that because Gwenfyl was considered to be patron of Gwynfil, Callwen should also be regarded as patron of Cellan, a view advanced later both by Edward Lhuyd and by Browne Willis.[431] Both saints are likely to have been extrapolated from the church names to which they are attached.[432] A variant tradition states that All Saints were commemorated at Cellan.[433]

All Saints Church, Cellan [SN 61354 49746][434]
'little cell', *cellan*[435]

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[429] L. John, 'Capel', Llanelli Community Heritage [online].
[430] P. Ó Riain, 'The Saints of Cardiganshire' in 'The Church in Ceredigion in the Early Middle Ages', *Cardiganshire County History*: *From the Earliest Times to the Coming of the Normans*, ed. by J. L. Davies and D. P. Kirkby (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1994), vol. 1, pp. 378–396.
[431] Ó Riain, 'The Saints of Cardiganshire', pp. 378–396.
[432] Ó Riain, 'The Saints of Cardiganshire', pp. 378–396.
[433] Ó Riain, 'The Saints of Cardiganshire', pp. 378–396.
[434] 'Cellan', OS Maps [online].
[435] Owen and Morgan, p. 80.

Kethlen (1229), *Kellan* (1284), *Keth Lhan* (c. 1700), *Cellan* (1834)[436]

The foundation of All Saints Church in Cellan is an ancient one, indicated by the presence of a Bronze Age barrow beneath the church site and the roughly circular churchyard.[437] The monastic cell at this site became a parish church by 1285, and later Cellan was taken to be the female saint Callwen to whom the church was dedicated and whose name is also commemorated in the spring Ffynnon Callwen (see following article). [438] The nave and chancel date from the thirteenth or fourteenth century.[439]

Ffynnon Callwen, Cellan [SN 61354 49746][440]

'little cell', *ffynnon* well + *Callwen* pers. n.

Fynnon Callowen, *ffynon Callwen* (*c.* 1700)[441]

The female saint Callwen is commemorated in the spring Ffynnon Callwen located near Cellan churc.: said to have given name to the church—Lhuyd Par. iii, 67, 86.[442]

Gwenfil

Pádraig Ó Riain states that the Demetian Calendar, which may have been compiled at Llangeitho in the sixteenth century, lists Callwen and Gwenfyl under 1 November, where they are described as daughters of Brychan.[443] O Riain states that because Gwenfyl was considered to be patron of Gwynfil, Callwen should also be regarded as patron of Cellan, a view advanced later both by Edward Lhuyd and by Browne Willis.[444] Both saints are likely to have been extrapolated from the church names to which they are attached.[445] A variant tradition states that All Saints were commemorated at Cellan.[446]

Capel Gwynfil, Llangeitho [SN 62043 59791][447]

'chapel of Gwenfil', *capel* chapel + *Gwenfil* pers. n.

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[436] Owen and Morgan, p. 80.
[437] 'All Saints Church, Cellan', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/404146/details/all-saints-church-cellan <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[438] Owen and Morgan, p. 80.
[439] 'All Saints Church, Cellan', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[440] 'Cellan', OS Maps [online].
[441] Owen and Morgan, p. 80.
[442] HWW, p. 160.
[443] Ó Riain, 'The Saints of Cardiganshire', pp. 378–396.
[444] Ó Riain, 'The Saints of Cardiganshire', pp. 378–396.
[445] Ó Riain, 'The Saints of Cardiganshire', pp. 378–396.
[446] Ó Riain, 'The Saints of Cardiganshire', pp. 378–396.
[447] 'Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Capel Gwynfil; Chapel Llangeitho, Llangeitho', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/7247/details/welsh-calvinistic-methodist-capel-gwynfilchapel-llangeitho-llangeitho <Accessed 11 April 2020>

Gwynfil is a community near Tregaron, now part of a small town called Llangeitho.[448] The RCAHMW reports that Capel Gwynfil was built in 1760 for a Welsh Calvinistic Methodist community founded in 1735. It was later rebuilt/modified in 1764, 1813 and 1861 to 1863, the latter to the design of John Lumley of Aberystwyth. Daniel Rowland (1713–1790), one of the founders of Welsh Methodism, was curate of Llangeitho, which became the centre of a powerful religious movement.[449]

Site of medieval chapelry to Llangeitho parish, now in Gwynfil parish. It was formerly associated with a cemetery (Evans 1903). Disused by the 18th century, it had gone by the 19th century (ibid.). It was replaced by a large post-medieval chapel (PRN 5133), also called Capel Gwynfil, situated on the opposite side of the road, founded in 1760 and rebuilt 1813.

Tanglwst

Dedications to Tanglwst in Ceredigion include Esgair Tanglwst and a field named Tanglwyst Fach.

Esgair Tanglwst [SN 35135 48034]

'leg of Tanglwst', *esgair* leg, ridge + *Tanglwst* pers. n.

> *Tanglwst* (1831)[450]

Marked on *Colby's Map of 1831* and on modern OS maps as Tanglwst, just north-east of Rhydlewis.[451] In Troedyraur Parish[452]

Tudful

The dedication to Tudful in Ceredigion poses interesting questions, as St Tydfil Church in Llechryd was built in the nineteenth century to replace a medieval church. The reason for the dedication to Tudful is unknown, even more so because Llechryd is not adjacent to other dedications to Brychan family members and is far from Tudful's cult centre in Merthyr Tydfil in Glamorgan.

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[448] 'Boundary Map of Gwynfil', Vision of Britain [online]. Available at http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10147074/boundary <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[449] 'Capel Gwynfil, Llangeitho', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[450] Cardiganshire Houses, p. 103.
[451] Cardiganshire Houses, p. 103.
[452] 'Esgair Tanglwst', RCAHMW List of Historical Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/ac439c2e-5139-4c2a-a86e-932c61532dbc <Accessed 13 April 2020>

St Tydfil's Church, Llechryd [SN 21665 43893][453]

'stone ford', *llech* slate, stone + *rhyd* ford [454]

> *Lechred* (1288), *Thlaghred* (1302), *Llechred* (1340), *Llechryd* (1557, 1739–1761), *Leghrid* (1603), *Llecherid alias Leghred* (1603–1625)[455]

St Tydfil's Church in Llechryd is a fairly recent church built in 1877–1878 to replace Holy Cross Church, a fourteenth-century chapel of ease which, along with Holy Cross Church in Mwnt, supported St Cynllo Parish Church in Llangoedmor parish.[456]

Other family of Brychan

Within Ceredigion are dedications to Brychan Brycheiniog, his sons Arthen and Hychan, and grandsons Cynfelyn and Cynon.

Arthen

A cluster of dedications related to Arthen can be found north-east of Cardigan near the village of Glynarthen, including Pont Glynarthen and the farms called Aberarthen, Glanarthen, and Brynarthen. Other dedications to children of Brychan include Capel Cynon east of Glynarthen, Esgair-Tanglwst south-east of the village, and St Tydfil Church south-west in Llechryd.

Glynarthen [SN 30810 48505][457]

'valley of Arthen', *glyn* valley + *Arthen* pers. n.

> *Glyn Harthen* (1803), *Glynarthen* (1811), *Glyn-arthen* (1834), *Glyn-Arthen* (1906)[458]

According to the *Dictionary of the Place-Names of Wales*, the brook Arthen or Harthen, as in the nearby Aberarthen (*Aberharthen* 1606, *Aberarthen* 1685), Blaen Arthen (*Blaen Harthen*

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[453] 'St Tydfil's Church, Llechryd', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLFN0IFR5ZGZpbCBMbGVjaHJ5ZF9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=400313#tabs-4 <Accessed 13 November 2018>

[454] Owen and Morgan, p. 292.

[455] Owen and Morgan, p. 292.

[456] St Tydfil, The Church in Wales [online]. Available at http://parish.churchinwales.org.uk/d854/churches/st-tydfil_-en/ <Accessed 13 April 2020>

[457] 'Glynarthen', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/52.10893,-4.47204,7/pin <Accessed 28 October 2018>

[458] Owen and Morgan, p. 169.

1597), Glan Arthen and Brynarthen, flows under Pont Glynarthen in the hamlet and into Afon Dulais.[459]

The rural village of Glynarthen is located north-east of Cardigan in the parish of Penbryn, and the town has a hall and school, as well as the Nonconformist Glynarthen Chapel.[460]

Cynfelyn

St Cynfelyn Church, Llancynfelyn, Borth [SN 6458 9219]

St Cynfelyn Church (fig. A-45) is located in a roughly circular churchyard, with a road on its west side.[461] During the medieval period the church was a chapelry belonging to the Deanery of Ultra-Aeron, and by 1833 the church was a parish church under the patronage of the Devonshire Chichester family. In 1954 a healing well was noted within the churchyard, where people would bathe their feet and carry the water away in bottles for use as medicine. Historic (1888 and 1905) mapping depicts a well some ten meters south of the churchyard's southern boundary.[462] The church now appears to be derelict.[463]

[459] Owen and Morgan, p. 169.
[460] D. Pike, 'The Glory Days of Glynarthen', 2016 [online]. Available at http://daibach-welldigger.blogspot.com/2016/05/the-glory-days-of-glynarthen.html?_escaped_fragment_=/2016/05/the-glory-days-of-glynarthen.html# <Accessed 28 October 2018>
[461] 'St Cynfelyn Church, Llancynfelyn', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLFN0IEN5bmZlbHluX3NlYXJjaHR5cGUsYWR2YW5jZWRfb3Jh&numlink=400469#tabs-4 <Accessed 15 November 2018>
[462] 'St Cynfelyn's Church, Llancynfelyn', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/400469/details/st-cynfelyns-church-llancynfelyn <Accessed 13 October 2018>
[463] 'St Cynfelyn's Church, Llancynfelyn', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/400469/details/st-cynfelyns-church-llancynfelyn <Accessed 13 October 2018>



Figure A-45. St Cynfelyn Church, Bridgend (closed) [464]

Cynon

Cwm Cynon, Llandisiliogogo [SN 3671 54783][465]
'valley of Cynon', *cwm* valley, glen + *Cynon* pers. n.

This farm is located one-quarter of a mile south of Llwyndafydd and marked on Colby's Map of 1831 and described as being in a valley some distance from the hamlet of Ciliau Uchaf in Llandisiliogogo parish.

St Cynon Church, Capel Cynon, Llandisiliogogo [SN 37988 49006][466]
'chapel of Cynon', *capel* chapel + *Cynon* pers. n

> *Llandissilior Gogof* (1338), *Llandissilio & Gogof* (1535), *Llandissiliogogo* (1643)[467]

St Cynon in the village of Capel Cynon is located in the community of Llandysiliogogo. Of the various saints named Cynon (from cunonas 'great hound') the most likely candidate for identification here is Cynon son of Brychan. The saint's feast fell on 9 November, a day

[464] 'St Cynfelyn's Church, Llancynfelyn', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/400469/details/st-cynfelyns-church-llancynfelyn <Accessed 13 October 2018>
[465] 'Cwmcynon', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/52.17298,-4.38455,7/pin <Accessed 18 October 2018>
[466] 'Capel Cynon', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/52.11548,-4.36767,16/pin <Accessed 18 October 2018>
[467] Owen and Morgan, p. 261.

shared, perhaps significantly, by the similarly named Irish St Mochonna (from Conna, a familiar form of Colum). More significantly, however, this day follows immediately on that of Tysilio (8 November), patron of the parish containing Cynon's chapel.[468]

St Cynon Church, Capel Cynon, Troedyraur [SN 38334 49383][469]
Next to Capel Farm in community Capel Cynon.

Hychan

St Hychan Church, Llanychaiarn [SN 58368 78568][470]
During the medieval period, St Hychan Church was a chapel that belonged to the rectory of Llanbadarn Fawr in the Deanery of Ultra-Aeron, but by 1833 the chapel had become a parish church.[471] The church was rebuilt in 1878 on the foundations of the medieval chapel, but kept nothing from the earlier fabric, although its small, octagonal font is thought to be from the thirteenth or fourteenth century.[472]

Denbighshire dedications

Marchell is the only daughter who may have dedicated sites in Denbighshire, and that is a remote possibility. On the other hand, sons of Brychan Hychan, Nefydd, and Cynfran and grandson Cynon do have dedications in Conwy, north-west Denbighshire.

Daughters of Brychan

Daughters of Brychan seem to be lacking cult sites in Denbighshire, aside from the unlikely dedications to Marchell.

Marchell

The name Marchell could refer to daughter of Brychan who was said to have married Gwrin Farfdrwch, King of Merioneth, from the dynasty of Cunedda Wledig in north Wales, but it could also refer to the mother of Brychan. However, dedications to St Marchell in

[468] P. Ó Riain, 'The Houses of Cardigan', pp. 378–396.
[469] Recorded Name: St Cynon's Church', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/d4e861c4-2e66-4e97-b40f-109d0e958809 <Accessed 12 October 2018>
[470] 'St Hychan's Church', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/ed5aafa3-d0e2-4fa7-972a-ec47966d6e88 <Accessed 14 November 2018>
[471] 'St Hychan's Church, Llanychaearn', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/96043/details/st-hychans-church-llanychaearn <Accessed 14 November 201§8>
[472] 'St Hychan's Church, Llanychaearn', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

Denbighshire are most likely to refer to the sixth-century daughter of Hawystl Gloff and Tywanwedd and sister of St Tyfyrdog and St Deifyr, who is associated with the Cistercian monastery Strata Marcella near Welshpool and Capel Marcella near Llanrwst.[473] On the outskirts of the town of Denbigh, St Marcella's Parish Church at Llanfarchell, is adjacent to Eglwys Wen Farm.[474]

Other family of Brychan

The dedications to sons Hychan, Nefydd, and Cynfran are found in Denbighshire, as well as to grandson Cynon, but no associated legends can explain why dedications to these sons of Brychan are found in northern Wales.

Hychan

Dedications to Hychan are found in Ceredigion, Denbighshire, and Carmarthenshire, but nothing is known of him except for the legend reported by Iolo Morganwg that Hychan lived near his sisters Tybïe and Lluan south of Llandeilo in the area of Llandybïe called Gelli Forwynion. See the Carmarthenshire dedications to read more about these saints.

St Hychan Church, Llanychan, Llangynhafal [SJ1143662137][475]

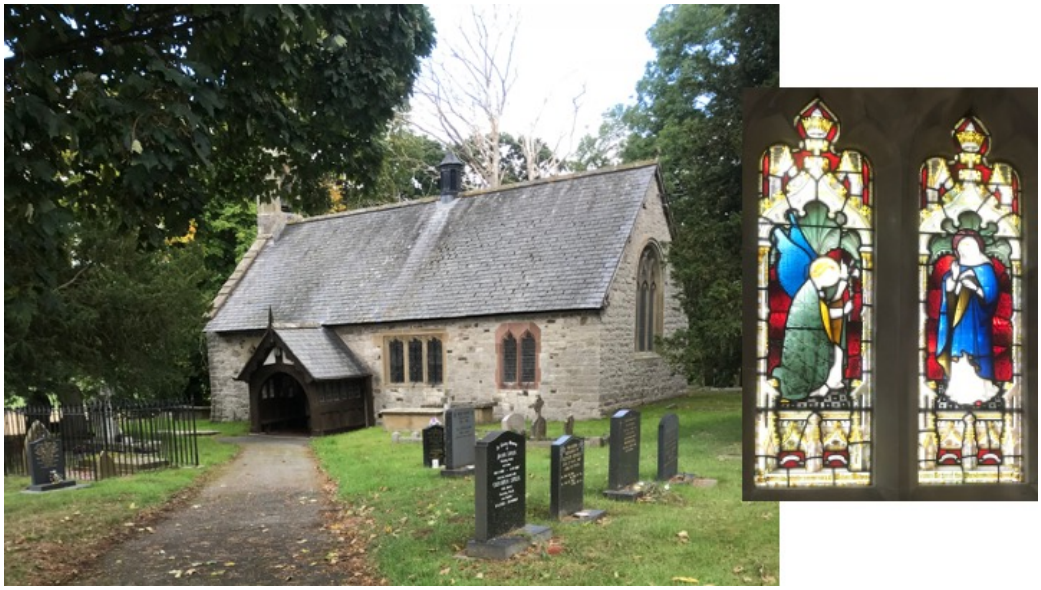
'church of Hychan', *llan* church + *Hychan* pers. n.

> *Llangenhaval* (1254), *Lankynaval*, *Llanganhavall* (1291), *ll. gynhafal* (*c.* 1566)[476]

St Hychan Church (fig. A-46) is located on the northern outskirts of Ruthin in an very small (less than one square mile), ancient parish with one township called Rhydellteyrn.[477] The church of St Hychan is first mentioned in 1254. The present structure is perhaps of the C15, and follows. British Listed Buildings describes this church as 'perhaps of the fifteenth century', and describes it as following the Vale of Clwyd type in having no exterior

[473] 'Strata Marcella Abbey; Ystrad Marchell, Welshpool', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLE1hcmNlbGxhX3NlYXJjaHR5cGUsYWR2YW5jZWRfb3Jh&numlink=94052#tabs-4 <Accessed 23 October 2018>
[474] 'Tombs, St Marcella's, Llanfarchfell; Llanfarchfell Church, Denbigh', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLE1hcmNlbGxhX3NlYXJjaHR5cGUsYWR2YW5jZWRfb3Jh&numlink=163321#tabs-4 <Accessed 23 October 2018>
[475] 'St Hychan's Church, Llanychan; St Ychan, Llanychan', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLEh5Y2hhbl9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=400638#tabs-4 <Accessed 14 November 2018>
[476] Owen and Morgan, p. 265.
[477] 'Llanychan', Clwyd Family History Society [online]. Available at http://www.clwydfhs.org.uk/eglwysi/llanychan.htm <Accessed 14 November 2018>

difference between the nave and chancel.[478] The roof contains sixteenth-century century timbers.[479] The church was restored in 1877–1878.[480]



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Figure A-46. St Hychan Church, Llanychan, Llangynhafal

Nefydd

Dedications to St Nefydd are found at the community of Llan Nefydd, south-west of the cathedral town of St Asaph.

Ffynnon Nefydd, Llannefydd, Conwy [SH 8931 7759][481]

'well of Nefydd', *ffynnon* well + *Nefydd* pers. n.

Ffynnon Yvydh (1699)[482], *Ffynnon Nefydd* (1900)[483]

[478] 'Church of St Hychan', British Listed Buildings [online]. Available at https://britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/300000787-church-of-st-hychan-llangynhafal <Accessed 14 November 2018>

[479] 'St Hychan's Church, Llanychan; St Ychan, Llanychan', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLEh5Y2hhbl9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=400638#tabs-4 <Accessed 14 November 2018>

[480] 'St Hychan's Church, Llanychan; St Ychan, Llanychan', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

[481] 'Ffynnon Nefydd', RCAHMW List of Historical Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/a8c34b2d-0cbA-4cbd-8d5a-392070412dd4 <Accessed 23 October 2018> The sources given are the OS 2nd Edition Maps and the Great Britain 1900 website.

[482] 'Ffynnon Yvydh', RCAHMW List of Historical Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/24b1d7aA-f640-4f73-8a8a-aa216f9d462a <Accessed 23 October 2018> The source given is *Parochialia* Edward Lhuyd vol. 1.

[483] 'Ffynnon Nefydd', RCAHMW List of Historical Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/a8c34b2d-0cbA-4cbd-8d5a-392070412dd4 <Accessed 23 October 2018> The sources given are the OS 2nd Edition Maps and the Great Britain 1900 website.

Ffynnon Nefydd is located about three-hundred metres from the St Nefydd and Mary Church in the village of Llannefydd.[484]

St Nefydd and Mary Church, Llannefydd, Conwy [SH 98289 69995][485]
'church of Nefydd', *llan* church + *Nefydd* pers.n.

Llanyvyth (1256)[486], *Lhanyvydh* (1699)[487]

St Nefydd and Mary Church is a medieval church, the main body of which appears to have been rebuilt during the fifteenth century, although the church is first mentioned in 1291.[488] It was restored in 1859 and from 1908 to 1910.[489]

Cynfran

The following church and well at Llysfaen in Conwy is an atypical location for one of the children of Brychan, being well away from other dedications to family members and far from areas associated with stories about family members. The church is south of Llanddulas Quarries in an area with a number of other nonconformist chapels.

Ffynnon Gynvran, Llandrillo-yn-Rhos Parish, Llysfaen [SH 89313 77598][490]
'stone court', *llys* court + *maen* stone[491]

ll. gynfran ne llysvaen (1545–1553), *Llysvaen in Llangenwrayn* (1559), *ll. gynfarn* (*c.* 1566), *ll. gynfran* (1590)[492]

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[484] 'Ffynnon Nefydd', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLE5lZnlkZF9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=32278#tabs-4 <Accessed 14 November 2018>
[485] 'Llannefydd', RCAHMW List of Historical Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/15e0223f-1e62-4b28-89a2-7085a5acc277
[486] 'Llanyvyth', RCAHMW List of Historical Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/0154fea7-b4b0-492a-bb6a-1e70459377e0 <Accessed 23 October 2018> The sources given are LBS and MRA.
[487] 'Lhanyvydh', RCAHMW List of Historical Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/24b1d7aA-f640-4f73-8a8a-aa216f9d462a <Accessed 23 October 2018> The source given is Parochialia Edward Lhuyd vol. 1.
[488] 'St Nefydd and St Mary, Llannefydd', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLExsYW4gTmVmeWRkX3NlYXJjaHR5cGUsYWR2YW5jZWRfb3Jh&numlink=309165#tabs-4 <Accessed 23 October 2018>
[489] 'St Nefydd and St Mary, Llannefydd', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[490] 'Ffynnon Gynfran', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/44718b1A-da43-4b24-955c-eaa3ec062516 <Accessed 13 October 2018>
[491] Owen and Morgan, p. 300.
[492] Owen and Morgan, p. 300.

Ffynnon Gynvran is approximately two metres in diameter, filled with sludge to the ground level, and partly surrounded by a semicircular dry stone retaining wall that is set into a hedge-bank.[493]

St Cynfran Church, Llandrillo-yn-Rhos Parish, Llysfaen [SH89353 77489][494]
'stone court', *llys* court + *maen* stone[495]

> *ll. gynfran ne llysvaen* (1545–1553), *Llysvaen in Llangenwrayn* (1559), *ll. gynfarn* (*c.* 1566), *ll. gynfran* (1590)[496]

St Cynfran Church is small, with two aisles, an undivided chancel and nave dating from the fourteenth century, and an earlier, probably thirteenth-century north aisle and vestry. The south porch is modern.[497] Owen and Morgan note that *Llysfaen* may refer to imposing building in a strategic location or even a royal court.[498]

Flintshire dedications

Dedications to Cain and Tudful are found in Flintshire, but no sons or other family members are found in place-names.

Daughters of Brychan

The community of Cilcain near Mold is likely dedicated to Cain and a fairly recent church dedicated to St Tudful is found at Coedpoeth. Another church, the Church of St Deiniol and St Marcella in Marchwiel, is dedicated to St Marcellus rather than Marcella daughter of Brychan.[499]

Cain

None of the stories related to Cain take place anywhere near Flintshire, but the place-name of Cilcain could possibly relate to her.

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[493] 'Ffynnon Gynvran', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/301021/details/ffynnon-gynfran-holy-well <Accessed 14 Novembere 2018>
[494] 'St Cynfran's Church', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/44718b1A-da43-4b24-955c-eaa3ec062516 <Accessed 13 October 2018>
[495] Owen and Morgan, p. 300.
[496] Owen and Morgan, p. 300.
[497] 'St Cynfran's Church, Llysfaen', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLFN0IEN5bmZyYW5fc2VhcmNodHlwZSxhZHZhbmNlZF9vcmE=&numlink=301083#tabs-4 <Accessed 14 November 2018>
[498] 'St Cynfran's Church, Llysfaen', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[499] 'Church of St Deiniol and St Marcella', CPAT Wrexham Church Survey [online]. Available at http://www.cpat.demon.co.uk/projects/longer/churches/wrexham/100145.htm <Accessed 14 November 2018>

Cilcain, Mold [SJ 1764 6516][500]
'fair corner', cil corner + cain fair[501]

> *Killkein* (1202), *Kilkeyn* (1254), *Kylkeyn* (1291), *Kilken* (1463), *Kilkayn* (1465)[502]

In *Parochiale Wallicanum*, A. W. Wade-Evans states that the place-name could mean 'Cain's Retreat', and he reports Samuel Lewis's explanation of *Kilken*, that a female saint lived in solitary cell in a valley called Nant Cain, but concludes that this saint could refer to Eurgain daughter of Maelgwn Gwynedd or Cain daughter of Brychan and, therefore, that Cilcain is named for an unknown female saint named Cain.[503] From the town's name, one would expect the church to be dedicated to St Cain, but the dedication is to St Mary. A nearby church at Northrop is dedicated to St Eurgain and St Peter, so a cult to Eurgain does seem to be also in the area.

Tudful

Both the Church of St Tydfil in Coedpoeth and in Llechryd in Ceredigion are not medieval churches dedicated to Tudful, but foundations established in the nineteenth century. In the case of Coedpoeth, the increased industrialisation of the area created the need for a church, while in Llechryd the medieval church was in an area susceptible to flooding.

St Tydfil Church, Coedpoeth [SJ 28248 51261][504]
'burnt trees', *coed* trees + *poeth* burnt[505]

> *Coid poch* (1391), *Coed Poeth* (1412), *Coyde Poyth* (1564-5), *Coed Poeth* (1620)[506]

Owen and Morgan write that the early occurrence of *Coedpoeth* suggests that that the area was cleaned by burning, possibly to facilitate mining, well before later industrial developments.[507] The dedication to a church to St Tudful came much later, when an iron

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[500] 'Cilcain Church; Church of St Mary, The Square, Cilcain', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLENpbGNhaW5fc2VhcmNodHlwZSxhZHZhbmNlZF9vcmE=&numlink=163387#tabs-4 <Accessed 19 October 2018>
[501] Owen and Morgan, p. 85. Note: While Owen and Morgan do not see any connection to a saint named Cain, Wade-Evans does; if so, the definition would be 'church of Cain', *cil* church + *Cain* pers. n.
[502] Owen and Morgan, p. 85.
[503] A. Wade-Evans, p. 80.
[504] 'St Tudfil's Church, Coedpoeth', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLENvZWRwb2V0aF9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=96661#tabs-4 <Accessed 14 November 2018>
[505] Owen and Morgan, pp. 92–93.
[506] Owen and Morgan, pp. 92–93.
[507] Owen and Morgan, pp. 92–93.

church was opened in 1875 comprising chancel, nave, vestry, and porch, superseded in 1895 by the present stone building.[508]

Other family of Brychan

None of the other family members in the Brychan clan are found in Flintshire dedications.

Glamorgan dedications

Glamorgan holds many dedications to the children of Brychan, especially in the area around Merthyr Tydfil. This area includes dedications to daughters Cain, Dwynwen, Goleu, Gwawr, Gwladys, Ilid, and Tanglwyst. Dedications to son Rhun can be found, as well as dedications to Brychan Brycheiniog and his son-in-law Brynach, and grandson Cadoc.

Daughters of Brychan

The cult centre for Cain is most likely found at Llangeinor, where St Ceinwyr Church matches the description of 'between the two branches of the Ogmore River' referred to in the twelfth-century *De Situ Brecheiniauc* (see Ch. 6).[509] On the other hand, the dedication to Dwynwen is much more recent, relying on traditions largely invented in the nineteenth century (see Ch. 7). The dedications to Tudful and Tanglwyst have earlier roots, but are connected by legends reported by Iolo Morganwg (see Ch. 8), and dedications to Gwladys in the area around Gelligaer are linked to dedications in the area around Bassaleg, discussed in the gazetteer entries for Gwent (see Ch. 8). Dedications to Goleu, Gwawr, and Ilid are more uncertain.

Cain

The many versions of Cain's name have made it difficult to be certain about establishing the centre of her centre, defined in *Nova Legenda Anglie* as Cain's oratory and the well she announced would remain hidden. St Ceinwyr Church at Llangeinor has been the most likely site for this church based on its position between the two branches of the Ogmore River, as defined in *De Situ Brecheiniauc*.[510] Hywel Wyn Owen and Richard Morgan affirm this approach, saying that that Ceinwyr has the same stem as Cain and Ceinwen (see Llangain and

[508] 'St Tudfil's Church, Coedpoeth', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLENvZWRwb2V0aF9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=96661#tabs-4 <Accessed 14 November 2018>
[509] EWGT, p. 16.
[510] EWGT, p. 16.

Llangeinwen) with the qualifier *gwryf* 'virgin' that is also found in Capel Llanceinwyryf, a former chapel of Talley Abbey discussed among the Carmarthenshire dedications.[511] See Chapter 6 Cain for more information and photographs of St Ceinwyr Church in the community of Llangeinor.

Cefn-machen Isaf, Llangeinor [SS 91219 86195][512]

'back of the meadow of Cain', *cefn* back + *ma* meadow + pers. n. *Cain*

> *Mahhayn* (1102)[513], *Keven Mahhai*, (1213–1216)[514], *Maghein* (1439)[515], *Machein* (1442)[516], *Magheyn* (1499–1500)[517]

R. J. Thomas refers to Cefn-machen Isaf as a dedication to Cain in the parish of Llangeinor.[518]

Ffawyddog Farm, Llangeinor [SS 91410 89195][519]

'beech grove', *ffawydd*, beech + -og

Ffawyddog Farm is a small farmstead near St Ceinwyr's Church, Llangeinor, that includes the farmhouse, a complex of outbuildings, and nine fields covering approximately eleven and one-half hectares, surrounded by mountain pasture. Although Gilbert Doble reported that this farm was conclusively the site of the holy well of St Cain as described in *Nova Legenda*

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[511] Owen and Morgan, p. 257. See also R. Thomas, *The Brychan Dynasty in East Glamorgan* (Cardiff: William Lewis Limited, 1936), p. 2. Thomas's analysis: '*Kein*, *Cain*, in *Llangeinor*, colloquially *Llangeinwr* (near the bifurcation of the Ogmore (Ogwr) river), formerly *Eglwysgeinwr* and *-geinwyr*. *Ceinwr* < *Ceinwyr* < *Ceinwyr(y)* (*Cain*+*gwyry* "Cain the virgin," being one of the unmarried daughters)'.

[512] 'Cefn-Machen-Isaf', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/56f7ecc2-f8ca-482c-9eba-8fa837f8662d <Accessed 12 April 2020>

[513] G. Pierce, 'Under the eaves. Some place-names in the Rhymni Valley area', *Morgannwg transactions of the Glamorgan Local History Society*, vol. 36 (1992), pp. 94–121.

[514] Thomas, p. 2.

[515] Pierce, 'Under the eaves. Some place-names in the Rhymni Valley area', pp. 94–121.

[516] Pierce, 'Under the eaves. Some place-names in the Rhymni Valley area', pp. 94–121.

[517] Pierce, 'Under the eaves. Some place-names in the Rhymni Valley area' pp. 94–121.

[518] Thomas, p. 2. Thomas states: 'Proceeding up the valley, the parishes of Machen, Bedwas, and Bedwellte (Bedwellty) extend on each side of the river, the names of which offer no clue as to their patron saints, Michael the Archangel, Barrwg and Sannan respectively. It is clear that the dedication of Machen was comparatively recent and biblical, a characteristic of the Norman period or soon after, but the name Machen contains an old Welsh personal-name. It is a compound of the elements ma- 'meadow, flat open land' (as in names like Mathrafal, Machynlleth etc.) which causes a following consonant to undergo spirant mutation (c>ch,t>th) _ the personal-name Cein, Cain, as it is demonstrated in the forms Mahhayn 1102, Maghein 1439, Machein 1442, Magheyn 1499-1500. In the vernacular, Machain produced the variant forms Machan and Machen. A parallel development through vowel mutation in the first syllable is the form Mechain in Mongomeryshire where Cain also happens to be a river-name. The name Cefn Machen is found in interesting circumstances in the parish of Llangeinwyr (Llangeinor) in Glamorgan (earlier Eglwys Geinwyr, supra) where the parish name probably has the compound Cein-wyry(f) after llan, that is 'Cein (Cain) the virgin' (W gwyry(f) ?borrowed Latin virgo).'

[519] 'Ffawyddog', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/a3ccedaa-0cca-4327-9a00-16476b2a8772 <Accessed 12 April 2020>

Anglie; however, the present vicar of Llangeinor, the Rev. Roger Pitman, has not heard of a well in Ffrawyddog.[520] He says that the well associated with St Ceinwyr has been filled in, noting that the circular *llan* enclosure would have included the church, a circular cell, and the well.

St Ceinwyr Church, Llangeinor, [SS 9247 8794][521]

'church of Cain the Virgin', *llan*, church + *Cain*, pers. n. + *wyry*, virgin

> *Egluskeynor* (1139–1149), *Sancte Kehinwehir* (1180–1208), *Egleskeinwir* (late 1100s), *Egliskeynor* (1335–1336), *Llanginwire* (1536–1539), *Langeynor* (1546), *ll. igain wyr* (c. 1566), *llann gainwyry* (c. 1600)[522]

St Ceinwyr Church in Llangeinor is situated on a hill next to a path used by drovers to bring animals to market.

Dwynwen

The geographical stone feature called Dwynwen's Bow of Destiny is located near Tresilian Bay on the coast, and it was not documented until the nineteenth century, when Taliesin Williams speaks of it in his epic poem *The Doom of Colyn Dolphyn*.[523]

Dwynwen's Bow of Destiny, Tresilian Bay [SS 94307 67792][524]

The geographical feature known as Dwynwen's Bow of Destiny is a cavern (fig. A-47) in the Tresilian Dingle, between Llantwit Major and St Donats near Tresilian Bay, which includes a natural archway eight to ten feet below the cave roof.[525]

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[520] Doble, pp. 40—41.
[521] E. Davies, Rhestr o Enwau Lleoedd, p. 65.
[522] Owen and Morgan, p. 257.
[523] T. Williams, The doom of Colyn Dolphyn, a poem, with notes illustrative of various traditions of Glamorganshire (London: Longman, Rees, Orme and co., 1837), pp. 153–154.
[524] 'Tresilian Bay', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.39787,-3.46529,14/pin <Accessed 29 October 2018>
[525] B. James, 'Notes and Queries', *Morgannwg transactions of the Glamorgan Local History Society*, vol. 45 (2001), pp. 139–141, p. 139.



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Figure A-47. Dwynwen's bow of destiny, Tresilian Bay

See Chapter 7 Dwynwen for a discussion of the legend of the Bow of Destiny.

Goleu

Pistyll Goleu, Cardiff [ST 1378 7962]
'spout of Goleu', *pistyll* spout + *Goleu* pers. n.

Pistyll Goleu, 'associated with a sixth-century hermit' according to RCAHMW Coflein, is located in Cardiff at a place called Hermit's Wood north of Llandaff along the River Taff, where the well is described as currently dry and lined with stones on three sides.[526]

Pistyll Goleu, Llanwonno [ST 029 955]
'spout of Goleu', *pistyll* spout + *Goleu* pers. n.

Pistil-coleu (*c.* 1151)[527]

[526] 'Pistyll Goleu; Pistyll Golau Site Details', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLFBpc3R5bGwgR29sZXVfc2VhcmNodHlwZSxhZHZhbmNlZF9vcmE=&numlink=307779#tabs-4 <Accessed 15 November 2018>
[527] Thomas, p. 3.

Pistyll Goleu is a waterfall in the woods above the village of Llanwonno in Rhondda Cynon Taff, an area where other dedications to Brychan's family include Abercynon (Cynon), Llanilid (Ilid), Penderyn (Cadog), and St Tydfil Forest (Tudful).[528] Pistyll Goleu is mentioned in the Margam Abbey charter c. 1151, where the grant to the Abbey of Margam refers to 'all the land called Eniseleueu, viz. from Pistil-coleu to Chammaru and as the road lies from Chammaru to Killecheirch, over the nearest hill next Luhmeneh, stretching as far as the road leading to Frutreulin, and from Frutreulin to Pistilcoleu, and on the river Taf'[529]

Gwawr

Abergwawr [SO 0144 0142][530]
'estuary of Gwawr', *aber* estuary + *Gwawr* pers. n.

> *Tir Abergwawr* (1600–1625)[531]

R. J. Thomas associates St Gwawr with a stream of water and related landscape that was once the site of a colliery: '*Gwawr* in the stream-name *Gwawr*, which rises at *Blaen Gwawr* on the moorland now called *Rhos Gwawr* and runs into Cynon at *Abergwawr* near Aberaman'.[532]

Gwladys

Place-names from Talgarth in Breconshire to Newport in Gwent appear in the account of the abduction of Gwladys by Gwynllyw and Brychan's pursuit to retrieve her, confounded by Arthur, Bedwyr, and Cai, as told in the Life of St Cadog. Chapter 8 Other Daughters of Brychan discusses this story, and the next entries record the places in Glamorgan associated with Gwladys.

Carn y Bugail, Gelligaer [SO 1004 0355][533]
'the defender's mound', carn cairn, mound + y the + bugail

> *Boch Rhiw Carn* (1158–*c.* 1174)[534]

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[528] 'Rhondda Cynon Taff', #GetOutside [online]. Available at https://getoutside.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/local/county/Rhondda+Cynon+Taf <Accessed 15 November 2018>
[529] Thomas, p. 3.
[530] 'Abergwawr Colliery', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLEFiZXJnd2F3cl9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=80628#tabs-4 <Accessed 20 October 2018>
[531] R. Thomas, 'Rhòl rent Meisgyn a Chlwn', *National Library of Wales Journa*l, Cyf. 17, rh. 3 (Haf 1972), pp. 249–268, p. 251.
[532] Thomas, p. 2.
[533] 'Carn y Bugail, Gelligaer Common', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/301283/details/carn-y-bugail-gelligaer-common <Accessed 14 April 2020>
[534] S. Lloyd, *The Arthurian Place Names of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2017), p. 20. Lloyd defines 'Boch Rhiw Carn' as 'cheek of the stony way' *boch* cheek + *rhiw* steep path + *carn* cairn, mound'.

Carn y Bugail is one of the places associated with Gwynllyw's abduction of Gwladys in the Life of St Cadog, where the place is called Boch Rhiw Carn.[535] The hill of Boch Rhiw Carn is also named in a now-lost land grant from Margam Abbey, datable to between 1158 and *c.* 1174; a good example of how the Life of St Cadog is concerned with ecclesiastical lands, and names boundaries and landscape features also mentioned in land grants.[536] The site in question is the hill known today as Mynydd Fochriw, overlooking Merthyr Tydfil, the summit of which is dominated by a large cairn. If we accept the date of composition as *c.* 1090, then it is the earliest landscape feature to be associated with Arthur himself, rather than his dog or son, which can also be securely located.[537]

Capel Gwladys, Gelligaer Commons [ST 12490 99291][538]

'chapel of Gwladus', *capel* chapel, *Gwladus* pers. n.

Eglwyswladus (1200s)[539] See CCM. i. 246 iii. 579, iv. 64; and NHA. 134,

Like Merthyr Tudful, the Parish of Gelligaer belonged to the Lord of Glamorgan and his successors since the thirteenth century.[540] The district in which it lies was known as Eglwyswladus from an old chapel of that name which once stood about two miles to the north of the present parish church dedicated to St Cattwg.[541] The Chapel of St Gwladus (fig. A-48) has been in ruins since probably before the thirteenth century. A chapel stood below Troedyrhiw dedicated to Gwladys, a sister of Tudful.[542] The chapel was said to be the site of Catholic masses during the seventeenth century. Now a ruin, the stone perimeter is marked with a cross, and services are now held at St Gwladys Church in Bargoed, except for an Easter sunrise service that parishioners still hold at the chapel site, followed by breakfast at the church hall in Bargoed.[543]

[535] *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* (VSBG), ed. and trans. by A. Wade-Evans, new edn ed. by S. Lloyd (Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press, 2013), p. 27.
[536] Lloyd, p. 20.
[537] Lloyd, p. 20.
[538] Davies, p. 22.
[539] C. Green, *Notes on the Churches in the Diocese of Llandaff*, 3 vols (Aberdare: T. B. Smith, 1906–1907), vol. 1, p. 133. Green's source is Clark, vol. 1, 246, vol. 3, 529, and vol. 4, 64.
[540] Green, vol. 1, p. 133.
[541] Green, vol. 1, p. 133.
[542] Llewelyn, p. 11.
[543] Conversation with Ian Hughes, churchwarden, and Cath Fenton, parishioner, at Bargoed Church Hall, 22 August, 2016.

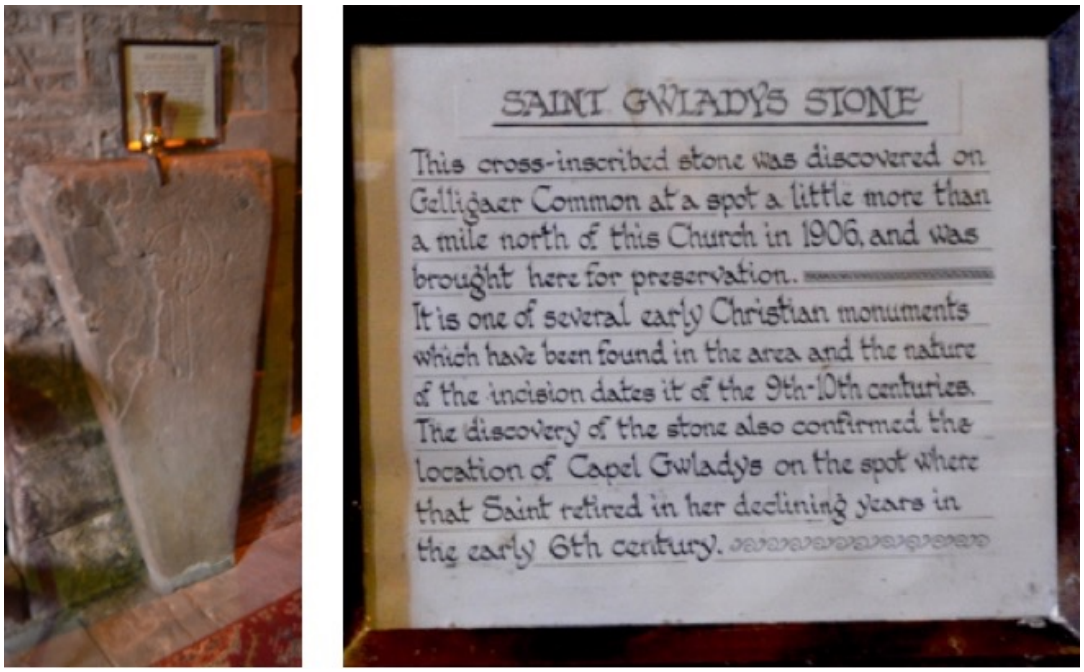


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Figure A-48. Capel Gwladys, Gelligaer Commons

See also *St Gwladys Church in Bargoed* and *St Cadwg Church in Gelligaer*.

Figure A-49 shows the carved stone that was found on Gelligaer Commons and placed in St Catwg Church in Gelligaer:



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Figure A-49. St Gwladys Carved Stone, now in St Catwg Church, Gelligaer

Fforest Gwladys, Gelligaer [ST 1315 9942][544]
'forest of Gwladys', *fforest* forest + *Gwladys* pers. n.

The OS map of 1888–1913 indicates that the forest is adjacent to the ruined Capel Gwladys. Note the springs located near the quarry.[545]

Nant Gwladys, Pentyrch [ST 10327 81738][546]
A Conservation Area Appraisal published in 2007 describes the Pentyrch settlement as dating from the founding of a monastery by St Cadog in the sixth century, who chose the church site because a 'magic well' or spring was nearby, known as Ffynnon Cadog or Cadog's well.[547] Its associated stream is named Nant Gwladys (Stream of Gwladys) after St Cadog's mother.[548] Until the 1940s this spring provided the only water supply for the village through a spout in the perimeter wall of the churchyard.[549] The first documented reference to St Catwgs Church comes in the twelfth century when a Papal Bull confirmed 'Ecclesia Penntirch', amongst other churches, to the Bishop of Llandaff. At some point following this, St Catwgs became the parish church of Pentyrch and there are numerous references to it throughout the middle ages; for example, Bishop Godwin's 1603 valuation, which indicates the status of the church as a developing rural parish. St Cadog Church was rebuilt in 1857 to accommodate a growing number of village dwellers, many of whom occupied the properties shown on the 1839 Tithe Map, forming the basis of the historic village as it appears today.[550]

St Gwladys Church, Bargoed [ST 15029 99991][551]
Bargoed (1799)[552]

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[544] 'Fforest Gwladys, Gelligaer, Roman Practice Work', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLEZmb3Jlc3QgR3dsYWR5c19zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=91972#tabs-4 <Accessed 19 October 2018>
[545] 'Fforest Gwladys', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/df988398-a5b0-429e-9295-88d4d25b7448 <Accessed 27 May 2017>
[546] 'Pentyrch', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.53009,-3.28561,16/pin <Accessed 31 October 2018>
[547] 2007 St Catwgs Conservation Area Appraisal, Strategic Planning, City and County of Cardiff [online]. Available at https://www.cardiff.gov.uk/ENG/resident/Planning/Documents/St%20Catwgs-A.pdf <Accessed 15 November 2018>
[548] 2007 St Catwgs Conservation Area Appraisal, Strategic Planning, City and County of Cardiff [online].
[549] 2007 St Catwgs Conservation Area Appraisal, Strategic Planning, City and County of Cardiff [online].
[550] 2007 St Catwgs Conservation Area Appraisal, Strategic Planning, City and County of Cardiff [online].
[551] 'St Gwladys' Church, Bargoed', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLFN0IEd3bGFkeXMgQ2h1cmNoIEJhcmdvZWRfc2VhcmNodHlwZSxhZHZhbmNlZF9vcmE=&numlink=14391#tabs-4 <Accessed 7 November 2018>
[552] Owen and Morgan, p. 23.

The church of St Gwladys is located on a hillside on the east side of Church Place in Bargoed.[553] It was built in two stages: first, the chancel was built to designs of J. Pritchard in 1877 and 1879 and, second, the north vestry was built to designs of E. M. Bruce Vaughan in 1893 and 1894.[554]

Ilid

The only dedication to St Ilid in Glamorgan is likely to refer to St Julitta and her son St Curig, at least according to recent reckoning.

St Ilid and St Curig Church, Llanilid [SS 97785 81277][555]

'church of Ilid', *llan* church + *Ilid* pers. n.

> *sancta Ilith* (1173-1183), *Sancta Julita* (late 1100s), *(de) Sancto Ilith* (1208), *Sancte Julite* (1254), *Lhanyllid* (*c.* 1545), *ll. ilid a chirig* (c. 1566)[556]

St Ilid and Curig Church, Llanilid, is the oldest church in the area and located one-half mile east of Pencoed; in fact, parts of the church are believed to date from before the Norman Conquest and remains an early Norman motte are situated alongside of the church.[557]

The early names for this church show a dedication to only Ilid, about whom little is known. Owen and Morgan write that Ilid may be commemorated at Llanilis (Léon) in Brittany, but Joseph Loth describes Lannilis as a parish 'Lannilis Leac'h en *Bod-ilis*' and he separately identifies Léon as a saint in Languidic, noting that this dedication could be recent.[558]

Tanglwst

Tanglwyst appears in the genealogical tract *Plant Brychan* as an error for Tudglid, just as Tangwystl appears in MS Jesus College 20 as an error for Tudwystl.[559] These names are included as they make their way into the account of Tudful's martyrdom.

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[553] 'St Gwladys' Church, Bargoed', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[554] 'St Gwladys' Church, Bargoed', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[555] Davies, p. 67.
[556] Owen and Morgan, p. 268.
[557] 'St Ilid and Curigs Llanilid, CF35 5LA', Parish of Llanilid with Pencoed and Heol-Y-Cyw [online]. Available at http://www.lphparish.org.uk/_llanilid_church.html <Accessed 15 November 2018>
[558] Owen and Morgan, p. 268, and J. Loth, *Les noms des saints bretons* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1910), pp. 78–79.
[559] EWGT, p. 213.

Hafod Tanglwys-isaf, Merthyr Tydfil [SO 06770 00232][560]
'lowest summer dwelling of Tanglwys', *hafod*, summer dwelling, upland farm + *Tanglwys*, pers. n. + *isaf*, lowest

Chapter 8 discusses the tale that Tudful, Rhun, Brychan and family were ambushed by pagan Saxons as they journeyed to visit a sister, who, it was suggested, was Tangwystl. This farm, which is near Merthyr Tydfil and named for Tanglwys, fits the setting for the tale.[561]

Llan-danglws [ST 23539 89208][562]
'church of Tanglwyst', *llan* church + *Tanglwyst* pers. n.

Llan-danglws is a farm on a ridge between the lower Rhymney and Ebbw valleys.[563] Elwyn Davies writes that 'a farm called Llandanglws indicates a one time chapel to Tanglws, sister to Gwladys'.[564]

Tudful
The cult of Tudful is centred in Merthyr Tydfil, the supposed site of her martyrdom, but another church at Llysworney is also dedicated to her. Chapter 8 discusses the legend of the death of Tudful, Brychan Brycheiniog, and Rhun at the hand of pagan Saxons according to Iolo Morganwg, quoting the manuscripts of Thomas Trueman, but likely his own creation.[565]

St Tydfil Church, Llysworney [SS 96188 74098][566]
'court of Gwrinydd', llys court + Gwrinydd terr.n.

> *Liswini* (1173–1184), *Liswrony* (1100s) *Liswrini* (*c.* 1262), *Leswryny* (1314), *Liswerny* (1349), *Lesworney* (1466), *Lyswronnyth* (1474), *Llysworney* (1495)[567]

This stone-built parish church is dedicated to St Tudful (fig. A-50).[568] The church was first mentioned in 1173, when it was owned by Tewksbury Abbey, but some stonework features

[560] 'Hafod-tanglwys-isaf', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/5c50e3f6-1037-466c-9de6-7521a45b6b98 <Accessed 19 October 2018>
[561] Llewelyn, p. 17.
[562] 'Llan-danglwys', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.59456,-3.11299,7/pin <Accessed 19 October 2018>
[563] R. Drayton, 'View from near to Llan-danglws', Geograph [online]. Available at http://www.geograph.org.uk/of/Llan-danglws <Accessed 25 July 2017>
[564] E. Davies, *An Ecclesiastical History of Monmouthshire* (Risca: Starsons Ltd., 1953), p. 95.
[565] T. Williams, *The Iolo Manuscripts* (Liverpool: I. Foulkes, 1888), pp. 520–521.
[566] 'Llysworney', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.45664,-3.49485,15/pin <Accessed 29 October 2018>
[567] Owen and Morgan, p. 301.
[568] 'The Parish Church of St Tydfil's', Llysworney Village – Vale of Glamorgan [online]. Available at http://www.llysworneyvillage.btck.co.uk/ParishChurchofStTydfils <Accessed 15 November 2018>

suggest it may have pre-Norman foundations.[569] The font is medieval, the single bell dates from the 1450s.[570] The church was rebuilt and restored in 1894.[571]



A. Entrance to St Tydfil's Church



A. Bell tower of St Tydfil's Church





C. Stained glass windows



D. Carved stone

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Figure A-50. Views of St Tydfil's Church, Llysworney

St Tydfil Church, Merthyr Tydfil [SO 0495 305810][572]

'shrine of Tudful', *merthyr* shrine, pers. n. *Tudful*[573]

> *Merthir* (1254), *Merthir* (1281), *Merthir* (1291x2), *Merthir in Morgannow* (1295), *Merthur manor, Merthyr* (1296), *Merthyr* (1307), *Merthir* (1315), *Merthir* (1349), *Merthyr* (*c.* 1350), *Merthir* (1376), *M'thur Tudvyl* (1535), *Merthertydfvill* (1559), *(a paroche caullid) Martyr, Martyr Teduil* (1536x9)[574]

St Tydfil Church is said to have been built on the site of the martyrdom of St Tudful, and the current church was rebuilt in 1985–1901 on the site of a medieval church, closed for worship in 1968 when St David Church became the parish church, but retained as a chapel of ease,

[569] 'The Parish Church of St Tydfil's', Llysworney Village – Vale of Glamorgan [online].
[570] 'The Parish Church of St Tydfil's', Llysworney Village – Vale of Glamorgan [online].
[571] 'The Parish Church of St Tydfil's', Llysworney Village – Vale of Glamorgan [online].
[572] Owen and Morgan, pp. 318–319. Also, Davies, p. 80.
[573] Owen and Morgan, pp. 318–319.
[574] Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials*, pp. 95–96.

which enabled the church to be maintained until it opened again as St Tydfil Old Parish Church, now in the Parish of St Tydfil St David and Abercanaid.[575]

Other family of Brychan

Glamorganshire was site dedications to Brycheiniog, his son-in-law Brynach, son Rhun Dremrudd, and grandson Cadog. Cadog's cult centre at Llancarvan is one of a number of dedications to him in the area.

Brychan Brycheiniog

Two place-names are associated with Brychan Brycheiniog: a well that may be in near Candleston Castle and a stream near St Brides Super Ely that is now lost.

Brychanswell, Candleston Castle [SS 86923 77244][576]

In *The Holy Wells of Wales*, Francis Jones identifies *Brychanswell* as a place in either Glamorgan or Breconshire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[577] This place-name has been associated with Brynawel near St Brides Major in Glamorgan; another connection is with Candleston Castle, a fourteenth-century fortified manor house, now in ruins, near Ogmore Castle in Glamorgan, based on Margam Abbey charters that identify 'Joan, daughter of Thomas le Eyre, of Brychanswell'.[578] Ownership of Candleston Castle dates back to the Cantilupe family.[579]

The OS map shows that west and within half a mile of Candleston Farm is a place identified as 'Ffynnon y Cwm (well)', a name that also appears in the RCAHMW List of Historic Place Names.[580]

Nant Brachan (lost)

'stream of Brychan', *nant,* stream + *Brachan*, pers. n.

In 'The Brychan Documents', A. W. Wade-Evans refers to the term *Vallis Brachan*, which is mentioned in two places in the Book of Llandaff and appears to be located in the parish of St

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[575] 'St Tydfils Old Parish Church', Parish of Merthyr Tydfil St David and Abercanaid [online]. Available at https://parishofmerthyrtydfil.com/st-tydfils-old-parish-church <Accessed 16 November 2018>
[576] 'Recorded Name: Candleston Castle', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/9dbd1c01-fa05-4163-bdba-b7e01c7d67f4 <Accessed 20 October 2018> See also 'Candleston Farm', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.48049,-3.61165,7/pin <Accessed 20 October 2018>
[577] HWW, p. 40, N75.
[578] *Cartae et alia munimenta qua ab Dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent*, ed. by G. Clarke, 6 vols (Cardiff: William Lewis, 1910), vol. 6, p. 1342. Hereafter, *Cartae*.
[579] Cartae, vol. 6p. 1342.
[580] 'Candleston Farm', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.48049,-3.61165,7/pin <Accessed 20 October 2018>

Bride Super Ely.[581] The first reference regarding St Bride's Super Ely measures a boundary 'from the valley of Brachan along the high road as far as the spring; from the spring following the high road as far as the ford on the Dulas. On the west side of Nant Brachan along the ditch, following it straight to the other ditch, along it as far as Rhiw Guorgued'.[582] No one, however, seems to have found it, including Wade-Evans.[583]

Brynach

A small, medieval church dedicated to St Brynach is located near Cowbridge.

St Brynach Church, Llanfrynach, Penlyn [SS 9794 7461][584]

'church of Brynach', *llan* church + *Brynach* pers. n.

> *Ecclesia de Penlyn* (1291)[585], *Pendelino* (1208), *Penthlin* (*c.* 1262, 1401), *Penllin* (1403), *pen llin* (*c.* 1566)[586]

St Brynach Church (fig. A-51) in the community of Llanfrynach is part of the Parish of Cowbridge Parish in the Llandaff Diocese.[587] The isolation of this small church has largely led to its preservation and retention of its medieval features. [588] The church fell into disuse at the end of the seventeenth century, but Dr William Salmon of Penlline Court restored it in 1838 and it continues to be maintained as one of the Cowbridge Parish churches. [589] In 1850 the chapel of Penllyn was built by the Homfray family of Penllyn Court, as a more convenient focus for worship, but Llanfrynach continues to be used for occasional services. [590] The stone benches against the north and south walls of the nave survive from the medieval period, the late medieval roof survives, and there are traces of wall paintings south of the

[581] A. Wade-Evans, 'The Brychan Documents', *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. 19, (1906), pp. 18–50, pp. 48–49. Hereafter, *The Brychan Documents*. See also Cartae, vol. 1, p. 29.
[582] J. Evans, The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv Reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1976), p. 376.
[583] The Brychan Documents', pp. 18–50, pp. 48–49.
[584] 'St Brynach's Church at Llanfrynach', The Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust Historic Environment Record [online]. Available at https://archwilio.org.uk/arch/query/page.php?prn=GGAT01292s <Accessed 20 October 2018>
[585] 'Benefice of Penllyn', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.GR.03 <Accessed 8 June 2017>
[586] Owen and Morgan, p. 367.
[587] 'St Brynach, Llanfrynach', Parish of Cowbridge [onlinie]. Available at https://www.cowbridgeparish.com/churches/llanfrynach/ <Accessed 1 November 2018>
[588] 'St Brynach, Llanfrynach', Parish of Cowbridge [onlinie].
[589] 'St Brynach, Llanfrynach', Parish of Cowbridge [onlinie].
[590] 'St Brynach, Llanfrynach', Parish of Cowbridge [onlinie].

chancel arch. [591] Thirteenth-century sepulchral slabs raise the floor of the sanctuary above that of the chancel.[592]



Figure A-51. St Brynach Church, Llanfrynach[593]

Cadog

Churches dedicated to St Cadog are located at Pendoylan, Cardiff, Cowbridge, Cadoxton-Juxta-Barry, Cadoxton-Juxta-Neath, Llancarfan, Port-Eynon, Trevithin, Gelligaer, Pentyrch, and Llanmaes. By tradition St Cadog was said to have constructed his monastery at Llancarfan, located near enough Llangeinor to make credible the account in the Life of St Keyna that describes Cadog as present at the deathbed of his aunt, St Cain. The location also fits with the sites associated with his mother St Gwladys at both Gelligaer and Bassaleg.

[591] 'St Brynach, Llanfrynach', Parish of Cowbridge [onlinie]. Available at https://www.cowbridgeparish.com/churches/llanfrynach/ <Accessed 1 November 2018>
[592] 'St Brynach, Llanfrynach', Parish of Cowbridge [onlinie]. Available at https://www.cowbridgeparish.com/churches/llanfrynach/ <Accessed 1 November 2018>
[593] 'St Brynach, Llanfrynach', Parish of Cowbridge [onlinie]. Available at https://www.cowbridgeparish.com/churches/llanfrynach/ <Accessed 1 November 2018>

St Cadoc Church, Pendoylan [ST 05987 76685][594]

Ecclesia de Pendelyn (1291)[595]

St Cadoc Church (fig. A-52) in the village of Pendoylan is a stone-built church with a gabled porch.[596]



Figure A-52. St Cadoc Church, Pendoylan[597]

St Cadoc Roman Catholic Church, Llanrumney, Cardiff [ST 21949 80951][598]

St Cadoc Roman Catholic Church at Llanrumney is a parish church in the archdiocese of Cardiff.

[594] 'St Cadoc's Church, Pendoylan', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLFBlbmRveWxhbl9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=409961#tabs-4 <Accessed 30 October 2018>

[595] 'Benefice of Pendoylan', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.LL.03 <Accessed 8 June 2017> Note: The church is dedicated to St Cadog. Patronage was *ecclesiastical*, Llandaff, cathedral, Glamorgan, collegiate church, *non-monastic*.

[596] 'St Cadoc's Church, Pendoylan', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/409961/details/st-cadocs-church-pendoylan#archive <Accessed 10 August 2017>

[597] 'St Cadoc's Church, Pendoylan', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

[598] 'St Cadoc Roman Catholic Church, Cardiff', OS maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.52207,-3.12637,7/pin <Accessed 27 October 2018>

St Cadoc Roman Catholic Church, Cowbridge [SS 99180 74387][599]

St Cadoc Roman Catholic Church, located in Cowbridge, is a parish church in the diocese of Cardiff.

St Cadog Church, Cadoxton-juxta-Barry [ST 1299 6934][600]

Ecclesia de Caddockeston (1291)[601]

St Cadog Church (fig. A-53) is located in Cadoxton, a suburb of Cardiff just north-east of Barry Island. The church tower dates from the 1200s, and the church retains its medieval wall paintings.[602]



Figure A-53. St Cadog Church, with examples of wall paintings

Of interest is a large, possibly fifteenth-century wall painting that featuries St George and the dragon, heavily limewashed.[603] The horse is identified from its trappings, the knight from his

[599] 'St Cadoc Roman Catholic Church, Cowbridge', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.45946,-3.45257,15/pin <Accessed 27 October 2018>
[600] St Cattwg's Church; St Cadoc's Church, Cadoxton', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&numlink=301424&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLENhZG94dG9uX3NlYXJjaHR5cGUsYWR2YW5jZWRfb3Jh <Accessed 6 November 2018>
[601] 'Benefice of Cadoxton', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.LL.22 <Accessed 8 June 2017>
[602] 'St Cadoc's Church', Tripadvisor [online]. Available at https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/Attraction_Review-g552070-d5307396-Reviews-St_Cadoc_s_Church-Barry_Vale_of_Glamorgan_South_Wales_Wales.html <Accessed 6 November 2018>
[603] 'St Cattwg's Church, Llanmaes', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLExsYW5tYWVzX3NlYXJjaHR5cGUsYWR2YW5jZWRfb3Jh&numlink=310431#tabs-4 <Accessed 30 October 2018>

banner, the dragon has red flames and possibly a band of spots indicating his belly.[604] To the right background is a castle with a woman with yellow hair standing in front wearing in red robe.[605]

St Cadog Church, Cadoxton-juxta-Neath [SS 75084 98532][606]

'St Cadog's town next to Neath', *Cadog*, pers. n. + *to*n, town + *juxta*, next + *Neath*, pers. n.

> *(de) Sancto Caddoco* (*c.* 1205)[607], *Sancti Caddoci* (1254)[608], *Caddokston* (1200s)[609], *Ecclesia de Caddolkeston* (1291)[610], *ll. gattwc glynedd* (*c.* 1566)[611], *St Cadoc's-juxta-Neth* (1571)[612], *Langattoge juxta Nethe* (1556)[613], *Cadoxton juxta Neath* (1582)[614], *Llangattog by Neath* (1890)[615]

St Cadwg Church (fig. A-54) is part of the Cadoxton-juxta-Neath Parish in the Benefice of Cadoxton-juxta-Neath and Tonna.[616] The church of Cadoxton-juxta-Neath is first recorded in 1254, although its dedication to St Cadog and curvilinear churchyard may indicate a pre-Norman foundation.[617] The tower, which has an Early English door and Decorated windows, is the only part of the church to retain medieval masonry. The rest of the church was rebuilt (or refaced and given new windows) during the Victorian period.[618]

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[604] 'St Cattwg's Church, Llanmaes', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[605] 'St Cattwg's Church, Llanmaes', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[606] 'St Catwg's Church at Cadoxton-juxta-Neath', The Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust Historic Environment Record [online]. Available at https://archwilio.org.uk/arch/query/page.php?watprn=GGAT00630w <Accessed 1 November 2018>
[607] Owen and Morgan, pp. 61–62.
[608] Owen and Morgan, pp. 61–62.
[609] Owen and Morgan, pp. 61–62.
[610] 'Benefice of Cadoxton-Juxta-Neath', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.KE.09 <Accessed 8 June 2017> Note: The patronage was monastic, Neath, Glamorgan, abbey, Cistercian Monks.
[611] Owen and Morgan, pp. 61–62.
[612] Owen and Morgan, pp. 61–62.
[613] Owen and Morgan, pp. 61–62.
[614] Owen and Morgan, pp. 61–62.
[615] Owen and Morgan, pp. 61–62.
[616] 'Cadoxton-juxta-Neath and Tonna', The Church in Wales [online]. Available at https://www.churchinwales.org.uk/structure/places/benefices/?id=747 <Accessed 1 November 2018>
[617] 'St Catwg's Church at Cadoxton-juxta-Neath', The Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust Historic Environment Record [online].
[618] 'St Catwg's Church at Cadoxton-juxta-Neath', The Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust Historic Environment Record [online].



Figure A-54. St Cadoc Church, Cadoxton-juxta-Neath

St Cadog Church, Cheriton [SS 4505 9319][619]

'church settlement', OE *cirice* church + OE *tūn* settlement[620]

Cheriton (1387, 1578), *Cheryton* (1535), *Ciriton* (1601)[621]

Cheriton was settled by English people during the Middle Ages, and St Cadog Church distinguished the settlement from the other places in Gower.[622] The church was built in the thirteenth century; the nave, tower, and chancel remain from this time.[623] The structure was restored twice during the nineteenth century and restoration continued in the twentieth century.[624]

[619] 'St Cadog's Church, Cheriton', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLFN0IENhZG9nX3NlYXJjaHR5cGUsYWR2YW5jZWRfb3Jh&numlink=162#tabs-4 <Accessed 21 October 2018>
[620] Owen and Morgan, p. 83.
[621] Owen and Morgan, p. 83.
[622] Owen and Morgan, p. 83.
[623] 'St Cadog's Church, Cheriton', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[624] 'St Cadog's Church, Cheriton', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

St Cadog Church, Llancarfan [ST 0512 7020][625]

Ecclesia de Lantarnan (1291)[626]

St Cadog Church has twelfth-century origins, but the nave and chancel were rebuilt from 1284 to 1307.[627] In the fourteenth century, the south aisle was altered to create the Raglan chapel and the west tower was added.[628] The nave, chancel, and chapel were re-roofed in the fifteenth century.[629] The church retains many of its medieval features.[630]

St Cadog Church, Port-Eynon, [SS 46680 85382][631]

Ecclesia de Port Eynon (1291)[632]

St Cadoc Church at Port Eynon (fig. A-55) was probably built in the twelfth century and dedicated to St Cattwg. [633] The church has been much restored, and several monuments have been donated in memory of three lifeboatmen drowned while attempting a rescue in 1916, including a stained glass window that shows the calming of the sea and the miraculous draught of fishes.[634]

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[625] 'St Cattwg's Church, Llancarfan; St Cadoc's', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLExsYW5jYXJmYW5fc2VhcmNodHlwZSxhZHZhbmNlZF9vcmE=&numlink=301266#tabs-4 <Accessed 30 October 2018>

[626] 'Benefice of Llancarfan', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.LL.10 <Accessed 8 June 2017> Note: The patronage was *monastic*, Gloucester, Glos, abbey, *Benedictine Monks.*

[627] 'St Cattwg's Church, Llancarfan; St Cadoc's', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

[628] 'St Cattwg's Church, Llancarfan; St Cadoc's', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

[629] 'St Cattwg's Church, Llancarfan; St Cadoc's', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

[630] 'St Cattwg's Church, Llancarfan; St Cadoc's', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

[631] 'St Cadoc's Church; St Cattwg's Church, Port Eynon', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLEV5bm9uX3NlYXJjaHR5cGUsYWR2YW5jZWRfb3Jh&numlink=408816#tabs-4 <Accessed 30 October 2018>

[632] 'Benefice of Port-Eynon', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=DA.CM.GO.06 <Accessed 8 June 2017> Note: Patrons of the church: *monastic*, Slebech, Pembroke, house, *Knights Hospitaller.*

[633] 'St Cadoc's Church; St Cattwg's Church, Port Eynon', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

[634] 'St Cadoc's Church; St Cattwg's Church, Port Eynon', RCAHMW Coflein [online].



Figure A-55. St Cadog Church, Port Eynon[635]

St Cadog Church, Trevethin [SO 2839 0201][636]

'dark house', *tref*, house + *cethin*, dark, brown, dusky (could also be *melyn*, golden)

Ecclesia de Trevelyn (1291)[637]

St Cadog Church in Trevethin (fig. A-56) is a Gothic-styled church with a gable entry. [638] Some wall paintings are of interest.[639]

[635] 'St Cadoc's Church; St Cattwg's Church, Port Eynon', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[636] 'St Cadog's Church, Trevethin', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLFRyZXZldGhpbl9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=12945#tabs-4 <Accessed 30 October 2018>
[637] 'Benefice of Trevethin', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.AB.18 <Accessed 8 June 2017> Note: Patronage is *ecclesiastical*, Llandaff, cathedral, Glamorgan, collegiate church, *non-monastic.*
[638] 'St Cadog's Church, Trevethin', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[639] 'St Cadog's Church, Trevethin', RCAHMW Coflein [online].



Figure A-56. St Cadoc's Church, Trevethin (from Geograph)

St Catwg Church, Gelligaer [ST 13562 96931][640]

'grove of the citadel', *celli*, grove + *caer*, fort, citadel

Ecclesia de Kilthegair (1291)[641]

The church is dedicated to St Cadog and located within five miles of the ruins of St Gwladys' Chapel.

St Catwg Church in Gelligaer contains a number of references to St Catwg and his mother St Gwladys, as shown in figure A-57, which shows the two stained glass windows in the

[640] 'St Catwg's Church, Gelligaer', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLFN0IENhdHdnX3NlYXJjaHR5cGUsYWR2YW5jZWRfb3Jh&numlink=422752#tabs-4 <Accessed 29 October 2018>

[641] 'Benefice of Gelligaer', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.LL.U35 <Accessed 8 June 2017> Note: Patronage was *ecclesiastical*, Llandaff, cathedral, Glamorgan, collegiate church, *non-monastic*.

churcch that depict Catwg and Gwladys. The church, which is located near the ruins of St Gwladys Chapel in Gelligaer Commons (described previously), also contains an ancient carved stone found near St Gwladys Chapel:



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Figure A-57. St Catwg Church, Gelligaer showing modern window of St Catwg and St Gwladys (left); church exterior (centre); and conventional window of St Catwg and St Gwladys (right)

St Catwg Church, Pentyrch [ST 10326 81737][642]

'boar's head', pen head + twrch boar[643]

> *Ecclesia de Pentrirk* (1291)[644] *penn tyrch, pentirch* (1129, 1160–1185), *Pentirech* (*c.* 1262), *Pentirch* (*c.* 1348), Pentyrch (1585)[645]

The first documented reference to St Catwg Church comes in the twelfth century when a Papal Bull confirmed 'Ecclesia Penntirch', amongst other churches, to the Bishop of Llandaff. [646] At some point following this, St Catwg became the parish church of Pentyrch and numerous references are made to it subsequently; for example, Bishop Godwin's 1603

[642] St Catwg's Church, Pentyrch', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLENhdHdnX3NlYXJjaHR5cGUsYWR2YW5jZWRfb3Jh&numlink=409963#tabs-4 <Accessed 29 October 2018>
[643] Owen and Morgan, p. 380.
[644] 'Benefice of Pentyrch', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.LL.21 <Accessed 8 June 2017>
[645] Owen and Morgan, p. 380.
[646] 2007 St Catwgs Conservation Area Appraisal, Strategic Planning, City and County of Cardiff [online]. Available at https://www.cardiff.gov.uk/ENG/resident/Planning/Documents/St%20Catwgs-A.pdf <Accessed 26 July 2017>

valuation, which indicates the status of the church as a developing rural parish. [647] St Catwg Church was rebuilt in 1857 to accommodate a growing number of village dwellers, many of whom occupied the properties shown on the 1839 Tithe Map, forming the basis of the historic village as it appears today.[648]

See also the entry for *Nant Gwladys*.

St Cattwg Church, Llanmaes [SS 9807 6948][649]

'church of open country', *llan*, church + *maes*, open country

Ecclesia de Lanmays (1291)[650]

St Cattwg Church (fig. A-58) is a medieval church that has been extensively restored during the nineteenth century.[651]



[647] 2007 St Catwgs Conservation Area Appraisal, Strategic Planning, City and County of Cardiff [online].
[648] 2007 St Catwgs Conservation Area Appraisal, Strategic Planning, City and County of Cardiff [online].
[649] 'St Cattwg's Church, Llanmaes', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLExsYW5tYWVzX3NlYXJjaHR5cGUsYWR2YW5jZWRfb3Jh&numlink=310431#tabs-4 <Accessed 30 October 2018>
[650] 'Benefice of Llanmaes', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.GR.12 <Accessed 8 June 2017>
[651] 'St Cattwg's Church, Llanmaes', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

Figure A-58. St Cattwg Church, Llanmaes[652]

Rhun

Rhun was a son of Brychan Brycheiniog who was reputedly slain here while defending his sister Tudful against the Picts.[653] Chapter 8 Other Daughters of Brychan includes a description of the legend and photographs of the bridge.

Pont-y-Rhun, Troedyrhiw [SO 06897 02305][654]
'bridge of Rhun', *pont* bridge + *Rhun* pers. n.

Pont-y-Rhun is the name of the bridge at Troedyrhiw that is said to mark the spot where Rhun fell during the massacre that killed his father Brychan and sister Tudful (according to Iolo Morganwg). Pont-y-Rhun or Pentre Bach is the name of a former chapelry in the Parish of Merthyr Tydvil constituted in 1860 in the diocese of Llandaff.[655]

Monmouthshire dedications

Seem to be focused around Newport area, where dedications to the family of Gwynllyw are found and the north-east corner, where dedications to Cynog, Cadog, and Dingad are located.

Daughters of Brychan

Dedications to daughters Cain, Goleu, Gwladys, and Cenedlon and to grand-daughter Maches are found in Monmouthshire. Other family members include Brychan Brycheiniog; sons Arthen, Cynog, and Dingad; and grandsons Cadog, Cynidr, Cynog, and Dingad; and son-in-law Gwynllyw.

Cain

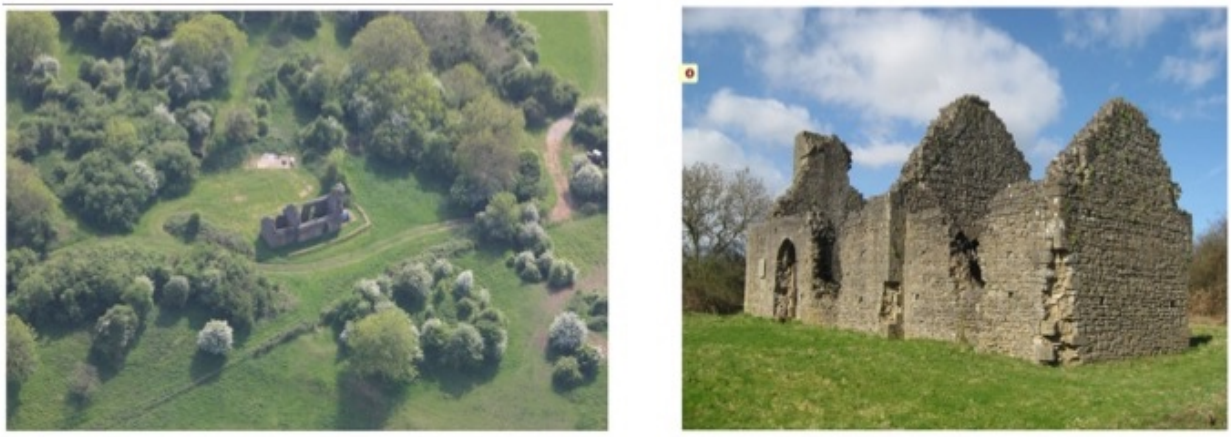
Dedications to Cain are found at Llangennon Chapel in Runston and at Machen.

Llangennon Chapel, Runston [ST 49524 91600][656]
'church of Cennon', *llan* church + *Cennon* pers. n.

[652] 'St Cattwg's Church, Llanmaes', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLExsYW5tYWVzX3NlYXJjaHR5cGUsYWR2YW5jZWRfb3Jh&numlink=310431#tabs-4 <Accessed 30 October 2018>
[653] Llewelyn, p. 23.
[654] 'Pont Rhun', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.70883,-3.36183,15/pin <Accessed 27 October 2018>
[655] J. Wilson, *Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales*, 1870–1872, in A Vision of Britain Through Time [online]. Available at http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/descriptions/958830 <Accessed 16 November 2018>
[656] 'Runston', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.61550,-2.73798,15/pin <Accessed 19 October 20108>

Rompston (1563)[657], *Runston* (1603)[658]

Runston Chapel, now maintained by Cadw, is a small, roofless chapel (fig. A-59) established early in the twelfth century, described as having been dedicated to Cain.[659]



A. Aerial View of Llangennon Chapel

B. Llangennon Chapel

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Figure A-59. Two Views of Runston Chapel near Llangennon

The chapel, described in 1563 as a chapel of ease, was once the centre of a medieval village that has since completely disappeared.[660] Possibly referred to in the tenth century, the building of the church relates to the Anglo-Norman settlement of Gwent in the late-eleventh century that reached its maximum extent in the Medieval period when around twenty-five buildings lay along a series of tracks close to the village green, church, and a possible manor house, but by the late eighteenth century the buildings had fallen into disrepair and now only the ruined chapel remains.[661]

Machen, Rhymney Valley [ST 20994 89197][662]

'plain of Cein', *ma* + *Cein* pers. n.[663]

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[657] M. Gray, 'The Diocese of Llandaff in 1563', *Journal of Welsh religious history*, vol. 2 (1994), pp. 31–95, p. 79.
[658] M. Gray, 'The Church in Gwent in 1603', *Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History*, vol. (Date), pp. 7–26, p. 19.
[659] 'Runston Chapel', Cadw [online]. Available at https://cadw.gov.wales/daysout/runstonchapel/?lang=en <Accessed 16 November 2018> and The History of Wales [Online]. Available at http://thehistoryofwales.typepad.com/t/blog_index.html <Accessed 6 May 2015>
[660] 'Runston Settlement Earthworks; Runston Medieval Village' RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLFJ1bnN0b25fc2VhcmNodHlwZSxhZHZhbmNlZF9vcmE=&numlink=15511#tabs-4 <Accessed 16 November 2018>
[661] 'Runston Settlement Earthworks; Runston Medieval Village' RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[662] 'Machen', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.59607,-3.14198,7/pin <Accessed 10 November 2018>
[663] Owen and Morgan, p. 304.

Mahhayn (1102), *Machein* (1236), *Macheyn* (1317), *Machen* (1403), *machain* (*c.* 1566)[664]

Machen is an industrial community in a narrow part of the Rhymney Valley, and Lower Machen is situated in a wider part of the valley, where the church and older village are located. Hywel Owen and Richard Morgan state that 'identity of Cein or Cain is unknown'.[665] There is, however, a nearby dedication at Runston to Cain daughter of Brychan.

Cenedlon

One dedication at Capel Llangynheiddon at Banc-y-Capel in Carmarthenshire, which fits the text in *De Situ Brecheiniauc* that identifies Keneython with Mt Cyfor in Kidwelly, and the other genealogies echo this entry.[666] It does not explain, however, why a dedication to Cenedlon is found at Rockfield in Monmouthshire, although it is found near

St Kenedlon Church, Rockfield [SO 48170 14864][667]

'(place named after) Rocheville', *Rocheville* pers. n.[668]

Rochevilla (*c.* 1069), *Rokevilla* (1181), *Rochevill* (1230–1240), *Rokfylde* (1545), *Rocfeylde* (1560), *Rokefeld* (c. 1610), *Rockfield* (1639)[669]

St Cenedlon Church (fig. A-60) is built in the Gothic Decorated style with a small tower. Rockfield is in the community of Llangattock-Vibon-Avel, where the church is dedicated to St Cadog.[670]

[664] Owen and Morgan, p. 304.
[665] Owen and Morgan, p. 304.
[666] EWGT, p. 16: 'Keneython filia Brachan in y minid Cheuor in Kedweli'; p. 19, 'Kenedlon apud Mynyd Kymorth'; p. 44, 'Ryn-eidon verch Vrachan yg Kitweli yMynyd Kyuor'; and p. 83: 'Kenedlon verch Vrychan yn y Mynydd [Kymorth]'.
[667] 'St Cenedlon's Church, Rockfield', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLFJvY2tmaWVsZF9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=307429#tabs-4 <Accessed 21 October 2018>
[668] Owen and Morgan, p. 425.
[669] Owen and Morgan, p. 425.
[670] 'St Cenedlon's Church, Rockfield', RCAHMW Coflein [online].



Copyright 2018 Jaggery[671]

Figure A-60. St Cenedlon Church, Rockfield

The name of the town of Rockfield was probably transferred from the tenant in the late eleventh century, *Ralph de Rocheville*, and anglicised as Rockfield through association with English *rock* and *field*.[672]

Eluned

As with the town of Llanelli in Carmarthenshire, experts are divided as to the dedication, with some attributing it to Elli, the bishop of Llancarfan who succeeded Cadog, and others believing that the dedication is to Eluned or another female member of Brychan's family. To summarise the arguments, Thomas Morgan lists the church as dedicated to 'church of Ellyned' with the rationale that the church is supposed to have been dedicated to Ellyned or Eilineth, a daughter of Brychan, and some think it was anciently called Llanellyned, of which Llanelly is an abbreviation.[673] On the other hand, others believe the church is misattributed to Ellyw and Almedha.[674] Baring-Gould and Fisher support Llanelli as a dedication to Elli, the disciple of Cadog, who succeeded him as Abbot of Llancarfan and so does the website for St Elli Church.[675] Morgan and Powell also attribute the dedication to St Elli, 'a saint recorded in the Life of St Cadog *c.* 1100 and mentioned in Huw Cae Llwyd's late fifteenth-century poem 'Y Seintiau' ('the Saints')'.[676] Owen and Morgan give a reasonable explanation that unfamiliarity with Elli based on few mentions in early historical sources likely accounts for

[671] 'Church of St Cenedlon Rockfield viewed from the south', Geograph [online]. Available at https://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/3552339 <Accessed 16 November 2018> and 'Church of St Cenedlon Rockfield viewed from the east', Geograph [online]. Available at https://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/3552335 <Accessed 16 November 2018>
[672] Owen and Morgan, p. 425.
[673] T. Morgan, *The place-names of Wales*, 2nd and rev. edn (Newport: John E. Southall, 1912), pp. 69–70 [online]. Available at https://archive.org/details/cu31924028086621 <Accessed 16 November 2018>.
[674] R. Morgan and P. Powell, *A Study of Breconshire Place-Names* (Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 1999), p. 97.
[675] LBS, vol. 2, p. 447.
[676] Morgan and Powell, p. 97.

the uncertainty of the various church dedications (e.g., Elli, Ellyw, and Almeda), but they believe the dedication is to Elli and not to Eluned.[677]

St Elli Church, Llanelli, Crickhowell [SO 23201 14891][678]

'church of Elli' *llan* church, pers. n. *Elli*[679]

Llanelly (1518-1524), Llannelly (1540), ll. elli (c. 1566)

Llanelli Parish in Crickhowell, near Brecon, is located on the rivers Clydach and Usk. The name of the church is far from certain. RCAHMW Coflein identifies the church as 'St Almeds and St Ellyw's Parish Church, Llanelly', but the Church of Wales calls it 'St Elli's Church, Gilwern', but lists its address as 'St Elli or Ellyw, Llanelly, Gilwern, Abergavenny'.[680]

Goleu

One holy well and one waterfall are named for Goleu in Glamorgan, but no positive identification has been made for Llaneschin or 'church of sedges' (*llan* church + *hesg* sedge) where she was said to live in the Welsh genealogies.[681] Still, it has been suggested over the years that Risca in Monmouthshire near dedications to Gwladys, Gwynllyw, and Maches, may be that spot. Sir Joseph Bradney suggested that Risca could be the original site of Llaneschin, saying that 'the origin of the name Risca is doubtful but it may be from *Yr hesg gae*, the sedge field'.[682] G. O. Osborne also notes that 'the Welsh word for rushes or sedge is *hesg* or *hesgen* and agrees that 'in early times the bottoms of the Welsh valleys would have been an ideal habitat for rushes and sedge'.[683] As for Risca being the site of Llaneschin, Osborne says that evidence for the existence of Celtic chapels associated with other daughters of Brychan is suggested by the Welsh names of places close by and he mentions that 'the farm at Llandanglws, above Pontymister, was once the "llan" of Tanglwst, and the old name

[677] Morgan and Powell, p. 97.
[678] 'Llanelli, Monmouthshire', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.82735,-3.11580,15/pin <Accessed 25 June 2018>
[679] Morgan and Powell, p. 97.
[680] 'St Almeds and Ellyw's Parish Church', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/544/details/saints-almeds-and-ellyws-parish-church#archive <Accessed 16 November 2018> and 'St Elli, Gilwern', Church in Wales [online]. Available at https://www.churchinwales.org.uk/structure/places/churches/?id=5392 <Accessed 16 November 2018>
[681] BD, p. 33.
[682] J. Bradney, 'Risca', *Publications of the South Wales Record Society*, ed. by M. Gray, No. 8 (1993), pp. 130–133.
[683] G. Osborne, 'Notes on the Origins of the Place-Name Risca', *Gwent Local History the Journal of Gwent Local History Council*, No. 67 (Autumn, 1989), pp. 3–10.

of the farm Machen-fach, i.e. Llanaust, suggests that it was once the "llan" of Hawystl'.[684] Still, he concludes that 'unfortunately, there is no evidence whatsoever that Risca was once Llanhesgen and even if this were so, the next step to "yr hesg cae" does not necessarily follow'.[685] Richard Morgan has also written that there is nothing that supports Bradney's *yr hesg gae* 'the sedge field' and no proof that the twelfth-century *Lan Eschin* and the thirteenth-century *Llann Heskyn* contain the term *hesgen* or *hesg* 'sedge' and, thus, no proof that the names refer to the home of Goleu daughter of Brychan.[686]

Risca [ST 23651 91103][687]

'bark', *rhisgl* var. *rhisg* pl. *rhisgau*[688]

Risca (1146), *Ryscha* (1535), *Risgaf* (*c.* 1566), *Riskay* (1584), *Risga* (1623)[689]

The church that now stands on the site of the original building, formerly a chapel attached to Bassaleg, was built in 1856, and contains no features of interest, but it has been found to be situated on the site of a Roman villa and has a holy well in the churchyard.[690]

Gwladys

The town of Bassaleg is connected with St Gwladys daughter of Brychan, wife of St Gwynllyw. The authors of *Gwent in Prehistory and Early History* suggest that Bassaleg Church, dedicated to St Basil, was originally dedicated to Gwladys because 'the word *basilica*, a term used in early Christianity for a church containing the body of a saint', and they offer as proof the grave chapel for St. Gwladys that survived close to the church until the middle of the nineteenth century.[691] This chapel could be the chapel destroyed in 1853, as reported at the time in this 'Miscellaneous Notice' in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*:

> Bassaleg, Monmouthshire—We have been informed that a small isolated chapel, or Perpendicular architecture, standing in Bassalleg church-yard, detached from the church, has lately been destroyed by order of the incumbent, and the owner of the rectorial tithes.[692]

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[684] Osborne, pp. 3–10.
[685] Osborne, pp. 3–10.
[686] Morgan, p. 185.
[687] 'Risca', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.61357,-3.10405,7/pin <Accessed 20 June 2018>
[688] Owen and Morgan, p. 423.
[689] Owen and Morgan, p. 423.
[690] Bradney, 'Risca', pp. 130–133.
[691] *Gwent In Prehistory and Early History: The Gwent County History*, 5 volumes, ed. by M. Aldhouse-Green and R. Howell (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 301.
[692] 'Miscellaneous Notices', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, ser. 3, vol. 5 (1853), pp. 233–234, p. 234.

The location of St Gwladys's grave, chapel, and well are lost at this point. Of the theories put forward, none is verifiable, but the following entries discuss places associated with Gwladys, her grave, and her holy well.

Lady Well, Pencarn [ST 2920 8615]

According to the RCAHMW, the Lady Well at Pencarn dates from the fourteenth century, although it is documented along with a possible sixth-century oratory or hermitage called St Gwladys Chapel, extant in the twelth to fourteenth centuries.[693] Although the precise location of Gwladys's oratory and nearby holy well are lost, an account identifies one of the possible sites, saying that 'on the banks of the river just above Ebbw Bridge is a cliff on top of which is a small spot of ground adjoining Tredegar Park walls, of less than half an acre, on which there is a very old cottage'.[694] The author affirms that 'the small detached spot of ground has always belonged to the Church of St Woolos' and that 'nothing was known of it, but some have heard the term chapel applied to it'.[695] Next, the author describes the well, saying that 'a short distance within the Park, there issued from the bank a spring of water, over which a bathhouse had been erected in 1719' and that 'it always used to be called The Lady's Well'.[696] The author concludes that Gwladys was said to have lived by a spring of water, and this may have been the spot.[697] A separate account appears to confirm this account, saying 'on a cliff overlooking the River Ebbw is an old building which has been converted into two cottages, called Rock Cottages' and states that 'this is supposed to have been her church'. The proof was that 'the old people of the neighbourhood used to say that they had always heard that there had been a church there, with a graveyard attached'. The account concludes that 'a large mound behind the cottages is thought to be her grave' and that 'her spring is in Tredegar Park'.**[698]** Francis Jones repeats the account, saying that the Lady Well was in Tredegar Park, named for Gwladys, and covered with a bath-house in 1719.[699] The discussion of St Gwladys in Chapter 8 Other Daughters of Brychan includes the illustrations of the cottages, which look convincing. Sadly, however, none of these places can be found.

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[693] Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, RCAHMW Library, MS ST28NE11, Archaeologist's Notes, pp. 1–5.
[694] MS ST28NE11, Archaeologist's Notes, pp. 1–5.
[695] MS ST28NE11, Archaeologist's Notes, pp. 1–5.
[696] MS ST28NE11, Archaeologist's Notes, pp. 1–5.
[697] MS ST28NE11, Archaeologist's Notes, pp. 1–5.
[698] 'St. Gladys and St. Gwynllyn, parents of St. Cadoc', Pilgrim: Early Western Saints [online]. Available at https://pyhiinvaeltaja.wordpress.com/2010/04/11/st-gladys-and-st-gwynllyn-parents-of-st-cadoc/ <Accessed 26 July 2017>
[699] HWW, p. 194.

St Basil Church, Bassaleg [ST 2774 8712][700]

'church', *baseleg*[701]

> *Basselec* (1102), *Bassalech* (1146–1147), *Bassalek* (1318), *Massalec* (*c.* 1562)[702]

RCAHMW Coflein describes St Basil Church in Bassaleg as medieval parish church restored several times in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries [703] Robert de la Haye founded a priory there *c.* 1105, but the priory was abandoned in 1235.[704] The present structure comprises a nave, chancel, large west tower, and south aisle constructed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[705] As discussed in the previously mentioned 1853 issue of *Archaeologia Cambrensis,* the free-standing fourteenth- or fifteenth-century chapel on the south side was demolished *c.* 1850.[706] The medieval arcade, since replaced, was of heavy square pillars and low arches. [707] The north-east chapel of uncertain date was possibly built *c.* 1800 as a burial place for the Morgan family of Tredegar, similar to the chapel at Lower Machen, and the chapel was remodelled in 1916 for the First Viscount Tredegar, who died in 1934.[708] The south porch, nave arcade, and windows date from 1878 and 1979, the south transept (organ chamber), chancel roof, and possibly the nave and aisle roofs were built in 1902 and 1903, and the north chancel arcade and roofs and fittings of the north-east chapel are from1916.[709]

St Basil and St Gwladys Roman Catholic Church, Rogerstone [ST 2762 8766][710]

'Roger's settlement', *Roger* pers. n. + E. *-ton*[711]

> *Trevewillym* (1476), *Rogerstone* (1506), *Rogerston* (1570), *Treguyllym* (1576–1577), *Rogerston...in Welsh Tre-Gwillim* (1657–1660), *Rogeston Castle...in Welsh Tre Gwillim*, or *William's House*(1801)[712]

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[700] 'St Basil's Church, Bassaleg', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/220349/details/st-basils-church-bassaleg <Accessed 8 November 2018>
[701] Owen and Morgan, p. 24.
[702] Owen and Morgan, p. 24.
[703] 'St Basil's Church, Bassaleg', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[704] 'St Basil's Church, Bassaleg', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[705] 'St Basil's Church, Bassaleg', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[706] 'St Basil's Church, Bassaleg', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[707] 'St Basil's Church, Bassaleg', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[708] 'St Basil's Church, Bassaleg', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[709] 'St Basil's Church, Bassaleg', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[710] 'St Basil and Gwladys Roman Catholic Church, Rogerstone', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/13061/details/ss-basil-and-gwladys-roman-catholic-church-rogerstone <Accessed 27 October 2018>
[711] Owen and Morgan, p. 425.
[712] Owen and Morgan, p. 425.

St. Basil & St. Gwladys Catholic church, Rogerstone was built in 1892 of blue Pennant Stone with Bath stone dressings, with a small bell tower and a statue of the Madonna and Child in a niche in the wall close to the bell tower. The architect was Mr Gardner of Newport; the builder was Mr Lewis Hall of Maindee.[713]

Note: The 'Roger' in the name of Rogerstone is identified with *Roger de Berkerolles* who held land and probably the castle in 1169, but Owen and Morgan state that the historical place-name forms are too late to confirm this.[714]

Maches

As discussed in Chapter 8 Other Daughters of Brychan, the story of the martyrdom 'the maid Machuta', who was killed by robbers as she tended her flocks, is found only in the twelfth-century London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv in the Life of St Tatheus, and this Life does not identify her as a daughter of Gwynllyw or Gwladys, an attribution first reported by Iolo Morganwg in the nineteenth century.[715]

St Dubritius Church (formerly St Maches Church), Llanvaches [ST 4338 9179][716]

'church of Maches', *llan*, church + *Maches*, pers. n.

> *ecclesiam merthir maches* (*c.* 745 [c. 1130]), Merthirmaches (c. 1130), *Lanmaueis* (*c.* 1193–1218), *Lanmaes* (1254), *Lamathe-s* (*c.* 1291–1292), *Lamghois* (1310), ecclesia de *Lanmacheys* (*c.* 1350), *Llanvaches* (1533= *c.* 1535)[717]

Originally dedicated to St Maches, the fourteenth-century church (fig. A-61), now dedicated to St Dubritius in Llanvaches was a possession of Llandaff.[718]

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[713] 'St Basil and Gwladys Roman Catholic Church, Rogerstone', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/13061/details/ss-basil-and-gwladys-roman-catholic-church-rogerstone <Accessed 27 October 2018>

[714] Owen and Morgan, p. 425.

[715] Owen and Morgan, p. 241. See also Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials*, pp. 88–89.

[716] 'St Dubritius' Church; St Dyfrig's Church, Llanvaches', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLFN0IER1YnJpdGl1cyBDaHVyY2hfc2VhcmNodHlwZSxhZHZhbmNlZF9vcmE=&numlink=307354#tabs-4 <Accessed 13 December 2018>

[717] Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials*, pp. 88–89.

[718] R. Morgan, *Place-names of Gwent* (Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2005), p. 123 and Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials*, pp. 88–89.



Figure A-61. St Dubritius Church, Llanfaches (from Geograph)

Other family of Brychan

Dedications in Monmouthshire include Brychan Brycheiniog, his sons Arthen, Cynog, and Dingat; his grandsons Cadog, Cyfyw, and Cynidr; and his son-in-law Gwynllyw. This area is the centre of Gwynllyw's influence, as witnessed the many dedications to his wife and children.

Arthen

Llanarthen, Llwynarthen [ST 24739 82364][719]
'grove of Arthen', *llwyn,* grove or *llan,* chapel + *Arthen*, pers. n.

> *Lloin Arthen* (1652), *Llwynarthan* (1775), *Lanarthan* (1813), *Llwynarthan* (1833), *Llanarthan house* (1871)[720]

Richard Morgan writes that while Bradney states that a chapel at Llwynarthen is dedicated to Arthen son of Brychan, others people named Arthen are found in medieval pedigrees.[721] The church in the area is dedicated to St Mary, but Llwynarthen House became a country club and

[719] 'Llanarthen; St Mellons Hotel, Marshfield', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLE1hcnNoZmllbGRfc2VhcmNodHlwZSxhZHZhbmNlZF9vcmE=&numlink=410512#tabs-4 <Accessed by 17 November 2018>
[720] Morgan, p. 143.
[721] Morgan, p. 143.

golf club; it is now St Mellons Hotel.[722] The name remains in Llwynarthen House (fig. A-62) near Marshfield on Newport Road, Castleton.[723]



Figure A-63. Llwynarthen House in Marshfield[724]

Brychan Brycheiniog

While many dedications to Gwynllyw's family are found north-east of Newport, Cwrt-y-Brychan is a listed building with an obvious connection, as it adjoins a ruined chapel dedicated to St Cynog and a farm called Llangunnog. The structure is near Llanvaches, Llangeview, and Llanarthen.

Cwrt-y-Brychan, Llangwm [SO 44914 01538][725]

'church in the valley', *llan* church + *cwm* valley[726]

[722] 'Llanarthen; St Mellons Hotel, Marshfield', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLE1hcnNoZmllbGRfc2VhcmNodHlwZSxhZHZhbmNlZF9vcmE=&numlink=410512#tabs-4 <Accessed by 17 November 2018>
[723] 'Llwynarthen House', rightmove.com.uk [online]. Available at http://www.rightmove.co.uk/house-prices/detailMatching.html?prop=50886460&sale=32781849&country=england <Accessed 20 July 2017>
[724] 'Llwynarthen House', rightmove.com.uk [online]. Available at http://www.rightmove.co.uk/house-prices/detailMatching.html?prop=50886460&sale=32781849&country=england <Accessed 20 July 2017>
[725] 'Cwrt-y-Brychan; Cwrt Brychan; Brecon Court Farm, Llansoy', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLEN3cnQgQnJ5Y2hhbl9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=3680#tabs-4 <Accessed 22 October 2018>
[726] Owen and Morgan, p. 262.

lann Cum, lanncum (1136–1154), *Lancum superior* (1254), *Landcom* (1291), *Lambcumbe* (1307), *ll. gwm ychaf* (*c.* 1566), *Langwm Ucha* (1621)[727]

Cwrt-y-Brychan is a Grade II Listed Building, a sixteenth-century stone farmhouse in Devauden Parish north-east of Newport with a slate roof cross wing and two two-light pointed windows of freestone.[728] The church is less than one mile west of the ruins of St Cynog's Chapel and a nearby farm named Llangunnog.[729]

Cadog

Cadoc Well (lost)

fonte Cadoci (1190)[730]

As part of a bequest to the monks of Bassaleg made in 1190, Robert de Haye speaks of a well named for St Cadoc, saying: 'Parochia de Basseleck incipit a fonte Cadoci dunwardes thurh tha ahas in ne thene mor, an es half pencarn, and swa in ne theneful the sath in Newboth'.[731] This well has not been located.

St Cadog Church, Caerleon [ST 3394 9064][732]

'fort of the legions, *caer* fort + *llion* legions[733]

carleion, Carlion (1086), *Kaerlegion* (*c.* 1130–1144), *Karliun* (1154–1158), *Karleun Legionum urbs* (*c.* 1191), *Karleon* (1200) *Caerlleon* (c. 1000, 1225–1250), *caerllion* (1200s), *Kairllon* (1314)[734]

Caerleon was the site of the Roman legionary fortress called Isca (*c.* 150).[735] St Cadog Church is built partially on the Roman headquarters building, which could indicate an unbroken Christian tradition dating from that time; however, no archaeological evidence indicates Christian worship in Caerleon in the Roman period.[736] In any case, the church was built in roughly the centre of the Roman fortress with the earliest standing fabric, the church

[727] Owen and Morgan, p. 262.
[728] 'Cwrt-y-Brychan; Cwrt Brychan; Brecon Court Farm, Llansoy', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[729] 'Cwrt-y-Brychan; Cwrt Brychan; Brecon Court Farm, Llansoy', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. See also 'Cwrt y Brychan', British Listed Buildings [online]. Available at https://britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/300002032-cwrt-y-brychan-llangwm <Accessed 22 October 2018>
[730] Bradney, p. 79.
[731] Bradney, pp. 78–79.
[732] 'St Cadoc's Church, Caerleon', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLENhZXJsZW9uX3NlYXJjaHR5cGUsYWR2YW5jZWRfb3Jh&numlink=307358#tabs-4 <Accessed 17 November 2018>
[733] Owen and Morgan, p. 64.
[734] Owen and Morgan, p. 64.
[735] Owen and Morgan, p. 64.
[736] Kennerley, p. 3

tower, dating to the thirteenth century.[737] The arches inside the church belong to the fifteenth century along with the embattled top stage of the thirteenth century tower.[738]

St Cadoc Church, Llangattock Lingoed [SO 3614 2006][739]

'church of Cadog at ?Celyngoed', *llan*, church + *Cadog,* pers. n. + *?Celyngoed* pers. n.[740]

> *Lancadok* (1254), *Lankaddok Kellenny* (1291), *Lancadok Lyncoyd* (1348), *Lankadok Ekelleni* (1349), *ll. gattwg klenic* (c. 1566)

The medieval St Cadoc Church at Llangattock Lingoed, a church still in use, is built in the Gothic Perpendicular style with a prominent tower.[741] Repair work revealed an early-fifteenth-century wall painting of St George slaying the dragon (fig. A-64), which has been suggested to represent the English defeating the Welsh at the last of Owain Glyndwr's unsuccessful battles, fought in the locality at Campston Hill in 1404 and Grosmont in 1405.[742]



Figure A-64. St George Slaying the Dragon, St Cadoc Church, Llangattock Lingoed[743]

[737] C. Smith, 'The Shaping of Caerleon', *Gwent Local History*, no. 100 (Spring 2006), pp. 10–18, p. 14.
[738] Smith, p. 14.
[739] 'St Cadoc's Church; St Cattwg's Church, Llangattock Lingoed', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLExsYW5nYXR0b2NrIExpbmdvZWRfc2VhcmNodHlwZSxhZHZhbmNlZF9vcmE=&numlink=307300#tabs-4 <Accessed 22 October 2018>
[740] Owen and Morgan, p. 256.
[741] 'St Cadoc's Church; St Cattwg's Church, Llangattock Lingoed', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[742] 'St Cadoc's Church; St Cattwg's Church, Llangattock Lingoed', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[743] 'St Cadoc's Church; St Cattwg's Church, Llangattock Lingoed', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

St Cadog Church, Llangadog nigh Usk [SO 3303 0966][744]

'church of Cadog near Usk', *llan* church + pers. n. *Cadog* + pers. n., *Usk*

> *Ecclesia de Landkaddok iuxta Uskam* (1291)[745], *Lancadok iuxta Uskam* (1275–1325)[746], *Lancaddoc iuxta Usk* (1275–1300)[747]

Saint Catwg Church at Llangattock (fig. A-65) lies in the Usk Valley one kilometre south of Crickhowell.[748] The thirteenth- and fourteenth-century building comprises a nave and chancel with a north aisle and chapel, though all of the windows have been replaced, and parts of the walls rebuilt.[749] At the west end is a sixteenth-century tower, though a much earlier origin has been claimed.[750] The churchyard was perhaps once more curvilinear than it now appears[751] An early medieval origin seems certain: the dedication, location and morphology of the churchyard all point in this direction.[752]



Figure A-65. Llangattock-Nigh-Usk, Monmouthshire (from Geograph)

[744] 'St Cadoc Church, The Bryn, Llangattock Juxta Usk', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLExsYW5nYXR0b2NrX3NlYXJjaHR5cGUsYWR2YW5jZWRfb3Jh&numlink=307301#tabs-4 <Accessed 22 October 2018>

[745] 'Benefice of Llangattock Nigh Usk', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.AB.14 <Accessed 8 June 2017>

[746] London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius C x, p. 161^{v}.

[747] London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C x, fols 115^{r}–118^{r}. (Llandaff diocese, including temporalities for listing of cathedral dignities and prebends on fol. 115^{r}).

[748] 'Church of St Cattwg, Llangattock', Brecknockshire Churches Survey [online]. Available at http://www.cpat.demon.co.uk/projects/longer/churches/brecon/16866.htm <Accessed 11 July 2017>

[749] 'Church of St Cattwg, Llangattock', Brecknockshire Churches Survey [online].

[750] 'Church of St Cattwg, Llangattock', Brecknockshire Churches Survey [online]. Available at http://www.cpat.demon.co.uk/projects/longer/churches/brecon/16866.htm <Accessed 11 July 2017>

[751] 'Church of St Cattwg, Llangattock', Brecknockshire Churches Survey [online].

[752] 'Church of St Cattwg, Llangattock', Brecknockshire Churches Survey [online].

St Cadog Church, Llangadog, Penrhos [SO 41607 11742][753]

'end of the moor headland', *pen* end + *rhos* moor headland[754]

> *Panrox* (1186), *Penros* (1196), *Ecclesia beati Caddoci de penros* (1193–1199), *Lancaddoc Penros* (*c.* 1348), *Penrhos* (1588)[755]

Built in the Gothic Decorated style, long-wall entry type, a prominent feature of St Cadog Church is the tower. Owen and Morgan note that the forms for 1285 and *c.* 1348 have the personal name Cadog, but Llangadog did not establish itself as the name of the parish.[756]

St Cadog Church, Llangattock Vibon Avel [SO 4565 1566][757]

'church of Cadog of the sons of Abel', *llan*, church + *Cadog*, pers. n. + *meibion* sons + *Abel* pers. n.

> *Ecclesia de Linedoc Avel* (1254)[758], *Ecclesisia de Llancaddock Canel cu capell'* (1291)[759], *Llangadog vibion Avel* (1953)[760]

The Parish of Llangattock Vibon Avel comprises the manor of that name, given to Monmouth Priory in 1075, the Manor of Newcastle, held by the Huntly family in the thirteenth century, and Llanllwydd Manor, which also belonged to the Priory.[761] At the Dissolution, Llangattock Manor, with the advowson of the church, came to the Evans family, and after that by purchase to the Rolls.[762] St Cadog Church at Llangattock Vibon Avel is north of Rockfield and Runston, where dedications to Cain and Cenedlon are found. RCAHMW Coflein describes the church as of an uncertain date, although with late-fifteenth-century windows; the church was restored in the nineteenth century.[763] One chapel at Llanllwydd was reported in the tenth century, but later disappears; another chapel-of-ease called Llanfaenor also dates from the tenth century and the structure remains.[764]

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[753] 'Llangadog', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.80262,-2.84381,16/pin <Accessed 31 October 2018>
[754] Owen and Morgan, p. 372.
[755] Owen and Morgan, p. 372.
[756] Owen and Morgan, p. 372.
[757] 'St Cadoc's Church, Llangattock Vibon Avel', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLExsYW5nYXR0b2NrX3NlYXJjaHR5cGUsYWR2YW5jZWRfb3Jh&numlink=301456#tabs-4 <Accessed 21 October 2018>
[758] Davies, p. 115.
[759] Davies, p. 115.
[760] Davies, p. 115.
[761] Green, vol. 1, pp. 102–103.
[762] Green, vol. 1, pp. 102–103.
[763] 'St Cadoc's Church, Llangattock Vibon Avel', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[764] Green, vol. 1, pp. 102–103.

St Cadog Church, Raglan [SO 41337 07681][765]

'rampart', *rhaglan* rampart[766]

Eccl. de Raghelan (1254),[767] *Ecclesia de Ragelan* (1291)[768]

St Cadog Church in Raglan (fig. A-66) is a substantial late-medieval parish church rebuilt in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, partly through the patronage of the Herberts of Raglan Castle[769] The nave, porch, chancel and tower are broadly contemporary (*c.* 1500), but heavily restored by T. H. Wyatt 1868, who installed new windows, roofs, and rebuilt the top stage of the tower.[770] Reroofing of the nave in 2016 revealed that the late-medieval wagon roof was still in place above the nineteenth-century barrel roof. [771]



Figure A-66. St Cadog Church, Raglan (from Geograph)

St Cattwg Church, Cwmcarvan [SO 47729 07519][772]

'valley of (the river) Carfan', *cwm* valley + *Carfan* river n.[773]

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[765] 'St Cadoc's Church, Raglan', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at
[766] Owen and Morgan, p. 406.
[767] Green, vol. 1, p. 158
[768] 'Benefice of Raglan', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.US.06 <Accessed 8 June 2017> Note: Patronage was *monastic*, Usk, Monmouth, priory, *Benedictine Nuns*.
[769] 'St Cadoc, Raglan', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLFJhZ2xhbl9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=307349#tabs-4 <Accessed 31 October 2018>
[770] 'St Cadoc, Raglan', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[771] 'St Cadoc, Raglan', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[772] J. Guy and E. Smith, *Ancient Gwent Churches*, 2nd edn (Newport: The Starling Press, 1980), p. 20.
[773] Owen and Morgan, p. 109

Concauvern (1148–1186), *Concaruan* (1193–1218), *Cumkarvan* (1307), *kwm karfan* (*c.* 1566), *Cwmcarvan* (1831)

Cwmcarfan is about four miles south-west of Monmouth, and St Catwg Church is located on a raised churchyard which, combined with the dedication, suggest an early foundation.[774] A probably Roman fort is located six-hundred metres west of the village of Cwmcarfan, where St Cattwg Church is located.[775] The churchyard cross comprises five steps formed of large blocks of stone which support the large square base of the cross.[776] A tablet on the eastern side of the socket-stone records the restoration of the cross and the erection of the modern cross-shaft and head as a war memorial in 1921.[777]

Cyfyw

St Cyfyw was said to be one of the sons of Gwladys daughter of Brychan and King Gwynllyw ap Glywis, whose dedication at Llangeview in Monmouthshire is near another church dedicated to St David.[778]

St Cyfyw Church, Llangeview [SO 3968 0069][779]

'church of Cyfyw', llan, church + Cyfyw, pers. n.

Langrinon (1291), *Langevien, Langevieu* (1535)[780]

The Parish of Llangeview was part of the Manor of Usk belonging to the Benedictine Priory of Usk from 1254 to 1535.[781] In 1603, the Earl of Pembroke held the impropriation; by 1835 the Duke of Beaufort was the Impropriator.[782] The fifteenth-century church remains in use, and most of the windows, screen, and rood loft date from that time.[783]

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[774] Zaluckyj, p. 397.
[775] 'Cwmcarfan, Roman Fort', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLEN3bWNhcmZhbl9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=415794#tabs-4 <Accessed 31 October 2018>
[776] 'St Catwg's Churchyard Cross, Cwmcarfan', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLEN3bWNhcmZhbl9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=407449#tabs-4 <Accessed 31 October 2018>
[777] 'St Catwg's Churchyard Cross, Cwmcarfan', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[778] Davies, p. 94.
[779] 'St Cyfyw's Church, Llangeview', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLExsYW5nZXZpZXdfc2VhcmNodHlwZSxhZHZhbmNlZF9vcmE=&numlink=400133#tabs-4 <Accessed 29 October 2018>
[780] Green, p. 105.
[781] Green, p. 105.
[782] Green, p. 105.
[783] 'Llangeview', Friends of Friendless Churches [online]. Available at http://friendsoffriendlesschurches.org.uk/llangeview/ <Accessed 26 July 2017>

Cynog

St Cynog Church (in ruins), Llangunnog Farm, Llansoy [SO 45522 01448][784]
'church of Tysoe', *llan* church + *Tysoe* pers. n.[785]

> *Lann Tyssoi, podum sancti Tisoi* (1136–1154), *Landesoy* (1254, 1451–1458), *lansoy* (1464), *ll. soe* (c. 1566)[786]

This farm is adjacent to the ruins of St Cynog Chapel and east of Cwrt-y-Brychan farm. Another farm with this name is located near St Cain Church at Llangain near Carmarthenshire.

Dingad

Although Llandingad Parish was dedicated to Dingad (it is now Llandovery), a second one, referred to as Dingestow, is found in Monmouthshire. David Parsons writes that while Dingad ap Nudd was also considered a candidate for the dedication at Dingestow, the many connections between merthyr-names and the Brychan family (e.g., Merthyr Maches, Merthyr Tydfil, and Merthyr Cynog) make it likely that a link was made in the case of of Dingestow from any early date.[787]

St Dingad Church, Dingestow, Llanddingad [SO 45670 10249][788]
'church of Dingad', *Dingad* pers. n. + OE. *-stōw* church, *llan* church

> *merthir dincat* (1119, 1128, 1129), *Llandinegath* (*c.* 1191), *Landinega*t (1248), *Landenegath* (1254), *landinegat* (1250–1300), *Landingat* (1361), *Dyngarstowe* (1396), *Dungestowe* (1405)[789]

Dedication is to St Dingad, although the church is dedicated to St Mary; the dependent chapel is at Tregare. The parish of Dingestow has been attached to Llandaff since the ninth century, when Tudmab, in his penitence, gave it to Bishop Nudd.[790] The church is dedicated to Saint Dingad, and its older name, Llandingat, was sometimes mis-read as 'Llandmegat' and even as 'Lanmaad'.[791] In 1254 it was reckoned among the Chapter churches, but in 1291 it was valued, with its chapel among the Llandaff holdings.[792]

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[784] 'Llangunnog Farm', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.70986,-2.79865,7/pin <Accessed 29 October 2018>
[785] Owen and Morgan, p. 279.
[786] Owen and Morgan, p. 279.
[787] Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials*, pp. 72–73.
[788] 'Dingestow', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.78825,-2.78907,17/pin <Accessed 29 October 2018>
[789] Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials*, pp. 72–73.
[790] Green, p. 157.
[791] Green, p. 157.
[792] Green, p. 157.

Gwynllyw

The grave of Gwynllyw, king of Gwynllwg, was clearly identified in the Life of St Cadog:

> When Gwynllyw, the father of blessed Cadog was dead, he was buried by the wall on the south side in his own monastery, which is called from his name in the British tongue Eglwys Wynllyw.[793]

The history of the Benedictine Abbey of St Peter in Gloucester, founded in 1038, is entangled with the history of the children of Brychan, most notably, creation of *De Situ Brecheiniauc* at Monmouth Priory, discussed throughout the thesis. One example of that connection is the earliest donation at the time of its founding by the Norman conquerors of Glamorganshire and Monmoutshire to St Peter Abbey of the Church of St Gunlliw or St Woollos of Newport, given by Robert de le Haye before 1104, approved by William Rufus in 1193 and confirmed by King Stephen in 1138.

Newport Cathedral of St Woolos, Newport [ST 309 876]

Ecclesia de Novo Burgo (1291)[794], *[Novo Burgo de Sancto] Gunleo* (1275–1300)[795]

Before 1104, Robert de la Haye, with his overlord Robert Fitzhamon's approval, gave the Church of St Gunlliw, now called Newport Cathedral of St Woolos, to the Abbey of St Peter of Gloucester.[796] A later dispute between the chaplain of St Woolos and the monks of Bassaleg regarding parish boundaries led to resolution in 1146 that mentioned St Gwladus Chapel as one of the boundaries. The church is dedicated to St Gwynllyw, husband of Gwladys and father of St Cadog.[797] The mud-and-wattle church he founded eventually became his grave, replaced by a succession of churches built on the site at the top of Stow Hill in Newport [798] St. Mary's Chapel in the cathedral dates from this early Celtic foundation, although the main construction is Norman.[799] The church survived a number of raids. In 846 St Woolos Church was plundered by Irish pirates, in 875 by Danes, and in 1060 by Earl Harold's men.[800] The army of William Rufus (William II) are said to have encamped one night about the church and before departing to have knelt before the altar and to have made

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[793] VSBG, p. 91.
[794] 'Benefice of Newport', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.NE.01 <Accessed 18 November 2018> Note: Patronage was *monastic*, Gloucester, Glos, abbey, *Benedictine Monks.*
[795] London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius C x, fols 115r–118r.
[796] Green, p. 68.
[797] 'Benefice of Newport', Taxatio [online].
[798] 'Benefice of Newport', Taxatio [online].
[799] 'Benefice of Newport', Taxatio [online].
[800] 'Benefice of Newport', Taxatio [online].

offerings.[801] In 1093, this king granted the church to the Benedictine Abbey of St Peter in Gloucester, and for four centuries St Woolos Church remained under monastic governance, and its ministers subject to the Rule of Benedict.[802] The main construction of the nave of the current building, as well as the magnificent Norman Arch, was believed to have been designed and financed by the Abbot of Gloucester and his community.[803] In 1540, during the period of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, the church was handed to the newly created Bishopric of Gloucester, under whose control it remained until 1882.[804]

Montgomeryshire dedications

Few dedications to the Brychan family are found in Montgomeryshire; none to the daughters of Brychan, one to Cynog, several to Dogfan (whose name only appears in the later genealogies), and one to grandson Cynfyw, a son of Gwynllyw and Gwladys daughter of Brychan.

Daughters of Brychan

None of the daughters of Brychan are found in Montgomeryshire

Other family of Brychan

Dedications to sons Cynog and to Dogfan and grandson Cynfyw are found in Montgomeryshire.

St Cynog Church, Llangynog, Llanerfyl [SJ 05303 26101][805]

'church of Eurfyl', *llan* church + *Eurfyl* pers. n.[806]

Ecc'a de Lankenant (1254)[807], *Ecclia de Langenank* (1291)[808]

The Church of St. Cynog in Llanerfyl (fig. A-67), which first appears in the Norwich Taxation of 1254, stands on the site of an early medieval foundation dedicated to the fifth-

[801] 'Benefice of Newport', Taxatio [online].
[802] 'Benefice of Newport', Taxatio [online].
[803] 'Benefice of Newport', Taxatio [online].
[804] 'Benefice of Newport', Taxatio [online].
[805] 'St Cynog's Church, Llangynog', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLExsYW5neW5vZ19zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=12254#tabs-4 <Accessed 25 October 2018>
[806] Owen and Morgan, p. 239.
[807] 'Church of St Cynog, Llangynog', Mongomeryshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online]. Available at http://www.cpat.demon.co.uk/projects/longer/churches/montgom/16482.htm <Accessed 11 July 2017>
[808] 'Church of St Cynog, Llangynog', Mongomeryshire Churches Survey, CPAT [online].

century martyr Cynog.[809] All early buildings have been destroyed and the present church was built during 1791 and 1792 and then restored in 1894 by William Spaull.[810] The church is situated in its medieval position within an early round churchyard at the centre of the village, and is likely to have been rebuilt upon earlier foundations.[811]



Figure A-67. St Cynog Church, Llangynog[812]

Cynon

According to Baring-Gould and Fisher, the Montgomeryshire dedication to St Cynon at Tregynon refers not to Cynon son of Brychan, but to a St Cynon of Armorica, who came to Wales from Llydaw with St Cadfan.[813]

Cynyw

St Cynyw Church, Llangynyw [SJ 12580 08818][814]
'church of Cynyw', *llan* church + *Cynyw* pers. n.

St. Cynyw's Church dates to the latter half of the fifteenth century, built on what appears to be an early medieval site; the site may at one time have been dedicated to All Saints, but is

[809] 'St Cynog's Church, Llangynog', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[810] 'St Cynog's Church, Llangynog', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[811] 'St Cynog's Church, Llangynog', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[812] 'Exterior, S Side nave & chancel', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_images&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLExsYW5neW5vZ19zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=12254#tabs-4 <Accessed 25 October 2018>
[813] LBS, vol. 2, pp. 272–273.
[814] 'Llangyniew', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/52.67000,-3.29422,15/pin <Accessed 17 November 2018>

now dedicated to the sixth century St. Cynyw.[815] This church has maintained some notable original features, including the timber-framed porch, cobbled floor, and side benches, but most significant is the largely intact original rood creen, though the rood loft was removed during the nineteenth century.[816]

Dogfan

St Dogfan, son of Brychan, appears first in *Plant Brychan* in the entry: 'Docvan a Rhawin a Rvn meibion Brychan. Ni wn i pa le y maent yn gorffowys' (Docvan and Rhawin and Rhun sons of Brychan. I do not know where they are lying).[817] Baring-Gould and Fisher identify other names for this saint as Doewan, Dogwan, Doewon, Doefon, Dwywan, and Dwywon.[818] His feast day appears in later Calendars as 13 July. [819] They quote Iolo Morganwg as describing him as 'slain by the pagan Saxons at Merthyr Dogwan in Dyfed'.[820] The following sections describe dedications to St Dogfan at Llanraeadr-ym-Mochnant near dedications to his brother, St Cynog.

*St Dogfan Church, Llanraeadr-ym-Mochnant [**SJ 12393 26025**]*[821]

'church of the waterfall in Mochnant', *llan* church + *rhaeadr* waterfall + *yn* in + *Mochnant* commot n.[822]

> *Ecclesia de Llanraeader* (1254)[823] *Thlanrather in Meuhenhand* (1284), *Lanraiader en Mochnant* (1344-1357), *llanrraydr* (1377), *Llanraeader* (1465), *ll. Rayadr ymochnant* (*c.* 1566), *Llanrhaiader in Moughnant* (1606), *Llanrhaiadr* (1795)[824]

St Dogfan Church (fig. A-67) is located in the village of Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant, in a large churchyard now principally entered by a twentieth-century lychgate with a stone

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[815] 'Church of St Cynyw; All Saints Church; Llangynyw Parish Church, Llangynyw', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Availble at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLExsYW5neW55d19zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=126#tabs-4 <Accessed 17 November 2018>
[816] 'Church of St Cynyw; All Saints Church; Llangynyw Parish Church, Llangynyw', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[817] EWGT, p. 82.
[818] LBS, vol. 2, pp. 346–347.
[819] LBS, vol. 2, p. 346–347.
[820] LBS, vol. 2, p. 346–347.
[821] 'St Dogfan's Church, Llanrhaiadr ym Mochnant; Llanrhaeadr ym Mochnant', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLERvZ2Zhbl9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=223#tabs-4 <Accessed 25 October 2018>
[822] Owen and Morgan, p. 273
[823] 'Church of St Dogfan, Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant', Montgomeryshire Churches Survey [online]. Available at http://www.cpat.demon.co.uk/projects/longer/churches/montgom/101046.htm <Accessed 25 October 2018>
[824] Owen and Morgan, p. 273

churchyard wall and railings and gates at the west and south.[825] Several factors indicate that the church is an early foundation: (a) its monastic (clas) origin, (b) the Celtic dedication, (c) the partially remaining circular form of the churchyard, and (d) a ninth- or tenth-century Celtic cross now preserved in the south aisle of the church. [826]



Figure A-68. St Dogfan Church, Llanraeadr-ym-Mochnant[827]

St. Dogfan is currently the central church of the Llanrhaeadr Group of Parishes, which include St. Thomas Church in Penybontfawr, St. Cynog Church in Llangynog, the Shrine Church of St. Melangell in Pennant Melangell, and a daughter church of St Dogfan Church called St. Mary Church at Rhos-y-Brithdir.[828]

[825] 'Church of St Dogfan', British Listed Buildings [online]. Available at https://britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/300000636-church-of-st-dogfan-llanrhaeadr-ym-mochnant <Accessed 25 October 2018>
[826] 'Church of St Dogfan', British Listed Buildings [online].
[827] 'Llanrhaeadr ym Mochnant', Cymdeithas Hanes Teuluoedd Clwyd/Clwyd Family History Society [online]. Available at http://www.clwydfhs.org.uk/eglwysi/llanrhaeadrmochnant_dogfan.htm <Accessed 28 October 2018>
[828] 'St Dogfan's, Llanrhaeadr ym Mochnant', Mathrafal Deanery [online]. Available at http://www.mathrafal.org/parishes/rhaeadr.htm <Accessed 25 October 2018>

St Dogfan Well, Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant [SJ 1223 2594][829]
St Dogfan Well is a spring reputed to have healing qualities that is located one-hundred and fifty yards from St Dogfan Church.[830]

St Dogfan Well, Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant [SJ 08761 30765][831]
The site of St. Dogfan's well is a rectangular trough dug through peat surface with its ends lined with stone; clear, colourless water runs out of south end into a stony channel.

Pembrokeshire dedications

This gazetteer section uses as its primary source the major two-volume study by B. G. Charles, *The Place-Names of Pembrokeshire*, published in 1992, supported by a number of other useful sources. The *Dictionary of the Place-Names of Wales* by Hywel Wyn Owen an Richard Morgan was also used as a standard for place-names. Online resources included the RCAHMW Coflein service enables indepth search capability of resources, including a variety of maps while its recently released List of Historic Place-Names offers the ability to search for not only a place-name, but other names within the area.

Daughters of Brychan

Few daughters of Brychan have dedications in Pembrokeshire, but of them Clydai seems wholly rooted in Pembrokeshire as her single dedication is there, near Llanglydwen, where St Cledwyn Church is dedicated to her brother. Cain has several dedications in the area around New Moat, where dedications to Brynach are also found, and a single place-name for Tudful is found at the edge of the Pembrokeshire Coast National Park.

[829] 'St Dogfan's Well', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLERvZ2Zhbl9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=32294#tabs-4 <Accessed 25 October 2018>
[830] 'St Dogfan's Well', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLERvZ2Zhbl9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=32294#tabs-4 <Accessed 25 October 2018>
[831] 'St Dogfan's Well', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLERvZ2Zhbl9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=295323#tabs-4 <Accessed 25 October 2018>

Cain

Several place-names, such as Porthgain, could indicate a cult to Cain in south-west Pembrokeshire, but Ffynnon Gain, a holy well with slight traces of foundations is a likely dedication.[832] So is the previous dedication of St Michael Church at Treffgarn to Cain.

Ffynnon Gain, New Moat [SN 0705 2355][833]

'well of Cain', *ffynnon* well + *Cain* pers. n.

> *ffonon keyng* (1326), *Fynongainge* (1622), *Fynnongain(g)* (1781), *Ffynnongaing* (1819)[834]

Although B. G. Charles notes that the well is 'perhaps the source of a stream once called Cain which name *v.* Porthgain, *cain* 'fair, bright', is also a possibility as also is the pers.n. *Cain* Carm. and Kentchurch.' Ultimately, he states that 'the early forms in *-ng* suggest a connection with *gaing* 'chisel, wedge', possibly here used as a stream-name. [835]

St Michael Church (formerly St Keyn Church), Treffgarn [SM 95702 23563][836]

'farm by a rock', *tref* farm + *carn* rock[837]

> *St Keyn, Egleuiskeyn* (1174–1176) [838]

St Michael Church in Treffgarne is a parish church in the archdeanery of St Davids in the diocese of St Davids. The building is not registered as a historic site, but a medieval connection to St Keyn is noted by B. G. Charles:[839]

> Associated with Trefgarn is the church called *St Keyn, Egleuiskeyn* 1174-6 EpActs 196, 203, granted to the church of St. John, Carmarthen, which may be the old name of the parish church, now dedicated to St Michael, not St Cain. *v.* **eglwys**.[840]

Clydai

The only cult site for Clydai daughter of Brychan is at Clydau in Pembrokeshire, Where St Clydai Church is found, along with the site of Eglwys Trisant, an older church now lost. B.

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[832] 'Ffynnon Gain, New Moat', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLEZmeW5ub24gR2Fpbl9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=32477#tabs-4 <Accessed 18 November 2018>
[833] 'Ffynnon Gain, New Moat', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[834] B. G. Charles, *The Place-Names of Pembrokeshire*, 2 vols (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1992), vol. 2, p. 429.
[835] Charles, vol. 2, p. 429.
[836] 'Treffgarne', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.87313,-4.96916,7/pin <Accessed 10 October 2018>
[837] Owen and Morgan, p. 466.
[838] Charles, vol. 2, p. 662.
[839] Charles, vol. 2, p. 662.
[840] Charles, vol. 2, p. 662.

G. Charles notes that the dedication is to Clydai daughter of Brychan and is a 'rare example of the name of a saint surviving on its own as a personal name without the usual llan 'church' preceding it'.[841] The church is near churches dedicated to brother Cledwyn at Llanglydwen and brother-in-law Brynach at Llanfyrnach.

St Clydai Church, Clydau [SN 25092 35467][842]

Ecclesia de Cladoy (1291)[843] *Cledei* (1222), *Cleday* (1539), *Cledaye* (1550), *Cledy* (1403), *Cledye* (1589, *Clyde* (1802)[844], *Clydey* (1806)[845]

St Clydai Church is situated within a curvilinear churchyard, very close to the line of a possible Roman road. The site almost certainly dates to the early medieval period. Early medieval 'bishop house' site, Llangene Fawr, is situated within the parish, some three and one-half kilometres south-east of the church. A chapel, Eglwys Trisant, formerly stood in the churchyard. It was recorded in c.1700 and probably originated as a capel-y-bedd (grave chapel). Three early medieval carved stones are now within the church building at the west end of the south aisle. The church was a parish church in the post-Conquest period, belonging to the Deanery of Emlyn. It is thought to have belonged to Whitland Abbey. In 1536 the prebend of Clydau was the rector, but the advowson belonged to the Bishops of St Davids. [846]

St Clydai Church (fig. A-69) in the community of Llanfyrnach in Pembrokeshire dates from the fourteenth or fifteenth century.[847] Three ancient stones that date from the fifth to the ninth century have been relocated to the rear of the church (fig. A-69), and they are carved with Ogham letters and Latin script.[848]

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[841] Charles, vol. 1, p. 366.
[842] 'St Clydai's Church, Clydau', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLENseWRhaV9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=422371#tabs-4 <Accessed 18 October 2018>
[843] 'Benefice of Clydey', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=DA.CG.EM.05 <Accessed 8 June 2017>
[844] 'OS First Series, Sheet 41', A Vision of Britain [online]. Available at http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/maps/series?=3041059.68923&yCenter=2893619.67059&scale=63360&viewScale=11338.5888&mapLayer=nineteenth&subLayer=first_edition&title=Ordnance%20Survey%20and%20Ordnance%20Survey%20of%20Scotland%20First%20Series&download=true <Accessed 10 October 2018>
[845] 'C Smith, New Map of Great Britain and Ireland, Sheet Southern England', A Vision of Britain [online]. Available at http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/maps/series?xCenter=3041059.68923&yCenter=2893619.67059&scale=633600&viewScale=11338.5888&mapLayer=nineteenth&subLayer=smith_1806&title=C.%20Smith%20New%20Map%20of%20Great%20Britain%20and%20Ireland&download=true <Accessed 10 October 2018>
[846] 'St Clydai's Church, Clydau', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[847] 'Church of St Clydai', British Listed Buildings [online]. Available at https://britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/300011976-church-of-saint-clydai-clydau#.W7KD61JRf64 <Accessed 2 October 2018>
[848] 'Church of St Clydai', British Listed Buildings [online].



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Figure A-69. Views of St Clydai Church, Clydau, and inscribed stones

Another church called Eglwys Trisant (recorded in *c.* 1700) formerly stood in the churchyard to the west of St Clydai, probably as a capel-y-bedd.[849] The chapel is associated with one of the early medieval inscribed and incised stones now found in St Clydai Church (see fig. A-69), but previously lying inside the chapel when it was first recorded in 1698.[850]

Gwen

Other than the name of Ffynnon Wen and proximity to a church dedicated to St Brynach at Dinas Cross, nothing else indicates that this place has a connection to Gwendoline daughter of Brychan.

[849] 'Eglwys Trisant, St Clydai's Church, Clydau', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLENseWRhaV9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=422372#tabs-4 <Accessed 12 October 2018>

[850] 'Eglwys Trisant, St Clydai's Church, Clydau', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

Ffynnon Wen, Dinas Cross [SN 00193 38146][851]

The parish church was formerly dedicated to St Brynach, but most of the church and the seaward side of the churchyard were washed away during a storm in 1859. [852]

Tudful

While late legends about Tudful daughter of Brychan are confined to the Merthyr Tydfil area of Glamorgan, other dedications to Tudful are found elsewhere at Llysworney in Glamorgan, Llechryd in Carmarthenshire, and the following place-name in Pembrokeshire.

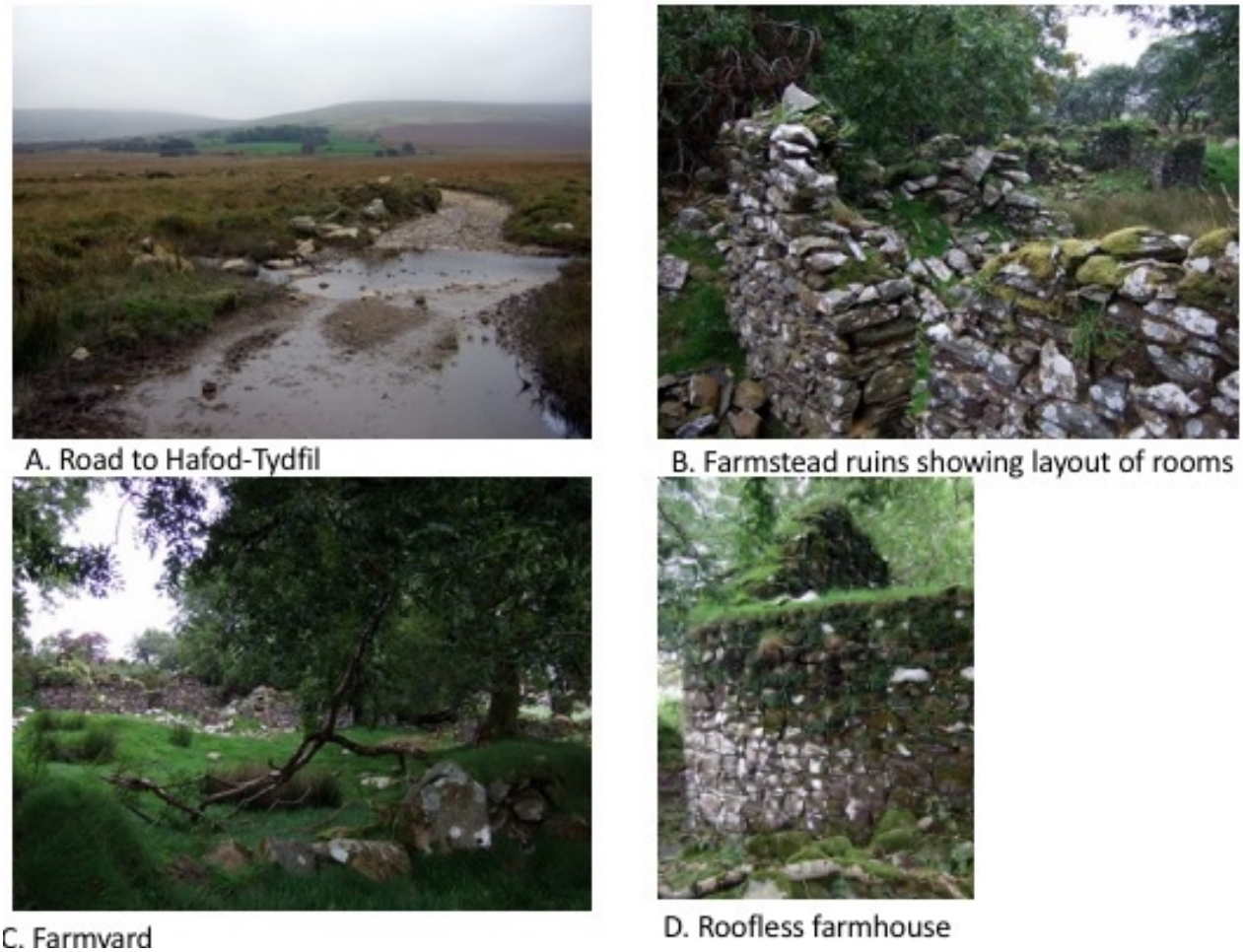
Hafod-Tydfil, Eglwyswrw [SN11583375][853]

'summer farm of Tudful', *hafod* summer farm + *Tudful* pers. n.

> *Hafod Tidvill* (1585), *Havod Tudvil* (1682), *Havodtidvil* (1717), *Havortydwyll* (1661)[854]

Hafod-Tydfil is a derelict farmstead located south of Brynberian on the edge of the Pembrokeshire Coast National Park [855] Coflein notes that the buildings were depicted as intact on the OS County map series for Pembrokeshire, sheet XI.6, published in 1889 and 1907.[856] The site is now a ruin, however, as shown in the photographs in Figure A-70, taken in 2010:

[851] 'Recorded Name: Ffynnon Wen', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online]. Avabilable at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/25b293a5-c9ed-4923-b84d-ecaf23080ae1 <Accessed 10 October 2018>
[852] 'Recorded Name: Ffynnon Wen', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online].
[853] 'Hafod-Tydfil', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLEhhZm9kIFR5ZGZpbF9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=402814#tabs-4 <Accessed 10 October 2018>
[854] Charles, vol. 1, pp. 105–106.
[855] 'Hafod-Tydfil', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[856] 'Hafod-Tydfil', RCAHMW Coflein [online].



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Figure A-70. Hafod-Tydfil, Brynberian (2010)[857]

Other family of Brychan

Dedications to Brychan family members in Pembrokeshire include Cynog son of Brychan, Cynon son (or grandson) of Brychan, and Brynach, tutor and eventually son-in-law of Brychan. There is also a dedication to Marchell mother of Brychan.

Brychan Brycheiniog

The following place-name with the name of Brychan is a geographical rather than a religious feature, and it may originally refer to something else entirely.

[857] 'SN1133: Ruins at Hafod Tydfil (7)', Geograph [online]. Available at https://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/2165401 <Accessed 10 October 2018> ©Copyright ceridwen and licensed for reuse under this Creative Commons License.

Allt Cil Frychan [SN 24970 38410][858]
'hillside corner of Brychan', *allt*, hillside + *cil*, corner, nook, recess + *Brychan*, pers. n.[859]

> *Keven kill wrachen* (1604), *Keven Kyll wraghen* (1606, 1630), *Tythen Kilwre*chan (1654)[860]

B. G. Charles writes that the original derivation of the term was related to 'the word *gwrache*n, *-an*, (from **gwrach** 'hag, witch'), besides occurring as a stream-name (*v.* EANC 114), has a variety of meanings such as 'little old woman, hag; bundle of straw, rridge thatch; tench; wood-louse'. Probably 'hag's nook', *v.* **cil**, **cefn**, **gallt**, **tyddyn'**.[861] He concludes: 'In the modern form the saint-name *Brychan* has been substituted'.[862]

Brynach

The twelfth-century *Life of St Brynach* in London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv is the primary source of information about St Brynach, and Chapter 8 discusses in detail the more recent account by Iolo Morganwg of his marriage to Corth or Cymorth daughter of Brychan.[863]

The main cult site for St Brynach is the church dedicated to him at Nevern, with additional Pembrokeshire dedications at Cwm-yr-Eglwys, Llanfyrnach, Pontfaen, and Bryn Henllan.[864] Ruins of a church can be found at Henry's Moat near St Bernard Well, which is also dedicated to Brynach. Another well is also found at Llanfyrnach. Accounts exist of another well, Pistyll Brynach, although the location of the well is now lost.[865]

See also *St Brynach Church, Llanboidy* in Carmarthenshire, *St Brynach Church, Llanfrynach* in Glamorgan, and St Brynach Church, Llanfrynach, in Breconshire.

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[858] 'Allt Cil Frychan', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/52.01643,-4.55205,17/pin <Accessed 29 October 2018>
[859] Charles, vol. 1, p. 384.
[860] Charles, vol. 1, p. 384.
[861] Charles, vol. 1, p. 384.
[862] Charles, vol. 1, p. 384.
[863] VSBG, pp. 2–22.
[864] Search on 'Brynach', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_page&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLEJyeW5hY2hfc2VhcmNodHlwZSxhZHZhbmNlZF9vcmE%3D&list_show=all <Accessed 20 October 2018>
[865] Charles, vol. 1, p. 154. Charles notes: 'Llwyn Map. v. Pen Pistyll supra, and cf. gavell bistill byrnach 16th BBCS x 94'.

Buarth Brynach, Cilgwyn [SN 0917 3568][866]

'Brynach's fold', *buarth* fold + *Brynach* pers. n.

byarth byrnagh (1603)[867]

George Owen describes Ffynnon Brynach as 'compassed about with a Coortelage of stone wall wch they call *byarth Byrnaches* Byrnaghes fold'.[868] Fenton refers to it as 'Above that range of rocks called Carnedd Meibion Owen, on the side of the mountain by the highway, and is compassed round with a curtilage of stone wall called Buarth Brynach – Brynach's fold, the wall being of 6 feet thick'. In 1914 no traces of the stone wall existed.

Ffynnon Fyrnach, Crymych [SN 225 292][869]

'crooked stream', *crwm* stream + adj. suff. *-ych*[870]

Crummuch (1468), *Crymmych* (1584), *Nant Crymich* (1652)[871]

This holy well is located south of Llanfyrnach in the community of Crymych, and the spring is reputed to have healing qualities.[872]

St Bernard Well, Henry's Moat [SN 0544 2800][873]

St Bernard Well is a possibly natural, water-filled hollow, protected by a modern masonary hood.[874] It is associated with St Brynach's Chapel, which is thought to have adjoined the well chamber.[875] The site may be early medieval in origin.[876]

St Brynach Church (ruins), Cwm-yr-Eglwys [SN 01494 40078][877]

'valley of the church', *cwm* valley + *yr* the + *eglwys* church

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[866] 'Buarth Brynach; St Brynachs Well, Cilgwyn', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLEJyeW5hY2hfc2VhcmNodHlwZSxhZHZhbmNlZF9vcmE=&numlink=32464#tabs-4 <Accessed 20 October 2018>

[867] Charles, vol. 1, p. 133.

[868] Charles, vol. 1, p. 133. Charles also states: 'Giraldus relates a story about the well *qui Sancti Bernaci dicebatur*.1200 Gir vi. 111.'

[869] 'Ffynnon Fyrnach, Llanfyrnach', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&numlink=32476&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLEZmeW5ub24gR2Fpbl9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ== <Accessed 8 October 2018>

[870] Owen and Morgan, p. 107.

[871] Owen and Morgan, p. 107.

[872] 'Ffynnon Fyrnach, Llanfyrnach', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

[873] 'St Bernard's Well, Henry's Moat', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLEJyeW5hY2hfc2VhcmNodHlwZSxhZHZhbmNlZF9vcmE=&numlink=304442#tabs-4 <Accessed 20 October 2018>

[874] 'St Bernard's Well, Henry's Moat', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

[875] 'St Bernard's Well, Henry's Moat', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

[876] 'St Bernard's Well, Henry's Moat', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

[877] 'Cwm-yr-Eglwys', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/52.02351,-4.89468,15/pin <Accessed 29 October 2018>

Ecclesia de Dynas (1291)[878]

The remains of St Brynach's Church (A-71) stand within a polygonal churchyard (only half of which still survives) adjacent to the foreshore in the coastal valley of Cwm-yr-Eglwys.[879] The church site may be early medieval in origin and may be associated with nearby Castell Iron Age defended enclosure.[880] Most of the church building and the seaward side of the churchyard were washed away in a storm in October 1859.[881] The upstanding remains comprise the west wall. Stone for the church have been incorporated into the seawall that defends it.[882] See the entry for St Brynach New Church at nearby Bryn Henllan to read about the church that replaced this one.



Figure A-71. St Brynach Church (ruins), Cwm-yr-Eglwys[883]

[878] 'Benefice of Dinas', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=DA.CG.CE.10 <Accessed 18 November 2018>
[879] 'St Brynach's Church, Cwm-yr-Eglwys', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLEN3bS15ci1FZ2x3eXNfc2VhcmNodHlwZSxhZHZhbmNlZF9vcmE=&numlink=304400#tabs-4 <Accessed 29 October 2018>
[880] 'St Brynach's Church, Cwm-yr-Eglwys', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[881] 'St Brynach's Church, Cwm-yr-Eglwys', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[882] 'St Brynach's Church, Cwm-yr-Eglwys', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[883] 'St Brynach's Church, Cwm-yr-Eglwys', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

St Brynach Church, Henry's Moat [SN 04424 27527][884]

Ecclesia de Monte Henrici (1291)[885], *Burnoxewill* (1563, 1565) *Burnaghes well* (*c.* 1600), *Burnagheswill* (*c.* 1600), *Bernards Well* (1793)[886]

RCAHMW Coflein describes this dedication as a 'medieval parish church, much restored in the nineteenth-century'.[887] Historic OS mapping depicts a standing stone some one hundred twenty metres north-west of the chapel site. [888] Charles:

> (St) Brynach's well', v. *wielle*. For the remains of a well-chapel dedicated to St Brynach called Capell Burnagh c. 1600 OPb ii. 509, v. AncMon 319. The modern forms have been influenced by the pers. names *Barnet* and *Bernard*.[889]

The location of a medieval well chapel, described by George Owen as a pilgrimage chapel, is not certain, as the chapel was in ruins by the early nineteenth century.[890]

St Brynach Church, Llanfyrnach [SN 22010 31155][891]

'church of Brynach', *llan*, church + *Brynach*, pers. n.

Ecclesia Sancti Bernaci super Taff (1291)[892]

St Brynach Church may be early medieval in origin, situated within a curvilinear churchyard.[893] Several early medieval inscribed stones have been identified in the area.[894] The church was a parish church during the post-Conquest period, belonging to the Deanery of Cemais.[895] The church was granted to Slebech Commandery around 1160, and the parish had

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[884] 'St Bernard's Well, Henry's Moat', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[885] 'Benefice of Henry's Moat', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=DA.CG.CE.02 <Accessed 8 June 2017> Note: The patron of the church was John Wogan de Wiston.
[886] Charles, vol. 1, p. 63.
[887] 'St Brynach's Church, Henry's Moat', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLEJyeW5hY2hfc2VhcmNodHlwZSxhZHZhbmNlZF9vcmE=&numlink=421286#tabs-4 <Accessed 20 October 2018>
[888] 'St Bernard's Well, Henry's Moat', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[889] Charles, vol. 1, p. 63.
[890] M. Ings, O. Davis, K. Murphy, and M. Page, *Medieval and Early Post-Medieval Churches and Chapels: A Threat-Related Assessment 2010-11*, Dyfed Archaeological Trust Report No. 100039 [online]. Available at http://www.dyfedarchaeology.org.uk/projects/churchesandchapels.pdf <Accessed 31 October 2018>
[891] 'Llanfyrnach', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.95073,-4.59154,7/pin <Accessed 31 October 2018>
[892] 'Benefice of Llanfyrnach', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=DA.CG.CE.01 <Accessed 8 June 2017> Note: The patrons of this church were *monastic*, Slebech, Pembroke, house, *Knights Hospitaller.*
[893] 'St Brynach's Church, Llanfyrnach', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLExsYW5meXJuYWNoX3NlYXJjaHR5cGUsYWR2YW5jZWRfb3Jh&numlink=422419#tabs-4 <Accessed 31 October 2018>
[894] 'St Brynach's Church, Llanfyrnach', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[895] 'St Brynach's Church, Llanfyrnach', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

at least one former chapelry.[896] At the dissolution, the church, along with all the appurtances of Slebech Commandery, fell to the Crown and it remained in royal patronage.[897]

St Brynach Church, Nevern [SN 08300 40000][898]

'valley of (the river) Nyfer', *Nyfer* river n. + *nant* stream[899]

Ecclesia de Navern cum capella (1291)[900]

Considered to the centre of the Brynach cult, St Brynach Church (fig. A-72) is located within a rectilinear churchyard that may formerly have sat within a larger, curvilinear enclosure.[901] The site is thought to have been an early medieval clas site, and part of a very large parish, and even larger before the parish of Newport was carved out of it in the twelfth century.[902] After the Norman Conquest, the church was an important cult and pilgrimage centre, with a large number of chapels on the pilgrimage route, eight of which were within the parish.[903]



Figure A-72. St Brynach Church, Nevern[904]

[896] 'St Brynach's Church, Llanfyrnach', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[897] 'St Brynach's Church, Llanfyrnach', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[898] 'St Brynach Church, Nevern', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/52.02520,-4.79557,16/pin <Accessed 26 October 2018>
[899] Owen and Morgan, p. 343.
[900] 'Benefice of Nevern', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=DA.CG.CE.12 <Accessed 8 June 2017>
[901] 'St Brynach's Church Nevern', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[902] 'St Brynach's Church Nevern', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[903] 'St Brynach's Church Nevern', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[904] 'St Brynach's Church Nevern', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

St Brynach Well, Penparke, Eglwyswrw [SN 0928 3535][905]

'church of ?Erow', *eglwys* church + *?Erow* pers. n.[906]

> *Clefferouw, Cleserouw* (1291), *Egloisserou* (1200s), *Egloysyrow* (1315), *Egloserowe* (1367), *eglwys irw* (*c.* 1566)[907]

St Brynach Well may possibly have medieval origins and it was thought to have been a pilgrimage stop on the main road to St Brynach Church in Nevern, the primary cult site for the saint. An early medieval (seventh- to ninth-century) cross-carved pillar stone stands some 300m to the south-southwest, and two further early medieval pillar stones are located some 800m to the south-west: St Brynach's well could have been associated with these. The route reached its peak during the late medieval period, but may have had earlier origins. It may be the St Brynach's Well mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis, although he may have been referring to St Brynach's Well at Henry's Moat. It was later noted that the spring had been diverted, with only a wet hollow indicating the site. When visited by Dyfed Archaeological Trust in 2002 the well was not visible.

St Brynach Church, Pontfaen [SN 0218 3408][908]

'stone bridge', *pont* bridge + *maen* stone[909]

> *Pons Lapideus, Pontvaen* (1200s), *Pontvayn* (1325), *y bont faen* (c. 1566), *Pontvane* (1794)[910]

St Brynach Church (fig. A-73) in Pontfaen is in Fishguard Parish in the diocese of St David.

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[905] 'Penparke Pillar Stone, Brynberian', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5wcm4sMzA0MzIzX3NlYXJjaHR5cGUsYWR2YW5jZWRfb3Jh&numlink=304323#tabs-4 <Accessed 21 October 2018>

[906] Owen and Morgan, p. 139.

[907] Owen and Morgan, p. 139.

[908] 'St Brynach's Church, Ponfaen', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLFBvbnRmYWVuX3NlYXJjaHR5cGUsYWR2YW5jZWRfb3Jh&numlink=400346#tabs-4 <Accessed 31 October 2018>

[909] Owen and Morgan, p. 388.

[910] Owen and Morgan, p. 388.



Figure A-73. St Brynach Church, Pontfaen[911]

St Brynach New Church, Bryn Henllan [SN 01040 39355][912]

'hill by the old church', *bryn* hill + *hen* old + *llan* church[913]

Brinhenllan (?1200s), *Brynhenllan* (1580)[914]

St Brynach's church is situated on the west side of the road into Bryn Henllan, built to replace the medieval church of St Brynach on the beach at Dinas Head which was damaged by a storm in 1851 and almost swept away in the great storm of 1859.[915] See *St Brynach Church, Dinas*.

Cadog

Dedications to St Cadog can be found at Lawrenny and at Port Eynon.

[911] 'St Brynach's Pontfaen', The Parish of Fishguard in the Diocese of St Davids [online]. Available at https://parish.churchinwales.org.uk/d287/churches-en/st-brynachs-pontfaen/ <Accessed 31 October 2018>
[912] 'St Brynach's New Church, Bryn-Henllan, Dinas Cross', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLEJyeW4gSGVubGxhbl9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=421125#tabs-4 <Accessed 31 October 2018>
[913] Owen and Morgan, p. 53.
[914] Owen and Morgan, p. 53.
[915] 'St Brynach's New Church, Bryn-Henllan, Dinas Cross', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

St Cadog Church, Lawrenny [SN 01643 06892][916]
?'valley-floor of Enni', *?llawr* valley floor + *Enni* ?pers. n.[917]

> *Lenreni* (1085–1115), *Leurenni* (*c.* 1200), *Laurenny* (1291), *Lawrenny* (1326), *Laureny* (1527), *lawr yni, lawr enni* (*c.* 1566)[918]

St Cadog Church is thought to be early medieval in origin. The church is recorded in the late twelfth century as having been alienated by Bishop Wilfrid of St Davids in the late eleventh century, having previously been an episcopal possession.[919] The church was a parish church in the post-Conquest period, belonging to the deanery of Pembroke.[920] The rectory is thought to have always been in private patronage.[921] By 1594 it was added to the Manor of Lawrenny, when the manor and patronage were held by the Wogans of Wiston.[922] By the later seventeenth century both had passed to the Barlows of Lawrenny Castle.[923]

Cledwyn
Llanglydwen, located near Cledey and Llanfyrnach, is the cult centre for Cledwyn son of Brychan.

St Cledwyn Church, Llanglydwen [SN 16613 27566][924]
'church of Cledwyn', *llan* church + *Cledwyn* pers. n.

> *Ecclesia de Langledewen* (1291)[925], *Llanglodwyn* (1435)[926], *Llan Glydwyn* (1710)[927]

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[916] 'St Cadog's Church, Lawrenny', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLFN0IENhZG9nX3NlYXJjaHR5cGUsYWR2YW5jZWRfb3Jh&numlink=300183#tabs-4 <Accessed 21 October 2018>
[917] Owen and Morgan, p. 212.
[918] Owen and Morgan, p. 212.
[919] 'St Cadog's Church, Lawrenny', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[920] 'St Cadog's Church, Lawrenny', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[921] 'St Cadog's Church, Lawrenny', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[922] 'St Cadog's Church, Lawrenny', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[923] 'St Cadog's Church, Lawrenny', RCAHMW Coflein [online].
[924] 'Llanglydwen', RCAHMW List of Historic Place-Names [online]. Available at https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames/recordedname/db87f7e3-24ce-4061-9fd8-2e75345e8738 <Accessed 7 October 2018>
[925] 'Benefice of Llanglydwen', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=DA.CM.CM.14 <Accessed 7 June 2017> See also *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate Papae Nicholai IV*, ed. by T. Astle and S. Ayscough (London, Record Commission, 1802). **Note:** Originally monastic, St Clears, Carmarthen, priory, Cluniac Monks (alien).
[926] Owen and Morgan, p. 259.
[927] Griffiths, fol. 28.

Owen and Morgan describe the dedication as probably Clydwyn ap Nyfed or Clydwyn son of the legendary Brychan.[928] According to later sources the church was dedicated to All Saints.[929]

Cynog

One place-name can be attributed to Cynog son of Brychan at St Kennox near Narberth, but no church or chapel is associated with the name.

St Kennox, Narberth [SN 0735 1625] [930]

Seynt Canoc (1535), *St Kennocke*, *St Kenox* (1609), *St Kennocks* (1631), *St Kennogges* (1651), *St Kennocks* (1662), *St Kenox* (1719)[931]

Coflein identifies St Kenox Farmhouse in Llawhaden as standing on the site of 'Chancellors House', home of Reverand Rhys Prichard, chancellor of St Davids in 1620.[932] St Kennox also appears on the OS map as a farm due south of of Llawhaden and northwest of Narberth.[933] B. G. Charles corroborates the place-name, and says that 'the name commemorated is Cynog, but nothing is known of a church or chapel at this place'.[934] There is no indication of a church or chapel on OS First Edition map, but A. W. Wade-Evans identifies Cynog as the patron saint of St Kennox Chapel, which was in Llawhaden Parish in the deanery of Dougleddeu, along with the he Llawhaden parish church dedicated to St Aeddan, and the parish included St Cadog Chapel, St Mary Chapel, and Bletherston Church (possibly dedicated to St Helena).[935]

Cynon

Cynon seems to be a popular name in general, and it is difficult to determine whether the following dedications venerate the Cynon who was said to be (a) the son of Brychan, (b) the

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[928] Owen and Morgan, p. 259.
[929] Owen and Morgan, p. 259.
[930] 'St Kenox Farmhouse, Llawhaden', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/30204/details/st-kenox-farmhouse-llawhaden <Accessed 30 October 2018>
[931] Charles, vol. 2, pp. 422–423.
[932] 'St Kenox Farmhouse, Llawhaden', Coflein [online].
[933] 'St Kennox', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.81160,-4.79611,7/pin <Accessed 30 October 2018>
[934] Charles, vol. 2, pp. 422–423.
[935] Wade-Evans, p. 9. Wade-Evans writes that, with regard to Kennox, it is more likely, in view of such names as St. Petrox and Cadoxton, to to represent a dedication to Cynog rather than Cennech, as suggested in LBS, vol. 2, p. 56. In fact, the authors of this work, in a note to their article on Cynog, refer to 'Seynt Canock' in Llawhaden (LBS, vol. 2, p. 271, n. 4). In Bletherston parish there is a Ffynnon Gain, "which, perhaps, records an ancient dedication to St. Cain Wyry, or Keyne the Virgin. The dedication of Bletherston Church seems unknown; but as the Welsh name of Bletherston is Tref Elen, and there is an Elen's Well in Llawhaden parish (of which Bletherston is a chapelry), Bletherston Church may have been dedicated to St. Helena" (Owen's Pembrokeshire, vol. 1, p. 255, n. 1). For Cadog's Chapel, see LBS, vol. 1, p. 119.

son of Arthen son of Brychan, or (c) the son of Ceredig.[936] They are included based on the likelihood that they belong to the Brychan family.

Capel Cynon, Cwm Gwaun [SN 05510 34380][937]

'chapel of Cynon', *capel* chapel + *Cynon* pers. n.

The place-name and earthwork near Tregynon Farm and Coed Tre-gynon are all that remain to indicate a dedication existed at a site that now comprises a sixteen- by ten-metre rectilinear area of grass-covered earthworks with numerous exposed stones, especially at the northwest corner of the area. A stream runs north-south close to the eastern edge of the site.

Esgair Cynon (lost)

'Cynon's ridge'[938], *esgair* ridge + *Cynon* pers. n.

> *Eskayrkenon* (1363), *Eskergenon* (1531), *Yster gynyn* (1550), *Eskerginon* (1627), *hamlet of esger gynon betweene gweyn and llogen* (c. 1603), *Esgreig Gynon* (1575), Eskaer Gynon Issa (1633), Yskyrne Eynon (1641)[939]

B. G. Charles states: 'Tregynon *infra* near which this place was situated'. [940]

Pontgynon, Eglwyswrw [SN 1264 3695][941]

'Cynon's bridge'[942], *pont* bridge + *Cynon* pers. n.

> *Pontkenan* (1504), *Pontte ganon* (1529), *Pont Cynon* (1585), *Pontgynon* (1573)[943]

This dedication to St Cynon occurs in the community of Eglwyswrw, where the ruined farmstead of Hafod-Tydfil is also located.[944] The only church is Pontcynon Independent

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[936] EWGT, p. 182.
[937] 'Tregynon', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.97376,-4.83299,7/pin <Accessed 30 October 2018>
[938] Charles, vol. 1, p. 138.
[939] Charles, vol. 1, p. 138.
[940] Charles, vol. 1, p. 138.
[941] 'Pontcynon Welsh Independent Chapel; Pontgynor, Pont Gynon', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/11129/details/pontcynon-welsh-independent-chapelpontgynor-pont-gynon <Accessed 12 October 2018>
[942] Charles, vol. 1, pp. 107–108.
[943] Charles, vol. 1, pp. 107–108.
[944] 'Pontcynon Welsh Independent Chapel; Pontgynor, Pont Gynon', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/11129/details/pontcynon-welsh-independent-chapelpontgynor-pont-gynon <Accessed 12 October 2018>

Chapel, which was built in 1839, rebuilt in 1882, and augmented with a porch during the 1930s.[945]

Tregynon, Fishguard [SN 0525 3452][946]

'Cynon's farm'[947], *tref* house + *Cynon* pers. n.

> *Trefgenon* (1315), *Tref genon* (*c.* 1600), *Trefganan* (1500), *Trefgenan* (1502), *Tregynon* (1572), *Treegynon* (*c.* 1600)[948]

This farm is located a few miles west of Hafod-Tydfil on the edge of the Pembrokeshire Coast National Park to the south and on the banks of the Gwaun River to the north. The farm is adjacent to the earthworks that are all that remain of Capel Cynon.

Dogfan

Dogfan emerges as a son of Brychan in *Plant Brychan*, where the text states that his grave is unknown.[949] *The Iolo Manuscripts* states that he is said to be buried at Merthyr Dogfan in Pembrokeshire and Baring-Gould and Fisher echo this, but David Parsons confirms there is no historical basis for this legend.[950]

See also *St Dogfan Church, Llanrhaiadr ym Mochnant* among the Denbighshire dedications.

Marchell

De Situ Brecheiniauc lays out the path followed by Marchell daughter of Tewdrig ab Teithfall as she traveled from Garth Madrun to Porth Mawr to Ireland, stopping at three spots along the way before sailing to Ireland to marry Anlach king of Ireland.[951] Other dedications to Marchell do exist. B. G. Charles describes other dedications in Denbighshire to Marchell at Llanfarchell and at Capel Marchell in Llanrwst and in Anglesey at Ystrad Marchell, but there is no way to tell whether these dedications refer to the mother of Brychan or Marchell, who is one of the married daughters of Brychan (see ch. 8).[952]

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[945] 'Pontcynon Welsh Independent Chapel; Pontgynor, Pont Gynon', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/11129/details/pontcynon-welsh-independent-chapelpontgynor-pont-gynon <Accessed 12 October 2018>

[946] 'Tregynon', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.97493,-4.83685,17/pin <Accessed 30 October 2018>

[947] Charles, vol. 1, p. 145.

[948] Charles, vol. 1, p. 145. Charles notes: 'Cynon's farm', *v.* **tref**. Cf. Esgair Gynon supra 138 and Treginon infra 239.

[949] EWGT, p. 82.

[950] Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials*, p. 99. Parsons cites LBS, vol. 2, pp. 346–347.

[951] Charles, vol. 1, p. 287.

[952] Charles, vol. 1, p. 287.

Caerfarchell, Whitchurch [SM 7945 2700][953]

Cayrvarchell (1341), *Kayrvarghell* (1485), *Caervarchell* (1579), *Caere varchell* (1595), *Caervarghell vaugh, vach* (1552)[954]

The small village of Caerfarchell is three miles east of St Davids in the civil parish of Whitchurch, with an eighteenth-century Calvinist Methodist Chapel, but no other dedication to Marchell daughter of Tewdrig and mother of Brychan.[955]

The Brychan family in England

Dedications to several members the Brychan family are found in the areas on the borders of Cornwall and Wales in Herefordshire, Somerset, and Devonshire. These saints are Nectan and Wenna, whose tradition is documented in the Life of St Nectan; Cynidr, whose name appears in the Welsh genealogies as a son of Gwynllyw and either Ceingair or Gwladys daughters of Brychan; and Keyna, where the Life of St Keyna places a significant part of her missionary work in Somerset before she returned to Wales after meeting St Cadog in Cornwall at St Michael's Mount. For most of these dedications, either the name has changed over time or the building has become lost or both. Only in the case of St Nectan, son of Brychan, is his cult still active in Devonshire and northern Cornwall.

As with the dedications in Wales and Cornwall, the OS is used as the standard for recording the location of dedications.

Daughters of Brychan

The dedications to daughters of Brychan in England are limited to St Keyne (i.e., Cain) and St Wenna (possibly Gwen), and even if Welsh versions of the names exist, the Keyna in the Life of St Keyna and St Wenna in the Life of St Nectan reflect traditions separate from those of the Welsh genealogies. The dedications to Keyna reflect the widest veneration, as dedications to her are found in many parts of Wales and in Herefordshire, Somerset, and Cornwall in England. Dedications to Wenna also indicate a wide scope, if only because of the many saints' names that are variations, such as Gwen, Wenna, and Blanche. No connection

[953] 'Caerfarchell, Calvinistic Methodist Chapel, Caerfarchell', RCAHMW Coflein [online]. Available at http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&cache_name=cG5tcnNuYW1lLENhZXJmYXJjaGVsbF9zZWFyY2h0eXBlLGFkdmFuY2VkX29yYQ==&numlink=11216#tabs-4 <Accessed 11 October 2018>

[954] Charles, vol. 1, p. 287.

[955] 'Caerfarchell, Calvinistic Methodist Chapel, Caerfarchell', RCAHMW Coflein [online].

between the two appears to exist; Keyna is not mentioned in the Life of St Nectan, nor is Wenna part of the Life of St Keyna.

St Keyne

Traces of this Celtic saint are found in Herefordshire at Kentchurch and probably at Letton (formerly Kinley) and in Somerset at Keynsham.[956] As described in Chapter 6 Cain, the centre of the cult of St Keyna is difficult to identify, but dedications are also found in Wales and Cornwall.

St Mary Church (formerly St Keyne), Kentchurch, Herefordshire [SO 41157 25755][957]

Llan Cein (1130)[958], *Ecclesia Sancte Keyne* (1205)[959], *ecclesia Sancta Keyn* (1222)[960], *parochia de Sancta Keyna* (1231–1234)[961], *Ecclesia de Sancta Kayna* (1277)[962], *ecclesia de Sancta Keyna* (1280)[963], *Ecclesia de Sancta Keyne* (1291)[964], *Kenschirch* (1300)[965], *Keynchirche* (1341)[966]

Previously dedicated to St Keyne, the Church of St Mary in the Ewyas Harold Group of Parishes in Herefordshire is located in the small village of Kentchurch, a civic parish that lies against the border between Wales and England.[967] Its patron is the Scudamore family of Kentchurch Court, whose strong links to Wales and political influence began before the Norman Conquest.[968] The village church was originally dedicated to St Keyna daughter of Brychan, although the dedication has also been attributed to Ceingair, another daughter of Brychan whose son Cynidr is the patron of the chapel at nearby Kenderchurch, which was at

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[956] A. Bannister, *The Place-Names of Herefordshire* (Cambridge: John Clay for University Press, 1916), p. 103.
[957] 'Kentchurch', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.92719,-2.85713,15/pin <Accessed 2 May 2018>
[958] Evans, *Book of Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 275. See also Bannister, p. 103.
[959] Bannister, p. 103.
[960] W. Hart, *Historia et cartularium monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestrie*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), vol. 1, p. 210.
[961] Hart, vol. 1, p. 251.
[962] Bannister, p. 103.
[963] Hart, vol. 2, p. 212.
[964] Bannister, p. 103. See also 'Benefice of Kentchurch', Taxatio database [online]. Available at https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=HE.HE.IR.20 <Accessed 19 November 2018>
[965] Bannister, p. 103.
[966] Bannister, p. 103.
[967] 'Parish History', Ewyas Harold Group of Parishes [online]. Available at http://ewyasharoldgpc.org.uk/the-parish/parish-history/ <Accessed 9 May 2018>
[968] 'Scudamore family, of Herefordshire', DWB [online]. Available at https://biography.wales/article/s-SCUD-AMO-1150 <Accessed 19 November 2018> and 'The Scudamore Family', The Scudamore Family Hentland Line Family Tree [online]. Available at http://scudamore.co.uk/toc2.html <Accessed 19 November 2018>

one time attached to the parish of Kentchurch.[969] Since the Reformation, the church has been dedicated to St Mary.[970]

The ecclesiastical history of Kentchurch after the Norman Conquest was complex. Circa 1071, William Fitz-Herbert gave Hereford lands that included Kentchurch to Cormeille and Lyra Abbeys in Normandy.[971] Around 1100, Ewyas Priory at Ewyas Harold was attached to the Abbey of Gloucester, including the advowson of Kentchurch.[972] Payments to the abbeys became a source of discord, and by 1178 monks of Lyra agreed with the Abbot of Gloucester that Ewyas Priory should keep the tithes required for Lyra and pay instead one mark of silver per year.[973] During the thirteenth century, the Abbey of St Peter of Gloucester remained the patron of the benefice of St Keyne Church.[974] In 1302, the Abbot of St Peter of Gloucester gave the rectory of St Keyna Church the St Cynidr Chapel at Kenderchurch in the Hundred of Webtree.[975] In 1358 Ewyas Harold Priory was broken up and possessions were annexed to the Abbey of Gloucester, with some left to support the vicar of St Michael Church.

At the time of the Reformation, the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (1535) identified William Motlow, clerk, as rector of Kentchurch, and the Abbey of St Peter of Gloucester ceased its ownership.[976] The Scudamores of Kentchurch Court became patrons of parish church, now called St Mary Church; they rebuilt it in 1859, but kept the thirteenth-century style.[977]

Keynsham, Somerset [ST 65415 68699][978]

'house of Keyne', *Keyne* pers. n. + *-sham* house

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[969] 'St Mary, Kentchurch', Church of England [online]. Available at http://www.achurchnearyou.com/kentchurch-st-mary/ <Accessed 9 October 2015>
[970] 'St Mary, Kentchurch', *Church of England* [online].
[971] Bannister, p. 14.
[972] Bannister, p. 39.
[973] Bannister, p. 55.
[974] A. Bannister, The History of Ewias Harold, Its Castle, Priory, and Church (Hereford: Jakeman & Carver, 1902), p. 57. Hereafter, History of Ewias Harold.
[975] 'Kentchurch Some History', St Mary's, Kentchurch [online]. Available at http://www.kentchurch.org.uk/ <Accessed 9 October 2015>
[976] 'Kentchurch Some History', St Mary's, Kentchurch [online].
[977] 'Benefice of Kentchurch', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=HE.HE.IR.20 <Accessed 19 November 2018>
[978] 'Keynsham', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.41625,-2.49872,15/pin <Accessed 2 May 2018>

Caineshim (1086)[979] *Abbas de Keynesham* (1200s), *Ecclesia de Keynesham cum capell'* (1291)[980]

The name of the town suggests a dedication to St Keyne based on the presence of snake-like ammonite fossils that fit with the account in the Life of St Keyna in *Nova Legenda Anglie* of Keyna's miraculous transformation of snakes to stone on her arrival in Somerset from Breconshire, but no medieval dedications to Keyna exist in Keynsham. That said, St Keyna continues to figure in art installations and symbols used in the community.

The 1086 Domesday documented the name 'Cainesham', showing that the name was in place before William, Earl of Gloucester, founded the Augustinian abbey there around 1170, dedicated to the Virgin Mary and the apostles Peter and Paul.[981] Gilbert Doble's suggestion that the foundation was 'possibly because of traditions of there having been formerly a monastery of St Keyne in that place' is unlikely; not only is Keyne missing from church dedications, but also her name is missing from Somerset Calendars.[982]

Chapter 6 Cain describes the continuing influence of Keyne in Keynsham cultural activities, as her continuing civic importance as a saint in spite of a lack of religious dedications is curious.[983]

Letton (formerly Kinley), Herefordshire [SO 34008 46178][984]

'meadow of Keyne', *Keyne* pers. n. + lea (probably)

Keynlec (1291)[985]

Letton is a small parish located twelve miles west of Hereford on the Brecon Road, and its church, which is dedicated to John the Baptist, has origins that date back to the Normans.[986] The parish, which was called *Keynlec* at the time of the Taxatio Ecclesiastica, became *Kinle*y over time before the name was changed to *Letton*.[987] The place-name *Kinley* remains in local

[979] 'Keynsham', Open Domesday [online]. Available at http://opendomesday.org/place/ST6568/keynsham/ <Accessed 19 November 2018>
[980] 'Benefice of Keynsham', Taxatio database [online]. Available at https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=BW.BA.RC.25 <Accessed 19 November 2018>
[981] 'Keynsham', Open Domesday [online].
[982] G. Doble, S. Nectan, S. Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall (Exeter: Sydney Lee Limited, 1930), p. 34.
[983] 'History', Keynsham [online]. Available at http://keynsham.party/city <Accessed 11 September 2015>
[984] 'Letton', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/52.10998,-2.96503,16/pin <Accessed 2 May 2018>
[985] Bannister, p. 107.
[986] 'Welcome to the Village of Letton!', Letton Village [online]. Available at https://sites.google.com/site/lettonvillage/ <Accessed 8 May 2018>
[987] Bannister, p. 107.

Letton sites such as Upper Kinley Farm and Lower Kinley Farm.[988] Four miles away in Brilley is Kintley, and another Kinley appears in Moccas.[989] Dedications to children of Brychan in the area include the church at Kentchurch and dedications to St Cynidr at Kenderchurch and Winforton.

St Wenn

The dedication of a chapel in Cheristow to St Wenn is connected to the cult of St Nectan in Hartland, where she is also honoured, along with the other patron saints of the ancient chapels, with a statue in the Stoke St Nectan church altar.[990]

St Wenn Chapel (Lost), Cheristow, Devonshire [SX 83224 85223][991]

Sancte Wenne de Cherstowe (1400)[992], *St Wenn at Cheristow* (1822)[993]

In the formation of Hartland Abbey, 1189 charter of Henry II gave land that included the an unspecified number of chapels in the parish of St Nectan Church in Stoke.[994] In 1189, the subsequent charter issued by Richard I specifies the chapels, including 'capellam Sancte Wenne de Chirestowe cum terra que antiquitus appellata est Acra Sancte Wenne, et cum duodecim aliis acris' (St Wenne chapel of Cheristowe with land anciently called St Wenn Acre, and with twelve other acres).[995] In 1400 the Bishop of Exeter granted permission for divine service at a number of chapels, including St Wenn Chapel.[996] During the Dissolution of the Monasteries, Hartland Abbey with its lands was granted by Elizabeth I to William Abbott, along with the lease of the tithes of the parish of Hartland.[997] In the present-day hamlet of Cheristow, the chapel is no longer marked on the OS maps and no ruins of the chapel remain.[998] In an attempt to identify the specific place where St Nectan died, which the

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[988] 'Upper Kinley Farm Letton Hereford HR3 6DP', OnTheMarket [online]. Available at https://media.onthemarket.com/properties/3977153/419117913/document-0.pdf <Accessed 8 May 2018> and 'Lower Kinley Farm', Balfours Property Professionals [online]. Available at https://www.balfours.co.uk/index.php?option=com_iproperty&view=property&id=4191:lower-kinley-farm-letton-hereford-herefordshire&Itemid=188

[989] Bannister, p. 107.

[990] R. Chope, *The Book of Hartland* (Torquay: The Devonshire Press, 1940), p. 137.

[991] 'Cheristow', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.65495,-3.65332,7/pin <Accessed 29 April 2018>

[992] G. Oliver, *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1856), p. 205.

[993] D. Lysons and S. Lysons, 'Parishes: Haccombe – Hittesleigh', in *Magna Britannia: Volume 6, Devonshire* (London, 1822), pp. 250-272. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/magna-britannia/vol6/pp250-272 [accessed 8 May 2018].

[994] Oliver, p. 204.

[995] Oliver, p. 207.

[996] Oliver, pp. 204–205.

[997] Chope, pp. 94–102.

[998] 'Cheristow', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.65495,-3.65332,7/pin <Accessed 29 April 2018>

Life of St Nectan identifies as Newtone, Philip Chope says that a farm of that name exists about a mile from Stoke and the name *New Town* implies that there was an *Old Town* 'and this we find at Cheristow, the place of the church, where was a chapel dedicated to Nectan's sister, Wenn, and the land anciently called St Wenn's acre with twelve other acres—no doubt the original church enclosure'.[999]

St Wenn Chapel, Chudleigh, Devonshire

St Wenn (1349)[1000]

St Wenn Statue, St Nectan Church, Stoke, Devonshire [SS 23731 24672][1001]

The War Memorial added in 1931 at Our Lady and St Nectan Church at Stoke features a carved oak reredos with figures of the patron saints of the ancient chapels of Hartland, including one statue of St Wenn, sister of St Nectan, whose chapel was at Cheristow.[1002]

Other Children of Brychan

St Cynidr

Said to be a disciple of St Cadog, St Cynidr was identified as the son of St Ceingar daughter of Brychan, with his cult centre at Glasbury in Wales, where he was buried and where a holy well is also dedicated to him.[1003] Dedications to him are found in Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany, and the dedications to him in the Welsh Marches of Herefordshire at Kenderchurch and Winforton are discussed in the following sections.[1004]

Kenderchurch, Herefordshire [SO403284]

'church of Cynidr', church + *Cynidr*, pers. n.

Llancinitir (Book of Llandaff)[1005]

Although the St Mary Church in Kenderchurch is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, it is identified as Llancinitir in the Book of Llan Dav and as Ecclesia Sancti Keynedy in the Taxatio of 1291, indicating a previous dedication to Cynidr son of St Rheingar, daughter of Brychan.[1006] Before the Dissolution of the Monasteries, the patron of Kenderchurch was the

[999] Chope, p. 17. Note: William of Worcester refers to the spot as *Nova Villa*.
[1000] Grandisson, vol. 3, p. 1384. St Wenn, V., Sir Philip Andru, de Trenarle, priest, was inst. (at Chudleigh), 17 April ; Patrons, the Abbat and Convent of Tewkesbury.
[1001] 'Stoke', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.99206,-4.47934,15/pin <Accessed 1 May 2018>
[1002] Chope, pp. 136–137.
[1003] LBS, vol. 2, pp. 258–261.
[1004] LBS, vol. 2, pp. 258–261.
[1005] LBS, vol. 2, p. 258.
[1006] LBS, vol. 2, p. 258.

priory of Augustinian canons at Llanthony Prima in Monmouthshire.[1007] St Mary Church (fig. A-74) is located at the south-west end of the parish, constructed of rubble and with a slate roof.[1008] The font and incised slab in the churchyard date from the twelfth century, but no evidence confirms when the church was built.[1009] In 1871 the church was restored, and the vestry and south porch were added, the chancel arch was rebuilt, and new windows were added in all except the south wall of the nave.[1010]



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Figure A-74. St Mary Church, Kenderchurch, Herefordshire[1011]

St Cynidr and Mary Chapel and St Michael and All Angels Church (formerly St Cynidr), Winforten, Herefordshire [SO 29770 47311]

Wynforton (1330), *Wynfreton* (1349), *Sancti Michaelis in Wynferton* (1393), *Winforton* (1652), *Winferton* (1773)[1012]

Winforton in the county of Herefordshire is and hundred of Huntington was the site of a hermitage, later a chapel, named for St Cynidr.[1013] The hermitage and chapel have now disappeared, but they was built on an island in the River Wye about one-quarter-mile south of the present church, which is now dedicated to St Michael and All Saints, but was likely also

[1007] 'Benefice of Kenderchurch', Taxatio [online]. Available at https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=HE.HE.IR.21 <Accessed 9 June 2017>
[1008] 'Kenderchurch', in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire, Volume 1, South west* (London: Printer, 1931), p. 152. British History Online [online]. Available at http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/heref/vol1/p152 <Accessed 8 May 2018>. Hereafter, *Kenderchurch*.
[1009] Kenderchurch, p. 152.
[1010] Kenderchurch, p. 152.
[1011] 'Kenderchurch', Site [online]. Available at http://www.hhct.co.uk/kenderchurch/#jp-carousel-934 <Accessed 7 May 2018>
[1012] 'Notes on Border Parishes: No 11.—Winforton by Mrs Dawson', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 5th ser., vol. 15, no. 59 (July 1898), pp. 202–221, p. 209.
[1013] Dawson, p. 216. SECOND USE

originally dedicated to St Cynidr.[1014] It is unknown whether St Cynidr founded the chapel, although he lived nearby and he was buried at Glasbury, nine miles farther up the river in the church which is still named for him.[1015] In 1264, the chapel was granted by John le Strange, Lord of Monington and Winforton, with consent of the hermit who lived at the hermitage and the Bishop of Hereford, to the Priory of St Leonard of Wormsley.[1016] It is assumed that after the Dissolution of the Monasteries St Cynidr Chapel was abandoned along with the Priory of Wormsley, and by 1675 its buildings had disappeared.[1017] All that remained in 1898 was an oblong mound artificially raised ten feet above the level of the soil, reached by raised causways on the south-west and north-west.[1018] Few stones are visible, and the building appears to have had an apse at the east end.[1019]

St Nectan

Hartland Abbey, Hartland, Devonshire [SS 26098 24333][1020]

Monasterii Beati Nectani de Hertilonde (1261)[1021], *Hertilonde* (1269)[1022], *Hurtelonde* (1279)[1023], *Hertilonde* (1329)[1024], *Hertilaunde* (1345)[1025], *Hurtylaunde* (1353–1354)[1026]

The documented history of Hartland begins with the Domesday Book of 1086, which confirmed that the Saxon Gytha, wife of the Earl of Wessex and mother of King Harold Godwinson, owned the land called Harton during Edward the Confessor's lifetime and that the land was seized by William the Conqueror subsequently.[1027] In 1112 after William the Conqueror's death, the land was granted to the Dynham family, who held it until the reign of Henry VII and who were the patrons of Hartland Abbey until the Dissolution of the Monasteries.[1028] During the lifetime of Edward the Confessor, the manor of Nectan's Stoke was held by twelve secular canons, but in 1169 Henry II issued a license to Oliver de

[1014] Dawson, p. 216.
[1015] Dawson, p. 216.
[1016] Dawson, p. 216.
[1017] Dawson, p. 216.
[1018] Dawson, p. 216.
[1019] 'Chapel of St Cynidr and St Mary, Winforton Island', Herefordshire Through Time [online]. Available at https://htt.herefordshire.gov.uk/her-search/monuments-search/search/Monument?ID=1076 <Accessed 8 May 2018>
[1020] 'Hartland Abbey', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.99206,-4.47934,15/pin <Accessed 2 May 2018>
[1021] Exeter, p. 139.
[1022] Exeter, p. 38.
[1023] Exeter, p. 156.
[1024] Grandisson, vol. 1, p. 506.
[1025] Grandisson, vol. 1, p. 67.
[1026] Grandisson, vol. 3, p. 1432.
[1027] Chope, pp. 19–25.
[1028] Chope, pp. 26–37.

Dynham to replace these secular canons with regular canons of the order of St Augustine and to found the abbey.[1029] This license was confirmed in a charter issued by Richard I in 1189, which included details such as the gift of many chapels to the abbey, which included the Chapel of St Wenn at Cheristow.[1030] In 1319, during visitation of the abbey by the Bishop of Exeter, the bishop noted the poor condition of the buildings and required the Abbot make specific repairs or face a fine.[1031] In 1400 Bishop Stafford granted permission for divine service in a number of chapels, one of which was St Wenn Chapel at Cheristow.[1032] The abbey was dissolved in 1539, the abbot and monks were issued pensions, and in 1546 Hartland Abbey was granted to William Abbott, sergeant of the cellar, by crown grant, whose descendants, the Stucley family, still own the estate.[1033] The abbey (fig. A-75) has been rebuilt as a manor house over the years, which is open to the public from March to October.[1034]



Figure A-75. Modern Hartland Abbey, Devonshire[1035]

Our Lady and St Nectan Church, Stoke [SS 23731 24672][1036]

Parochialem Ecclesiam de Hertilonde (1261)[1037], *Ecclesia de Hertylonde* (1291)[1038], *Parochia de Stoke Sancti Nectani* [Hartland] (1361)[1039]

[1029] Oliver, p. 204.
[1030] Oliver, p. 207.
[1031] Oliver, p. 204.
[1032] Oliver, p. 205.
[1033] Chope, pp. 94–102.
[1034] 'Home', Hartland Abbey & Gardens [online]. Available at https://www.hartlandabbey.com/ <Accessed 3 May 2018>
[1035] 'The Architecture and Interior', Hartland Abbey & Gardens [online].
[1036] 'Stoke', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.99206,-4.47934,15/pin <Accessed 1 May 2018>
[1037] Exeter, p. 140.
[1038] Exeter, p. 462.
[1039] Grandisson, vol. 3, p. 1233.

The founding of the church of St Nectan at Stoke is described in the twelfth-century Life of St Nectan, conflating the reign of the Saxon King Athelstan (894–939), grandson of Alfred the Great, with the tenure of Bishop Livyng of Crediton (1031–1046).[1040] The Life of St Nectan states that during the reign of King Athelstan, a devout priest named Brictric had a vision that the relics of St Nectan should be translated from his grave in the church to a shrine, so Brictric went to Bishop Livyng of Crediton for permission, but the bishop refused permission.[1041] Returning to his church, Brictric conferred with clergy and parishioners, who helped him exhume the saint and place him in the shrine and reliquaries prepared, and they also found the saint's staff and bone seal.[1042] Bishop Livying, repenting of his refusal, gave to the church lead to build the roof and two bells.[1043]

The Historic England database of Listed Buildings largely supports this account, describing the foundation of the collegiate church dedicated to St Nectan at Stoke near Hartland (fig. A-76) as taking place *c.* 1050, but gives the date of the main surviving fabric of the church as dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, indicating a subsequent building of the church, with restoration of the church *c.* 1850 and in 1910 and 1911.[1044] According to the database, the church retains much early fabric and features, comprising comprises nave, chancel, north and south aisles, transept chapels and porches, and a one-hundred-twenty-eight-foot-high west tower.[1045] Among the many early features of the church are a fourteenth-century trefoiled piscina in the chancel; restored medieval wagon roofs; a fine fifteenth-century rood screen, with evidence of ancient colouring throughout; a restored medieval pulpit; and a late Norman font.[1046] The bells were cast in 1826. The church includes a Lady Chapel and sixty mural monuments on the walls and floors throughout the church.[1047]

[1040] Doble, pp. 13–14.
[1041] Doble, pp. 13–14.
[1042] Doble, pp. 13–14.
[1043] Doble, pp. 13–14.
[1044] 'Church of St Nectan', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1333125 <Accessed 2 May 2018>
[1045] 'Church of St Nectan', Historic England [online].
[1046] N. Orme, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Devon's Churches* (Exeter: Cloister Books, 2008), p. 165. Hereafter, *PGDC*.
[1047] PGDC, p. 165.



Figure A-76. St Nectan Church, Stoke, Devonshire[1048]

St Nectan Holy Well, Stoke, Devonshire [SS 23628 24680][1049]

According to the Life of St Nectan, the saint was decapitated by robbers, but taking his head in his hands, he walked back to his hermitage and laid his head down at at his fountain, where it became marked with his blood, and the marks are still there to see.[1050] Holy wells are often said to emerge miraculously in response to the death of a saint, but this account indicates that the holy well already existed at Nectan's hermitage and became the site of a miracle at the time of his death.

This well is covered by a well house and can be found east of the church of Our Lady and St Nectan Church in Stoke off the road near a small stream.[1051] The small, rectangular, medieval well house (fig. A-77), is made of stone rubble with a gabled roof and was likely rebuilt at some point.[1052]

[1048] 'Stoke', Britain Express [online]. Available at https://www.britainexpress.com/counties/devon/az/Stoke.htm <Accessed 7 May 2018>
[1049] 'St Nectan's Well', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1146697 <Accessed 2 May 2018>
[1050] Doble, p. 10.
[1051] 'St Nectan's Well', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1146697 <Accessed 2 May 2018>
[1052] 'St Nectan's Well', Historic England [online].



Figure A-77. St Nectan Holy Well, Stoke, Devonshire[1053]

St Nectan Chapel, St Andrew Church, Cheddar, Devonshire [ST 45925 53207][1054]

St Andrew Church in Cheddar is part of the United Benefice of Cheddar, Draycott, and Rodney Stoke in the Deanery of Axbridge and the Archdeaconry of Wells in the Diocese of Bath and Wells.[1055] The church was built during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and around 1490 the Fitzwater family of Cheddar Hall gave to St Andrew Church a chapel dedicated to St Nectan.[1056] The chapel must have been fairly new when St Thomas More specified in his will dated 1493 that he wished to be buried at the church before the altar of St Nectan.[1057] The church was restored in 1873 by William Butterfield.[1058]

[1053] 'St Nectan's Well (Stoke)', Megalithic Portal [online]. Available at http://www.megalithic.co.uk/article.php?sid=8227 <Accessed 3 May 2018>
[1054] 'Cheddar', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/51.27544,-2.77659,7/pin <Accessed 2 May 2018>
[1055] 'Benefice', St Andrew's Church Cheddar [online]. Available at http://www.standrewscheddar.org.uk/?page_id=711 <Accessed 3 May 3018>
[1056] 'St Nectan Chapel', St Andrew Church Cheddar [online]. Available at http://www.standrewscheddar.org.uk/?page_id=102 <Accessed 2 May 2018>
[1057] Doble, p. 5.
[1058] 'St Nectan Chapel', St Andrew Church Cheddar [online]. Available at http://www.standrewscheddar.org.uk/?page_id=102 <Accessed 2 May 2018>

St Nectan Church, Ashcombe, Devonshire [SX 91343 79587][1059]

Ecclesiam de Aiscumbe (1259)[1060], *Ascumbe* (1280)[1061], *Asshecombe* (1329–1330), *Aiscombe* (1330)[1062], *Asshecombe* (1331)[1063], *Ashcombe* (1335)[1064]

St Nectan's Church in Ashcombe (fig. A-78) is considered a rare example for Devon of a largely thirteenth-century church, comprising a nave, chancel, north aisle, south transept and west tower.[1065] The thirteenth-century tower houses three bells supported on the oldest basically unaltered medieval bell frame in the country.[1066] The north aisle was added in the fifteenth century, and then the church was substantially restored in the 1820s and the interior was refurnished in 1885, along with numerous other updates.[1067] An unusual set of century benches with carved bench ends date from the sixteenth or seventeenth century.[1068] The windows contain fragments of medieval, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century glass.[1069]



Figure A-78. St Nectan's Church, Ashcombe, Devon

[1059] 'Ashcombe', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.60586,-3.53686,15/pin <Accessed 2 May 2018>
[1060] Exeter, p. 67.
[1061] Exeter, p. 108.
[1062] Grandisson, vol. 1, p. 603.
[1063] Grandisson, vol. 2, p. 637.
[1064] Grandisson, vol. 2, p. 796.
[1065] 'Parish Church of St Nectan', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1308702 <Accessed 2 May 2018> See also PGDC, p. 137.
[1066] PGDC, p. 137.
[1067] 'Parish Church of St Nectan', Historic England [online].
[1068] PGDC, p. 137.
[1069] PGDC, p. 137.

St Nectan's Church, Welcombe, Devonshire [SS 22918 18386][1070]

Welscum (1189)[1071], *Welcombe* (1330)[1072] *Welcombe* (1349)[1073]

Initially one of the chapels of Our Lady and St Nectan Church at Stoke and later given to Hartland Abbey, St Nectan Chapel (fig. A-79) at Welcombe was founded in the eleventh century, and the font dates from that period.[1074] The church was rebuilt in 1508, the tower was completely rebuilt in 1731, the church was restored during 1883 and 1884, and more restoration took place during the early twentieth century.[1075] The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 valued the rectory at ten pounds; the building was subsequently let to John Arundell.[1076] The holy well is very close to St Nectan Church.[1077] This church is connected with the poet and antiquary R. S. Hawker, who was curate there for thirty years and held the living in conjunction with Morwenstow from 1851.[1078]



Figure A-79. St Nectan's Church, Welcombe, Devonshire[1079]

[1070] 'Welcombe', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.93767,-4.52172,15/pin <Accessed 2 May 2018>
[1071] Chope, p. 81.
[1072] Grandisson, vol. 1, p. 592.
[1073] Grandisson, vol. 3, p. 1392.
[1074] PGDC, p. 172.
[1075] 'Church of St Nectan', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1333126 <Accessed 6 May 2018>
[1076] Chope, p. 210.
[1077] Chope, p. 16.
[1078] Chope, p. 16.
[1079] 'Welcombe Church', St Nectan's Church - Welcombe [online]. Available at http://www.welcombe.org/photo.htm <Accessed 5 May 2018>

St Nectan Holy Well, Welcombe, Devonshire [SS 22918 18386][1080]

The small holy well in its rectangular stone well house (fig. A-80) with gabled corbelled roof enclosure and small, square-headed niche in the gable can be found south-east of St Nectan Church by the side of the road.[1081] The well house is probably a medieval structure, but the well dates from before the Norman Conquest.[1082] A square-head opening provides access to the well, but there is no door.[1083]



Figure A-80. St Nectan's Holy Well, Welcombe (from Geograph)

St Nectan Relic, Waltham Abbey [TL 39512 00550][1084]

Nicholas Roscarrock wrote that 'ther was a boane of his [Nectan's] reserved as a relique in Waltham Abbey'.[1085] Waltham Abbey was founded by King Harold Godwinson, the last Saxon king of Britain at roughly the same time that his mother Gytha founded St Nectan Church in Devonshire at Stoke, and the Life of St Nectan describes how a number of shrines

[1080] 'Welcombe', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.93767,-4.52172,15/pin <Accessed 2 May 2018>
[1081] B. Cherry and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Devon* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004),
p. 893, and 'Well Housing at St Nectan's Well', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1333127 <Accessed 6 May 2018>
[1082] 'Well Housing at St Nectan's Well', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1333127 <Accessed 6 May 2018>
[1083] 'Well Housing at St Nectan's Well', Historic England [online].
[1084] 'Waltham Abbey', OS Maps [online].
[1085] Roscarrock, p. 94. See also Roscarrock, p. 207 for the source of this statement, which Roscarrock identifies as 'Liber Waltham'. Nicholas Orme identifies 'Liber Waltham' as probably London, British Library (BL) MS Harley 3766 and London, BL MS Harley 3776, a collection of religious and historical tracts related to Waltham Abbey and once owned by Lord William Howard and containing notes in the handwriting of Nicholas Roscarrock.

and reliquaries were made after the translation of the saint.[1086] It is feasible that Waltham Abbey could have possessed a relic of St Nectan. No further account of this relic is available.

The Brychan family in Cornwall

The Brychan family dedications in Cornwall reflect several traditions, but primarily the early-thirteenth-century Life of St Nectan, which identifies Brychan as king in Breconshire married to a woman named Gwladys, whom he abandons for an eremitical life in Ireland and with whom he subsequently reunites, resulting in numerous children, who then resettle as hermits in Cornwall and Devonshire.[1087] The names of these children are Nectan, John, Endelient, Menfre, Dilic, Tedda, Mabon, Wencu, Wensent, Merewenne, Wenna, Juliana, Yse, Morwenna, Wynup, Wenheden, Cleder, Keri, Jona, Canauc, Kenhender, Adwen, Helie, Tamalanc.[1088] Dedications to St Keyne and St Cadog in Cornwall also indicate that the Life of St Keyne and the Life of St Cadog were known.[1089] *Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints of Cornwall and Devon* edited by Nicholas Orme was also essential, both for Roscarrock's collection of Cornish saints' lives and for Orme's commentary.[1090]

As with other major sections in this appendix, daughters of Brychan are listed before other family members. Entries include the dedication, location, examples of the place-name and dates of documented use, and description of the place along with legends and other traditions.

Where many sources of data are available, a standard has been followed. Maps use OS (OS) Grid References, linked to the OS Maps website.[1091] For descriptions of protected buildings and sites on the National List for England, the Historic England website is referenced.[1092] For descriptions of community and village activities, the website for that place is the preferred source. The source of information about specific parishes and churches are the Church of

[1086] Doble, p. 14, and 'Houses of Austin canons: Abbey of Waltham Holy Cross', in *A History of the County of Essex: Volume 2*, ed. by W. Page and J. Round (London: Victoria County History, 1907), pp. 166–172. Available in *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/essex/vol2/pp166-172 <Accessed 5 May 2018>
[1087] EWGT, p. 29.
[1088] EWGT, p. 29.
[1089] Nova Legenda Anglie: As collected by John of Tynemouth, John Capgrave, and others; and first printed, with New Lives, by Wynkyn de Worde a.d. m d xui, ed. by C. Horstmann, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901) and Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae, ed. and trans. by A. Wade-Evans, new edn ed. by S. Lloyd (Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press, 2013).
[1090] *Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints of Cornwall and Devon*, New Series, vol. 35, ed. by N. Orme (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1992), p. 141. Hereafter, *Roscarrock*.
[1091] OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/ <Accessed 29 April 2018>
[1092] Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/ <Accessed 29 April 2018>

England website along with parish websites and, in addition where possible, websites for groups of parishes.[1093] For place-names, references by Nicholas Orme and Oliver Padel have been used, in particular Orme's *The Saints of Cornwall*, supported by primary sources when needed.[1094]

Daughters of Brychan

St Dilic

The Life of St Nectan identifies St Dilic as one of the daughters of Brychan, and dedications to her can be found in the place-name of Landulph Parish and former dedication of its parish church and in the dedication of St Illick's Chapel in the parish of St Endellion. The name of this saint poses questions as to attribution. The first account of Landulph church gives the name *Landelech*, suggesting the saint's name is Delech; between 1515 and 1517 the saint's name is given as Dilecta, the latin form. In 1559 the form used was Dylytt.[1095] For the chapel, the patron saint is called Sancte Electe in 1302, and Illick or Telick in the sixteenth century.[1096] Nicholas Orme states that 'whether or not the two saints were once the same, they were not regarded as such in later times'.[1097]

St Leonard and St Dilpe Church, Landulph Parish, Bodmin Archdeaconry, Truro Diocese [SX 43041 61556][1098]

'church-site of Dylyk or Delek', *lann* + *Dylyk* or *Delek*, pers. n.[1099]

> *Landelech* (1086)[1100], *Landylp* (1280)[1101], *Ecclesia de Landylp* (1291)[1102], *Landylp* (1327)[1103], *Landhilp* or *Landylik* (*c.* 1485)[1104], *Landilpe* (1548)[1105], *Landulph* (1571–1604)[1106]

[1093] The Church of England [online]. Available at https://www.churchofengland.org/ <Accessed 29 April 2018>
[1094] N. Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
[1095] Orme, pp. 106–107.
[1096] Orme, pp. 106–107.
[1097] Orme, pp. 106–107.
[1098] 'Landulph', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.43283,-4.21141,15/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1099] Orme, pp. 106–107.
[1100] Roscarrock, p. 141.
[1101] F. Hingeston-Randolph, *The Registers of Walter Bronescombe (A.D. 1257–1280), and Peter Quivil (A.D. 1280–1291), Bishops of Exeter* (London and Exeter: George Bell & Sons and Henry S. Bland, 1889), p. 149. Hereafter, *Exeter*.
[1102] Exeter, p. 467.
[1103] F. Hingeston-Randolph, *The Register of John de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter (A.D. 1327–1369)*, 3 vols (London: George Bell & Sons, 1894), vol. 1, pp. 2 and 24. Hereafter, *Grandisson*.
[1104] Orme, p. 106.
[1105] J. Norden, *A Topographical and Historical Description of Cornwall* (London: William Pearson, 1728), p. 67. Note: 'a parishe nere *Tamar* riuer, not farr from Salt-ash.'
[1106] 'ACP/WR/183/43: Will Indexes, Archdeaconry Court of Probate, Landulph', Cornwall Record Office (CRO) [online]. Available at

Landulph parish comprises the village of Cargreen, rural Landulph, and the parish church of St Leonard, but its connection to the daughters of Brychan derives from earlier dedications of the parish church to both St Dilic daughter of Brychan and St Leonard.[1107] St Dilic was dropped at some point from the dedication.[1108] Nicholas Orme identified several indications that a cult to St Dilic once existed.[1109] First, the church is dedicated to St Leonard and Dilecta from 1515 to 1517. [1110] Second, a command by Elizabeth I's royal commissioners in 1559 to destroy two paintings specifies the location as Landulph Church of 'Dylytt' and Leonard. [1111] Third, the name 'Dilecta' is used as a girl's name in the area.[1112]

Landulph Parish Church is one of four churches in the United Benefice of St Dominick, Landulph, and St Mellion with Pillaton.[1113] The church probably dates from the fourteenth century, built on an earlier foundation, with substantial additions and alterations made in the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries.[1114]

Current OS maps indicate the presence in the forest north-west of Landulph of a holy well whose waters were noted for medicinal properties in 1736 and 1849; however, the Landulph Holy Well may instead be an old trial mine adit; that is, a nearly horizontal test mine shaft.[1115]

http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=0&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Landulph%27%29 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1107] Orme, p. 106.
[1108] Orme, p. 106.
[1109] Roscarrock, p. 141, and Orme, pp. 106.
[1110] Roscarrock, p. 141, and Orme, pp. 106–107.
[1111] Roscarrock, p. 141, and Orme, pp. 106–107.
[1112] Roscarrock, p. 141, and Orme, pp. 106–107.
[1113] 'Welcome to the official website of Landulph Parish Council', Landulph Parish Council [online]. Available at http://www.landulph.org.uk/index.php <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1114] 'Church of St Leonard and St Dilpe', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1140179 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1115] 'Landulph: Medieval holy well/mine adit', HeritageGateway [online].

St Illick Chapel, St Endellion Parish, Pendoggett, Bodmin [SX 02395 79376][1116]

Capellanus de Sancta Electa, ecclesiam Sancte Electe (1302)[1117], *capellam Sancte Electe* (1331)[1118], *St Illicks Cheney* (1833)[1119], *St Illick* (*c.* 1850)[1120], *St Illickswell Gug* (2018)[1121]

The Chapel of St Illick in St Endellion parish near Bodmin may have been dedicated to Dilic daughter of Brychan, but no remains of the chapel are now visible, and the cult of this saint remains only in records of the chapel and in the names of places nearby.[1122] The chapel was located about halfway between Pendoggett and Portgaverne in the bottom of a valley by a stream.[1123] Though not on a modern road, the chapel is still the focus of local tracks and paths, such as St Illickswell Gug, a tidal area near the coast path for hikers along the coast of Port Isaac Bay.[1124] A field named Chapel Sea View is on the outskirts of Pendogget. [1125]

The chapel first appeared on an Assize roll in 1302, followed by licenses issued in 1331, 1382, 1390, 1400, and 1410 to appoint a priest to serve the chapel.[1126] While these documents refer to the dedication of the chapel as St Electa, by the time Nicholas Roscarrock (1549? – 1634?) wrote his collection of the lives of the saints in the late sixteenth century, he identified the saint as 'Ilick or Telick' and and did not identify her as a daughter of Brychan, saying instead that 'shee came miraculously out of Ireland on a harrow or hurdell and that she lived in the time of St Endelient…The path wherein they used to walk or pass on to the other is noted to this daye…to be greener than anye other part, especiallie after tillage'.[1127] Roscarrock wrote of a well near the chapel and a tree over the well, saying that 'those that attempted to cutt downe had ever harme, so as they gave over to cutt it, till one more bold

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[1116] 'Pendoggett', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.58062,-4.79251,7/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1117] Orme, p. 106.
[1118] Orme, p. 106.
[1119] F. Trevan, *The History of Port Isaac and Port Quin* [online]. Available at http://orlopdeck.net/PIPQ/HISTPOPQ.html <Accessed 10 January 2018> Note: The History of Port Isaac and Port Quin by Dr. Frederick Trevan 1833-1834 being a faithful copy of a typescript in the Cornish Studies Library in the Cornish Studies Library at the Cornwall Centre Redruth, Cornwall copied by Jonathan Remick Richards January 1994 and incorporating a comprehensive index of personal names.
[1120] 'F/3/14/39: Estate maps, mixed parishes, Cornwall', CRO [online]. Available at http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=0&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Illick%27%29 <Accessed 26 April 2018>
[1121] 'St Illickswell Gug, Cornwall', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://www.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/getoutside/local/st-illickswell-gug-cornwall <Accessed 10 January 2018>
[1122] Orme, p. 106, and G. Doble, *The Life of St Nectan* (Bideford: Polypress Ltd, 1964), p. 6
[1123] Orme, pp. 106–107.
[1124] 'St Illickswell Gug', OS [online].
[1125] 'St Illickswell Gug', OS [online].
[1126] Orme, p. 106. See also Grandisson, vol. 2, p. 627: '1331, fol. 32b, St Endellion: Licencia celebrandi Divina in Capella Sancte Electe'.
[1127] Roscarrock, pp. 78–79.

then the rest did cutt it down, whoe hurting himself was noted to dye shortlye after'.[1128] He reported that Dilic's feast in St Endellion parish had been celebrated on the Saturday after the Epiphany, but implied that it was no longer observed.[1129]

By 1814 it was noted that chapels had existed at Roscarrock and St Illick, 'of which the ruins are still to be seen'.[1130] By 1841 St Illick Chapel had been become the house on a nine-acre farm called St Illick, which included a neighbouring field named St Illicks Well.[1131] *The History of Port Isaac and Port Quin (1833–1834)* by Frederick Trevan (1803–1885) reproduced a drawing made of St Illick Chapel during the sixteenth century along with this statement:[1132]

> St. Illick Cheneys. Here their family chapel was situated, taken down about 30 years since a burying ground attached thereto carried out for manure great numbers of human bones were thrown out but afterwards carried to the churchyard at Endellion and there buried.
>
> A pretty little tenement now Earl Fortescue's on lease to F. B. Hambly. Tenant T. Bishop. House occupied by labourer Henry Masters.[1133]

In 1873 the antiquarian Sir John Maclean (1811–1895) described the house as a 'dilapidated cottage with some ancient walls and wrought granite, certainly not brought there for the erection of a mere cottage.[1134] The beams and joists supporting the chamber are of solid oak with champhered edges and otherwise ornamented, which ancient coins have been found in considerable numbers.'[1135]

St Endelient

It is tempting to consider St Endellion the centre of the cult to the Brychan family in Cornwall, if only because it is closest to the family seat of Nicholas Roscarrock and much of what is known about the children of Brychan in Cornwall comes from Roscarrock's research into the lives of the saints. That proximity alone would not in itself justify the designation; however, the cult to St Endelienta at St Endellion parish also includes St Illick Chapel, with

[1128] Roscarrock, pp. 78–79.
[1129] Roscarrock, pp. 78–79.
[1130] D. Lysons and S. Lysons, 'Parishes: Egloshayle - St Ewe', in *Magna Britannia: Volume 3, Cornwall* (London: T Cadell and W. Davies, 1814), pp. 81–98, *British History Online* [online]. Available at http://www.british-history.ac.uk/magna-britannia/vol3/pp81-98 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1131] Roscarrock, p. 140.
[1132] F. Trevan, The History of Port Isaac and Port Quin [online].
[1133] F. Trevan, The History of Port Isaac and Port Quin [online].
[1134] Roscarrock, p. 140.
[1135] Roscarrock, p. 140.

the parish bounded by St Minver Parish to the south-west, Egloshayle to the south, St Teath Parish to the north-east, St Mabyn Parish to the south-east. In short, St Endellion Parish is surrounded by dedications to other daughters of Brychan.

St Endelienta Collegiate Church, St Endellion, Port Isaac [SW 99762 78644][1136]

Ecclesie Sancte Endeliente (1260)[1137], *Endelienta* (1291)[1138], *Sancte Endeliente* (1308)[1139], *Parochie Sancte Endeliente* (1331) [1140], *Sancte Endeliente* (1341) [1141], *St Endelion* or *St Eudelian* (1548)[1142]

St Endellion is a hamlet and a civil parish in Cornwall named after Endelienta, one of the daughters of Brychan listed in the Life of St Nectan.[1143] St Endellion is also the name of the ecclesiastical parish in the diocese of Truro and one of the North Cornwall Cluster of Churches.[1144] The parish church and two holy wells are named for St Endelienta, and her name is also associated with music and arts festivals that are conducted in St Endellion.

The foundation date for St Endelienta Collegiate Church is uncertain, but it was reconstituted in 1265; by 1288 it comprised four prebendaries.[1145] The church survived the Chantry Act of 1545, making it the only church in Cornwall to survive as a collegiate church.[1146] The current church (fig. A-80) was built in the early fifteenth century, with the west tower added later in the fifteenth century. The church was restored in the nineteenth century and again in the middle of the twentieth century.[1147] The church houses a number of memorials, including several related to the Roscarrock family and one to Poet Laureate John Betjeman (1906–1984), who lived in the parish and is now buried in the churchyard.[1148]

[1136] 'St Endellion', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.57314,-4.82926,18/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1137] Exeter, p. 170. Hingston-Randolph: 'The early history of this Collegiate Church is involved in considerable obscurity.'
[1138] Exeter, p. 471.
[1139] Exeter, p. 422.
[1140] Grandisson, vol. 2, p. 627.
[1141] Grandisson, vol. 2, p. 971.
[1142] Norden, p. 51. 'a parishe situate in a frutefull vayne of Lande.'
[1143] 'Saint Endellion (Civil Parish)', Cornish Place-Names [online]. Available at http://cornish-place-names.wikidot.com/st-endellion-civil-parish <Accessed 28 April 2018> and Doble, p. 6.
[1144] 'Welcome to the North Cornwall Cluster website', North Cornwall Cluster of Churches [online]. Available at http://www.stendellion.org.uk/ <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1145] 'Church of St Endelienta', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1320630 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1146] 'Church of St Endelienta', Historic England [online].
[1147] 'Church of St Endelienta', Historic England [online].
[1148] 'Church of St Endelienta', Historic England [online], and 'John Betjeman – a brief biography', www.johnbetjeman.com [online]. Available at http://www.johnbetjeman.com/biography.html <Accessed 27 April 2018>



Figure A-80. St Endelienta Collegiate Church, St Endellion[1149]

An altar tomb on the south aisle of the church has been described as the shrine of St Endelienta (fig. A-81).[1150] In *Lives of the British Saints*, Baring-Gould and Fisher stated that the original site of the fifteenth-century shrine was on the south side of the church under the easternmost arch of the nave, where it was placed altar-wise at the end of the south aisle.[1151] The shrine is empty, and Baring-Gould and Fisher concluded that if the saint is buried in the church, the remaining bones probably lie under the floor where the shrine originally stood.[1152]



Figure A-81. Possible St Endelienta shrine, St Endelienta Collegiate Church, St Endellion[1153]

[1149] 'St Endellion – Welcome to St Endellion!', North Cornwall Cluster of Churches [online]. Available at http://www.northcornwallclusterofchurches.org.uk/our-churches/st-endellion/ <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1150] 'Church of St Endelienta', Historic England [online].
[1151] LBS, vol. 2, p. 481.
[1152] LBS, vol. 2, p. 481.
[1153] 'St Endellion, St Endelienta's Church', Britain Express [online]. Available at http://www.britainexpress.com/counties/cornwall/churches/st-endellion.htm <Accessed 27 April 2018>

The two holy wells dedicated to St Endelient are near the village of St Endellion. The first, St Endellion Holy Well [SW 99849 78745], located by a narrow lane, has no traditions associated with it, nor any building to indicate its importance; however, the spring is unfailing, even in dry seasons, and it is commonly used by villagers.[1154] The second, called St Endelienta's Well House [SW 98638 80375], is located thirty meters west of Roscarrock House. Described as 'probably of medieval origin', the structure is a stone rubble well house built into the side of a bank over the spring and covered with a beehive corbelled stone roof.[1155] Another reminder of medieval devotion is a Latin cross located in the churchyard of the Church of St Endelient which was moved from the nearby medieval manor of Tresungers in 1922 to the churchyard, where the upright granite head and upper shaft were mounted on a granite fragment, possibly part of a window mullion, to increase its height.[1156]

Trentinney Farm, St Endellion [SW 99762 78644][1157]

According to Nicholas Roscarrock, Endelient lived at Trentinney, south-west of the present day village of St Endellion:[1158]

> Shee [Endelienta] lived in a place in Cornwall called Trenteny, where I remember there stood a chapell dedicated (as I take it) to her, which at this daye is decayed & the place in which it stoode is yet called the chappell Cloose & lyeth on the Southwest of the Parrish church, which at this present is of her called St Endelient, where shee lived a verie Austere course of life, That with the Milk of a cowe onelye, which cowe the lord of Trenteny kild as shee strayed into his grounde <as> olde people speaking by Tradition doe report; she had a great man to her Godfather which they also saye was king Arthure, whoe toke the killing of the cowe in such sort as he killed or caused the Man to be slaine, whom shee miraculously revived.[1159]

Trentinney Farm is now an enterprise renting holiday cottages, and their website states that the farm is the site of St Endelient's hermitage.[1160]

[1154] Quiller-Couch, M. and Quiller-Couch, L., *Ancient and Holy Wells of Cornwall* (London: Chas. J. Clark, 1894), p. 66.
[1155] 'Wellhouse 30 metres to west of Roscarrock house', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1219420 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1156] 'Medieval wayside cross in the churchyard at St Endellion', Historic England [online].
[1157] 'Little Trentinney', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/52.59963,-1.87554,16/pin <Accessed 8 April 2018>
[1158] Roscarrock, p. 71.
[1159] Roscarrock, p. 71.
[1160] 'On and around Trentinney Farm', Trentinney Farm [online]. Available at http://www.trentinney.co.uk/OurWorkingFarm.aspx <Accessed 27 April 2018>

St Juliana

Dedications to St Juliot and St Julitta are found in Cornwall, but it is unlikely that they refer to the Juliana listed as one of the daughters of Brychan in the Life of St Nectan. The cult of Juliot or Julitta may in some way reference Juliana, though; Nicholas Orme states that the compiler of the Life of St Nectan 'may have connected [Juliana] with the churches of St Juliot or Lanteglos-by-Camelford, because he lists her along with the saints of other churches in the area', and he concludes, 'Perhaps he knew that St Juliot church, at least, had connections with an older Brittonic figure'.[1161] The names Juliot and Julitta may also refer to the Roman saint St Julitta, often venerated along with her son St Cyr.[1162]

St Julitta Church, Lanteglos-by-Camelford Parish, Truro Diocese [SX 09097 82982]

Ecclesie de Lanteglos (1208)[1163], *Ecclesie de Lanteglos* (1275)[1164], *Ecclesia Sancte Julitte* (1291)[1165], *Lanteglos* (1548)[1166]

The parish church of St Julitta (fig. A-82) has Norman origins, with a tower added in the fourteenth century, and a south aisle added in the fifteenth century.[1167] Several examples of old glass with heraldic motifs can be found in the top lights of the north window of the chancel and in the three windows in the south aisle.[1168] The church was restored between 1864 and 1873 by J. P. St Aubyn (1815–1895).[1169]

[1161] Orme, p. 154.
[1162] Roscarrock, p. 48. See also J. MacLean, *Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor*, x volumes (London: Nicholas & Sons, Date), vol. 2, p. 307.
[1163] Exeter, p. 197.
[1164] Exeter, p. 149
[1165] Exeter, p. 471.
[1166] Norden, p. 54. 'a parishe wherein was a parke of the *Duchye*, disparked by Kinge *Hen.* The 8.'
[1167] 'Church of St Julitta', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1142729 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1168] 'Church of St Julitta', Historic England [online].
[1169] 'Church of St Julitta', Historic England [online].



Figure A-82. St Julitta Church, Lanteglos-in-Camelford[1170]

St Julitta Holy Well, Lanteglos-by-Camelford [SX 09097 82982]

St Giltwill (1569)[1171], *St Gellettwell* (1590)[1172], *Jetwell-Parks or Jetwells* (Meyrick: 29–30)[1173]

The well house of a holy well dedicated to St Julitta of possibly medieval origins was demolished in the 1850s and the dressed stone was reset in one of the outbuildings at Jetwells.[1174] In 1891 the wellhouse was rebuilt on the earlier site, making a rectangular well house built into side of a bank over the spring.[1175] The lower front elevation has a stone arch which has possibly been reversed; the jambs have been replaced and the roof has collapsed.[1176]

St Julitta Church, St Juliot, Boscastle and Tintagel Group, Truro Diocese [SX 12902 91221][1177]

Sangviland (place) (1086), *Capellis...Sancte Julitte* (1177x1184) (1400s), *capelle beate Iulite* (1238), *capella Sancte Julitte* (1291), *Juliatte, Seynt Julett*

[1170] 'St Julitta, parish church of Lanteglos by Camelford – an awesome genealogy journey', Onward To Our Past [online]. Available at http://onwardtoourpast.com/genealogy_blog/cornish-genealogy/st-julitta-parish-church-of-lanteglos-by-camelford-an-awesome-genealogy-journey.html <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1171] Orme, p. 154.
[1172] Orme, p. 154.
[1173] Orme, p. 154.
[1174] 'St Julitta's Well', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1312148 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1175] 'St Julitta's Well', Historic England [online].
[1176] 'St Julitta's Well', Historic England [online].
[1177] 'St Juliot', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.69048,-4.65026,15/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>

(1549), *Julit* (1733), *Julet* (1742), *Juliet* (1782), *Julitta* (1846), *Julietta* (1883), *Julietta* (1939), *Julitta* (1998)[1178]

The hamlet of St Juliot is east of the village and port of Boscastle in the civil parish of Forrabury and Minster.[1179] The Church of St Juliot is one of the Boscastle group of seven churches on the north-west coast of Cornwall that includes Davidstow, Lesnewth, Otterham, Trevalga, Forrabury, and Minster.[1180] The Parish Church of St Julitta (fig. A-83) is difficult to date because a major restoration from 1870 to 1872 required that much of the fabric be rebuilt, leaving unaltered only the fifteenth-century south porch and south aisle.[1181] The restoration was directed by the author Thomas Hardy, who met his future wife during the project, influencing his life and his later poetry.[1182] The restoration entailed demolition of the nave and chancel, which was replaced by a smaller north aisle, demolition of the north transept, and reconstruction of the west tower.[1183] The south aisle was remodeled to form the present nave and chancel.[1184]



[1178] Orme, p. 154. Note: Orme suggests that the 1086 dedication could indicate a previous dedication to a St Guilant.
[1179] 'St Juliot', Boscastle: Includes Forrabury & Minster Parish [online]. Available at http://www.boscastlecornwall.org.uk/churches/church_stjuliot_info.htm <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1180] 'St Juliot Church', Boscastle: Includes Forrabury & Minster Parish [online].
[1181] 'Church of St Julitta', Historic England [online].
[1182] 'Church of St Julitta', Historic England [online].
[1183] 'Church of St Julitta', Historic England [online].
[1184] 'Church of St Julitta', Historic England [online].

Figure A-83. St Julitta Church, St Juliot, Boscastle[1185]

St Julitta Chapel, Tintagel [SX 05761 88399][1186]

S. Ulette, Ulianc, Julianes (*c.* 1540)[1187]

The Norman chapel of St Julitta at Tintagel Castle, now in ruins (fig. A-84), was a simple rectangular building, and the chancel is of a later date than the nave.[1188] There seems to have been an interruption in the chapel's use from the seventh to the eleventh century, according to pottery finds in the chapel compared with those found in the churchyard, which indicate that the churchyard was used continually as a sacred site beginning after the Roman occupation, along with successive pre-Norman churches. Among the carved stone was an eleventh-century granite font, now located in the mainland parish church of Tintagel. It is thought that the chapel was an estate church, built by a landowner in the eleventh century, because of the presence of a font and the possible dedication to a Cornish saint. As the parochial system developed, only the mainland parish church would have been allowed to conduct baptisms. The church was refurbished in the thirteenth century to serve as a chapel to the castle.



[1185] 'Boscastle, St Julitta's', Cornwall Historic Churches Trust [online]. Available at https://www.chct.info/histories/boscastle-st-julittas/ <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1186] 'Tintagel', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.66279,-4.74975,15/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1187] Orme, p. 154. See also *The Itinerary in Wales of John Leland*, 5 vols, ed. by L. Toulmin Smith (London: George Bell and Sons, 1907–1910), vol. 1, pp. 177 and 302.
[1188] 'Romano-British and early medieval settlement, medieval church castle and associated features on Tintagel Island and adjoining mainland', Historic England [online]. Note: The information in the footnoted paragraph comes from this source.

Figure A-84. Ruins, St Julitta Chapel, Tintagel Castle[1189]

Tintagel is a significant site that has served varying purposes since the time of the Roman occupation, with peaks of activity during the fifth and sixth centuries, when a large settlement there traded high-status goods; the eleventh century, when the church was built; and the thirteenth century, when the castle was built by the earls of Cornwall.[1190]

From 1933 to 1939, historian and archaeologist Ralegh Radford (1900–1999) conducted research at Tintagel Island, excavating the site and producing an authoritative interpretation that remains the foundation for subsequent research.[1191] Radford believed that Tintagel was a Dark Age Celtic monastery and that the earliest parts of the castle were built in the twelfth century by Reginald, illegitimate son of King Henry I and the Earl of Cornwall from 1140 to 1175. He also believed that his excavations uncovered remains of the earlier monastery that inspired Geoffrey of Monmouth to speak of Tintagel as the site where King Arthur was conceived. Research conducted from 1970 to 2000 questioned those conclusions, based on inconsistencies in the dates for these events, the unmonastic structures and presence of luxury items at the site, and early use of *Tintagel* as the place-name, which refers to a fort rather than to a monastery. The medieval castle was not built until the thirteenth century. An English Heritage project begun in 2016 is currently exploring the uses made of Tintagel between the fifth and seventh centuries, which could change current understanding of Tintagel and its religious uses during a time much closer to the suggested lives of the children of Brychan.

St Keri

St Petroc and St Keri Church, Egloskerry, Launceston [SX 27225 86631][1192]
'church of Keri', *eglos*, church + *Keri*, pers. n. [1193]

> *Capellam de Eglescheria (1159x1181), capellam...Sancte Kerie (1506), Keria (1925), Keri (1998)*[1194]

The village and civil parish of Egloskerry in eastern Cornwall is approximately five miles from Launceston, with a place-name derived from St Keri, one of the daughters of Brychan

[1189] 'Chapel Photo', iTraveluk.co.uk [online]. Available at http://www.itraveluk.co.uk/photos/showphoto/photo/1004.php <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1190] 'Romano-British and early medieval settlement, medieval church castle and associated features on Tintagel Island and adjoining mainland', Historic England [online].
[1191] 'Ralegh Radford's Excavations', English Heritage [online]. Note: The information for the referenced paragraph comes from this source.
[1192] 'Egloskerry', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.65367,-4.44553,15/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1193] Padel, p. 81.
[1194] Orme, p. 158.

named in the Life of St Nectan.[1195] The Church of St Petrock and St Keri in the ecclesiastical parish of Egloskerry (fig. A-85) has Norman origins, with significant features added during the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries and a complete restoration in 1879.[1196]



Figure A-85. St Petroc and St Keri Church, Egloskerry[1197]

An ancient manor was nearby at Penhele, and it was the lord of Penhele who originally built the cruciform Norman church.[1198]

The holy well [SX 2717 8653] (fig. A-86) can be found by crossing the road from the church to a parking area, taking the path at the end of the parking area for a short way, climbing the stile into a field, turning right and crossing the field to the fence line, and following the fence line back toward the church until the well appears on the left. [1199] The site was described by visitors as 'overgrown and invisible' in 1978 and 'a fairly miserable brick-built affair' in

[1195] Doble, p. 6. See also Padel, p. 81: 'Keri is named as one of the 24 Children of Broccan in the Cornish legend, but nothing else is known of the saint, except that she was believed to be female (from the latinised form *cheria*); if so, she must be different from the (male) saint Cury or Corentin, of Cury parish. Compare the Breton St Quiry in Plounevezel, near Carhaix-Ploughuer.'
[1196] 'Church of St Keria', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1160053 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1197] 'Egloskerry, St Petrock & St Keri Church', Britain Express [online]. Available at http://www.britainexpress.com/counties/cornwall/churches/egloskerry.htm <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1198] A. Lane-Davies, *Holy Wells of Cornwall* (St Ives: Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1970), p. 26.
[1199] 'Egloskerry', The Old Station Bed & Breakfast [online]. Available at https://egloskerryoldstation.co.uk/images/holy%20well.jpg <Accessed 27 April 2018>

1988, but by 2005, the site had become less neglected and 'quite attractive'.[1200] The holy water used for baptisms is still taken from this holy well. [1201]



Figure A-86. Egloskerry Holy Well[1202]

St Keyne

Chapter 6 provides a detailed discussion of Cain daughter of Brychan, known as Ceinwen in Anglesey and Keyne in England and Cornwall. Unlike many of the children of Brychan venerated in Cornwall, the Life of St Nectan does not include Keyne among the list of Brychan's children. In Cornwall, dedications to St Keyne are found in the south of of the county near Truro and Liskeard, including the Well of St Keyne made famous by Robert Southey's poem, also discussed in chapter 6.

St Keyne Church, Kenwyn [SW 81768 45717][1203]

'white ridge', *keyn* + *gwynn* (or its feminine form *gwenn*), with mutation of *gw* to *w*.[1204]

> *Ecclesia de Keynwen juxta Truueru* (1259)[1205], *Ecclesia de Landege et de Kenwen* (1265)[1206], *St Kenven* or *St Kenwen* (1548)[1207]

[1200] C. Straffon, *Fentynyow Kernow: In Search of Cornwall's Holy Wells* (Penzance: Meyn Mamvro Publications, 2005),
p. 13.
[1201] 'Egloskerry', The Old Station Bed & Breakfast [online].
[1202] 'Egloskerry', Megalithic Portal [online]. Available at http://www.megalithic.co.uk/article.php?sid=8103 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1203] 'Kenwyn', OS Maps [online]. Available https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.27101,-5.06386,15/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1204] Padel, p. 102.
[1205] Exeter, p. 65.
[1206] Exeter, p. 173.
[1207] Norden, p. 40. 'a parishe nere *Truro*, in and nere which parishe are manie tynn mynes.'

Kenwyn is the name of a town and parish now in the suburbs of Truro, and the Kenwyn River is one of three rivers that flows through the city.[1208] Nicholas Orme says 'a few saints' names were probably conjectures based on place-names such as Kenwyn'.[1209] Oliver Padel agrees, saying that the name 'was not considered to denote a saint until the middle of the fourteenth century, and it probably did not do so originally'.[1210] He suggests that during the fourteenth century the name was equated with the St Keyne known as Ceinwen in Anglesey, with the proviso that 'at Kenwyn she seems to have been regarded as male'.[1211] Dedications to St Keyne include the church and nearby holy well.

St Keyne Church, located on a hill overlooking the city of Truro, was enlarged in the fifteenth century, substantially renovated in the nineteenth century, and remodeled during the last half of the twentieth century.[1212] To reach the holy well located near the south door of the churchyard one must descend a flight of narrow stone steps with an arched doorway that leads to the spring, said to be much older than the church.[1213] The well is no longer in use.[1214]

St Keyne Church, St Keyne Parish, Liskeard [SX 24131 61042][1215]

Ecclesia Saincti Kayne (1291), *Cayne* (1340), *ecclesiam...Sancte Kayne* (1422), *ecclesiam...Sancte Keyne* (1462), *Kayne* (1733), *Kean* (1742), *Keyne* or *Keyna* (1883), *Kayna* (1925), *Keyna* (1939)[1216]

St Keyne is one of the names of Cain daughter of Brychan (see ch. 6), and this church and well in Cornwall are the most well-known dedications to her, and perhaps the best known of all the dedications to the daughters of Brychan. That said, the legends related to St Keyne seem to be generated primarily in England, from the Life of St Keyna produced in *Nova Legenda Anglie* to the legends about the Well of St Keyne granting the mastery in marriage to whoever drinks first from the well after the wedding.

[1208] 'Kenwyn', OS Maps [online]. Available https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.27101,-5.06386,15/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1209] N. Orme with a contribution by O. Padel, *A History of the County of Cornwall: Volume II: Religious History to 1560*, 8 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), vol. 2, p. 15.
[1210] Padel, p. 102.
[1211] Padel, p. 102. Note: Padel cites the form *Sanctus Keynwynus* (1342).
[1212] 'Kenwyn with St Allen: Church History', The Church of England [online].
[1213] Quiller-Couch and Quiller-Couch, p. 103. See also Lane-Davies, p. 84.
[1214] 'Kenwyn with St Allen: Church History', The Church of England [online].
[1215] 'St Keyne', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.42284,-4.47717,12/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1216] Orme, p. 162.

The Parish Church of St Keyne (fig. A-87) was consecrated in 1259, extended during the fifteenth century, and greatly restored in 1819 and 1860.[1217] Originally the church followed a cruciform plan of which the north wall of the nave, chancel and possibly the foundations of the north transept survive, extended in the early fifteenth century with a south aisle and a south porch and in the later fifteenth century with a west tower; the organ transept was rebuilt probably in 1860.[1218] J. P. St Aubyn conducted a substantial restoration of the church from 1872 to 1878.[1219] At present the church consists of a chancel, nave, short north aisle, south transept or vestry, porch, and west tower.[1220] St. Keyne parish is linked to the market town of Liskeard and the fishing and tourism centre of Looe, and the church serves the population of St Keyne parish and the Trewidland area of Liskeard parish.[1221]



Figure A-87. St Keyne Church, Liskeard[1222]

Two holy wells are associated with St Keyne, both near St Keyne Church. One holy well can be found south-west of the church with a structure built late in the nineteenth century from

[1217] 'Church of St Keyne', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1205410 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1218] 'Church of St Keyne', Historic England [online].
[1219] 'Church of St Keyne', Historic England [online].
[1220] 'St. Keyne Parish Church', Cornwall Historic Churches Trust [online]. Available at https://www.chct.info/histories/st-keyne-parish-church/ <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1221] 'St. Keyne Parish Church', Cornwall Historic Churches Trust [online].
[1222] 'St Keyne's Holy Well', Cornwall Guide [online]. Available at https://www.cornwalls.co.uk/photos/st-keyne-holy-3671.htm <Accessed 27 April 2018>

dressed granite and rubble.[1223] Seven steps lead down to a sump fed by the spring, and a round block vault covers the sump area.[1224] The steps are surrounded by granite posts linked by a plinth and iron rails.[1225]

The other well (fig. A-88) is located south-east of the church together with a cross, both of which were built during the sixteenth century and rebuilt in 1936 by the Liskeard Old Cornwall Society.[1226] The rectangular well house is built of granite with a gabled roof of large granite blocks, and the well opening is in the front gable end with round granite chamfered arch and jambs and pyramid stops.[1227] The well house is surrounded by a low stone rubble retaining wall.[1228]



Figure A-88. St Keyne Well, Liskeard[1229]

[1223] 'Holy Well of St Keyne to South West of Church of St Keyne', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1201463 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1224] 'Holy Well of St Keyne to South West of Church of St Keyne', Historic England [online].
[1225] 'Holy Well of St Keyne to South West of Church of St Keyne', Historic England [online].
[1226] 'St Keyne's Well and Cross to South East', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1140839 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1227] 'St Keyne's Well and Cross to South East', Historic England [online].
[1228] 'St Keyne's Well and Cross to South East', Historic England [online
[1229] 'St Keyne Holy Well', Cornwall Tour [online]. Available at http://www.cornwalltour.co.uk/st_keyne_holy_well.html <Accessed 27 April 2018>

Legends spoke of a tree beside the well with branches of four different trees growing from a single root. The historian and cartographer John Norden (1547–1625) describes the phenomenon of the tree:

> St Kaynes well, a place nere Trekeue, a spring rising vnder a tree of a most straunge condition ; for beynge but one bodie, it beareth the braunches of 4 kindes, oke, ash, elme, and withye. This Kayne is sayde to be a woman saynte, of whom it taketh name, but it better resembleth Kayne the deuill, who had the shape of a man, the name of an apostle, the quallytie of a traytor, and the handes of a Bryber.[1230]

Norden does not explain his antipathy to the saint, which seems harsh even for having been written at the beginning of the Reformation. Fifty years later, the poem by Richard Carew (1555–1620) about St Keyne's well does not mention the tree, but nearly two centuries later, Robert Southey (1774–1843) places four trees by the well in his poem on the same subject, this time without the miraculous single trunk[1231] Southey's account may differ because the original trees were blown down in 1703 and replaced by trees planted by Mr Rashleigh of Menabilly.[1232] By the 1930s, the trees had decayed, and the lane was widened.[1233] As a result, the well was rebuilt.[1234]

St Martin Church (formerly St Keyne), St Martin-by-Looe, Looe, Liskeard [SX 25528 53287][1235]

> *Saynt Kayn iuxta Loo alias Martyn* (*c.* 1545), *Martin...otherwyse called Kayne the Moore* (1547), *Kayen* (1563), *St Kayn als. St Martin's* (1727), *Martin, also Kayne* (1733), *Kayn alias Martin* (1742), *Martin alias Kayn* (1814), *Kayne* (1856), *Keyne and Martin* (1925)[1236]

St Martin-by-Looe is a coastal civil parish in south Cornwall east of the town and parish of Looe and seven miles south of Liskeard.[1237] The north doorway and much of the fabric of the church is Norman, enlarged during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, and restored in 1882 and 1907.[1238]

[1230] Norden, p. 59.
[1231] R. Southey, 'The Well of St Keyne', *The Poetical Works of Robert Southey*, 10 vols (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1838), vol. 6, pp. 145–146.
[1232] 'St Keyne's Well and Cross to South East', Historic England [online].
[1233] 'St Keyne's Well and Cross to South East', Historic England [online].
[1234] 'St Keyne's Well and Cross to South East', Historic England [online].
[1235] 'St Martin-by-Looe', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.35358,-4.45393,15/pin <Accessed 29 April 2018>
[1236] Orme, p. 162.
[1237] 'Church of St Martin by Looe', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1282854 <Accessed 29 April 2018>
[1238] 'Church of St Martin by Looe', Historic England [online].

St Michael's Mount, Mazarion, Penzance [SW 51481 29915][1239]

montem sancti Michaelis (1070)[1240], *ecclesia S' Michaelis* (1086) [1241], Mont St Michael (1156–1159)[1242], Mount St. Michaells (1548)[1243]

St Michael's Mount (fig. A-89) figures in the Life of St Keyna published in *Nova Legenda Angliae*.[1244] During the thirteenth century, the island became a centre for pilgrimage, a use confirmed by an episode in the Life of St Keyna in which St Keyna meets St Cadog, her nephew and the son of her sister Gwladys, who persuades her to return with him to Wales (see ch. 6).[1245] This episode is a rare case in which saints from the Welsh tradition of Brychan's children appear in the Cornish landscape. The Life of St Keyna does not refer to Cornwall otherwise.



Figure A-89. St Michael's Mount, Mazarion, Penzance[1246]

[1239] 'St Michael's Mount', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.11718,-5.47776,7/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>

[1240] 'An Index to the Historical Place Names of Cornwall M to O', A Cornish Sourcebook [online]. Available at https://www.webarchive.org.uk/wayback/archive/20080414121559/http://cornovia.org.uk/ihpnc/m_o.html <Accessed 26 April 2018>.

[1241] 'Scs Michael / Michaehel: Count of Mortain, formerly Brismar the priest' in 'St Michael's Mount', Domesday Online [online]. Available at http://www.domesdaybook.co.uk/cornwall2.html#stmichaelsmount <Accessed 27 April 2018>

[1242] 'RP/6: Copy, charter of privildges, monks of St Michael's Mount, 1156–1159', CRO [online]. Available at http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=550&dsqSearch=%28%28%28text%29%3D%27Michael-s%27%29AND%28%28text%29%3D%27Mount%27%29%29 <Accessed 27 April 2018>

[1243] Norden, p. 58. 'a steepe and most craggie torr, called sometime *Dinsol* ; of *Prolemey*, *Ocrinum* ; in the Cornishe language, *Careg Cowse*, the graye rock ; and in the Saxon tounge *Milchestor*, *Michaells* hill or mount. *Tor* signifieth a sharpe mount, or anie hill *turri similis* : It is at the full sea *Insula plena*, at a lowe water *Peninsula*'

[1244] *NLA*, vol. 1, p. xi.

[1245] 'St Michael's Mount', Historic England [online].

[1246] 'Eating and Shopping at St Michael's Mount', National Trust [online]. Available at https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/st-michaels-mount/features/eating-and-shopping-at-st-michaels-mount <Accessed 27 April 2018>

St Mabyn

Mabon, a man's name, is one of the names of Brychan's children listed in the Life of St Nectan, but St Mabyn, depicted as a woman, is generally considered a daughter of Brychan. The dedication to St Mabyn is in Cornwall near Wadebridge, although a stained glass window of the saint can be found at St Neot's Church. While the gender of this saint is not specified for this saint, the saint is usually described as female. Nicholas Roscarrock says of her that 'I have heard from the report of such as have lived there at the time, a Song or Hyme sung of her, signifieing that she had twentie thre brothers & Sisters, whereof St Endelient & St Meneuer were towe'.[1247] The hamlet possesses an ancient inn, church, and medieval wayside cross, all named for the saint. The St Mabyn community is one that has chosen to deepen its connection with its patron saint with sponsorship of a variety of activities, described in the following sections.

St Mabena Church, St Mabyn, Wadebridge [SX 04232 73234][1248]

Ecclesie de Sancto Malbano (1234), *ecclesie Sancte Mabene* (1266), *parochia Sancti Maubani* (1327), *ecclesie...Sancte Mabene* (1424), *Mabena* (1733), *Mabyn* (1742), *Mabena* (1846), *Mabyn* (1939), *Mabena* (1998)[1249]

St Mabyn, located three miles east of Wadebridge on the edge of Bodmin Moor, is a hilltop village of old cottages gathered around a popular inn (see fig. A-90), which dates back to the seventeenth century, and the Church of St Mabena, said to date from the Norman Conquest.[1250] The village website describes its facilities as a post office/shop, a pub, a church, a school, a playgroup, a village hall, a playing field, a green, a tug o'war team, a garden club, and a young farmer's group'.[1251]

[1247] Roscarrock, p. 86.
[1248] 'St Mabyn', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.52606,-4.76337,16/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1249] Orme, p. 168.
[1250] 'St Mabyn', Cornwall Guide [online]. Available at https://www.cornwalls.co.uk/St-Mabyn <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1251] 'Home Page', st.mabyn…village website [online]. Available at http://www.squashbug.co.uk/StMabyn/index.htm <Accessed 27 April 2018>



Figure A-90. Sign, St Mabyn Inn, St Mabyn[1252]

The Church of St Mabena probably has Norman origins, with the Norman font remaining.[1253] The most recent church structure (fig. A-91) dates from the late fifteenth century, with alterations and a major restoration taking place during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[1254]



Figure A-91. St Mabena Church, St Mabyn[1255]

[1252] 'St Mabyn Inn & Restaurant', tripadvisor [online]. Available at https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/LocationPhotoDirectLink-g670367-d4456590-i144502249-St_Mabyn_Inn_Restaurant-St_Mabyn_Bodmin_Cornwall_England.html <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1253] 'Church of St Mabena', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1161735 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1254] 'Church of St Mabena', Historic England [online].
[1255] 'St Mabyn Church…History', St Mabyn Church [online]. Available at http://www.stmabynchurch.co.uk/history_St_Mabyn_Church.html <Accessed 27 April 2018>

One indication of a long-standing cult of St Mabyn is a granite medieval wayside cross situated to the east of the church in St Mabyn churchyard in north Cornwall.[1256] The restored granite wayside cross survives as a round, 'wheel' head set on a modern shaft and base, but the cross head and half of a cross base stone were found in 1876 built into a wall along the road from St Mabyn to Longstone, known as Lane End.[1257] This road links St Mabyn with the main road between Bodmin and Camelford, an important early route across Cornwall.[1258] Around 1885 the cross-head was removed from the wall and re-erected on the modern shaft and base in St Mabyn churchyard.[1259]

The present congregation of the parish defines its mission based on a continuing interest in early spiritual practices:

> St Mabyn Church is a place of Celtic Spirituality—where it is easier to know that God is especially near and to feel free from other demands . Many people understand this idea and come into this church for solitude and peace in times of need. We know very little about St Mabena other than she lived here and shared her faith in Jesus and for that she is remembered.[1260]

The St Mabyn Parish relies increasingly on lay leadership, with active and contemplative goals; for example, the parish conducts aid appeals for refugees, but it also sponsors pilgrimages and labyrinth meditations at the church.[1261] In addition, the community sponsors activities designed to keep memories of Saint Mabena alive; for example, on 16 August 2014, children of St Mabyn School performed 'The Myth of Mabena' in the Gogmagog arena on The Green, followed by Cornish storytelling, music, and other entertainment.[1262]

St Merewenne

One dedication to St Merewenne, one of the daughters of Brychan according to the Life of St Nectan, is found in Cornwall at Marhamchurch, a rural village and parish one and a half miles inland of the coastal town of Bude.[1263] While the church has a strong connection to St

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[1256] 'Medieval wayside cross in St Mabyn churchyard', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1014019 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1257] 'Medieval wayside cross in St Mabyn churchyard', Historic England [online].
[1258] 'Medieval wayside cross in St Mabyn churchyard', Historic England [online].
[1259] 'Medieval wayside cross in St Mabyn churchyard', Historic England [online].
[1260] 'Our Vision of St Mabyn Church', St Mabyn Church [online]. Available at http://www.stmabynchurch.co.uk/index.html <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1261] 'Pearls of Life', St Mabyn Church [online]. Available at http://www.stmabynchurch.co.uk/recent_events_St_Mabyn_Church.html <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1262] 'The myth of Mabena', St Mabyn Village News [online]. Available at http://stmabyn.blogspot.co.uk/2014/08/the-myth-of-mabena.html <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1263] Doble, p. 6.

Merwenne as a daughter of Brychan, the name also is similar to the English St Merwenn, a tenth-century abbess of Romsey in Hampshire, and the dedication could, in fact be to the English abbess.[1264]

St Marwenna Church, Marhamchurch, Bude [SS 22386 03698][1265]

'church of St Marwen', *Marwen*, pers. n. + *cirice*, church[1266]

> *Maronecircbe* (1086)[1267], *Marwencherche* (1275)[1268], *Ecclesia de Merwynechirche* (1291)[1269], *Marwenecherche* (1275)[1270], *Marewenchirche* (1327–1328)[1271], Marwenchurche (1366)[1272]

The Church of St Marwenna (fig. A-92) is in Marhamchurch parish in the North Kernow Benefice in Stratton Deanery and Bodmin Archdeaconry in Truro Diocese.[1273] Many features were constructed during the fourteenth century, such as the lower stage of the tower, the chancel and the transept. [1274]In the fifteenth century the upper stages of the tower the north aisle and the porch were added.[1275] In the nineteenth century, the vestry was added and then the church was restored in the early twentieth century.[1276]



[1264] Orme, p. 188, and Padel, p. 115.
[1265] 'Marhamchurch', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.80555,-4.52213,15/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1266] Padel, p. 115.
[1267] Padel, p. 115.
[1268] Padel, p. 115.
[1269] Exeter, p. 472.
[1270] Exeter, p. 153.
[1271] Grandisson, vol. 3, p. 1263.
[1272] Grandisson, vol. 3, p. 1254.
[1273] 'Marhamchurch; St Marwenna', The Church of England: A Church Near You [online].
[1274] 'Parish Church of St Marwenne', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1230750 <Accessed 29 April 2018>
[1275] 'Parish Church of St Marwenne', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1230750 <Accessed 29 April 2018>
[1276] 'Parish Church of St Marwenne', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1230750 <Accessed 29 April 2018>

Figure A-92. St Marwenna Church, Marhamchurch[1277]

The Marhamchurch rural village and parish still actively celebrate their patron saint with the annual Marhamchurch Revel, which celebrates St Marwenne, 'the Celtic saint who brought Christianity to the Village of Marhamchurch in the sixth century'.[1278] By tradition, the parish celebrates the Feast of St Marwenne on 12 August, and the following Sunday is observed as Revel Sunday, followed on the next day by the Marhamchurch Revel, in which students elect one of their number to be Queen of the Revel, after which she is crowned by 'Father Time' at the War Memorial, believed to be the original site of St Marwenne's hermitage, followed by a Revel Procession around the village, led by the Queen riding on a white horse and followed by attendants.[1279] The procession concludes at the Revel Field, where the festivities take place.[1280]

St Menfre

St Menfre is listed as one of the children of Brychan in the Life of St Nectan, with one dedication in Cornwall at St Minver, which is both an ecclesiastical and civil parish and a village in north Cornwall near dedications to others of the daughters of Brychan listed in the Life of St Nectan.[1281] This saint is also the subject of a legend in which she tricked the Devil at a nearby place called Lundy Hole.

St Menefreda Church, St Minver, Padstow [SW 96599 77162][1282]

Sancte Menfrede (1256), *ecclesie Sancte Menwrede* (1269), *ecclesie Sancte Menurede* (1272), *ecclesie Sancte Minefrede* (1276), *ecclesia de Sancte Menvirehede* (1291), *ecclesiam de Sancta Menefreda* (1299), *ecclesie Sancte Mynirede* (1348), *ecclesie...Sancte Minerue* (1430), *ecclesie...Sancte Menefrede* (1434), *vicaria Sancte Minefridge* (1463), *Minvereda* (1733), *Mynfray alias Miniver* (1742, 1782), *Menefrida* (1846), *Minifreda* (1994), *Minefreda virgin* (1925), *Menefrida* (1939), *Menefreda* (1998)[1283]

The civil parish of St Minver comprises two areas.[1284] The combined parish is bounded on the south and west by the estuary of the River Camel, on the north by the Atlantic coast, and

[1277] 'Marhamchurch', Marhamchurch – Bude – Cornwall Visitor Information [online]. Available at http://www.marhamchurch.eu/index.htm <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1278] 'Marhamchurch Revel', Facebook [online]. Available at https://www.facebook.com/pg/marhamchurchrevel/about/?ref=page_internal <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1279] 'Marhamchurch; St Marwenna', The Church of England: A Church Near You [online].
[1280] 'Marhamchurch; St Marwenna', The Church of England: A Church Near You [online].
[1281] Doble, p. 6.
[1282] 'St Minver', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.55874,-4.87305,15/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1283] Orme, p. 187.
[1284] 'Local Information', St Minver Highlands Parish Council on the North Cornwall Coast [online]. Available at https://www.stminverhighlands-pc.org.uk/local-information/ <Accessed 27 April 2018>

on the east by the parishes of St Endellion and St Kew.[1285] The principal villages in the combined parish are St Minver, Rock, Trebetherick and Polzeath.[1286] St Minver Highlands covers the area from Trewornan Bridge to Port Quin and across to Plain Street on the Port Isaac road, bordering part of the Camel Estuary towards Pityme and including part of Polzeath, which it shares in part with St Minver Lowlands Parish Council.[1287] This area encompasses the main villages of St Minver, Tredrizzick, Polzeath (in part) and New Polzeath.[1288] The principal villages in St Minver Lowlands are Rock, Trebetherick and Polzeath, and the local community in these areas are represented by the St Minver Lowlands Parish Council.[1289]

The small village of St Minver (fig. A-93) is located north of Wadebridge and between Padstow to the west and Port Isaac to the north, near several popular beaches.[1290]



[1285] 'St Minver Highlands & St Minver Lowlands Parishes', St Minver Highlands Parish Council on the North Cornwall coast [online]. Available at https://www.stminverhighlands-pc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/A3-St-Minver-HL-Parishes.pdf <Accessed 28 April 2018>
[1286] 'St Minver Highlands & St Minver Lowlands Parishes', St Minver Highlands Parish Council on the North Cornwall coast [online].
[1287] 'St Minver Highlands Parish Council', St Minver Highlands Parish Council on the North Cornwall coast [online]. Available at https://www.stminverhighlands-pc.org.uk/ <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1288] 'St Minver Highlands Parish Council', St Minver Highlands Parish Council on the North Cornwall coast [online].
[1289] 'St Minver Lowlands Parish Council', St Minver Highlands Parish Council on the North Cornwall coast [online].
[1290] 'St Minver', Cornwall Guide [online]. Available at http://www.cornwallguideonline.co.uk/attractions/st-minver-wadebridge-267.html <Accessed 27 April 2018>

Figure A-14. St Minver Village

St Minver Parish is one of the parishes in the North Cornwall Cluster of Churches, along with St Endellion, St Enodoc, St James the Great at St Kew, St Michael's at Porthilly, and St Peter's in Port Isaac.[1291] These parishes have a focus on arts as well as spirituality.[1292] In the case of St Minver's Parish, the parish is the focus of the annual Treglown Trust summer festival and is also the site of community musical events.[1293] In addition to the church dedicated to St Menefreda, two parish chapels are dedicated to St Enodoc and to St Michael the Archangel.

The crude slate coffins found in the oldest part of the churchyard are believed to be evidence of pre-Christian burials, leading to the local belief that the Church of St Menefreda was built on a pagan site.[1294] The church itself is believed to date from the twelfth century based on fragments of masonry in the north walls of the north aisle and chance, with an arcade added to the north aisle during the early thirteenth century and the south aisle and south porch added in the fifteenth century.[1295] During restoration from 1870 to 1875, the east wall of the chancel was partly rebuilt and windows were replaced; a north transept was either added or rebuilt; the chancel, nave, north and south aisles were re-roofed; and the tower and spire were rebuilt.[1296] Although restored, St. Minver retains many of its early fittings, including an acclaimed collection of bench ends. [1297] The spire, an unusual feature in Cornwall, is an important landmark.[1298]

Lundy Hole, Polzeath and Pentire Head [SW 95765 79829][1299]

Lundy Hole is a small and sheltered cove on the coast between Polzeath and Pentire Head to the west and Port Isaac to the east. The 'hole' is a rock arch west of the beach. This place is connected to a story about St Menefreda reported by Nicholas Roscarrock:

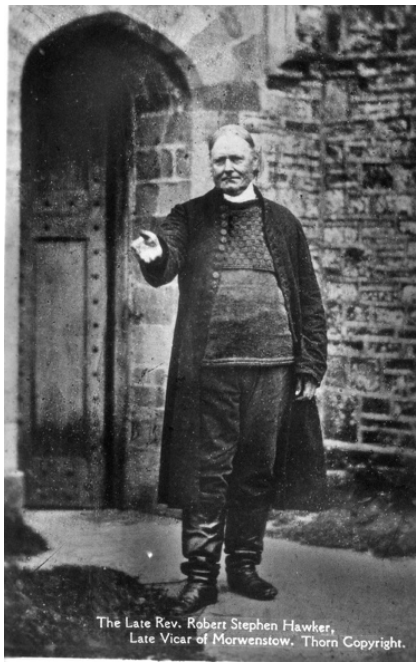
[1291] 'Our Churches', North Cornwall Cluster of Churches [online]. Available at http://www.northcornwallclusterofchurches.org.uk/our-churches/ <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1292] 'Arts & Spirituality', North Cornwall Cluster of Churches [online]. Available at http://www.northcornwallclusterofchurches.org.uk/arts-spirituality/ <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1293] 'Arts & Spirituality', North Cornwall Cluster of Churches [online].
[1294] 'St Minver: Welcome to St Minver', North Cornwall Cluster of Churches [online]. Available at http://www.northcornwallclusterofchurches.org.uk/our-churches/st-minver/ <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1295] 'Church of St Menefreda', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1332584 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1296] 'Church of St Menefreda', Historic England [online].
[1297] 'Church of St Menefreda', Historic England [online].
[1298] 'Church of St Menefreda', Historic England [online].
[1299] 'Polzeath', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.57307,-4.91574,13/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>

> And there is also a well of her name where (it is sade) the Ghostlye Aduersarie coming to Molest her as she was combing her head by the said well, she flinging her combe at him inforced him to flye, who left a note behinde him in a place called at this daye Topalundy, where on the Topp of a rounde high Hill there is a straunge deepe Hoale (as men there haue by Tradition) then made by the devill in avoyding St Menfre.[1300]

Nicholas Orme notes that Topalundy is a natural chasm in the sea-cliffs beside Lundy Cove, north of St Minver church and within walking distance of Roscarrock's own house.[1301]

St Morwenna

Morwenstow is named for St Morwenna, one of the daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog according to the Life of St Nectan.[1302] The history of Morwenstow is enmeshed with that of one of its most influential vicars, the poet and antiquarian Robert Stephen Hawker (1803–1875), who renewed and redefined attitudes toward the saint and church.[1303] Dedications related to Hawker (fig. A-94), who was vicar of the Church of St Morwenna and St John the Baptist from 1835 to 1874, include Hawker's Hut, the cliffside hut where he wrote, now protected by the National Trust, and the Hawker Memorial Window in the Church of St Morwenna and St John the Baptist, which celebrate themes related to his life, faith, and literary pursuits.



[1300] Roscarrock, pp. 46 and 90.
[1301] Roscarrock, p. 154.
[1302] Doble, p. 6.
[1303] 'A brief biography of R. S. Hawker', Robert Stephen Hawker: His Life and Writings [online]. Available at http://www.robertstephenhawker.co.uk/?p=3633 <Accessed 27 April 2018>

Fig. A-94. Robert Stephen Hawker at his vicarage door, Morwenstow[1304]

The parish church had been disused for one-hundred years when Hawker took on the role of vicar, which alone would have been a challenging task, but during his tenure, he reestablished the parish and rebuilt the church, and he also built the vicarage and parish school.[1305] He also enhanced religious practice in the church; for example, in 1843 he established the modern form of the harvest festival church service, a practice that became part of the liturgical year for the Church of England.[1306]

To a great extent, Hawker can be said to be the one who reintroducd St Morwenna and the family of Brychan to the parish early in the nineteenth century. When Hawker was appointed as vicar, the parish was named 'Moorwinstow' and marked with that name on maps and on parish sign-posts.[1307] In 1843, when Hawker researched the boundaries of the church as part of a lawsuit, he discovered the legend of St Morwenna and changed the spelling to 'Morwenstow' or 'Morwenna's Stowe', although Sabine Baring-Gould noted that Hawker confused St Morwenna with St Modwenna and St Moninna.[1308] As his son-in-law (and also the author of *The Life and Letters of R. S. Hawker*) writes, 'Hawker's antiquarian studies are remarkable rather for beauty of thought and expression than for historical accuracy'.[1309] The identity of the wall painting discovered during Hawker's restoration of the church is uncertain, but he attributed it to St Morwenna (fig. A-95). The painting shows a female clasping with her left hand a text while she raises her right arm to bless a kneeling monk.[1310]

[1304] 'Portraits of R. S. Hawker (1803-75)', Robert Stephen Hawker [online]. Available at http://www.robertstephenhawker.co.uk/?p=292 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1305] 'A brief biography of R. S. Hawker', Robert Stephen Hawker [online].
[1306] 'Robert Stephen Hawker: a timeline', Robert Stephen Hawker [online]. Available at http://www.robertstephenhawker.co.uk/?p=61 <Acessed 27 April 2018>
[1307] C. Byles, *The Life and Letters of R. S. Hawker* (London and New York: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1905), p. 41.
[1308] Byles, pp. 41–42.
[1309] Byles, pp. 41–42.
[1310] 'Saint Morwenna', Independent Catholic News [online]. Available at https://www.indcatholicnews.com/saint/194 <Accessed 27 April 2018>



Figure A-95. Medieval wall painting believed to be of the saint, St Morwenna and St John the Baptist Church, Morwenstowe[1311]

St Morwenna and St John the Baptist Church, Morwenstow, Bude [SS 20807 15095][1312]

'St Morwenna's holy place', *Morwenna*, pers. n. + *stow*, holy place[1313]

> *Morwenestowe* (1291)[1314], *Moristowe* (1349)[1315], *Morestouwe* (1362)[1316], *Morwenstowe* (1478),[1317] *Morwinstow* (1584)[1318]

The civil parish of Morwenstow is located six miles north of the town of Bude in the northernmost parish in Cornwall located on a cliff above the coast, designated a Cornwall Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty.[1319] The Church of St Morwenna and St John the Baptist (fig. A-96) is part of the United Benefice of Kilkhampton with Morwenstow in Stratton Deanery in Bodmin archdeaconry in Truro diocese.[1320] The church was dedicated to both St Morwenna and St John the Baptist until 1285 when William de Monkton gave the church to the hospital of St John the Baptist at Bridgwater in Somerset.[1321] The church itself dates from the twelfth century, with additional features added during the fifteenth and sixteenth

[1311] Byles, pp. 46–47.
[1312] 'Morwenstow', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.90745,-4.55010,18/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1313] Padel, p. 124.
[1314] Exeter, p. 472.
[1315] Grandisson, vol. 3, p. 1403.
[1316] Grandisson, vol. 3, p. 1482.
[1317] Worcester, p. 26.
[1318] Norden, p. 58. Norden states: '*Morwinstow*, *d.* 18. A parish called also *Moristow*, wherin dewelleth one *Mr John Broade*.'
[1319] 'Morwenstow, St Morwenna & St John the Baptist', Cornwall Historic Churches Trust [online]. Available at https://archive.is/20130710025742/http://www.chct.info/church-histories/church-histories-index/75-morwenstow-st-morwenna-a-st-john-the-baptist.html#selection-449.0-449.160 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1320] 'Morwenstow', Stratton Deanery [online]. Available at http://www.strattondeanery.co.uk/morwenstow.html <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1321] Orme, pp. 196. Note: Orme observes that John the Baptist was co-patron with Morwenna by *c.* 1275 and his dedication rather replaced Morwenna thereafter. He notes that the present-day popularity of Morwenna 'seems to be a recent phenemenon'. He concludes: 'In sort she is an obscure figure whose cult has not been traced elsewhere for certain'.

centuries.[1322] The church was not used during the eighteenth century and required extensive restoration, which was carried out during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[1323]



Figure A-96. St Morwenna and St John the Baptist Church, Morwenstow[1324]

St Morwenna is said to be buried in the church, as reported in 1478 by William Worcester (1415–1492).[1325] Apparently this grave was unmarked in the church until R. S. Hawker wrote to Sabine Baring-Gould (1834–1924) that he had learned 'many curious legends about her and her times', including the legend about her grave:[1326]

> One to me very satisfactory discovery is that She is buried in my Church. The Spot is as yet undefined, but when St Aubyn has trenched the ground, as he proposes, to lay down 18 inches of Concrete over the whole extent, the chances are that we may discover her Reliques. If incased as is not unlikely in lead it is just possible that she may be even yet unchanged and we may look on the features of one whose memory I have already evoked from oblivion and caused her name to be borne by a daughter of Lord Clinton, of Sir Paul Molesworth, and my own bright girl'.[1327]

[1322] 'Church of St Morwenna and St John the Baptist', Historic England [online]. Available at https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1141774 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1323] 'Church of St Morwenna and St John the Baptist', Historic England [online].
[1324] 'The Church of St Morwenna and St John the Baptist', Robert Stephen Hawker [online]. Available at http://www.robertstephenhawker.co.uk/?p=562 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1325] 'Church of St Morwenna and St John the Baptist', Historic England [online]. See also Orme, p. 196. Worcester also identified Morwenna as a virgin.
[1326] Byles, p. 599.
[1327] Byles, p. 599.

The shrine of the saint, then, was of recent creation, and Hawker's interest in the saint's relics and possible incorruptibility did not represent an uninterrupted veneration of the saint's grave. An image of St Morwenna also appears in the Hawker Memorial window, showing her both as a queen and as an abbess (fig. A-97):



Figure A-97. St Morwenna in the Hawker Memorial Window, St Morwenna and St John the BaptistChurch, Morwenstow[1328]

Of the two holy wells near the church, only one is now reachable. The holy well of St Morwenna is about fourteen metres down the cliff to the west of the church of St Morwenna and St John the Baptist.[1329] The well is covered by a stone gabled well house of medieval origins.[1330] The well house is now inaccessible without a local guide.[1331] This well is illustrated in the Hawker memorial in the church.[1332] The holy well of St John, located 125 metres from the church in a corner of the vicarage garden, is covered with a rectangular stone

[1328] 'The Church of St Morwenna and St John the Baptist', Robert Stephen Hawker [online].
[1329] 'Holy well of St Morwenna about 14 metres down the cliff to the west of the Church of St Morwenna', Historic England [online]. Available at https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1231518 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1330] 'Holy well of St Morwenna about 14 metres down the cliff to the west of the Church of St Morwenna', Historic England [online].
[1331] 'Holy well of St Morwenna about 14 metres down the cliff to the west of the Church of St Morwenna', Historic England [online].
[1332] 'Holy well of St Morwenna about 14 metres down the cliff to the west of the Church of St Morwenna', Historic England [online].

well house of medieval origins.[1333] The well is documented as early as 1296 and the water is still used for baptisms.[1334] Since St John's Well (fig. A-98) is so near the parish church dedicated to St Morwenna and St John the Baptist, a dedication to John son of Brychan from the Hartland list is unlikely.



Figure A-98. St John Holy Well, Morwenstowe[1335]

In 1843 ownership of the well was disputed by Sir J. Buller, later Lord Churston, and the Reverend Hawker won the resulting lawsuit.[1336] The following lines from one of his poems demonstrates his attitude toward the well:

> Here, where the pulses of the Ocean bound
> Whole centuries away,—while one meek Cell,
> Built by the Fathers o'er a lonely Well,
> Still breathes the Baptist's sweet remembrance round ![1337]

[1333] 'Holy well of St John about 125 metres south east of the Church of St Morwenna', Historic England [online]. Available at https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1141781 <Accessed 27 April 2018> See also Tomlin, p. 12.
[1334] 'Holy well of St John about 125 metres south east of the Church of St Morwenna', Historic England [online]. See also Tomlin, p. 12.
[1335] 'Morwenstow, St John's Holy Well', Britain Express [online]. Available at http://www.britainexpress.com/counties/cornwall/ancient/morwenstow-holy-well.htm <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1336] 'Holy well of St John about 125 metres south east of the Church of St Morwenna', Historic England [online]. See also Tomlin, p. 12.
[1337] Quiller-Couch and Quiller-Couch, p. 97.

The well became part of the legacy of Rev. Hawker, which was memorialised in the stained glass window in the church dedicated to him (fig. A-99). One panel of this window portrays Hawker and his dog standing beside the well house.[1338]



Figure A-99. St John Holy Well Panel in the Hawker Memorial Window, St Morwenna and John the Baptist Church, Morwenstow[1339]

St Tedda

The Life of St Nectan refers to Tedda as one of the twenty-four sons and daughters of Brychan and one possible dedication can be found in Cornwall at Church of St Teath in the village of the same name.[1340] For another possible dedication to Tedda, see the entry for Landéda in Brittany in this appendix.

St Tetha Church, St Teath [SX 06351 80716][1341]

Sancte Tethe (1259) [1342], *Sancte Thethe* (1259)[1343], *Ecclesia Sancte Thetthe* (1266)[1344], *Thetha* (1291)[1345], *Ecclesia Sancte Tethe* (1337–1338) [1346], *Sancta Tettha* (1347) [1347], *St Teth* (1548)[1348]

[1338] 'Holy well of St John about 125 metres south east of the Church of St Morwenna', Historic England [online]. See also Tomlin, p. 12.
[1339] 'The Church of St Morwenna and St John the Baptist', Robert Stephen Hawker [online].
[1340] Doble, p. 6.
[1341] 'St Teath', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.59397,-4.73740,7/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1342] Exeter, p. 256.
[1343] Exeter, p. 177.
[1344] Exeter, p. 177.
[1345] Exeter, p. 471.
[1346] Grandisson, vol. 2, p. 869.
[1347] Grandisson, vol. 2, p. 1347.
[1348] Norden, p. 52. 'a parishe'

St Teath village in North Cornwall is located near other dedications to the children of Brychan, such as St Endellion (St Endelienta), St Nighton's Kieve (St Nectan), and St Minver (St Menefreda).[1349] The oldest part of the village surrounds the village square, which is the focal point of the annual summer carnival, Remembrance Day, Christmas lights, and New Year celebrations.[1350] The Church of St Tetha (fig. A-100) has Norman origins, with north and south aisles added in the fifteenth century and the west tower partly remodelled in 1630.[1351] The church was restored during 1877 to 1879 and again in 1913.[1352]



Figure A-100. St Tetha Church, St Teath[1353]

St Wencu

Wencu is another one of the children of Brychan referred to in the Life of St Nectan, with one possible dedication at Egloshayle near Wadebridge.[1354]

St Wenca Chapel, Egloshayle, Wadebridge [SX 00086 72164][1355]

'estuary church', *eglos*, church + *heyl*, estuary

Capella Sancte Wence (1389)[1356]

[1349] Doble, p. 6.
[1350] 'The Village of St Teath', St Teath Village Website [online]. Available at http://stteath.co.uk/facts/ <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1351] 'Church of St Tetha', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1327712 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1352] 'Church of St Tetha', Historic England [online].
[1353] 'Church of St Tetha', Geograph [online]. Available at http://www.geograph.org.uk/of/St+Tetha <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1354] Doble, p. 6.
[1355] 'Egloshayle', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.51504,-4.82120,15/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1356] Orme, p. 250.

The United Benefice of Egloshayle with St Breoke in the archdeaconry and deaconry of Bodmin in the diocese of Truro serves the town of Wadebridge and a large rural area and is bounded by dedications to Brychan daughters at St. Minver, St. Issey and St. Mabyn.[1357] The United Benefice comprises Egloshayle and St. Breoke and daughter churches of St. Conan's, Washaway, and St. Mary's.[1358] Gilbert Doble suggested that Helie son of Brychan (according to the Life of St Nectan) may have been the patron of Egloshayle, but Nicholas Orme states that this view 'rests on no evidence and this place-name means 'church on an estuary''.[1359] Oliver Padel agrees that *heyl* refers to the estuary rather than to a saint.[1360]

Egloshayle is included in this Appendix because of a chapel and well in the parish is said to be dedicated to St Wencu, another daughter of Brychan, although the only indications that this chapel existed are found in documents from the fourteenth and seventeenth century. In 1389, an episcopal license was granted for a chapel dedicated to St Wenca in Egloshayle Parish, which was to be used for services by Thomas Peverell of Park near Pencarrow.[1361] Seventeenth-century copies of two deeds issued in 1309 mention land 'opposite Woneskewell, between the land of Pencarrow and my land of Treyeyan', which suggests a well dedicated to Wencu near Park.[1362] Park Farmhouse B&B now operates within the old farm, and no signs remain of the chapel and well.[1363]

St Wenna

Chapter 8 discusses the multiple traditions and dedications related to Gwendoline, Wenna, Candida, and Whyte. Dedications in this section related to St Wenna, documented as one of the daughters of Brychan in the Life of St Nectan.[1364] See the section in this appendix for Devon for information about the Chapel of St Wenn in Cheristow.

[1357] 'Early History', Parish of Wadebridge [online]. Available at https://www.wadebridgeparish.org.uk/home/about/history/egloshayle-history/ <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1358] 'Early History', Parish of Wadebridge [online].
[1359] Roscarrock, p. 137.
[1360] Padel, p. 81.
[1361] Orme, p. 250.
[1362] Orme, p. 250.
[1363] 'Park Farmhouse B&B', Google Maps [online]. Available at https://www.google.co.uk/maps/place/Park+Farmhouse+B%26B/@50.504638,-4.778763,17z/data=!4m12!1m6!3m5!1s0x486b77366cad4319:0x7a3029890f8ec133!2sPark+Farmhouse+B%26B!8m2!3d50.504638!4d-4.778763!3m4!1s0x486b77366cad4319:0x7a3029890f8ec133!8m2!3d50.504638!4d-4.778763 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1364] Doble, p. 6.

St Wenna Church, St Wenn, Tregonetha, St Columb Major [SW 96767 64872][1365]

Ecclesia Sancte Wenna (1291)[1366], *Sancte Wenne* (1356)[1367]

St Wenn is a somewhat isolated civil parish and village north-east of Columb Major.[1368] While the ancient parish of St Wenn included lands held by the manors of Borlase Burgess, Coswarth, Cransworth, Lancorla, Treganetha, and Tregustick,[1369] the villages of St Wenn, Roseannon, and Tregonetha, along with several hamlets, now comprise the rural parish of St Wenn, and the parish is bounded on the north by St Issey and St Breock Parishes, on the east and south by Withiel Parish, on the south-west by Roche Parish, and on the west and north by St Columb Major Parish.[1370]

First mention of the Church of St Wenna was in 1150 when the Earl of Gloucester gave the church to Tewkesbury Abbey.[1371] The church was appropriated to the abbey in 1242.[1372] The present parish church (fig. A-101) was built during the fifteenth century, rebuilt in 1825, and restored in 1868.[1373] The parish church is still in use.



[1365] 'St Wenn', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.44841,-4.86399,15/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1366] Exeter, p. 470.
[1367] Grandisson, vol. 3, p. 1439.
[1368] 'Welcome to the St Wenn Parish Website', St Wenn Parish [online]. Available at http://www.stwenn.co.uk/ <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[1369] D. Lysons and S. Lysons, 'Parishes: St Veep – Zennor', in *Magna Britannia: Volume 3, Cornwall* (London, 1814), pp. 317–329. British History Online [online].
[1370] 'Welcome to the St Wenn Parish Website', St Wenn Parish [online].
[1371] D. Lysons and S. Lysons, 'Parishes: St Veep – Zennor', in *Magna Britannia: Volume 3, Cornwall* (London, 1814), pp. 317–329. British History Online [online].
[1372] D. Lysons and S. Lysons, 'Parishes: St Veep – Zennor', in *Magna Britannia: Volume 3, Cornwall* (London, 1814), pp. 317–329. British History Online [online].
[1373] 'Church of St Wenna', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1327422 <Accessed 2 April 2020>

Figure A-101. St Wenna Church, St Wenn, Bodmin[1374]

Figure A-102 shows St Wenna's Well, once lost, but rediscovered in 2005 on the outskirts of the village of Tregonetha near St Columb Major.[1375] Just north of the hamlet of Tregonetha is a public footpath, which leads to the pumphouse, but the well is now dry.[1376]



Figure A-102. St Wenna Well, Tregonetha[1377]

St Wenna's Well, Wooldown Holiday Cottages, Marhamchurch [SS 22386 03698][1378]

A self-catering cottage called Wenna's Well is one of the Wooldown Holiday Cottages on the outskirts of Marhamchurch, where the parish church is dedicated to Saint Marwenna. Their promotional material explains that 'there is a patio area to the side of the property where the well was, which was believed to be used for a dwelling years ago'.[1379] Figure A-103 is a photograph of the patio at the cottage, where the owners note: 'The patio area for Wenna's Well. The original well is covered by a slate.'[1380]

[1374] 'St Wenn: St Wenna', Church of England [online]. Available at https://www.achurchnearyou.com/church/2462/ <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[1375] 'St Wenna's Well', The Megalithic Portal [online]. Available at http://www.megalithic.co.uk/article.php?sid=12323 <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[1376] 'St Wenna's Holy Well, Tregonetha, nr St Columb Major, Cornwall', YouTube [online]. Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8IKMRxY479A <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[1377] 'St Wenna's Well', The Megalithic Portal [online].
[1378] 'Marhamchurch', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.80555,-4.52213,15/pin <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[1379] 'Wenna's Well', Wooldown Holiday Cottages [online]. Available at https://www.wooldown.com/wennas-well <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[1380] 'Wenna's Well', Wooldown Holiday Cottages [online].



Figure A-103. Site of St Wenna Holy Well, Wenna's Well Cottage, Wooldown Holiday Cottages[1381]

The well structure is no longer visible, but its water still flows to the River Camel.[1382]

St Wenna Chapel [Lost], Pengenna St Kew [SX 03259 75512][1383]

Sancte Wenne (1329)[1384], *Sancte Wenne* (1338–1339)[1385]

The Parish of St Kew is one of the North Cornwall Cluster of Churches that includes churches, chapels, and holy wells dedicated to children of Brychan, including St Minver and St Endellion.[1386] The parish church was originally dedicated to St Docco, but in the middle of the fifteenth century, St Kew, the patron of a chapel nearby, was transferred as patron to the parish church after the building was enlarged.[1387] During the medieval period, the parish contained two additional chapels, one dedicated to Wenna, one of daughters of Brychan at Pengenna, and another to the Anglo-Saxon saint Aldhelm at Chapel Amble.[1388] The chapels are gone, but both Pengenna Manor and Chapel Amble retain their original names. Pengenna

[1381] 'Wenna's Well', Wooldown Holiday Cottages [online].
[1382] 'Egloshayle', IntoCornwall.com [online]. Available at https://www.intocornwall.com/engine/azabout.asp?guide=Egloshayle <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[1383] 'St Kew', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.54620,-4.77828,15/pin <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[1384] Grandisson, vol. 1, p. 493.
[1385] Grandisson, vol. 2, p. 896.
[1386] 'St Kew: Welcome to St Kew', North Cornwall Cluster of Churches [online]. Available at http://www.northcornwallclusterofchurches.org.uk/our-churches/st-kew/ <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[1387] 'St Kew', North Cornwall Cluster of Churches [online].
[1388] 'St Kew', North Cornwall Cluster of Churches [online].

Manor is now a wedding venue, described as 'an 800-year-old private family home set in over 300 acres'. Although the owners of the manor do not speak of the chapel ruins in their literature, the state of preservation of the estate leaves open the possibility that indications of the chapel may remain.[1389]

St Wenna Church, Morval, Looe [SX 26028 56720][1390]

Morval Parish Church (1542–1970)[1391], *Morval Parish Church* (1813-1850)[1392], *Morval Parish Church* (1941)[1393]

Nicholas Pevsner described St Wenna Church as small and low, with an unbuttressed, three-stage slate west tower, as shown in figure A-104.[1394] The St Wenn parish website states that St Germans Priory received the church in 1244 from Sir Humphrey de Locksore and the priory held the great tithe until 1539.[1395] The current structure of the Parish Church of St Wenna was built during the fifteenth century, although it could have earlier origins based on the thirteenth-century font and south window of the chancel.[1396] The building was likely remodeled during the fifteenth century, given many new windows during the sixteenth century, and restored in the middle of the nineteenth century.[1397]

[1389] 'Home', Pengenna Manor [online]. Available at http://www.pengennamanor.co.uk/ <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1390] 'Morval', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.38686,-4.44822,7/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1391] 'P157: Morval Parish Church', Cornwall Record Office [online]. Available at http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=9&dsqSearch=%28%28%28text%29%3D%27Morval%27%29AND%28%28text%29%3D%27parish%27%29AND%28%28text%29%3D%27church%27%29%29 <Accessed 29 April 2018> Note: While there is no doubt that the parish church of Morval is dedicated to St Wenna, public records of the church name seem to identify it by function rather than by its patron saint.
[1392] 'P157/1/5: Register of baptisms, marriages, and burials, Morval Parish Church', Cornwall Record Office [online]. Available at http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=16&dsqSearch=%28%28%28text%29%3D%27Morval%27%29AND%28%28text%29%3D%27Parish%27%29AND%28%28text%29%3D%27Church%27%29%29 <Accessed 29 April 2018>
[1393] 'D/4/19/14: Morval Parish Church', Cornwall Record Office [online]. Available at http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=4&dsqSearch=%28%28%28text%29%3D%27Morval%27%29AND%28%28text%29%3D%27Parish%27%29AND%28%28text%29%3D%27Church%27%29%29 <Accessed 29 April 2018>
[1394] N. Pevsner, *Cornwall*, 2nd edn rev. by E. Radcliffe (London: Penguin Books, 2001), p. 122.
[1395] 'St Wenna's Church', Morval Parish Website [online]. Available at https://morvalwidegates.weebly.com/morval-church.html <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1396] 'Church of St Wenna', Historic England [online].
[1397] 'Church of St Wenna', Historic England [online].



Figure A-104. St Wenna Church, Morval, Looe[1398]

A modern stained glass window was installed in honour of the 2000 Millenium to show past, present, and future influences in the parish (fig. A-105).[1399] This window frames St Wenna with images of Cornish moorland and coastal landscapes, with a central image of St Wenna portrayed as a figure so distant in time and memory as to be almost indistinct, all contained within the Christian symbol of a fish.[1400]



[1398] 'Home', Morval Parish Website [online]. Available at https://morvalwidegates.weebly.com/ <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1399] M. Swift, 'Piety, power and pride: The social context of Anglican stained glass in Cornwall', Cornish Stained Glass [online]. Available at https://www.cornishstainedglass.org.uk/mgsppp/index.xhtml <Accessed 27 April 2018> Note: A version of this article was originally published in the Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, 2009.
[1400] M. Swift, 'Piety, power and pride: The social context of Anglican stained glass in Cornwall', Cornish Stained Glass [online].

Figure A-105. St Wenna Window, St Wenna Church, Morval[1401]

St Wenna Well, Renant, Egloshayle Parish [SX 00086 72164][1402]

An account in *Ancient and Holy Wells of Cornwall* states that a holy well dedicated to St Wenna was at Renant in Egloshayle Parish, where the water was once used for baptisms, but where parishioners 'had never even heard of the well; there appeared to be neither trace nor recollection of it remaining'.[1403] A place called *Renant* cannot be located, but a *Trenant Wood* near Egloshayle could be the reference.

St Wynup

St Wynup appears in the list of the children of Brychan found in the twelfth-century life of St Nectan.[1404] One possible dedication to this saint can be found at the village and civil parish of Gwennap, where a church and holy well are named for St Wenappa; however, the identity of St Gwennap is by no means certain. Oliver Padel states that nothing is known of her, but 'she may be the saint called Wynup, who is listed as one of the twenty-four sons and daughters of King Broccan of Breconshire in the Cornish version of the legend, although most of these belong in north-east Cornwall'.[1405] Nicholas Orme notes that 'Wynup prompts the thought of Gwennap, saint of a parish in Kerrier hundred, but that place is remote from this otherwise localised list (unless Gwennap was patron of another church in north Cornwall, now forgotten)'.[1406] Baring-Gould and Fisher identify Weneppa as a daughter of Caw and sister of Cywyllog, who marrried Modred, stating that she founded the Church of Gwennap in Cornwall.[1407] They state that 'we may probably regard her as the foundress of Gwennap in Cornwall, which has as patroness S. Weneppa'.[1408] This issue cannot be resolved, but it can be said that uncertainty plays a part in discussions of Cornish dedications to Wynup daughter of Brychan.

[1401] M. Swift, 'Piety, power and pride: The social context of Anglican stained glass in Cornwall', Cornish Stained Glass [online].
[1402] 'Egloshayle', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.51504,-4.82120,15/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1403] Quiller-Couch and Quiller-Couch, p. 216.
[1404] Doble, p. 6.
[1405] Padel, pp. 92–93.
[1406] Roscarrock, p. 49.
[1407] S. Baring-Gould and J. Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints*, 4 vols (Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion: London, 1907–1913), vol. 4, p. 350. Hereafter, *LBS*.
[1408] LBS, vol. 2, p. 171.

St Wenappa Church, Gwennap, Truro [SW 73852 40045][1409]

'church site of Gwennap', *lann* church site + *Gwennap* pers. n.[1410]

> *Lanwenap* (1199), *ecclesie Sancte Weneppe* (1269), *ecclesiam Sancte Wenepe* (1284), *ecclesia Sancte Veneppe* (1291), *Sancte Wenneppe...ecclesiarum* (1391, 1411), *Wenapa* (1733), *Wenap* (1742, 1782), *Weneppa* (1846), *Wennap* (1883), *Weneppa* (1925, 1939, 1998)[1411]

The village and civil parish of Gwennap, located near the city of Truro, was once the greatest copper mining district during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and one of the most densely populated areas.[1412] As a result, the landscape in and around Gwennap Parish clearly displays the effects of extensive copper mining, and parts of Gwennap Parish are now in a World Heritage Site in recognition of its industrial history.[1413] The mines are closed and the business focus in the parish now is farming.[1414]

St Wenappa Church is one of the 'Eight Saints Cluster of Churches', an informal group comprising St Piran Church, St Paul Church, St John and St Petroc Church, St Feock Church, St Wenappa Church, St Piran Church, Holy Trinity Church, and St Stythian Church.[1415] St Wenappa Church is the only one dedicated to a child of Brychan. The church (fig. A-106) has been dedicated to Gwenep or Gwenap since 1269 and perhaps since 1199.[1416] The church was built in the fifteenth century, but incorporates some earlier walls from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[1417] The church was restored and extended during the nineteenth century.[1418]

[1409] 'Gwennap', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.21710,-5.17138,15/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1410] Padel, pp. 92–93.
[1411] Orme, pp. 135–136. Note: Orme states that a similar name to Gwennap, Wynup, appears in the Life of St Nectan, but says the name is listed among the king's sons, 'and it is not apparent whether the author of the Life had in mind the saint of Gwennap or, if so, why'.
[1412] 'Gwennap Pit', Cornish Mining World Heritage [online]. Available at https://web.archive.org/web/20090612113705/http://www.cornish-mining.org.uk/sites/gwnnppt.htm <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1413] 'Gwennap Pit', Cornish Mining World Heritage [online].
[1414] 'About Gwennap Parish', Gwennap Parish.net [online]. Available at http://gwennap-parish.net/about.html <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1415] 'St Wennepa, Gwennap', The Eight Saints [online]. Available at http://www.eightsaints.org.uk/our-churches/gwennap/ <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1416] English Church Dedications, p. 85.
[1417] 'Church of St Wenappa', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1328991 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1418] 'Church of St Wenappa', Historic England [online].



Figure A-106. St Wenappa Church, Gwennap[1419]

Remains of a holy well can be found six hundred yards east of St Wenappa's Church.[1420] According to *Historic England*, the location of the holy well near valley bottom may have influenced choice of the church site.[1421]

St Yse

St Yse is listed in the twelfth-century life of St Nectan, but has no obvious dedications; on the other hand, dedications to St Issey at Mevagissey and St Issey have led to suggestions that Yse may be saint intended.[1422] In the case of St Issey Church, by the twelfth century, the patron saint of St Issey was identified as St Iti, and 'eventually with a male colleague called Lid', perhaps a form of Elide'; he notes that by 1399 both were called martyrs.[1423] Regarding Mevagissey, Nicholas Orme explains that a St Iti occurs in a tenth-century list of saints along with St Meva, suggesting that the two were joint patrons of Mevagissey, and that in 1422 they were first documented there, but as women.[1424] Orme states that three early references and one later reference identify Idi as male, but that after 1300 most references assume Idi was female.[1425] In the meantime, both saints' names eventually changed to *Issey*.[1426] He

[1419] 'St Wennepa, Gwennap', The Eight Saints [online].
[1420] Straffon, p. 50.
[1421] 'Tower of Church of Saint Wenappa', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1140940 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1422] Orme, pp. 147–148.
[1423] Orme, pp. 147–148.
[1424] Orme, pp. 147–148.
[1425] Orme, pp. 147–148.
[1426] Orme, pp. 147–148.

concludes that 'no early legends have survived about Issey in Cornwall she is the Yse who appears in the twelfth-century Hartland list'.[1427] Later references to the patron saint of St Issey as St Giggy only add to the uncertainty.[1428] The next sections discuss the histories of both churches.

St Peter Church (formerly Mevagissey Church of St Mewan and St Issey), Mevagissey, Portmellon [SX 01527 43954][1429]

> *Ecclesie...Sanctarum Meve et Ide* (1422), *ecclesie...Sanctarum Mewe et Ide* (1506), *ecclesie...Sanctarum Meve et Ide* (1512), *Mevy* and *Issey* (1733), *Mevan* and *Issi* (1742, 1782), *Mewa* and *Ida* (1946), *Mevan* and *Issey* (1883), *Meva* and *Ida* (1925), *Meva* and *Issey* (1939, 1998)[1430]

Once a fishing centre in Cornwall and still a harbour for the fishing community there, the town and civil parish of Mevagissey now primarily rely on tourism.[1431] The town name of *Mevagissey* is derived from *St Meva* and *St Issey*, while over time the name of the church changed from the Church of St Mewan and St Issey to the Church of St Peter.[1432] Dedications in the area include St Peter Church (fig. A-107) and two holy wells. Of these places, only the church was once dedicated in part to St Issey.[1433] The twelfth-century structure is described as 'a good medieval village church of the humbler sort, nestled low in its sloping churchyard', which retains Norman features such as a doorcase, chip-carved font, and stoup.[1434] It has a fourteenth- and fifteenth-century nave, tower, transept and north aisle, and two piscinae date from the early fourteenth century. The Victorian fittings date from a restoration by J. P. St Aubyn during 1887 and 1888.[1435]

[1427] Orme, pp. 147–148.
[1428] Orme, pp. 147–148.
[1429] 'Mevagissey', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.26214,-4.78600,12/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1430] Orme, p. 147.
[1431] 'Mevagissey', Cornwall Guide [online]. Available at https://www.cornwalls.co.uk/Mevagissey <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1432] 'Mevagissey, St Peter's', Cornwall Historic Churches Trust [online]. See also 'Church of St Peter', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1210661 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1433] 'Mevagissey, St Peter's', Cornwall Historic Churches Trust [online].
[1434] 'Mevagissey, St Peter's', Cornwall Historic Churches Trust [online
[1435] 'Church of St Peter', Historic England [online].



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Figure A-107. St Peter Church, Mevagissey[1436]

None of the holy wells in the community are dedicated to St Issey. About one-quarter mile from Mevagissey at Treleaven Farm, formerly known as Treleaven Manor, the Lady's Well (most likely dedicated to the Virgin Mary originally) was said to possess 'great healing powers, and also to have the property of giving increased vigour and strength to the constitution'.[1437] Treleaven Farm is now a self-catering cottage and does not refer to the well in its literature.[1438] The Brass Well, also about one-quarter-mile from Mevagissey at Treleaven Farm, was once considered the Tunbridge Wells of the West' based on the resemblance of its sulpherous waters to those of Tunbridge Wells.[1439] In spite of accounts of previous cures, the well was no longer used medically by 1894 when the Ancient and Holy Wells of Cornwall was written, although the authors note that it 'is still known by its old name'.[1440]

[1436] 'St Peter's Church, Mevagissey', Geograph [online]. Available at http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/3559846 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1437] Quiller-Couch and Quiller-Couch, p. 113.
[1438] 'Welcome to Treleaven Farm Cottages', Treleaven Farm Cottages [online]. Available at http://www.treleavenfarm.co.uk/ <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1439] Quiller-Couch and Quiller-Couch, p. 14.
[1440] Quiller-Couch and Quiller-Couch, p. 14.

St Ida Church, St Issey Parish, Pydar Deanery and Hundred, Padstow [SW 92737 71964][1441]

> *Feudum Sancti Iti* (*c.* 1161–*c.* 1162), *in Sancto Ydi* (1195), *villa de Seint Idde (1198*–1199*), villa de Sancto Idi* (1198–1199), *ecclesia Sancte Ide (1257–1280), Parocia Sanctorum Id' et Lid'* (1287), *Thomas de Eugy de Sancta Ida* (1302), *parochia Sancti Yde* (1327), *ecclesie...Sancte Ide* (1334), *parochia Sancte Ide* (1334, 1340), *Ecclesie Sanctorum Ide et Lidi* (1382), *ecclesia Sanctorum Idi et Lidi martirorum* (1399), *Parochia Sancte Cisie* (1424), *ecclesie...Sancte Ide* (1440), *ecclesie Sancti Ide* (1444), *ecclesie...Sancte Ide* (1462, 1522), *ecclesia de Sancta Ida*, also *Sancte Ide* (1543), *Essy* (1733), *Esye, Issye, or Ithy* (1742, 1782), *Issey* (1883), *Ida or Idi* (1925), *Issey* (1939, 1998)[1442]

St Issey is a civil parish and village about two miles south of Padstow.[1443] The ecclesiastical parish of St Issey is adjacent to a number of dedications to children of Brychan; for example, the parish is bounded on the north by the River Camel which separates it from the parishes of Padstow and St Minver, on the east by St Breock, on the south by St Wenn and St Columb Major, and on the west by Little Petherick.[1444] The parish is just south of Padstow and on the old Saints' Way from that parish to Fowey on the south coast.[1445] The smaller parish of Little Petherick is on the western boundary.[1446] Dedications to the saint within the parish include the Church of St Ida, St Giggy's Well, and a hamlet called St Jidgey.[1447]

The arcades of the Church of St Ida (fig. A-108) were built during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[1448] In 1869 the west tower collapsed with part of the nave and the tower was rebuilt and the church restored during 1870 and 1871 by J. P. St Aubyn.[1449]

[1441] 'St Issey', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.51073,-4.92321,15/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1442] Orme, p. 147.
[1443] Orme, pp. 147–148.
[1444] 'St Issey', GENUKI: UK and Ireland Genealogy [online]. Available at http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/CON/StIssey/ <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1445] 'St Issey', GENUKI: UK and Ireland Genealogy [online].
[1446] 'St Issey', GENUKI: UK and Ireland Genealogy [online].
[1447] Orme, pp. 147–148.
[1448] 'Church of St Ida', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1212700 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1449] 'Church of St Ida', Historic England [online].



Figure A-108. St Ida Church, St Issey[1450]

Ancient and Holy Wells of Cornwall, published in 1894, identifies St Giggy's Well and reports that once-present ruins of a consecrated well and chapel were gone, along with any memories of the place by those living at St Issey.[1451] The authors note that 'a copious stream which flows from a bank side there, is said to have been covered in long ago' and concludes that 'this may be the sacred stream'.[1452]

Another possible dedication to the saint is St Jidgey, a hamlet north of St Columb Major and south-west of Wadebridge, which contains the Halfway House Inn, a coaching inn. According to Oliver Padel, this name is another form of the name of St Issey, with mistaken division of Cornish *Sans-Ysy*, although the reason for this duplication of the name is not known.[1453] He presumes that St Jidgey was the manorial centre of the parish, and took its name from the older church town.[1454]

Other Children of Brychan

St Adwen

The Life of St Nectan includes the name Adwen among its list of the children of Brychan, but it has been difficult to describe the specific identity or the dedications to this saint, and the dedications in Cornwall are no exception.[1455] This subject is discussed in Chapter 7

[1450] 'St Issey and Little Petherick', www.thisisnorthcornwall.com [online]. Available at http://www.thisisnorthcornwall.com/st-issey.html <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1451] Quiller-Couch and Quiller-Couch, p. 72.
[1452] Quiller-Couch and Quiller-Couch, p. 72.
[1453] Padel, p. 99.
[1454] Padel, p. 99.
[1455] Doble, p. 6.

Dwynwen and in chapter 8. The single dedication attributed to Adwen in Cornwall is St Adwen's Church at Advent, located in an area surrounded by other dedications to children of Brychan.

St Adwen Church, Advent, Boscastle [SX 10472 81608][1456]

St Aduene 'called in records St Athawyn' (1548)[1457], *Advent* (1747)[1458], Advent (1781)[1459], *Advent* (1841)[1460],

The civil parish of Advent, originally part of the Hundred of Lewnewth, has been part of the Camelford Community Network since 2009 and part of the North Cornwall Parliamentary Constituency since 1948.[1461] The area includes several small villages, hamlets, and farmsteads, but there is no town named Advent.[1462] Once a chapelry to the adjacent parish of Lanteglos-by-Camelford, the ecclesiastical parish of Advent with St Adwen Church (fig. A-109) was combined with that of Lanteglos-by-Camelford to form a a united benefice in the Archdeaconry of Bodmin and the deanery of Trigg Minor.[1463] The parish is bordered by other dedications to children of Brychan at St Clether (Clether) and Morwenstow (Morwenna).[1464] The church has Norman origins and a Norman font, a north transept and west tower built in the thirteenth century, and a south aisle added in the fifteenth century.[1465] Restorers since then have reused older materials, while adding new stained glass windows.[1466]

[1456] 'Advent', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.60334,-4.67970,15/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1457] Norden, p. 53.
[1458] 'AD/128/1/9: Examination of John Honey, Advent, Lanteglos by Camelford', Kresen Kernow [online]. Available at https://kresenkernow.org/SOAP/detail/34442dcd-36d7-46a4-ac07-7ba1654b5a69/?tH=%5B%22AD%7C128%7C1%7C9%3A%22%2C%22Examination%22%2C%22of%22%2C%22John%22%2C%22Honey%2C%22%2C%22Advent%2C%22%2C%22Lanteglos%22%2C%22by%22%2C%22Camelford%22%5D <Accessed 1 December 2019>
[1459] 'AD128/1/29: Examination of John Fouler, of Advent', CRO [online]. Available at http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=6&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Advent%27%29 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1460] 'AD59/13: Tithe apportionment, Advent [incomplete]', CRO [online]. Available at http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=2&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Advent%27%29 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1461] 'Advent (Civil Parish)', Cornish Place-Names [online]. Available at http://cornish-place-names.wikidot.com/advent-civil-parish <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1462] 'Advent', Genuki [online].
[1463] 'Advent (Parish)', Cornish Place-Names [online]. Available at http://cornish-place-names.wikidot.com/advent <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1464] 'Advent', Genuki [online]. Available at http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/CON/Advent <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1465] 'Church of St Adwen', Historic England [online]. Available at https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1328128 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1466] 'Church of St Adwen', Historic England [online].



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Figure A-109. St Adwen Church, Advent[1467]

St Cadoc

With so many of the Cornish dedications to Brychan's children matching the list of Brychan's children documented in the Life of St Nectan, it is rare to find a dedication from the Welsh genealogies, but St Cadoc is connected to Cornwall in two ways. First, his chapel near Padstow is mentioned specifically in the Life of St Cadoc, indicating that the saint traveled to Cornwall and established a chapel and holy well there.[1468] Second, in the Life of St Keyna in the *Nova Legenda Anglie*, St Cadog meets St Keyna, his mother's sister, at St Michael's Mount and persuades her to return to Wales. St Michael's Mount is discussed in this appendix among the dedications related to St Keyne, and St Cadoc Chapel and Holy Well are discussed in the following sections along with other possible holy well dedications.

[1467] 'Advent Parish Church', Geograph [online]. Available at http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/5267165 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1468] VSBG, pp. 92–95.

St Cadoc Chapel and Well (Lost), St Cadoc Farm, Padstow [SW 87684 75223][1469]

St Cadoc (1580)[1470], *St Caddock* (1641)[1471], *St Cadoc* (1732)[1472], St Cadock (1762)[1473], *St Cadoc* (1800)[1474], *St Cadock* (1812)[1475]

The presumed sites of St Cadoc chapel and holy well are now part of St Cadoc Farm in the parish of Padstow about one mile south-east of Harlyn Bay.[1476] The first mention of a chapel and holy well founded by St Cadoc in Cornwall occurs in the Life of St Cadoc by Lifris of Llancarfan.[1477] In this text, St Cadoc created a holy well by striking the ground with his staff, saying: 'If any sick person, truly trusting in the Lord, drinks of this well, his belly and bowels shall be healed, and worms therefrom expelled'.[1478] 'Later', continued Lifris, 'when Cornish folk of either sex had seen frequent cures continuously wrought, by God's goodness, at this same fountain, they built a small church of stone in honour of Saint Cadoc by the fountain'.[1479] After his visit to Jerusalem, St Cadog was said to have poured into the well some water from the River Jordan, making it even more effective in healing.[1480] The well and chapel continued to be resorted to during the later Middle Ages. [1481] A story from around 1300 tells of a miracle performed by St Cadoc.[1482] A knight who had kicked his mother could not go into the chapel of St 'Cradoc' until he cut off his foot as a penance, but once he did so, he was able to enter and when his companions threw the foot in after him, where it was miraculously joined back on to his body.[1483] The story ends by saying that the prayers of St 'Cradoc' give us remission of our sins.[1484] In 1478 William Worcester repeated the story

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[1469] 'Harlyn', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.53815,-4.99764,15/pin <Accessed 18 April 2018>
[1470] 'R/1144: Lease, Newham, Tywardreath', kresen kernow [online]. Available at https://kresenkernow.org/SOAP/detail/c2aa0904-099c-46dA-aa52-fcb9a9606fea/?tH=%5B%22R%7C1144%3A%22%2C%22Lease%2C%22%2C%22Newham%2C%22%2C%22Tywardreath%22%5D <Accesssed 27 April 2018>
[1471] 'RH/1/70: Mortgage, St Aubyn Manors', kresen kernow [online]. Available at > <Accessed 1 December 2019>
[1472] 'AD108/15: Copy marriage settlement, property in Cubert, Padstow and St Merryn', , kresen kernow [online]. Available at > <Accessed 1 December 2019>
[1473] 'PB/2/9: Lease, St Cadock, Padstow', kresen kernow [online]. Available at > <Accessed 1 December 2019>
[1474] 'PB/1/673: Description of St Cadoc, Padstow from leases', kresen kernow [online]. Available at > K <Accessed 1 December 2019>
[1475] 'PB/1/60: Notes on the parties to be involved in the transfer of St Cadock, Padstow', , kresen kernow [online]. Available at <Accessed 1 December 2019>
[1476] VSBG, pp. 92–95.
[1477] VSBG, pp. 92–95.
[1478] VSBG, pp. 92–95.
[1479] VSBG, pp. 92–95.
[1480] VSBG, pp. 92–95.
[1481] VSBG, pp. 92–95.
[1482] VSBG, pp. 92–95.
[1483] VSBG, pp. 92–95.
[1484] Gaimar, 1888, pp. xli–xlii.

from the Life of St Cadoc, stating that water from the well near the chapel could destroy intestinal worms.[1485]

The church was originally owned by Bodmin Abbey, and in 1545 the church passed to the Prideaux-Brune family along with some other Bodmin Abbey lands. The Prideaux-Brune family continues to own the land, and the church has fallen into ruins.[1486] Figure A-110 shows the 1881 OS map of the area:



Figure A-110. 1881 OS Map Shows Location of St Cadoc Chapel[1487]

Documented attempts to find the church and well have proved inconclusive. Charles Henderson (1900–1933) wrote about the church in 1930 in *Ecclesiastical History of the Four Western Hundreds*, saying that 'there is now little trace of it, but it probably stood near the present-day St Cadoc's farm'[1488] Gilbert Doble used Henderson's notes to produce his own study of the area, published 1937 as *St Cadoc in Cornwall and Brittany*, but neither writer isolated the location of the church and well precisely, although their notes and maps offer

[1485] W. Worcestre, *Itineraries*, ed. by John H. Harvey (London: Oxford Medieval Texts, 1969), pp. 72–73.
[1486] C. Henderson, 'The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the 109 Parishes of West Cornwall, Part 3', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* (JRIC), new series 2 (1952–1956) and 3 (1957–1960), new series 3, pp. 104–105 and pp. 211–392.
[1487] S. Northcutt, 'The Lost Chapel and Holy Well of St Cadoc, Harlyn Bay, Cornwall: Initial Clearance and Site Recording', Academia.edu [online]. Hereafter, *Northcutt*. Available at https://www.academia.edu/4714660/St_Cadocs_Chapel_and_Holy_Well_North_Cornwall_Initial_clearance_and_site_recording <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1488] C. Henderson, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, vol 4, pp 104–105.

suggestions.[1489] In 2013, Steve Northcutt published a report of his research into the location of both church and well and an assessment of the site to prepare for more extensive analysis.[1490] Northcutt described the current structure as 'in a ruinous state with some walls suffering recent collapse'.[1491] Based on anecdotal accounts of reuse of stone from the church to augment the Prideaux-Brune family home and garden and the church tower of Little Petherick Church and examination of the remaining structure, he concluded that while the remaining walls are aligned properly for a chapel, they show no signs of being from the eleventh century; nonetheless, he believes there was likely a chapel on the spot.[1492] As for the holy well, during the assessment dowsers prospected the area and advised that they had identified the holy well site, reporting that a suA-surface stone feature also runs from the well in a north-south orientation.[1493] This is inconsistent with Doble's description, so further research is required.[1494] The farm is now a self-catering rental called St Cadoc Cottage.[1495]

Ventongassick, Just-in-Roseland [SW 85227 35709][1496]

'well of Cadoc', *fenten* spring + *Cassick (<Cadoc)* pers. n. [1497]

> *Fontenkadok* (1223)[1498], *Ventongassick* (1750–1760)[1499], *Ventongassick* (1752–1762)[1500], *Ventongassick* (1839) [1501]

[1489] Northcutt, p. 6.
[1490] Northcutt, p. 6.
[1491] Northcutt, p. 7.
[1492] Northcutt, p. 7.
[1493] Northcutt, p. 7.
[1494] Northcut, p. 18.
[1495] 'St Cadoc Cottage', cottages.com [online]. Available at http://www.cottages.com/cottages/st-cadoc-cottage-14454 <Accessed 6 January 2018>
[1496] 'Just-in-Roseland', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.53815,-4.99764,15/pin <Accessed 18 April 2018>
[1497] Padel, p. 97.
[1498] 'Ventongassick Holy Well, St Just-in-Roseland', Google Maps [online]. Available at https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?mid=1GXzyCTR9QfejV2YcUmokNb4dhVw&ll=50.18201067688014%2C-4.974626003344724&z=14 <Accessed 27 April 2018> The well is not on the 1st edn OS map though it is on the 2nd edn.
[1499] 'CN/1491/2: Rent and land tax accounts, Trewollack and Ventongassick, St Just in Roseland', CRO [online]. Available at http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=1&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Ventongassick%27%29 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1500] 'CN/1491/3: Account for repairs at Trewollack and Ventongassick, St Just in Roseland', CRO [online]. Available at http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=2&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Ventongassick%27%29 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1501] 'CF/1/1285: Lease and release, property in Gerrans and St Just in Roseland', CRO [online]. Available at http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=0&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Ventongassick%27%29 <Accessed 27 April 2018>

Ventongassick spring (fig. A-111) is located by the side of the A3078 road on the outskirts of Just-in-Roseland and the town of Falmouth; steps lead from the ground level to the well house.[1502] The place-name is also used for a hamlet southeast of Just-in-Roseland.[1503]



Figure A-111. Ventongassick Well, Just-in-Roseland[1504]

Ventongassick is a nineteenth-century roadside well on the A3078 out of St Just-in-Roseland. The north edge of the well is a kerbstone along the road. Steps lead from the road and bend around the kerb to descend to a roofed chamber.[1505] The well has been known as *Ventongassick*, *Ventonglassick*, and *Granny's Well*.[1506]

St Carantoc

Whether St Carantoc was the son of Meleri daughter of Brychan and Ceredig son of Cunedda Wledig or the son of Corun son of Meleri and Ceredig, he like St Cadog and St David, a significant part of the Brychan family, with dedications in Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany.[1507] The dedication in Cornwall goes with the legend that St Carantoc built an oratory near the

[1502] 'Ventongassick', Megalithic Portal [online]. Available at http://www.megalithic.co.uk/article.php?sid=15546 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1503] 'Venton Gassik', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.18239,-5.00972,7/pin <Accessed 29 April 2018>
1504 'Ventongassick', Megalithic Portal [online].
1505 'Ventongassick Holy Well, St Just-in-Roseland', Google Maps [online].
1506 'Ventongassick Holy Well, St Just-in-Roseland', Google Maps [online].
1507 LBS, vol. 2, pp. 78–90.

west side of the Gannel River, which now forms a boundary between the parishes of Newquay and Crantock.[1508]

St Carantoc Church, Crantock, Newquay[SW 79032 60227][1509]

Sancti Karantoci (1258)[1510], *Ecclesie Sancti Karentoci* (1283-1284)[1511], *Ecclesia Sancti Karentoci* (1291)[1512], *Sancti Karentoci* (1327)[1513], *Sancti Karantoci* (1341)[1514], *Carantac*k (1548)[1515]

Crantock is a village and civil parish on the coast of Cornwall approximately two miles southwest of Newquay.[1516] The Church of England describes the Church of St Carantoc as a Norman village church in the Anglican Diocese of Truro and county of Cornwall in a recently combined benefice with Perranzabuloe and Cubert.[1517] The church (fig. A-112) was built in the twelfth century and Bishop Brewer of Exeter instituted a college there in 1236; further construction during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was followed by restoration during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[1518]

1508 'Crantock: St Carantoc, Crantock', The Church of England [online]. Available at https://www.achurchnearyou.com/church/2455/ <Accessed 27 April 2018>
1509 'Crantock', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.40028,-5.11069,7/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
1510 Exeter, p. 168.
1511 Exeter, p. 371.
1512 Exeter, p. 471.
1513 Grandisson, vol. 1, p. 419.
1514 Grandisson, vol. 2, p. 971.
1515 Norden, p. 46. 'a parish situate vpon the north sea coaste, wherin dwelleth one Mr Drewe. It is called in recordes that I haue seene St *Caranto*.'
1516 'Crantock', Cornwall Guide [online]. Available at http://www.cornwallguideonline.co.uk/attractions/crantock-crantock-newquay-174.html <Accessed 27 April 2018>
1517 'Crantock: St Carantoc, Crantock', The Church of England [online].
1518 'Church of St Carantoc', Historic England [online].



Figure A-112. St Carantoc Church, Crantock[1519]

The church of Crantock was important in medieval times not only because it was a minster staffed by several canons in 1086, but because it remained a collegiate church after the Reformation and was still headed by a provost (later a dean) with canons, vicars, clerks and choristers'.[1520]

The church has continued to be considered worthy of further additions; for example, the series of stained glass windows (fig. A-113) created by Charles Edward Tute (1858–1927) and installed in the church in 1909, which portray scenes from the Life of St Carantoc.[1521] The windows also demonstrate a continued interest in the church's patron saint.

[1519] 'Exterior view showing the south elevation and graveyard of St Carantoc's Church, Crantock', Historic England [online]. Available at http://archive.historicengland.org.uk/SingleResult/Default.aspx?id=1625879&t=Quick&cr=St+Carantoc&io=False&l=all <Accessed 29 November 2017>
[1520] Roscarrock, p. 124.
[1521] M. Smith and J. Stewart-Smith, 'The stained-glass windows of St Carantoc, Cornwall', Cornish stained glass [online]. Available at https://www.cornishstainedglass.org.uk/mgscran/ <Accessed 27 April 2018>



Figure A-113. Stained glass windows at St Carantoc Church, Crantock[1522]

Two holy wells are in the area. St Ambrose's Well 'formerly stood in the churchyard; and an ancient covered well, dedicated to the same saint, still exists in the centre of the church village', adding that while the well is destroyed, replaced by a place called St Ambrose Villa, the stream still flows.[1523] *Historic England* describes it as a village well, describing it as 'probably seventeenth century'. The small well house is made of slatestone rubble with a roughly pyramidal roof, with a twentieth-century seat.[1524] The other holy well is described in *Ancient and Holy Wells of Cornwall*:

> Nothing is now left of the college, or the cell; but the holy well still exists, in the centre of the village, near the church, covered with a curious bee-hive shaped structure with a door. The villages use the water for all household purposes, and when a pump was erected still preferred the sacred water. It has never said to have possessed any special virtues.[1525]

[1522] M. Smith and J. Stewart-Smith, 'The stained-glass windows of St Carantoc, Cornwall', Cornish stained glass [online]. Available at https://www.cornishstainedglass.org.uk/mgscran/ <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1523] Quiller-Couch and Quiller-Couch, p. 6.
[1524] 'Village Well South of Well Cottage', Historic England [online]. Available at https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1137302 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1525] Quiller-Couch and Quiller-Couch, pp. 20–21.

Fentyn Carensek (Lost)

'spring of Carantoc', *fenten* spring + *Carensek (<Carantoc)* pers.n. [1526]

> *Fentyn Carensek* (1510)[1527]

Fentyn Carensek, a spring dedicated to St Carantoc, appears among early chancery proceedings preserved in the Cornwall Record Office:[1528]

> Detention of deeds relating to a messuage in Treruburgh, and a field called Park Justyng and Fentyn Carensek.[1529]

The precise location of this well is uncertain, but it would seem that the land was once owned by Henry Bodrugan, 'knight traitor and rebel', whose lands, including Treruburgh, were redistributed by the Crown in 1488.[1530]

St Cleder

St Cleder is on of the children of Brychan listed in the twelfth-century life of St Nectan.[1531] In addition to Cornwall, where he is venerated as St Clether, he is is also venerated as Saint-Cléder in Brittany.[1532]

St Clether Church and St Clether Well Chapel, St Clether, Launceston [SX 20607 84258][1533]

> *Ecclesia Sancti Clederi* (1291)[1534], *St Cleder* (1341)[1535], *St Cleder* (1476), *St Clether or St Cleder* (1584)[1536], *St Clether* (1641)[1537]

[1526] Padel, p. 97.
[1527] *List of Early Chancery Proceedings Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 55 vols (New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1963), vol. 4, no. 53. (PDF only; printed book doesn't have it) [online]. Available at https://archive.org/stream/listofearlychanc429newy/listofearlychanc429newy_djvu.txt <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1528] Padel, p. 97. See also Padel.
[1529] List of Early Chancery Proceedings Preserved in the Public Record Office, vol. 4, no. 53.
[1530] 'CN/363: Copy royal grant, Tregrehan, St Blazey and other lands formerly of Henry Bodrugan', CRO [online]. Available at http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=0&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Treruburgh%27%29 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1531] Doble, p. 6.
[1532] Loth, Les noms des saints bretons, p. 24.
[1533] 'St Clether', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.63035,-4.53791,7/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1534] Exeter, p. 472.
[1535] 'CF/2/215/14: Grant, house and land, St Austell', CRO [online]. Available at http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=1&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Cleder%27%29 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1536] Norden, p. 53.
[1537] GP/630: Settlement by bargain and sale with feoffment, Breanacke, St Agnes', CRO [online]. Available at http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=2&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Cleder%27%29 <Accessed 27 April 2018>

The civil parish and village of St Clether are located on the east side of Bodwin Moor.[1538] The church, chapel, and holy well in the parish are all dedicated to St Clether.[1539] The church is part of the Cornish Moorland Group of Churches that comprises Altarnon, Davidstow, Laneast, and St Clether.[1540] A tower was added to the twelfth-century parish church of St Clether in the fifteenth century; the church, but not the tower, was extensively rebuilt in 1865.[1541] One indication of the age of the foundation is the Norman font in the church.[1542]

The well chapel (fig. A-114), which incorporates the holy well, is now a privately owned and maintained nondenominational Grade 2 listed building where services are still occasionally held.[1543] The well chapel is one of the largest well chapels in Cornwall and was probably constructed in the fifteenth century but with earlier origins, and it was restored in 1897 by the Rev. Sabine Baring-Gould.[1544] The structure is built of roughly dressed granite with a steeply pitched roof constructed of large granite slabs with gable ends to the front and rear.[1545] The water flows into the well sump and from there flows through an underground channel under the east end of St Clether Well Chapel.[1546]



Figure A-114. St Clether Well Chapel, St Clether[1547]

[1538] 'Moorland Group: Altarnon, Davidstow, Laneast and St Clether', The Cornish Moorland Group of Churches [online]. Available at http://cornishmoorlandchurches.org.uk/ <Accessed 27 April 2018> See also Doble, p. 6.
[1539] 'Moorland Group: Altarnon, Davidstow, Laneast and St Clether', The Cornish Moorland Group of Churches [online].
[1540] 'Moorland Group: Altarnon, Davidstow, Laneast and St Clether', The Cornish Moorland Group of Churches [online].
[1541] 'Church of Saint Clether', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1328078 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1542] 'Church of Saint Clether', Historic England [online].
[1543] 'About', St. Clether Holy Well Chapel [online].
[1544] 'St Clether's Chapel and Holy Well', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1018492 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1545] 'St Clether's Chapel and Holy Well', Historic England [online].
[1546] 'St Clether's Chapel and Holy Well', Historic England [online].
[1547] 'Chapel of St Clether', Historic England [online]. Available at https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1159239 <Accessed 27 April 2018> See also 'St Clether's Chapel and Holy Well', Historic England [online].

Ventonglidder, Probus, Truro [SW 90150 49400][1548]
'well of St Clether', *fenton* well + *Clether* pers. n.[1549]

> *Ventonglidder* (1776)[1550], *Ventonglidder* (1831[1551]), *Ventonglidder* (1840) [1552], *Ventonglidder* (1856) [1553]

A well at Ventonglidder in Probus Parish bears the name of St Cleder.[1554] This place-name matches that of Ventonglidder Farm, which currently includes several self-catering cottages, one of which is named for St Clether (fig. A-115). [1555] Literature for the farm states that 'there is a stream formed by the overflow from an ancient holy well running down towards the western boundary'.[1556] The water supply for the farm is from the source that feeds this holy well, described as 'dedicated to St Clether and dating back to the 1300s'.[1557]

[1548] 'Probus', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.30712,-4.94844,14/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1549] According to Padel, p. 70: 'In Cornwall, Ventonglidder in Probus, is 'holy well' (*fenten*) of St Cleder (with mutation of *c* to *g*); not the preservation of original *d* here, in contrast with *th* in east Cornwall'. In *Cornish Place-Name Elements*, p. 97, he also notes that no definite instances are known of *fenten* + pers. not that of a known saint'.
[1550] 'Ventonglidder', Megalithic Portal [online]. Available at https://www.megalithic.co.uk/article.php?sid=8203 <Accessed on 11 April 2020>
[1551] 'J/1/1064: Plans and notes, property in St Erme, St Allen and area', CRO [online]. Available at http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=0&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Ventonglidder%27%29 <Accessed on 27 April 2018>
[1552] 'J/1/1507: Plan, Ventonglidder and parts of Treworyan and Treworgans, Probus', CRO [online]. Available at http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=1&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Ventonglidder%27%29 <Accessed on 27 April 2018>
[1553] 'J/1/1916: Legal case and opinion, lease of Ventonglidder, Probus', CRO [online]. Available at http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=2&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Ventonglidder%27%29 <Accessed on 27 April 2018>
[1554] Orme, p. 89.
[1555] 'Ventonglidder Farm', On the Market [online]. Available at https://www.onthemarket.com/details/3101158/ <Accessed 11 April 2020>
[1556] 'Ventonglidder Farm', On the Market [online]. >
[1557] 'Ventonglidder Farm', On the Market [online].



Figure A-115. St Clether Cottage, Ventonglidder Farm[1558]

The area evidences early religious activity. The nearby church at Probus, dedicated to St Probus and St Grace, is built on a roughly circular site indicative of a possible early fifth-century Celtic Christian community.[1559] There is some evidence of a Celtic monastic site here in the tenth century.[1560] King Athelstan founded a church in about 930, which existed at the time of the Norman Conquest, and the church was mentioned as one of the Cornish landowners in the Domesday Book of 1086.[1561] In the 1140s the church became a collegiate foundation with a dean and five canons and the right of sanctuary.[1562] In 1447 the chapel of St George was licensed.[1563] This chapel was situated in the south-east corner of the present churchyard, but no traces of it now remain.[1564]

St Nectan

The hermit and martyr St Nectan is the subject of the Life of St Nectan, which tells of Broccannus and his wife Gladwisa and their twenty-four holy children, of whom 'the blessed Nectan was the first-born, and was more excellent by the splendour of the miracles he wrought'.[1565] Dedications to him are located in Cornwall and also in Devon, where Hartland is considered the centre of his cult.

[1558] 'Ventonglidder Farm', Savills [online].
[1559] 'History', Probus Parish Church [online]. Available at https://probuschurch.com/about-us/history/ <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1560] 'History', Probus Parish Church [online].
[1561] 'History', Probus Parish Church [online].
[1562] 'History', Probus Parish Church [online].
[1563] 'History', Probus Parish Church [online].
[1564] 'History', Probus Parish Church [online].
[1565] Doble, p. 6.

St Nectan Chapel, St Winnow Parish, Lostwithiel [SX 12838 60031][1566]

St Nectan (1386–1387)[1567], *St Nectan* (1500–1502[1568]), *St Nectan's Church, St Winnow* (1968)[1569]

St Nectan Chapel is in the parish of St Winnow and the Benefice of Lostwithiel Parishes in the diocese of Truro.[1570] The chapel dates from 1281, with the present structure built during the fifteenth century and restored considerably since that time, in particular after it received damaged in 1644 during the Civil War when the tower was reduced to its present height.[1571] The building was enlarged in 1825 and again in 1864.[1572] After a period of disuse, the chapel was restored and reduced to its present size in 1962, and it continues to be in use.[1573]

St Nectan's Glen, Trethevey [SX 07628 89261][1574]

Tretheuie (1548)[1575], *St Nectan's Kieve* (*c.* 1860–*c.* 1890)[1576], *St Nectan* (1878)[1577], *St Nectan's Glen* (*c.* 1956)[1578]

North-east of Tintagel, the hamlet of Trethevey contains dedications related to the family of Brychan, in part because of its proximity to St Nectan's Glen, now a privately owned tourist attraction, said to be the location of Nectan's hermitage as described in the twelfth-century

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[1566] 'Lostwithiel', OS Maps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.40748,-4.67058,13/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1567] 'AR/2/539/2: Account roll, Hartland manor, Devon', CRO [online]. Available at http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=9&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Nectan%27%29 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1568] 'AR/2/349/2: Court roll, Lanhadron manor, St Ewe', CRO [online]. Available at http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=8&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Nectan%27%29 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1569] 'P253/6/16: Plan, demolition and restoration, St Nectan's Church, St Winnow', CRO [online]. Available at http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=25&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Nectan%27%29 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1570] 'St Nectan's Chapel', Church of England: A Chapel Near You [online]. Available at https://www.achurchnearyou.com/church/2728/find-us/ <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1571] 'Chapel of St Nectans', British Listed Buildings [online]. Available at https://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/101138175-chapel-of-st-nectans-st-winnow#.WnKCo0vLi-o <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1572] 'Chapel of St Nectans', British Listed Buildings [online].
[1573] 'Chapel of St Nectans', British Listed Buildings [online].
[1574] 'Trethevey', OSMaps [online]. Available at https://osmaps.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/50.67116,-4.72381,15/pin <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1575] Norden, p. 60. Norden notes that the place is 'called in Latine *Casa gigantis*, a litle howse raysed of mightie stones, standing on a litle hill within a feilde, the forme herevnder expressed'.
[1576] 'AD325/1/8/6: Photograph, Waterfall at St Nectan's Kieve, Tintagel', CRO [online]. Available at http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=0&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Nectan%27%29 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1577] 'P253/2/33: Letter, General Register Office, St Nectan's marriage register entries, St Winnow', CRO [online]. Available at http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=20&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Nectan%27%29 <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1578] 'AD1201/32: Postcard, St Nectan's Glen, Tintagel', CRO [online]. Available at http://crocat.cornwall.gov.uk/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=4&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Nectan%27%29 <Accessed 27 April 2018>

Life of St Nectan, where he held an annual celebration with his family.[1579] The dedication of the place is now firmly attributed to St Nectan, described by its proprietors as a 'sacred site', and St Nectan's Glen features a number of elements that demonstrate the reinterpretation of ancient accounts of the children of Brychan for a modern audience.[1580]

On the east side of the lane to St Nectan's Glen are modern villas named for St Brychan, St Endellion, St Morewenna, St Mabyn, and St Adwen, and on Genver Lane is a house named for St Yse.[1581] This naming convention seems to be designed to focus interest on the children of Brychan because of the nearby dedication to St Nectan. Brychan is not often identified as a saint, but is in this place.

St Nectan's Glen includes a cafe, gift shop, woodland path, and three waterfalls. One sixty-foot waterfall descends to a basin, St Nectan's Kieve, that leads to a shallow pool. After reaching the pool, water from the basin flows into the stream, where it reaches the second waterfall. A feature added in 2016, a third waterfall that is eighty feet long, can be viewed from a new stretch of path.[1582]

The proprietors' website presents St Nectans Glen as a 'sacred site' and, while their history discussion does not mention the medieval Life of St Nectan, it reports that 'the sixth-century Saint Nectan is believed to have sited his hermitage above the waterfall'.[1583] This echoes this account in the Life of St Nectan:

> This venerable man Nectan, traversing wooded tracts and haunts of wild beasts that he might find by the Lord's indication a place convenient for the solitary life, after a short space of time found a valley of marvellous beauty and pleasant with the abundance of trees that grew thickly there, sloping towards the north. Now this valley running down from the brow of a certain hill has in its recesses (the passage is corrupt) a fountain of never-failing water. And there this fountain, in a certain plae distant from the said fountain about forty paces (in which place is now the church dedicated in his name, in which his body was buried, and the town which is now called Stokes), he constructed for himself from the branches and bark of trees a convenient hut (tugurrium), where he dwelt for a considerable time, eating only herbs and acorns and such-like things, and striving to live in all holy

[1579] 'Waterfalls', St Nectans Glen [online]. Available at http://www.st-nectansglen.co.uk/ <Accessed 27 April 2018> For the dating of the Life of St Nectan, see Doble, p. 4.
[1580] 'Waterfalls', St Nectans Glen [online].
[1581] 'St Yse Cottage', Forgotten Houses [online]. Available at http://www.forgottenhouses.co.uk/properties/st-yse-cottage-trethevey-tintagel/ <Accessed 29 April 2018>
[1582] 'Waterfalls', St Nectans Glen [online].
[1583] 'Waterfalls', St Nectans Glen [online].

> conversation and good works, until the spirit and not unto the flesh, unto the Lord and not unto himself.[1584]

Those who constructed the current St Nectans Glen attraction describe the cult of the saint, not as a strictly Christian dedication, but one that encompasses a variety of spiritual practices:

> Saint Nectan's Kieve is to some a sacred place, and numerous ribbons, crystals, photographs, inscriptions, prayers and other devotions now adorn the foliage and rock walls near the waterfall. Some visitors add small piles of flat stones obtained from the stream, known by some as fairy stacks. [1585]

While the photographs, inscriptions and prayers can be found at other Christian shrines, the presence of ribbons, crystals, and 'fairy stacks' indicate a broader definition of spiritual practice. The description of the saint's hermitage and nearby chapel are more in accord with the medieval Life of St Nectan. According to the St Nectans Glen website the hermitage is located at the top of the first waterfall, as are nearby chapel ruins upon which a cottage was constructed in the 1860s and extended in 1900.[1586] The proprietors extend the significance of the site to the Arthurian legends surrounding nearby Tintagel:

> Many myths and legends, from King Arthur and his knights to ghostly sightings, surround this place: but one undeniable fact is that it is a place of outstanding natural beauty.[1587]

King Arthur and ghosts are not related to the cult of St Nectan, but seem connected to the overall traditions of this part of Cornwall, which integrate legends of saints, kings, and supernatural events. Figure A-116 illustrates this juxtaposition of natural beauty, a Christian hermit, a ruined chapel, pagan shrine, fairies, ghosts and legends of King Arthur set a mood that combines natural, spiritual, and fanciful elements supported by practical features that enable visitors to visit, eat, and shop in comfort, including visits to 'the meditation room for a time of self-reflection'.[1588]

[1584] Doble, p. 8.
[1585] 'Waterfalls', St Nectans Glen [online].
[1586] 'Waterfalls', St Nectans Glen [online].
[1587] 'St Nectans Glen History', St Nectans Glen [online]. Available at http://www.st-nectansglen.co.uk/history/ <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1588] 'SSSI', St Nectans Glen [online]. Available at http://www.st-nectansglen.co.uk/ssid/ <Accessed 27 April 2018>



Figure A-116. Informal shrine, St Nectan Chapel ruins, Trevethey[1589]

The Brychan family in Scotland

The dedications to the Brychan family are uncertain, with few dedications and locations that are difficult to trace. No daughters of Brychan are said to have dedicated churches or holy wells in Scotland.[1590]

St Cadog of Llancarvan

One of the tales in the Life of St Cadog concerns a Scottish giant called Cau Pritdin somewhere in Scotland.[1591] Caw of Prydain is identified as the head of one of the Three Holy Families in the Triads, along with Brychan Brycheiniog and Cunedda Wledig. 'Kaw from Pictland' is also a chcaracter in *Culhwch and Olwen* in *The Mabinogion*. In the Life of St Cadog, the giant was set to work as digger of the monastic foundations to atone for his

[1589] D. Ross, 'St Nectan's Glen Waterfall & Hermitage', Britain Express [online]. Available at http://www.britainexpress.com/counties/cornwall/ancient/st-nectans-glen.htm <Accessed 27 April 2018>
[1590] The Saints in Scottish Place-Names [online]. Available at https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/about.php <Accessed 12 April 2020>
[1591] 'Cadog of Llancarfan', Saints in Scottish Place-Names [online]. Available at https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=34 <Accessed 13 April 2020>

sins.[1592] The monastery is in a province called 'Lintheamine', a name which 'rather suggests Lleuddiniawn, given as the Welsh form of 'Lothian'.[1593]

Kilmadock (Cille Mo Dog) Parish Church, Doune, Perthshire [NN 72718 01560]

The church, shown in figure A-x, is dedicated to St Cadoc. The parish contains setlements of Doune, Deanstone, Buchany, Drumvaich, and Delvorich. Linked to Gargunnock Parish Church and Kincardine-Menteith Parish in Blair Drummond. Is Gargunnock dedicated to Cynog?



Figure A-x. Kilmadock Parish Church, Doune (from Geograph)

The former church was a red sandstone building with a square tower in the town centre, and it has been replaced by an 'unpretentious grey-harled two-storey building' around the corner.[1594]

Linked to Gargunnock Parish Church, Kincardine-Menteith Parish Church, Blair Drummond.

Address is:

Kilmadock Parish Church, Doune

43 Balkerach Street, Doune

Scotland, UK FK16 6DF

[1592] 'Cadog of Llancarfan', Saints in Scottish Place-Names [online]. Available at https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=34 <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1593] 'Cadog of Llancarfan', Saints in Scottish Place-Names [online]. Available at https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=34 <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1594] 'Kilmadock Parish Church, Doune', Scotland Churches Trust [online]. Available at https://www.scotlandschurchestrust.org.uk/church/kilmadock-parish-church-doune <Accessed 31 July 2017>

Cóemán ailithir m. Brachain of Cell Chóemáin

Though no place-name referring to this particular saint has been identified, the non-specific group Cóemgen, Cóemán, Mo Chóemóc, Coemi (ns) may refer to him, and the following chapel is a possible dedication.1595

St Coivin's Chapel, South Kintyre, Argyll and Bute [NR 731 093][1596]

St Coivin's Chapel (1794), *St Coivin's Chapel* (1843)[1597]

St Coivin's Chapel and burial ground is located 270 meters west of Macharioch.[1598] This chapel was part of the parish called Kilblaan +Sanda estate.[1599]

St Coivin's Chapel, Macharioch

The foundations of a chapel are found in an elevated portion of a field which lies a little to the north-west of the farmhouse of Macharioch, and many of the stones of this chapel were taken away as was quite customary, and used to repair the buildings of Macharioch House.

St Iast

St Iast is said to be one of the ten sons of Brychan Brycheiniog. He is connected with Lennox.[1600]

Lennox, East Dumbartonshire [NS 58000 77000]

Dedication to Iast son of Brachain. Location and dedication are vague.

Mo Chonóc m. Brachain of Kilmuckridge

https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=245

[1595] 'Cóemán ailithir m. Brachain of Cell Chóemáin', Saints in Scottish Place-Names [online]. Available at https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=230 <Accessed 23 January 2019>

[1596] 'St Coivin's Chapel, SOE (Kintyre)', Saints in Scottish Place-Names [online]. Available at https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/place.php?id=1337702651 <Accessed 23 January 2019> lat: 55.32527598522404/long: -5.577209727424282

[1597] 'St Coivin's Chapel, SOE (Kintyre)', Saints in Scottish Place-Names [online]. Available at https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/place.php?id=1337702651 <Accessed 23 January 2019>

[1598] 'St Coivin's Chapel & Burial Ground 270m W of Machariach', Ancient Monuments [online]. Available at https://ancientmonuments.uk/127108-st-coivins-chapel-burial-ground-270m-west-of-macharioch-south-kintyre-ward/photos <Accessed 23 January 2019>

[1599] 'The Parishes of Kintyre with early ecclesiastical sites', Land Assessment Scotland [online]. Available at http://las.denisrixson.com/2014/07/the-parishes-of-kintyre-with-early-ecclesiastical-sites/ <Accessed 23 January 2019>

[1600] 'St Iast', Historic Place-names of Saints in Scotland [online]. Available at https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=305 <Accessed 13 April 2020>

Mo Chonóc of Kilmuckridge is was said to be a son of Brychan as described in the Mothers of the Irish Saints. No place-name referring to this particular saint has been identified.

See: Conna, Conóc, Mo Chonóc, Conán, Cynan (ns)

Bellanoch Church, North Knapdale, Argyll and Bute [NR796923]
Latitude: 56.0734/Longitude: -5.5422

Dedication to Mochonoc son of Brachain.

Nathalan, Nechtan Neir, Nechtan of Cell Uinche, Nectan of Wales[1601]

St Nectan has a tradition in Scotland, where a number of churches are dedicated to him, but his cult was strongest in Devon at Hartland Abbey.

Meldrum (formerly Bethelnie), Highlands [1602][NJ 786 312]

Cill Mo-Neachdain, Iona[1603] [NM 286 246]

Creag Neachtain, Islay [NR 344 454][1604]

Kilmaughtan, Kilnaughton [NR 344 452][1605]

Kilnathan (1630), *Kilnaughtan* (1794)[1606]; *Kilnachtan* (1507), *Kilnachtane* (1606), *Kilnachtan* (1654), *Kilnaughton* (1843)[1607]

Belenachtan, Kilnaughton, Islay [NR 343 451][1608]
Baile Neaghtoin (1408), *Balenachtan* (1614)

[1601] 'Nechtan, Nathalan (NS)', Saints of Scotland Database [online]. Available at https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=527 <Accessed 2 May 2018>
[1602] 'Nechtan, Nathalan (NS)', Saints of Scotland Database [online]. Available at https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=527 <Accessed 2 May 2018>
[1603] 'Nechtan, Nathalan (NS)', Saints of Scotland Database [online]. Available at https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=527 <Accessed 2 May 2018> lat: 56.33587818966526/long: -6.391835179350004
[1604] 'Nechtan, Nathalan (NS)', Saints of Scotland Database [online]. Available at https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=527 <Accessed 2 May 2018> lat: 55.62945767, long: -6.220128466
[1605] 'Nechtan, Nathalan (NS)', Saints of Scotland Database [online]. Available at https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=527 <Accessed 2 May 2018> **Latitude:** 55.6276652852642**, Longitude**-6.219935518530567
[1606] 'Nechtan, Nathalan (NS)', Saints of Scotland Database [online]. Available at https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=527 <Accessed 2 May 2018>
[1607] 'Kilnaughton, settlement KDO (Islay)', Saints of Scotland Database [online]. Available at https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/place.php?id=1321355488&name_id=33319 <Accessed 23 January 2019>
[1608] 'Nechtan, Nathalan (NS)', Saints of Scotland Database [online]. Available at https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=527 <Accessed 14 April 2020> Latitude: 55.62671450552103, Longitude: -6.221423015690605

St Nathalan's Chapel, St Mary's Church, Cowie, Fetteresso [NO 884 873][1609]

St Mary's Chapel (1843)

St Nathalan's Well, Meldrum [NJ 810 270][1610]

St Nathalan's Well (1881)[1611]

St Nachalan's Well, GTG [NO 370 960][1612]

St Nachalan's Well (1920)[1613]

St Nathalan's Church, Tullich [NO 390 975][1614]

The ninth reading for 8 January in the Aberdeen Breviary describes how St Nathalanus founded a church in this place, and his body was brought here with great reverence, where it gave health to the sick who came there. The Aberdeen Calendar also locates the cult of Nechtan/Nathalnus at Tullich. The parish kirk of the former parish of Tullich was said to have been dedicated to St Nachalan, and a Fair was held in Tullich on 9 or 29 January.[1615]

The Brychan family in Ireland

One of the ten sons of Brychan king of the Britons and Dína daughter of the king of the Saxons.[1616] Dedications to the children of Brychan in Ireland tend to be in East Leinster.

Daughters

None of the children of Brachan and Dína were said to be daughters; however, one text calls Dína a daughter rather than the wife of Brychan. Confusion existed about the name of one of the sons, as well.

[1609] 'Nechtan, Nathalan (NS)', Saints of Scotland Database [online]. Latitude: 56.97692534195066, Longitude: -2.190853753944282

[1610] 'Nechtan, Nathalan (NS)', Saints of Scotland Database [online]. Latitude: 57.33334287507619, Longitude: -2.3156265752077334

[1611] 'St Nathalan's Well, Meldrum', Saints of Scotland Database [online]. Available at https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/place.php?id=1493636589 <Accessed 14 April 2020>

[1612] 'Nechtan, Nathalan (NS)', Saints of Scotland Database [online]. lat: 57.05092896438521/long: -3.0386163451331227

[1613] 'St Nachalan's Well, GTG', Saints of Scotland Database [online]. Available at https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/place.php?id=1369262428 <Accessed 14 April 2020>

[1614] 'St Nathalan's Church, Tullich', Saints in Scottish Place-Names [online]. Available at https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/place.php?id=1319460399 <Accessed 14 April 2020> **Latitude:** 57.06467218645542/**Longitude:** -3.0060146279237703

[1615] 'St Nathalan's Church, Tullich', Saints in Scottish Place-Names [online].

[1616] EWGT, p. 33.

Dína

While Díona is considered to be the daughter of the king of the Saxons who married Brachan, king of the Britons, she may also have been adopted by the Síol Maine of Longford/ Westmeath who numbered among their four *cailleacha*, 'nuns', a certain Díne daughter of Bracán, the other three being Forbhaise daughter of Aodh, Lasair daughter of Rónán, and Sineach of the Longford church of Taghshinny (Teach Sinche). See CGSH ss 722.78 and Lgen. 177.6.[1617]

Other family

Breacán of Dairinis

This saint, whose name is also spelt as Bracán, is known from an entry in the mothers of the saints, which states that he is the son of Ríomh, daughter of Fiachna of the Cairbre Luachra branch of the Eoghanachta.[1618] As such, he was a uterine brother not only of Cuimín Fada, but also of three noted lay-people—one a 'fool' (Comhdhán Dá Chearda), the two others kings (Guaire son of Colmán and Cuana son of Cailchín),all of whom figured prominently among the *dramatis personae* of the so-called Guaire-cycle of tales.[1619] Despite the extensive literary records of his siblings, little beyond the saint's name and church has been preserved.[1620] Breacán, patron of both Inishmore on Aran and Kilbreckan in the Clare parish of Doora, is perhaps the most likely candidate.[1621]

Cairinne of Cell Chairinni

'Cairinne of Cell Chairinni' (MIS)[1622]

One of the ten sons of Brychan king of the Britons and Dína daughter of the king of the Saxons.[1623] 'Perhaps because of the name ending in -e, Colgan took Cairinne to be a female.'[1624]

[1617] O Riain, p. 267.
[1618] O Riain, pp. 111–112.
[1619] O Riain, pp. 111–112.
[1620] O Riain, pp. 111–112.
[1621] O Riain, pp. 111–112.
[1622] EWGT, p. 33.
[1623] EWGT, p. 33.
[1624] P. O Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), pp. 144–145.

Ceall Chairinne, Bolabaun, Killurin, Shelmaliere West, Wexford [52.37416, -6.58527][1625]

Cell Chairinne (1160)[1626]

Ceall Chairinne, which may now be called Chappelcaran, is in the townland of Bolabaun in the parish of Killurin, in the barony of Shelmaliere West, County Wexford.[1627] The Latin Life of Finnian of Clonard brings its subject, returning from Wales, to a place called portus Kylle Caireni near the Wexford coast. Located a few miles inland, Killurin lay close to the navigable river Slaney. [1628]

St Kierans, Saltmills, New Ross, Wexford [52.23868, -6.80938][1629]

St Kieran's is a hamlet near the town of Saltmills on the coast of Wexford. Saintkierans (St Kearns), Parish of Tintern, Bannow Bay, Co. Wexford.[1630]

Díoraidh of Edermine

Díoraidh is one of the sons of Brachan in the Mothers of Irish Saints.[1631] A person named Díoraidh (Dirath) died as a bishop at Ferns, and it has been suggested that he was identical with the man named Dirathi who was remembered with the family of Munna of Taghmon on 21 October.[1632] There are also saints of the name in the martyrological lists for 13 January and 27 July, and the second of these has been taken to be identical both with the bishop at Ferns and with Díoraidh son of Brachan.[1633]

Edermine, Ballaghkeen, Wexford [52.43985 , -6.54696]

Edermine Court is a large country house.

[1625] 'St Kierans', Irish Grid Reference [online]. Available at http://www.gridreference.ie/ <Accessed 13 April 2020>
[1626] O Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, pp. 144–145.
[1627] O Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, pp. 144–145. See also CGSH, ss 722.89 and EWGT, pp. 13–16 and 32–33.)
[1628] O Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, pp. 144–145. See also VSHH 99, ss11)
[1629] 'St Kierans', Irish Grid Reference [online]. Available at http://www.gridreference.ie/ <Accessed 16 February 2019>
[1630] O Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, pp. 144–145.
[1631] O Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 267.
[1632] O Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 267.
[1633] O Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 267. See also MartT 7; MartG 14.144; MartD 14.204.

Eallóg of St Doologe's

Eallóg of St Doologe's (Ceall Meallóg/St Tulloge's) in the town and county of Wexford. Also written Meallóg or Teallóg, Eallóg is probably a diminutive form of Oidill.[1634]

St Doologe's (Paróiste Dúlóg), Wexford [52.33668, -6.46462]

St Tullog (1540), *Seint Tulloggs (Priory of Selskar)* (1540), *S. Tullocks alias Olave's church* (1571), *St Tullock's* (1575), *St Toolock's Parish* (1668)[1635]

St. Doologe's Church was built by Norse settlers in the eleventh century, and the parish was one of five within the walled town, and the church was destroyed in the 1649 Sack of Wexford by Oliver Cromwell. In 1837 Samuel Lewis wrote that St Tullogue's Church was now the site of five small houses, 1 rood; making a total of 1 acre of glebe land within the walls.[1636] St. Doologe's and the other parishes have remained distinct units for civil administration, though practically obsolete since the nineteenth century.[1637]

Kerloge (Ceall Eallóg), Ferns, barony of Fortth, Wexford [52.31504, -6.45783]

Church of St Aloch (1290), *Killicoge* (1654-1656), *Killiloke* (1680), *Killiloge* (1713), *Kerlogue* (1830)[1638]

At Kerlogue, Eallóg was replaced by James the apostle.

Kilmallock (Ceall Meallog), Ballymurn, Wexford [52.43468, -6.48232]

Possibly named after the saint.

Kilcloggan, Templetown, Wexford [52.18927, -6.89756]

Eallóg son of Brachan was apparently also remembered at the church of Kilcloggan in the Wexford parish of Templetown.[1639]

[1634] O Riain, Dictionary of Irish Saints, pp. 279–280.
[1635] 'St Doologe's' Archival Records, logainm.ie [online]. Available at https://www.logainm.ie/en/2611 <Accessed 14 April 2020>
[1636] 'Wexford Union', S. Lewis, A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, Library Ireland [online]. Available at https://www.libraryireland.com/topog/W/Wexford-Union.php <Accessed 14 April 2020>
[1637] 'Wexford Union', S. Lewis, A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, Library Ireland [online]. Available at https://www.libraryireland.com/topog/W/Wexford-Union.php <Accessed 14 April 2020>
[1638] Kerlog Archival Records, logainm.ie [online]. Available at https://www.logainm.ie/en/54518 <Accessed 14 April 2020>
[1639] O Riain, Dictionary of Irish Saints, p. 280.

Mochonóc of Kilmuckridge

Kilmuckridge (Ceall Mhucraise), barony of Ballaghkeen, Wexford [52.51213, 6.28342][1640]
Gallen (Gailinne), Offaly, barony of Garrycastle [53.23398, -7.64981]

Moghóróg of Delgany

Mochorog, whose name derives from Guaire, with his brothers had the following possible dedicationsHis feast day was 23 December.

Delgany (Deirgne), barony of Rathdown, Wicklow [53.13094, -6.09845]

Delgany is a post-town and parish in the halfbarony of Rathdown in the county of Wicklow, and province of Leinster. Towards the end of the fifth century, a religious cell was founded by St. Mogoroc, brother of St. Canoe, at this place, which was anciently called Dergne, or Delgne; and in 1022 a great battle was fought here between Ugain, King of Leinster, and Sitric, the Danish King of Dublin, in which the latter was defeated.[1641]

,Killincooly Beg, Killincooly, Wexford [52.49050, -6.27711]
St Guaire Holy Well, Monatore, Wicklow Parish, Ballynure [52.96069, -6.74942]
Palmerston (formerly Stoghgori), barony of Dublin, Uppercross [53.35640, -6.37206]

The Brychan family in Brittany

About the dedications in Brittany

The dedications to the children of Brychan in Brittany include specific children who left Britain to found churches in Brittany, and no story places the Brychan family itself in Brittany. These stories are found in the early collections of charters: the Cartularies of Quimperlé, of Redon, and of Landévennec.[1642] In particular, the medieval Vita Sancte

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[1640]

[1641] 'Delgany', GENUKI [online]. Available at https://www.genuki.org.uk/big/irl/WIC/Delgany <Accessed 14 April 2020>

[1642] *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé*, 2nd edn, ed. by L. Maître and P. de Berthou (Rennes and Paris: Bibliothèque Bretonne Armoricaine, 1904); *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon en Bretagne*, ed. by A. de Courson (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1863), and *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Landévennec*, ed. by A. de la Borderie (Rennes: Société Archéologique du Finistère, 1888). Hereafter, *Cartulaire de Quimperlé, Cartulaire de Redon,* and *Cartulaire de Landévennec*, respectively.

Ninnoce and Santez Nonn Mystery Play describe two daughters of Brychan not documented elsewhere.[1643] As with other geographical areas, a place-name may be the only record of a saint's cult, further complicated by names that have changed over time, involving political and social change and changes to the landscape. With regard to names and spelling, this section relies on collections by Joseph Loth, *Les Noms Des Saints Bretons* (1910) and *Chrestomathie Bretonne* (1890), and the more recent topographical dictionaries by Bernard Tanguy, *Dictionnaire des noms de communes trèves et paroisses des Côtes d'Armor* (1992) and *Dictionnaire des noms de communes trèves et paroisses des Finistèr*e (1990).[1644] For dedications in the district of Morbihan, the *Dictionnaire Topographique du Département Du Morbihan* (1870) by Louis Rosenzweig remains a valuable source, especially in terms of establishing the first appearance of specific place-names.[1645] These sources have been augmented by Hervé Abalain's *Les noms de lieux bretons* (2000) and *Le Livre des Saints Bretons* (2016) by Bernard Rio.[1646] Topics are labeled with the place-name, nearest township, district, department, region, and area code (with the area code in parentheses) using as source the Map of France website.[1647] In a number of cases, dates are included to show when place-names were first documented and to demonstrate how these names have changed over time; however, in many cases this data is unavailable. Where possible, this information is included.

The dedications found in Brittany share many similarities with those in Britain, comprising churches, chapels, holy wells, as well as places where the original religious purpose of the place may be lost even though the name is of a saint. Images of saints are found in stained glass windows, statues, and paintings. While sharing many features, dedications in Brittany vary from those in Britain in several ways. The parish enclosure found in Brittany often includes a number of structures. In addition to a church, an enclosure may also feature a chapel, a fountain (i.e., holy well), a calvary, and an ossuary. These structures may be

[1643] *Cartulaire de Quimperlé*, pp. 55–68, and A. Sionnet, *Buhez Santez Nonn* (Paris: Merlin Libraire, 1837).
[1644] Loth, Les noms de saints bretons; J. Loth, Chrestomathie Bretonne (Armorican, Gallois, Cornique), 3 vols (Paris: Emile Bouillon Librairie-Éditeur, 1890, hereafter, Chrestomathie Bretonne; B. Tanguy, Dictionnaire des noms de communes trèves et paroisses des Côtes-d'Armor (Le Chasse-Maree: ArMen, 1992), hereafter, Côtes-d'Armor; and B. Tanguy, Dictionnaire des noms de communes trèves et paroisses du Finistère (Chasse-Marée: ArMen, 1990), hereafter, Finistère.
[1645] L. Rosenzweig, *Dictionnaire Topographique du Département du Morbihan* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1870).
[1646] H. Abalain, *Les Noms de Lieux Bretons* (France: Jean-Paul Gisserot, 2000) and B. Rio, *Le Livre des Saints Bretons*, pref. by P. Abjean (Rennes: Éditions Ouest-France, 2016).
[1647] 'Map of France', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/ <Accessed 5 April 2018>

enhanced with stained glass windows, paintings, and statues that depict the saints and their legends.

Rituals indicative of past practices include the Pardon, where participants receive an indulgence for following a penitential ritual on the feast day of a patron saint of a church or a chapel. The evening before the Pardon, participants go to confession, then attend mass at dawn. Traveling to the site of the Pardon, people travel in groups carrying insignia of their community. Once at the site of the Pardon, a procession around the church takes place, with participants carrying symbols of their faith (e.g., relics, banners, statues, and other tokens of devotion) after which a mass takes place. After being granted absolution, festivities begin, which may include a fair or competition, such as the wrestling competition that is part of the Pardon of Saint Cado at Gouesnach.

While these liturgical celebrations of saints indicate continuity with past practices, new ways of honouring the saints have also emerged, such as Les Vallée des Saints in Carnoët, a project initiated in 2008 by Breton philosopher Philippe Abjean wherein monumental statues of St Ninnog, St Cado, St Aloué and St Carantec from the Brychan family are among over one-hundred figures of the Breton saints, many of them holy emigrants from Britain to Brittany during the fifth and sixth century. One-thousand statues are planned in total, all of them to be sponsored through public donations. These modern interpretations demonstrate a present relevance of the children of Brychan in Brittany and illustrate their stories using fresh imagery. They are also deliberate statements about the cultural identity of Brittany.

Daughters of Brychan

Saint Alvoez or Aloué

Eluned daughter of Brychan is not readily connected to place-names in Brittany, although Joseph Loth suggested that the Breton name *Alvoez* shares similarities with the Welsh name *Elwedd*, the patron saint of Llanelwedd, a church in Breconshire near other dedications to Eluned and sometimes associated with her (see ch. 5).[1648]

[1648] Loth, p. 10.

Kerdalhué à Gestel et Guidel, Pont-Scorff, Lorient, Morbihan (56520)[1649]

The Kerdalhué Road may be the only remaining place named *Kerdalhué*, but it can be found, as reported by Joseph Loth, between the small towns of Gestel and Guidel.[1650] Loth also identified in the nearby town of Quéven a possible dedication to Saint Alouée, which once existed, but was destroyed long ago.[1651]

Lannelvoëz, Plouigneau, Plouigneau, Finistère (29199)[1652]

The parish name of Lannelvoëz became lost when a number of ancient communities were combined to become Plouigneau, which is also the name of the city; however, Lannelvoëz remains in the name of an important street that runs north to south in the south-east part of the city, in the names of two public schools, and also in the name of a cluster of buildings at the south-east edge of the city.[1653] Lannelvoëz was also one of fourteen chapels in the area, but it has not survived.[1654]

Lezalhoué, Nostang, Lorient, Morbihan (56148)[1655]

Leselvoez (1385), *Leselgoez* (1428), *Lesalvoez* (1505)[1656]

Lezalhoué is a small community located west of Chapelle Saint-Cado in the town of Nostang.

Saint-Aloué, Gourin, Pontivy, Lignol, Morbihan (56160)[1657]

Saint Alvoez (1420), *Saint Elvoez* (1433*), Saint Algouez* (1461)[1658]

According to Louis Rosenzweig, Saint-Aloué was the name of a village near Lignol, and it is still the name of a hamlet south-west of Lignol.[1659]

[1649] 'City of Guidel', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Guidel-56520/ <Accessed 2 April 2018>
[1650] 'City of Guidel', map-france.com [online].
[1651] Loth, p. 10.
[1652] 'City of Plouigneau', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Plouigneau-29610/ <Accessed 2 April 2018>
[1653] 'City of Plouigneau', map-france.com [online].
[1654] 'Un peu d'histoire', Ville de Plouigneau [online]. Available at http://www.plouigneau.fr/fr/un-peu-d-histoire.php <Accessed 2 April 2018>
[1655] 'Town of Nostang', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Nostang-56690/ <Accessed 2 April 2018>
[1656] Rosenzweig, p. 162.
[1657] 'Town of Lignol', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Lignol-56160/ <Accessed 2 April 2018>
[1658] Rosenzweig, p. 244.
[1659] Rosenzweig, p. 244.

Saint-Aloué Statue, Les Vallée des Saints, Carnoët, Callac, Guingamp, Côtes-d'Armor (22031)[1660]

Installed in 2017 at Les Vallée des Saints, this statue of Saint-Aloué by Olivier Lévêque depicts the saint as a man, reducing the likelihood that a modern interpretation possibly views the saint as Eluned daughter of Brychan (fig. A-117):



Figure A-117. Saint-Aloué Statue, Les Vallée des Saints[1661]

Saint-Alouée, Quéven, Pont-Scorff, Lorient, Morbihan (56530)[1662]

The territory of Quéven was created when the original parish of Ploemeur was reduced in size, and the church is dedicated to Saint-Pierre and Saint-Paul, but public chapels once included one dedicated to Saint-Alouée or Alvosius, 'mentioned by Father Cillart, and long since destroyed'.[1663]

[1660] 'City of Carnoët', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Carnoet-22160/ <Accessed 2 April 2018>
[1661] 'Sculptures', Les Vallée des Saints [online]. Available at http://www.lavalleedessaints.com/en/sculptures-xsl-281.html <Accessed 2 April 2018>
[1662] 'Une Ville Grandeur Nature', Quéven Kewenn [online]. Available at https://www.queven.com/ <Accessed 2 April 2018>
[1663] 'Etymologie et Histoire de Quéven', Infobretagne [online]. Available at http://www.infobretagne.com/queven.htm <Accessed 2 April 2018>

Saint-Efflez, Lanvéoc, Crozon, Châteaulin, Finistère (29120) [1664]

The hamlet of Saint-Efflez comprises a cluster of houses surrounded by woodlands south of the Naval College on the outskirts of Lanvéoc.[1665] Figure A-118 shows volunteers clearing the site of the well of Saint-Efflez for Citizens Day Lanvéoc in 2017.



Figure A-118. Fontaine de Saint-Efflez, Lanvéoc[1666]

Sainte Ceinmarch

Joseph Loth identifies 'Ceinmerch' as a possible dedication to Cain as Keyna in this place-name, which is a canton located in the arrondisement of Châteaulin in the department of Finistère in Brittany.[1667] As in the case of Eluned, Cain is not represented in other dedications in Brittany, and no other source suggests a connection.

Pont-de-Buis-lès-Quimerch, Le Faoh, Châteaulin, Finistère (29302)[1668]

Ecclesia de Keynmerch (1220), *Kenmerh* (1296), *Keymerch* (1368), *Ceinmerch* (1890)[1669]

[1664] 'City of Lanvéoc', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Lanveoc-29160/ <Accessed 2 April 2018>
[1665] 'City of Lanvéoc', map-france.com [online].
[1666] 'Fontaine Lavoir et Abreuvoir de Saint Efflez', Journée Citoyenne Lanvéoc [online]. Available at https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=775283579304071&id=559046480927783 <Accessed 2 April 2018>
[1667] Chrestomathie Bretonne, vol. 1, p. 196.
[1668] 'City of Pont-de-Buis-les-Quimerch', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Pont-de-Buis-les-Quimerch-29590/ <Accessed 2 April 2018>
[1669] Chrestomathie Bretonne, vol. 1, p. 196.

Joseph Loth identifies 'Ceinmerch' in this place-name as a possible dedication to Cain as Keyna.[1670] This dedication could be supported by the age of the site, as the presence of boxwood in the place-name could indicate an early Roman presence at this location.[1671] If a religious dedication to Cain ever existed, it remains only in the place-name of Quimerch.

Saint Enfail

In an entry about Saint Guenvael, Joseph Loth states that Loquenvel is dedicated to the Saint Enfail who is venerated as a martyr and daughter of Brychan in Carmarthen, although Loth concludes that 'there is no end to all these progeny of Welsh saints'.[1672] Hervé Abalain states that Envel refers to Guenvael.[1673] Bernard Tanguy also attributes the dedication to Saint Guenvael.[1674]

Loc-Envel, Belle-Isle-en-Terre, Guingamp, Côtes-d'Armor (22129)[1675]

Eccl. S. Guemelli (1163), *Louguenmael* (var. *Louguemael*) (*c.* 1330), *Locquenmel* (late 1300s), *Locquemel* (1427), *Locquemel* (1543*), Locquenvel* (1477)[1676]

Loc-Envel is a small town, and the church in the town is dedicated to Saint-Envel.[1677]

Saint Gurgon

Joseph Loth identifies Saint Gorgon as Gwrgon daughter of Brychan and the mother of Saint David, listing dedications in Morbihan, Côtes-d'Armor, and Finistère, giving as his authority *An Essay on the British Saints* by Rice Rees.[1678] The entry for Gwrgon by Rees, however, states that 'Gwrgon, daughter of Brychan, was married to Cadrod Calchfynydd, who flourished about A. D. 430'.[1679] Loth does not address the conflict between this assertion and the widely accepted tradition that Saint Nonne is the mother of St David with a strong cult at

[1670] Chrestomathie Bretonne, vol. 1, p. 196.
[1671] 'Une Occupation Ancienne', Pont-de-Buis les Quimerc'h [online]. Available at http://www.pontdebuislesquimerch.fr/la-commune/histoire-patrimoine/une-occupation-ancienne/ <Accessed 2 April 2018>
[1672] Loth, p. 54.
[1673] Abalain, p. 80.
[1674] *Côtes-d'Armor*, pp. 131–132.
[1675] 'Town of Loc-Envel', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Loc-Envel-22810/ <Accessed 2 April 2018>
[1676] *Côtes-d'Armor*, pp. 131–132.
[1677] 'Town of Loc-Envel', map-france.com [online].
[1678] Loth, p. 46.
[1679] R. Rees, *An Essay on the British Saints* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1836), p. 147.

Dirinon.[1680] More recently, Hervé Abalain lists only one similar place-name, *Saint-Gorgon*, which refers unambiguously to the Roman soldier of that name martyred in 304.[1681]

Chapelle du Golgon, Golgan, Trégastel, Perros-Guirec, Lannion, Côtes-d'Armor (22353)[1682]

This community near Trégastel includes a chapel called *Chapelle du Golgon* rather than the customary *Chapelle de Saint-Golgon*, and the chapel is of very ancient origin, linked originally either to Goko or Gorko, whilst the dedication to the martyred Roman soldier St Gorgon is 'undoubtably more recent'.[1683]

Kerourgon, Plouvien, Plabennec, Brest, Finistère (29209)[1684]

The dedication to Gurgon exists only in the place-name and the church in Plouvien and two nearby chapels are dedicated to other saints.[1685]

Sainte Julitte

Saint Juliana appears in the list of the children of Brychan found in the Life of St Nectan, and in Cornwall, some dedications to St Julitta are attributed to Juliana daughter of Brychan while others are attributed to the Roman martyrs Juliana and her son Saint Cyr. Chapelle Sainte-Julitte in Lanjulitte near Crozon is not mentioned by Joseph Loth or Bernard Tanguy, but it is included here because of the proximity of Lanjulitte to nearby dedications to Saint Divy and Saint Aloué.

Chapelle Sainte Julitte, Lanjulitte, Telgruc-sur-Mer, Crozon, Châteaulin, Finistère (29280)[1686]

The chapel of Sainte Julitte of Lanjulitte was built in the fifteenth century, but has been rebuilt several times since then and is now a ruin.[1687] It is the only one of the chapels in the

[1680] Loth, p. 46.
[1681] Abalain, p. 107.
[1682] 'City of Trégastel', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Tregastel-22730/ <Accessed 2 April 2018>
[1683] 'Chapelle du Golgon', Sites et Patrimoine de Trégastel [online]. Available at http://sites-et-patrimoine-tregastel.info/chapelle-du-golgon/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1684] 'City of Plouvien', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Plouvien-29860/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1685] 'City of Plouvien', map-france.com [online].
[1686] 'City of Telgruc-sur-Mer', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Telgruc-sur-Mer-29560/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1687] 'Chapelle de Lanjulitte en Telgruc sur Mer', presqu ile de crozon.com [online]. Available at https://www.presqu-ile-de-crozon.com/eglise-chapelle-calvaire/chapelle-de-lanjulitte-001.php <Accessed 3 April 2018>

commune of Telgruc-sur-Mer to endure.[1688] Some carving and statues from the chapel are preserved at the church of Telgruc-sur-Mer, including a statue of the saint (fig. A-119).[1689]



Figure A-119. Statue of Sainte Julitte, Telgruc-sur-Mer[1690]

A well dedicated to Saint Divy is nearby, and one approaches Lanjulitte by way of Rue Saint Divy.[1691]

Saint Morven

Joseph Loth identifies the dedication of Lanorven with a Saint Morven whom he believes recalls St Morwenna at Morwinstow in Cornwall.[1692]

Lanorven, Plabennec, Brest, Finistère (29160)[1693]

The hamlet of Lanorven is near the city of Plabennec, but its fifteenth-century chapel is dedicated to Sainte Anne.[1694] Other nearby dedications are at Saint-Tivy, dedicated to St David, and Trégarantec, dedicated to St Carantec).

[1688] 'Telgruc: chapelle de Lanjulitte (chapel Lanyurid)', Crozon-Bretagne.com [online].
[1689] 'Chapelle de Lanjulitte en Telgruc sur Mer', presqu ile de crozon.com [online].
[1690] 'Chapelle de Lanjulitte en Telgruc sur Mer', presqu ile de crozon.com [online].
[1691] 'City of Telgruc-sur-Mer', map-france.com [online].
[1692] Loth, p. 96.
[1693] 'City of Plabennec', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Plabennec-29860/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1694] 'Patrimoine', Ville de Plabennec [online]. Available at http://www.ville-plabennec.fr/patrimoine/# <Accessed 3 April 2018>

Sainte Ninnoc

The Life of Saint Ninnoc is documented in the twelfth-century Cartulaire of Quimperlé.[1695] According to the Life of Saint Ninnocha, Ninnocha, like her many brothers and sisters, chose a religious life, a decision in which she was supported eventually by her parents, after which she and her flock traveled to Brittany where, with the permission of the local prince, she built a monastery near Ploemeur.[1696] This double monastery for both sexes called Lan-Ninnoc became known over time known as Lanénec.[1697] The Cartulaire of Quimperlé refers to the ruins of the monastery as proof of the saint's existence, stating that the ruins were later replaced by a Benedictine priory that was part of the Abbey of Sainte-Croix of Quimperlé.[1698] In 1636, Albert Le Grand's account of the Life of St Nennok refers to 'the priory of Landt-Nennok'.[1699] In addition to the site of her monastery, dedications include place-names and images of the saint located in Breton churches.

Église-Sainte-Candide, Scaër, Quimper, Finistère (29390)[1700]

Chapelle Sainte Vengu de Locunguff (1575)[1701]

The Church of Sainte-Candide (fig. A-120) built in the nineteenth century replaced an eleventh-century Romanesque church.[1702] The dedication of this church to Saint Guengu has been attributed to Saint Ninnoc, also named Guengustle, but the dedications is unlikely. Joseph Loth describes an error in a a sixteenth-century confession that changed the name of the patron saint from *Vengu* to *Guengu*, which was associated with Guengustle (that is, Ninnoc). Loth believes that the correct place-name should be *Loc Guenguff*. Bernard Tanguy writes that Sainte Candide, known in Breton as *Gwengu* (formerly *Gwencuff*), was one of the 11,000 virgins martyred in 383 with St Ursula in Cologne and not Saint Ninnoc or *Guengustle*.[1703]

[1695] Cartulaire de Quimperlé, pp. 55–68.
[1696] Cartulaire de Quimperlé, pp. 55–68.
[1697] Cartulaire de Quimperlé, p. 61.
[1698] Cartulaire de Quimperlé, p. 62.
[1699] A. Le Grand, *Les vies des saintes del la Bretagne armorique, 1636* (Quimper: réédition Librairie Derrien, 1901), p. 274.
[1700] 'City of Scaër', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Scaer-29390/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1701] *Finistère*, p. 211.
[1702] 'Église Sainte-Candide', Observatoire du Patrimoine Religieux [online]. Available at http://www.patrimoine-religieux.fr/eglises_edifices/29-Finistere/29274-Scaer/126021-EgliseSainte-Candide <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1703] *Finistère*, p. 211.



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Figure A-120. Église Sainte-Candide, Scaër[1704]

Lanénec, Ploemeur, Lorient, Morbihan (56162)[1705]

Prieuré de Lanenec, en Plomeur (late 700s-mid 1100s)[1706], *Lannénec, en Ploemeur* (late 700s-mid 1100s)[1707], *Prieure de Landt-Nennok* (1636)[1708]

The Cartulaire of Quimperlé describes the precise location of Sainte Ninnoc's settlement as Ploemeur at the south side of the lake.[1709] In the twelfth century the monastery became a priory and part of the Abbey of the Holy Cross of Quimperlé.[1710] At the present time, no traces of the abbey remain except for the place-name, which refers to a hamlet among wetlands.[1711] Figure A-121 shows Lanénec Beach, which faces Lanénec Lake.[1712]

[1704] 'Église Sainte-Candide', Annuaire Mairie: Scaër [online]. Available at https://www.annuaire-mairie.fr/eglise-sainte-candide-scaer.html <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1705] 'City of Ploemeur', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Ploemeur-56270/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1706] Cartulaire de Redon, p. 502, and Cartulaire de Quimperlé, p. 61.
[1707] Cartulaire de Redon, p. 502.
[1708] Le Grand, p. 274.
[1709] Cartulaire de Quimperlé, p. 61.
[1710] Rosenzweig, p. 155.
[1711] 'Étang de Lannénec', Ville de Ploemeur, Morbihan [online]. Available at https://www.ploemeur.com/decouvrir/a-voir/etang-de-lannenec/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1712] 'Étang de Lannénec', Ville de Ploemeur, Morbihan [online].



Figure A-121. Lanénec Pond, Ploemeur[1713]

Saint-Nenec, Lignol, Gourin, Pontivy, Morbihan (56160)[1714]

This hamlet is near other dedications to Brychan family members in the Lignol area, such as Saint-Connet at Lignol, Saint-Aloué, and Chapelle Saint-Cado at Saint-Caradec-Trégomel.[1715]

Sainte-Ninnoc Statue, Chapelle Sainte-Anne de Ploemeur, Ploemeur, Lorient, Morbihan (56270)[1716]

The Chapelle Sainte-Anne in Ploemeur is said to have a statue of Saint Ninnoc portrayed as an abbess with a deer on her feet.[1717] The statue was said to come from the chapel at the Priory of Saint-Ninnoc.[1718]

Sainte Ninnoc Window, Chapelle Saint-Simon et Saint-Jude, Saint-Jude, Ploemeur, Morbihan (56162)[1719]

Figure A-122 shows a stained glass window in the sixteenth-century chapel of Saint Simon and Saint Jude in Ploemeur that portrays Sainte Ninnoc as an abbess who holds a palm in her

[1713] 'Étang de Lannénec', Ville de Ploemeur, Morbihan [online].
[1714] 'Town of Lignol', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Lignol-56160/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1715] 'Town of Lignol', map-france.com [online].
[1716] 'City of Ploemeur', map-france.com [online].
[1717] Available at https://www.petitfute.com/v9552-ploemeur-56270/c1173-visites-points-d-interet/c925-edifice-religieux/c927-eglise-cathedrale-basilique-chapelle/271853-la-chapelle-sainte-anne.html
[1718] Available at https://www.petitfute.com/v9552-ploemeur-56270/c1173-visites-points-d-interet/c925-edifice-religieux/c927-eglise-cathedrale-basilique-chapelle/271853-la-chapelle-sainte-anne.html
[1719] 'City of Ploemeur', map-france.com [online].

right hand and a holy book in her left hand.[1720] A fifteenth-century statue of Sainte Ninnoc is also in the chapel.[1721]



Figure A-122. Sainte Ninnoc, Chapel of St Simon and St Jude, Ploemeur[1722]

Saint-Ninnog Statue, Les Vallée des Saints, Carnoët, Callac, Guingamp, Côtes-d'Armor (22031)[1723]

A contemporary statue of Saint-Ninnog is one of the monumental statues found at les Vallée des Saints at Carnoët, a project of the Breton philosopher Philippe Abjean (*b.* 1953) designed to renew Christian places of worship and perpetuate traditional culture in contemporary society by evoking the Catholic saints and the ancient Celtic cults.[1724] Saint-Ninnog is carved in grey granite and portrayed as a tall, cowled woman; at her feet is a shield carved with a cross (see fig. A-123).

[1720] 'Ploemeur, 56, eglise, chapelles, vitraux', overblog [online]. Available at http://jeanpierrelebihan.over-blog.com/article-19639737.html <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1721] 'Chapelle St Jude/St Simon', Paroisse de Ploemeur/Parrez Plañvour [online]. Available at http://paroisseploemeur.fr/chapelle-st-jude-st-simon/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1722] 'Ploemeur, 56, eglise, chapelles, vitraux', overblog [online].
[1723] 'City of Carnoët', map-france.com [online].
[1724] 'A Carnoët, de monumentaux saints de pierre veillent sur la campagne bretonne', Le Point Culture [online]. Available at http://www.lepoint.fr/culture/a-carnoet-de-monumentaux-saints-de-pierre-veillent-sur-la-campagne-bretonne-10-08-2010-1223886_3.php <Accessed 3 April 2018>



Figure A-123. Sainte Ninnog Statue, Les Vallée des Saints[1725]

Sainte Nonne

The town and parish enclosure of Dirinon is the primary site of the cult of Sainte-Nonne, located in the district of Brest in the department of Finistère.[1726] Dirinon is said to be the place where Sainte Nonne arrived from Wales with her son Saint Divy and the place where she died.[1727] Her tomb and a reliquary are maintained at the parish enclosure.[1728] Additional dedications can be found in Finistère at the hamlets of Lannon at Bannelec in the district of Quimper and at Kersaint-Plabennec in the district of Brest.[1729] A further dedication can be found at Crec'h Naon near Bégard in the department of Côtes-d'Armor.[1730] Opinions are divided about the place-name of the hamlet called Lennon in Finistère; for example, Hervé Abalain notes while Lennon has been described as a variant of Lannon, but in 1217 the name is recorded as *Lemnon*.[1731] Other similar-sounding place-names are not considered dedications to Sainte-Nonne at all. For example, Bernard Tanguy and Joseph Loth both state that dedications at Église Saint-Onna at Logonna-Quimerch, the hamlets of Keronna and

[1725] 'Sculptures', Les Vallée des Saints [online].
[1726] *Finistère*, p. 61.
[1727] *Finistère*, p. 61.
[1728] *Finistère*, p. 61.
[1729] *Finistère*, p. 61.
[1730] Loth, p. 99.
[1731] Abalain, p. 79.

Logonna-Daoulas, and Église Saint-Nonna at Penmarch should be attributed to Saint Onna and not to Saint Nonne.[1732]

Crec'h Naon, Bégard, Côtes-d'Armor (22140)[1733]

Joseph Loth refers to a dedication to St Nonne called 'Crec'h Nonn en Bégard'.[1734] The likely location of this dedication is now the golf club of Crec'h Naon north of the city of Bégard.[1735]

Dirinon Parish Enclosure, Landerneau, Brest, Finistère (29045)[1736]

Dirinon (1173), *eccl. Sanctae Nonnitae* (1218), *Dyrynon* (1574)[1737]

The parish enclosure at Dirinon (fig. A-124), which means 'oaks of Nonne', comprises a church, chapel, bell tower, calvary, and fountain and features a number of dedications to Sainte Nonne, including her tomb and relics.[1738] The cult of Sainte Nonne is still active, with many penitents attending an annual Pardon on 25 July held at the enclosure.[1739] A town and church dedicated to Saint Divy, son of Saint Nonne, are nearly eight kilometers from Dirinon.[1740]



[1732] *Finistère*, pp. 124–125.
[1733] 'City of Bégard', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Begard-22140/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1734] Loth, p. 99.
[1735] 'City of Bégard', map-france.com [online].
[1736] 'City of Dirinon', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Dirinon-29460/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1737] *Finistère*, p. 61.
[1738] *Dictionnaire des Saints bretons* (Paris: Tchou, 1979), p. 288.
[1739] Dictionnaire des Saints bretons, p. 288.
[1740] 'City of Dirinon', map-france.com [online].

Figure A-124. Dirinon Parish Enclosure, Dirinon[1741]

The Église Sainte-Nonne contains a number of dedications to St Nonne, including a statue and silver reliquary of the saint, shown in figure A-125.[1742]

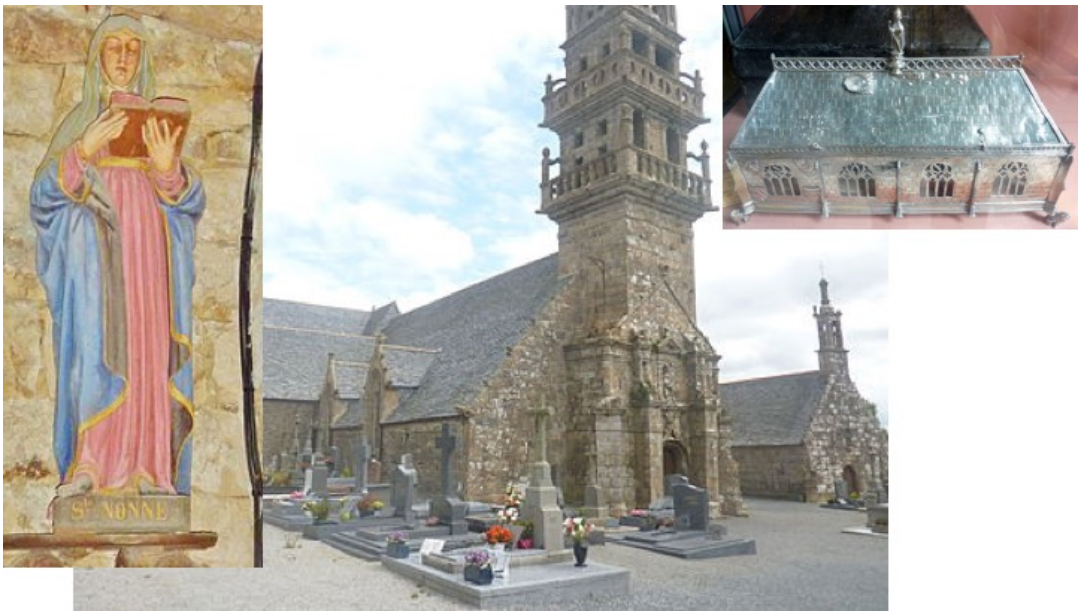


Figure A-125. Église Sainte-Nonne, Dirinon[1743]

The sixteenth-century Chapelle Sainte-Nonne is said to be the site of the grave of Sainte Nonne; the tomb dates from 1450 (fig. A-126).[1744]

[1741] 'Enclos de Dirinon', Apeve [online]. Available at http://www.apeve.net/spip/spip.php?article9 <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1742] 'Enclos de Dirinon', Apeve [online].
[1743] Sainte Nonne ou Mélarie de Dirinon (6ème s.)', ©La lumiere de Dieu [online]. Available at https://lalumierededieu.blogspot.co.uk/2016/07/sainte-nonne-ou-melarie-de-dirinon-6eme.html <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1744] 'Enclos de Dirinon', Apeve [online].



Figure A-126. Chapelle Sainte-Nonne, Dirinon, showing exterior statue (left) and tomb of the saint (right)[1745]

Stained glass windows (fig. A-127) of the life of Sainte Nonne and Saint Divy include the arrival of the saint and her infant son in Brittany, their welcome by local people, the baptism of the infant, and Sainte Nonne's delivery of Saint Divy to a monastery, where he is shown being welcomed by the abbot and monks.



Figure A-127. Chapelle Saint-Nonne, Dirinon, with scenes from the life of Sainte Nonne and Saint Divy[1746]

[1745] 'Enclos de Dirinon', Apeve [online].
[1746] 'Enclos paroissial de Dirinon', infobretagne.com[online]. Available at http://www.infobretagne.com/enclos-dirinon.htm <Accessed 2 January 2018> Note: Photos taken by Gilbert Frey are the property of the site infobretagne.com.

The holy well of Sainte Nonne shown in figure A-128 is located one kilometer south of the village of Dirinon.[1747] On the pedestal of the fountain is carved the date of 1623.[1748]



Figure A-128. Fontaine Sainte-Nonne, Dirinon[1749]

The calvary of Saint-Nonne within the parish enclosure (fig. A-129) dates from 1450.[1750]

[1747] 'Le culte de sainte Nonne à Dirinon : la fontaine de Sainte-Nonne', Le blog de jean-yves cordier [online]. Available at http://www.lavieA-aile.com/2017/02/le-culte-de-sainte-nonne-a-dirinon-la-fontaine-de-sainte-nonne.html <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1748] 'Le culte de sainte Nonne à Dirinon : la fontaine de Sainte-Nonne', Le blog de jean-yves cordier [online].
[1749] 'Le culte de sainte Nonne à Dirinon : la fontaine de Sainte-Nonne', Le blog de jean-yves cordier [online].
[1750] 'Les calvaires de Dirinon. I. La croix du bourg (XVe siècle).', Le blog de jean-yves cordier [online]. Available at http://www.lavieA-aile.com/2017/02/les-calvaires-de-dirinon-i-la-croix-du-bourg-xve-siecle.html <Accessed 3 April 2018>



Figure A-129. Calvary of Enclos Saint-Nonne, Dirinon[1751]

Lannon and Lannon Nabat, Bannalec, Moëlan-sur-Mer, Quimper, Finistère (29004)[1752]

The adjacent hamlets of Lannon and Lannon Nabat are located west of the city of Bannalec.[1753] Bernard Tanguy refers to this place name as a place-name formed from the old Breton *lann* that means 'hermitage' and the saint's name *Nonn*.[1754]

Lannon, Kersaint-Plabennec, Brest, Finistère (29095)[1755]

The hamlet of Lannon is a cluster of farms north-east of the town of Kersaint-Plabannec.[1756] Other dedications to Brychan family members can be found nearby at Dirinon (dedicated to Sainte Nonne), Lanmorven (dedicated to Sainte Morwenna), Saint-Tivy (dedicated to Saint David), and Trégarantec (deducated to Saint Carantec).

Lennon, Brieuc, Châteaulin, Finistère (29123)[1757]

Lemnon (1217), *Lennon* (c. 1330), *Lennon* (1368)[1758]

[1751] 'Les calvaires de Dirinon. I. Le calvaire du bourg (XVe siecle).', Le blog de jean-yves cordier [online].
[1752] 'City of Bannalec', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Bannalec-29380/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1753] 'City of Bannalec', map-france.com [online].
[1754] *Finistère*, p. 116
[1755] 'Town of Kersaint-Plabennec', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Kersaint-Plabennec-29860/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1756] 'Town of Kersaint-Plabennec', map-france.com [online].
[1757] 'Town of Lennon', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Lennon-29190/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1758] *Finistère*, p. 116.

Lennon is the name of a hamlet, and its chapel is dedicated to Saint-Maudet.[1759] While Joseph Loth lists Lennon among the place-names he identifies as dedications to Sainte-Nonne, Bernard Tanguy does not, noting that the term is difficult to translate.[1760]

Sainte Tebiau

The place-name *Landébia*, a town in the ancient diocese of Dol in the Côtes-d'Armor, suggests a connection with Tybïe daughter of Brychan, but the attribution is not straightforward. Joseph Loth identifies this place-name with Tybïe daughter of Brychan, but more recently both Bernard Tanguy and Hervé Abalain state although the name evokes Tybïe, the form *Landebiau* indicates a saint named *Tebiau*.[1761]

Landébia, Plancoët, Dinan, Côtes d'Armor (22096)[1762]

Landebiau (1214), *Landebia* (1263), *Landebia* (1304), *Landebia* (late 1300s), *Landebia* (1405), *par. Eccl. S. Eligii de Landebia* (1453)[1763]

The church in the town of Landébia is dedicated to Saint-Eloy.[1764]

Saint Tedda

Evidence is contradictory regarding veneration of Tedda daughter of Brychan (according to the Life of St Nectan). While Nicholas Orme refers to 'a place north-west of Brest in Brittany called Landéda, implying a Saint Teda', both Joseph Loth and Bernard Tanguy suggest that this name could refer to Saint Tydeu of Capel Ogwr in Glamorgan.[1765] Tanguy offers other suggestions as to the source of the dedication, none of which relate to the family of Brychan.[1766] Hervé Abalain, on the other hand, defines Landéda as 'the hermitage of Teda, a little-known hagionyme'.[1767]

Landéda, Lannillis, Brest, Finistère (29101)[1768]

Landeda (*c.* 1330)[1769]

[1759] Rio, p. 304, and Loth, pp. 98–99.
[1760] Loth, p. 99, and *Finistère*, p. 116.
[1761] Loth, pp. 71 and 116, and Abalain, p. 76.
[1762] 'Town of Landébia', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Landebia-22130/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1763] Côtes-d'Armor, p. 104.
[1764] Côtes-d'Armor, p. 104.
[1765] Roscarrock, pp. 132–133; Loth, p. 116; and *Finistère*, pp. 101–102.
[1766] *Finistère*, pp. 101–102.
[1767] Abalain, p. 76.
[1768] 'City of Landéda', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Landeda-29870/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1769] *Finistère*, pp. 101–102.

The church in Landéda is dedicated to Saint Congar, whom Joseph Loth identifies as St Cyngar.[1770] Bernard Tanguy points out that St Cyngar's feast day is celebrated on 27 November, while the feast day of Saint Congar is held 12 May, the date of the feast of Saint Congal or Comgall, the abbot of Holywood in Ecosse, who is identical to St Congall, who founded the monastery of Bangor in the sixth century.[1771]

Saint Tusven

Dedications to Tudwen daughter of Brychan are indicated by two place-names. Bernard Tanguy identifies Saint Tusven as the patron of chapels at both Ploudalmezeau in Finistère and Llandudwen in Caernarvonshire, which indicate Tudwen daughter of Brychan.[1772] Joseph Loth speaks of Loc-tuen (now *Lotuën*) near the city of Kervignac in Morbihan as originally being dedicated for Tudwen.[1773] The Breton Saint-Tujen or Tujan may also indicate a dedication to Tudwen. According to the Life of Saint Jaoua, Saint-Tujen succeeded Saint-Jaoua, a companion of Saint Paul-Aurelien, as patron of the church in Brasparts in Finistere; however, according to Bernard Tanguy, in the Life of Saint Jaoua his name was not *Tujen*, but *Tusveanus*, a name that corresponds to that of Saint Tudwen, patron of Llandudwen.[1774] A recent reinterpretation of Saint Tujen can be found at Les Vallée des Saints in Carnoët.[1775]

Chapelle de Saint-Tujen, Primelin, Pont-Croix, Quimper, Finistère (29228)[1776]

The village and chapel of Saint-Tujen (fig. A-130) are east of the town of Primelin, close to the sea and south-east of Cléden-Cap-Sizun, which is a dedication to Cléden son of Brychan.[1777]

[1770] 'City of Landéda', map-france.com [online].
[1771] *Finistère*, pp. 101–102.
[1772] *Finistère*, p. 43.
[1773] Loth, p. 124.
[1774] *Finistère*, pp. 43–44.
[1775] 'Sculptures', La Vallée des Saints [online].
[1776] 'Town of Primelin', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Primelin-29770/ <Accessed 8 March 2018>
[1777] 'Town of Primelin', map-france.com [online].



Figure A-130. Chapelle Saint Tujen, Primelin[1778]

Église Notre Dame et Saint-Tujan, Brasparts, Pleyben, Châteaulin, Finistère (29016)[1779]

This small inland town is not near dedications to other Brychan family members, and figure A-131 shows the church dedicated to the Virgin Mary and Saint Tujan.

[1778] 'Chapelle de Saint-Tujen à Primelin', Penhars Infos Quimper [online]. Available at http://www.penhars-infos.com/2015/08/chapelle-de-bretagne-saint-tugen-a-primelin.html <Accessed 3 April 2018>

[1779] 'Town of Brasparts', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Brasparts-29190/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>



Figure A-131. Église Notre Dame et Saint-Tujen, Brasparts[1780]

Lotuën, Kervignac, Port-Louis, Lorient, Morbihan (56094)[1781]

Loc-tudguenne (1282)[1782], *Loc-tuen* (1910)[1783], *Lotuën* (2018)[1784]

Lotuën is a hamlet on the western outskirts of the city of Kervignac.[1785]

Saint Tujen, Les Vallée des Saints, Carnoët, Callac, Guingamp, Côtes-d'Armor (22031)[1786]

The monumental statue of Saint Tujen (fig. A-132) was installed at the Valley of the Saints at Carnoët in 2013.[1787] Inès Ferreira sculpted Saint Tujen as a woman, supporting the theory that dedications to this saint in Brittany refer to Tudwen daughter of Brychan.[1788]

[1780] 'Église Notre Dame et Saint-Tujen', Panoramio [online]. Available at http://static.panoramio.com/photos/large/67877602.jpg <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1781] 'City of Kervignac', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Kervignac-56700/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1782] Rosenzeig, pp. 209 and 305. 'LOCTUEN, vill. c[de] de Kervignac. –*Loctudguenne*, *villa* 1282 (abb. de la Joie).
[1783] Loth, p. 124.
[1784] 'City of Kervignac', map-france.com [online].
[1785] 'City of Kervignac', map-france.com [online].
[1786] 'Town of Carnoët', map-france.com [online].
[1787] 'Sculptures', La Vallée des Saints [online].
[1788] 'Sculptures', La Vallée des Saints [online].



Figure A-132. Saint Tujen Statue, Les Vallée des Saints[1789]

Sainte Touina

The identity of Sainte Touina in Plouha has been the subject of speculation since John Fisher suggested Dwynwen 'perhaps also has a cult in Brittany, as Sainte Douine or Twine, who has a chapel at Plouha, in Goëlo, Côtes du Nord, where she is there credited with the power to cure all fevers'.[1790] Chapter 7 Dwynwen discusses the issues related to Fisher's assertion.

Chapelle Sainte-Eugénie, Plouha, Côtes-d'Armor (22222)[1791]

The fifteenth-century Chapelle Sainte-Eugénie also has a well dedicated to Sainte Touina, which is said to cure eye maladies.[1792]

Saint Yse

Joseph Loth associates dedications to Saint Izy with those to St Yse, one of the daughters of Brychan according to list of Brychan's children found in the Life of St Nectan.[1793] Bernard Tanguy notes that while Plouisy is an ancient Breton parish, its name appears only in the

[1789] 'Toutes les sculptures de la Vallée des Saints à Carnoët', La Vallée Des Saints [online]. Available at http://lumieres.d.iroise.free.fr/2012-LDI/LDI-2012-11-Novembre/lumieres-d-iroise-3554-LaValleeDesSaints-2012-Novembre.html#haut <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1790] LBS, vol. 2, pp. 391–392.
[1791] 'City of Plouha', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Plouha-22580/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1792] R. Couffon, *Répertoire des églises et chapelles du diocèse de Saint-Brieuc et Tréguier* (Saint-Brieuc: Les Presses Bretonnes, 1939), pp. 375–376, and R. Couffon, *Quelques notes sur Plouha* (Saint-Brieuc: Francisque Guyon éditeur, 1929), pp. 71–80.
[1793] Loth, p. 68.

fourteenth century and in a form close to its current spelling.[1794] He states that the dedication refers to St Issey or Ydi of Cornwall; that is, Yse daughter of Brychan as listed in the Life of St Nectan and suggests that confirmation can be found in the place-name of *Lannidy* in the villages of Lanneanou and Plouigneau in Finistere and the Breton family name *Plouidy*.[1795]

Plouisy, Guingamp, Côtes-d'Armor (22223)[1796]

Ploegi (*c.* 1330), *Ploeizi* (1369), *Ploeyzy* (late 1300s), *Ploizy* (1461), *Ploeizy* (1481), *Plouisy* (1581)[1797]

Hervé Abalain defines this place-name as 'parish of Idi or Izi'.[1798] The church is dedicated to Saint-Pierre.

Other Brychan Family Dedications

Saint Aouen

Joseph Loth states that Saint Aouen could refer to Adwen, patron saint of Advent parish in Cornwall and a son of Brychan according to the list of Brychan's children in the Life of St Nectan, and he offers as examples in Brittany the name of the noble family of Saint-Haouen and the place-names of *Lan-Aouen* in Clohars-Fouesnant and *Saint Aouen* in Plougonvelin.[1799]

Lan-Aouen, Clohars-Fouesnant, Finistère (29032)[1800]

The place-name *Lan-Aouen* is the only indication that a hermitage or chapel ever existed in this community in the township of Fouesnant.[1801]

[1794] Côtes-d'Armor, p. 216.
[1795] Côtes-d'Armor, p. 216.
[1796] 'Town of Plouisy', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Plouisy-22200/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1797] *Côtes-d'Armor*, p. 216. See also Abalain, p. 96.
[1798] Abalain, p. 96.
[1799] Loth, p. 11.
[1800] 'City of Clohars-Fouesnant', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Clohars-Fouesnant-29950/ <Accessed 5 April 2018>
[1801] 'City of Clohars-Fouesnant', map-france.com [online].

Lan-Aouen, Plougonvelin, Saint-Renan, Brest, Finistère (29217)[1802]

Lan-Aouen is the name of a hamlet, but the ancient Chapelle Saint-Aouen disappeared after the French Revolution.[1803] The sixteenth-century cross of Saint-Aouen, called Park-ar-Chapel, remains.[1804]

Saint Berven

Bernard Tanguy describes the name of the chapel of the parish of Notre-Dame-de-Berven, as corresponding to Berwyn son of Brychan.[1805] Bernard Tanguy, Joseph Loth, and Bernard Rio all connect Berven with Berwyn son of Brychan.[1806] Tanguy, Loth, and Rio identify the parish of Notre-Dame-de-Berven near Plouzévédé as dedicated to Berven, and Tanguy also suggests dedications near Guiclan and Plouvien.

Berven, Plouzévédé, Morlaix, Finistère (29213)[1807]

The parish enclosure of Berven is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, comprising a chapel dedicated to Saint Berven (fig. A-133), an outer oratory, and a fountain of devotion.[1808] Bernard Tanguy notes that the small oratory attached to the church called *Penity* or house of penance (in Breton, *penet* penance + *ti* house) could indicate a monastic establishment.[1809]

[1802] 'Town of Plougonvelin', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Plougonvelin-29217/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1803] 'Plougonvelin (29217)', Le site des clochers de la France [online]. Available at http://lafrancedesclochers.clicforum.com/t485-Plougonvelin-29217.htm <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1804] 'Plougonvelin (29217)', Le site des clochers de la France [online].
[1805] *Finistère*, p. 175.
[1806] *Finistère*, p. 175, Loth, pp. 13–14, and Rio, p. 45.
[1807] 'Town of Plouzévédé', map-france.com [online]. Available at http ://www.map-france.com/Plouzevede-29440/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1808] *Finistère*, p. 175. See also 'Enclos paroissial de Plouzévédé', Great experiences begin in Finistère [online]. Available at http://www.finisterebrittany.com/node/93/PCUBRE029FS0001W/detail <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1809] *Finistère*, p. 175.



Figure A-133. Chapel of Our Lady of Berven, Plouzévédé[1810]

Brechan

A number of dedications are attributed to Brychan Brycheiniog, but no general agreement exists as to which dedications, if any, relate to him. Joseph Loth identifies the patron of the town of Bréhan in the district of Morbihan as 'Brochan, in Welsh Brychan', the progenitor of many saints in Wales.[1811] Bernard Rio describes Brochmaël as 'also called Brochvel, Brovel, Brychan or Brochan', stating that 'this is probably saint Brychan, the father of Sainte Ninnoc and eponymous king of Brycheiniog in Wales, father of Saint Suliau'.[1812] Most of these dedications are located in the Morbihan region, where Joseph Loth indicates that the dedication to Bréhan might refer to Brochan or the Welsh Brychan, although a similar name, Poul-Brochan in Roscoff probably does not.[1813]

Brech, Pluvigner, Lorient, Morbihan (56023)[1814]
Brec (1260), *Brech* (1387)[1815]

[1810] 'Chapelle Notre-Dame-de-Berven et abords à Plouzévédé', Monumentum [online]. Available at http://www.monumentum.fr/chapelle-notre-dame-de-berven-abords-pa00090273.html <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1811] Loth, p. 15.
[1812] Rio, p. 364.
[1813] Loth, p. 15.
[1814] 'City of Brech', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Brech-56400/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1815] Abalain, p. 59.

Hervé Abalain states that this place-name, which means 'wooded hill', corresponds to Brech in the district of Morbihan, noting that for the historian and linguist Erwan Vallerie, *Brech* is a hagionyme for saint Brechan similar to *Brehan* and *Brehand*[1816].

Bréhan, Rohan, Pontivy, Morbihan (56024)[1817]

Brehant-Lodoiac (1269), *Brehant* (1500)[1818]

The religious buildings in the city of Bréhan include the Église Notre Dame de Brehan and chapels dedicated to Saint Marc, Saint Yves, and Saint Isidore, and the Cistercian Abbaye de Timadeuc.[1819] None of these dedications are connected to Brychan Brycheiniog or his children.

Bréhand-Loudéac, Saint-Brieuc, Côtes-d'Armor (22136)[1820]

Brechant Lodoiac (1132)

Hervé Abalain describes this place-name as a hagionyme of Welsh origin.[1821] Its name is connected to that of a dedication at Bréhand-Moncontour, described in the following section.

Bréhand-Moncontour, Saint-Brieuc, Côtes-d'Armor (22015)[1822]

Eccl. De Brechant (1120–1126), *Eccl. De Brehant* (1160), *Eccl. De Brehant* (1200), *Eccl. De Brehant* (1208), *Brehan* (1121), *Brihan* (1158), *Brehant Moncontor* (1225), *par. de Brehant* (1274), *Brehant-Moncontour* (1435)[1823]

According to Hervé Abalain, the name *Bréhand* is a hagionym of Welsh origin that occurs in the place-names of both Bréhand-Moncontour and Bréhan-Loudéac.[1824] Bernard Tanguy offers more information about the history of the area. Once part of the Bishopric of Saint-Brieuc, Bréhand-Moncontour and Bréhand-Lobéac became dependencies of l'abbaye Saint-Melaine in Rennes between 1120 and 1226.[1825] The bishop and abbey continued to spar over the transaction until 1225, when the issue was settled.[1826] As for the place-name, Tanguy

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[1816] Abalain, p. 59.
[1817] 'City of Bréhan', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Brehan-56580/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1818] 'Rosenzweig, p. 28.
[1819] 'Les differénts édifices à Bréhan', Mairie de Bréhan [online]. Available at http://www.brehan.fr/index.php/vivre-entreprendre/tourisme-patrimoine/edifices <Accessed 4 April 2018>
[1820] 'City of Loudéac', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Loudeac-22600/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1821] Abalain, p. 59.
[1822] 'Town of Bréhand', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Brehand-22510/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1823] *Côtes-d'Armor*, pp. 29–30.
[1824] Abalain, p. 59.
[1825] Abalain, p. 59.
[1826] Abalain, p. 59.

states that that the parish name is a hagionyme corresponding to the Welsh Brychan, but the hypothesis seems contradicted by the almost constant presence in the ancient forms of the toponym of a final *-t*.[1827] According to Tanguy, this would connect the place-name to the *Brehant Dincat* mentioned in the Life of Saint Paul-Aurelien in 884, and whose first term is glossed *guttur* 'throat' by its author.[1828] Tanguy concludes that the toponym would in this case have a topographical meaning.[1829]

Lan Vrehan, Baud and Languidic, Morbihan (56101)[1830]

Lann Vrehan is a hamlet located between the cities of Baud and Languidic.[1831] Neither Louis Rosenzweig, Joseph Loth, nor Hervé Abalain include this place-name among those identified for Brehan, but Bernard Rio does include it.[1832]

Saint Cado

The popularity of the cult of Saint Cado is attested by the number of dedications that can be found in Brittany, both ancient and modern, as well as the variety of traditions about the saint. The Cartulaire of Redon identifies the priory of Saint Cado in Belz as belonging to l'abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Quemperlé in the diocese of Vannes.[1833] This priory was built on the Île de Saint-Cado, identified as the place where Saint Cado built his oratory on the River Etel. The Île de Saint-Cado remains the centre of the saint's cult, with many chapels dedicated to Saint Cado in the surrounding countryside, for example, at Auray, Ploemel, Saint-Caradec-Tregomel, and Loposcoal near Baud. Cado is also said to have built a hermitage near Gouesnach, near the site of an earlier Roman camp.

The bridge over the causeway between Belz and the Île de Saint-Cado is the subject of the popular legend that when Saint Cado wanted a bridge built to reach the island, the Devil offered to build it for him in one night in exchange for the first soul to cross the bridge, to which the saint agreed, but when the bridge was built, the first one to cross was a cat.[1834] The popularity of this legend is demonstrated in images such as the poster shown in figure A-134.

[1827] *Côtes-d'Armor*, pp. 29–30.
[1828] *Côtes-d'Armor*, pp. 29–30.
[1829] *Côtes-d'Armor*, pp. 29–30.
[1830] 'City of Languidic', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Languidic-56440/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1831] 'City of Languidic', map-france.com [online].
[1832] Rosenzweig, p. 157, Loth, p. 15, and Rio, pp. 59–60.
[1833] Cartulaire de Redon, p. 494.
[1834] Rio, pp. 64–65. See also H. Ghéon, 'The Farce at the Devil's Bridge' in *Eight One-Act Plays*, ed. by T. Nelson (London, Johannesburg, Ontario, and Camden, New Jersey: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1961), pp. 71–90.



Figure A-134. St Cado Tricks the Devil[1835]

For additional images related to this legend, see the stained glass window at Chapelle Saint-Cado at Ploemel and the statue of St Cado's cat that decorates the exterior of Chapelle Saint-Cado du Reclus à Auray. A play called *The Farce of the Devil's Bridge* by Henri Gheon (1875–1944) also tells this story following the pattern of a medieval mystery play.[1836]

Another tradition related to Saint Cado is the wrestling match that sometimes accompanies the annual Pardon for the saint, who is said to be the patron saint of warriors and wrestlers. These wrestling competitions remain a popular and widely attended attraction of the Pardon. The cult of Saint Cado continues to play a significant role in the community, as demonstrated by the continuing Pardons as well as the recent addition of a monumental statue of Saint Cado at Les Vallée des Saints near Carnoët. These dedications are described in the following sections.

[1835] 'Saint Cado with the Devil', AllPosters [online]. Available at https://www.allposters.com/-sp/Saint-Cado-with-the-Devil-Posters_i6812299_.htm <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1836] Ghéon, pp. 71–90.

Chapelle Saint-Cadou, Gouesnach, Fouesnant, Quimper, Finistère (29060)[1837]

The isolated position of this hamlet between the Odet and Anse-de-Saint-Cadou Rivers made the location an effective defensive position for a Roman camp referred to as Camp Saint-Cado or Kerzinao, and that same isolation likely enabled the survival of legends and traditions at the later Chapelle Saint-Cado, with its outdoor oratory, calvary, and fountain, shown in figure A-135.[1838] Local legends describe Saint Cado choosing the place to build his hermitage, convincing a local farmer to give him the land by making the farmer's pear tree bloom in winter.[1839] The current chapel was built in 1578, and the chapel was visited by pilgrims who came for the annual Pardon, but also for the wrestling contests held after Vespers on the Saturday before the Pardon.[1840] An outdoor oratory was constructed to accommodate pilgrims who attended the Pardon, and the chapel was augmented in 1620, 1632, and 1656, as recorded in the stonework.[1841] In 1865, the rector and the mayor of Gouesnach suppressed the annual Pardon with its associated wrestling festival because of violence at the matches.[1842] As a result, the church was closed and its buildings fell into ruin, although rumors persisted that wrestling matches continued to be held at night on the chapel grounds.[1843] The chapel was restored and the Pardon was revived in 1965, and view C of figure A-135 shows a recent poster for the wrestling contest that remains part of the Pardon festivities.[1844]

[1837] 'City of Gouesnach', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Gouesnach-29950/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1838] 'Gouesnac'h', infobretagne.com [online]. Available at http://www.infobretagne.com/gouesnach.htm <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1839] 'Gouesnac'h', infobretagne.com [online].
[1840] 'Gouesnac'h', infobretagne.com [online].
[1841] 'Gouesnac'h', infobretagne.com [online].
[1842] 'Gouesnac'h', infobretagne.com [online].
[1843] 'Gouesnac'h', infobretagne.com [online].
[1844] 'Gouesnac'h', infobretagne.com [online].



A. Chapelle, ossuary, and calvary of Saint-Cadou



B. Well of Saint-Cadou



C. Poster advertising the pardon of Saint-Cadou in Gouesnac'h

Figure A-135. Chapelle Saint-Cadou, Gouesnach[1845]

Chapelle Saint-Cado, Loposcoal, Baud, Pontivy, Morbihan (56010)[1846]

Chapelle Saint-Cado is located in the hamlet of Loposcoal located six kilometers from the town of Baud.[1847] Some fourteenth century elements of the chapel were integrated into the reconstruction carried out in the seventeenth or eighteenth century.[1848] A Pardon takes place on the second Sunday in September, with a procession and a blessing at the well.[1849]

Chapelle Saint-Cado, Nostang, Morbihan (56148)[1850]

The small Romanesque chapel of Saint-Cado (fig. A-136) is located in the community of Kergoh on the western outskirts of the town of Nostang.[1851] A pardon is held on 22 September at the chapel.[1852]

[1845] 'Fête des Lutteurs – Tournoi de la St-Kadou', Facebook [online]. Available at https://www.facebook.com/events/1954021714834687/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>

[1846] 'City of Baud', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Baud-56150/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>

[1847] 'Chapelle Saint-Cado de Loposcoal en Baud', Mon Èglise à Baud [online]. Available at http://www.mon-eglise.com/paroisses/baud/chapelles-pardons/chapelle-de-saint-cado-de-baud <Accessed 3 April 2018>

[1848] 'Chapelle Saint-Cado de Loposcoal en Baud', Mon Èglise à Baud [online].

[1849] 'Chapelle Saint-Cado de Loposcoal en Baud', Mon Èglise à Baud [online].

[1850] 'Town of Nostang', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Nostang-56690/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>

[1851] 'Plan de ville', Nostang: Rio d'Etel [online]. Available at http://www.nostang.fr/fr/plan-de-ville <Accessed 3 April 2018>

[1852] 'Comité de sauvegarde de la chapelle de Saint-Cado', Nostang: Rio d'Etel [online]. Available at http://www.nostang.fr/fr/association/1/20850/comite-sauvegarde-chapelle-saint-cado <Accessed 3 April 2018>



Figure A-136. Chapelle Saint-Cado, Nostang[1853]

Chapelle Saint-Cado, Moëlan-sur-Mer, Finistère (29350)[1854]

The eighteenth-century Chapelle Saint-Cado (fig. A-137) was constructed on the site of an old chapel built in the sixteenth century, and it was restored in 1873 and then rebuilt in 1892.[1855] The chapel houses both old and new statues of Saint Cado. The Pardon is held on the last Sunday in September at this church.[1856]

[1853] 'Chapelle St Cado à Nostang', steph's Photoblog [online]. Available at https://steph.aminus3.com/image/2009-02-17.html <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1854] 'City of Moëlan-sur-Mer', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Moelan-sur-Mer-29350/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1855] 'moëlen-sur-mer', Parishes of Quimperlé [online]. Available at https://www.paroissesquimperle.fr/%c3%a9glises-chapelles/mo%c3%ablan-sur-mer/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1856] 'moëlen-sur-mer', Parishes of Quimperlé [online].



Figure A-137. Chapelle de St Cado, Moëlan-sur-Mer[1857]

Chapelle Saint-Cado, Ploemel, Belz, Morbihan (56161)[1858]

The Chapelle Saint-Cado in Ploemel (fig. A-138), located in the township of Belz and near the Île Saint-Cado on the Etel River, was likely built at the end of the fifteenth century by the Chohan family, lords of Kerbernès, whose coats of arms appear on the altar.[1859] Figure A-138 also shows a stained glass window that illustrates the legend of Saint-Cado outwitting the devil in order to build a bridge to the Île de Saint-Cado in Belz.[1860]

[1857] 'Pardon de Saint-Cado', mapado [online]. Available https://www.mapado.com/moelan-sur-mer/pardon-de-saint-cado-2 <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1858] 'City of Ploemel', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Ploemel-56400/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1859] 'Chapelle de Saint Cado', Ploemel Site Officiel [online]. Available at http://www.ploemel.com/fr/information/63013/chapelle-saint-cado <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1860] 'Chapelle de Saint Cado', Ploemel Site Officiel [online].



A. Chapelle Saint-Cado at Ploemel



B. Fontaine Saint-Cado at Ploemel



C. Saint-Cado tricks the Devil

Figure A-138. Dedications to Saint-Cado at Ploemel[1861]

Chapelle Saint-Cado du Reclus, Auray, Lorient, Morbihan (56007)[1862]

The sixteenth-century Chapelle Saint-Cado du Reclus shown in figure A-139 was once part of a priory, and the house next to the chapel still houses priests.[1863] The path along the chapel is a remnant of a Roman road that led to Locmariaquer.[1864] Figure A-139 highlights the statue of a cat, referring to the popular legend of Saint Cado tricking the Devil with the help of his cat.[1865]

[1861] 'Chapelle Saint Cado à Ploemel (56)', Forum Breton [online].
[1862] 'City of Auray', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Auray-56400/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1863] Rio, pp. 63–64.
[1864] Rio, p. 64.
[1865] Rio, p. 64.



Figure A-139. Chapelle Saint-Cado du Reclus, Auray[1866]

The Cadoudal family saved the chapel from demolition when they took over ownership of the building in 1906, and several members of the family are buried there.[1867] The church holds an annual Pardon on the third week of September, a tradition revived in 1995.[1868]

Chapelle Saint-Cado, Saint-Caradec-Trégomel, Guémené-sur-Scorff, Pontivy, Morbihan (56210) [1869]

The seventeenth-century chapel (fig. A-140) was built in a meadow by the lords of Kermerien who held the rights to the three village fairs. The altarpiece includes a statue of Saint Cado.[1870] In 2017 the second annual fête was held at the chapel, where neighbours shared a meal.[1871]

[1866] Rio, p. 64.
[1867] 'Kerléano', Auray.fr [online]. Available at http://www.auray.fr/auray/architecture/kerleano/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1868] 'Le Pardon de St Cado', Les Amis du Reclus [online]. Available at http://lesamisdureclus.monsite-orange.fr/lepardondestcado/index.html <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1869] 'Town of Saint-Caradec-Trégomel', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Saint-Caradec-Tregomel-56540/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1870] 'Chapelle Saint-Cado', Office de Tourisme du Pays du Roi Morvan [online]. Available at http://www.tourismepaysroimorvan.com/preparer-votre-venue/voir-faire/patrimoine-religieux/les-chapelles/chapelle-saint-cado-1056035 <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1871] 'Fête des voisins. Tous à Saint-Cado', Le Télégramme [online]. Available at http://www.letelegramme.fr/morbihan/saint-caradec-tregomel/fete-des-voisins-tous-a-saint-cado-12-07-2017-11593591.php <Accessed 3 April 2018>



Figure A-140. Chapelle Saint Cado, Saint-Carentec-Trégomel[1872]

Église Saint-Cadou, Sizun, Morlaix, Finistère (29277)[1873]

The enclosure comprises a stone wall, cemetery, church, calvary, and south porch, and statues both inside and outside the church depict the saint, as shown in figure A-141.[1874] Major construction took place from 1660 to 1720 and again in 1840, but it is uncertain whether the current structure replaced an earlier church.[1875]

[1872] 'Chapelle Saint-Cado St Caradec Tregomel.JPG', Wikicommons [online]. Available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Chapelle_Saint_Cado_St_Caradec_Tr%C3%A9gomel.JPG <Accessed 3 April 2018> .
[1873] 'City of Sizun', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Sizun-29450/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1874] 'L'église de Saint-Cadou', Bienvenue à Sizun [online].
[1875] 'L'église de Saint-Cadou', Bienvenue à Sizun [online].



Figure A-141. Église Saint-Cadou, Sizun, with statues of Saint Cado[1876]

Île de Saint-Cado de Belz, Mourbihan (56550)

Prieuré de Saint-Cado, en Belz (832–1124)[1877], *enes-Cadec ou île de Cadoc en Plouguerneau* (1910)[1878]

The Île de Saint-Cado (fig. A-142) on the Etel River is identified as the site where Saint Cado founded his oratory, which became his monastery.[1879] The parish enclosure includes the twelfth-century chapel (now a museum), a church, ossuary, calvary, and fountain.[1880]

[1876] 'L'église de Saint-Cadou', Bienvenue à Sizun [online].
[1877] *Cartulaire de Redon*, pp. 494 and 502.
[1878] Loth, p. 19.
[1879] Loth, p. 20. Loth's source is the *Cartulaire de Quimperlé*, pp. 255–262.
[1880] Cartulaire de Redon, p. 502.



Figure A-142. Île de Saint-Cado, Belz[1881]

The twelfth-century Romanesque Chapelle Saint-Cado de Belz contains a number of images related to Saint Cado, such as a modern window depicting the legend of Saint Cado's cat, shown in figure A-143.[1882]



Figure A-143. Saint Cado and his cat, Chapelle Saint-Cado, Île de Saint-Cado, Belz[1883]

[1881] 'Saint-Cado et la ria d'Etel', Tourisme Bretagne [online]. Available at http://www.brittanytourism.com/discover-our-destinations/southern-brittany-morbihan-gulf/unmissable-sites/saint-cado-et-la-ria-d-etel <Accessed 3 April 2018>.
[1882] Cartulaire de Redon, p. 502.
[1883] 'La chapelle de l'île de St Cado', Le retour chez Canelle [online]. Available at http://www.dinclo56.com/2015/04/la-chapelle-de-lile-de-st-cado.html?spref=pi <Accessed 3 April 2018>

Figure A-144 shows several other images in stained glass relating to Saint Cado in the chapel, including an image of Gwladys daughter of Brychan and mother of the saint:



Figure A-144. Chapelle Saint-Cado, Île de Saint-Cado, Belz, local scenes and Saint Cado's parents [1884]

In these contemporary windows the crowned figures of St Gwladys and St Gundlee are not portrayed with symbols that might show that they were ever in Brittany. On the other hand, St Cado, dressed as a bishop, presides over local fishing and farming activities, with the island in the background. A second set of windows in the chapel also show Saint Cado with his parents (fig. A-145): St Cadog on the left is dressed as a monk, but he holds an abbot's crozier; his father St Gwynllyw is in the middle robed as a king, and St Gwladys on the right appears as a queen.

[1884] 'Locations de vacances a la Chapelle de Saint-Cado-Belz', gites.fr [online]. Available at http://www.cybevasion.fr/photos2/bri068.jpg <Accessed 3 April 2018>



Figure A-145. Chapelle Saint-Cado, Île de Saint-Cado, Belz, St Cadog, St Gwynllyw, and St Gwladys[1885]

This window emphasises that these figures are distinctly Welsh based on the Welsh spelling of the saints' names and placement of a leek and daffodils in the stained glass decoration above the figures. These images of St Gwladys (figs. A-144 and A-145) are a reminder that while this daughter of Brychan was evidently well known in Brittany, no dedications to her exist there in terms of place-names. And while Gwnllyw's name becomes Gundlee and Cadog's name becomes Cado, Gwladys's name is only found in its Welsh form. These windows at Île de Saint-Cado were added during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which, coupled with the lack of a Breton version of her name or medieval church dedications to her, could indicate that recognition of Gwladys in Brittany is recent. In fact, veneration of Gwladys may not exist as a cult at all, but only as an enhancement of Saint Cado's cult, in contrast to the cult of Saint Nonne, where Nonne is clearly venerated as well as her son Saint Tivy.

Figure A-146 shows another feature of the chapel described by Sabine Baring-Gould as 'a stone bed of Saint Cadoc with a receptacle under it, in which strange sounds are thought to be

[1885] 'L'île de Saint-Cado', Lieux Sacrés [online]. Available at http://lieuxsacres.canalblog.com/archives/2016/07/26/34123415.html <Accessed 3 April 2018>

heard'.[1886] He does not offer a supernatural interpretation for this phenomenon, saying 'these are due to the echo of the waves and winds'.[1887]



Figure A-146. Saint Cado's bed, Chapelle Saint-Cado, Île de Saint-Cado, Belz[1888]

An annual Pardon held at Île de Saint-Cado until 1974 was traditionally celebrated at the equinox on 21 September, and the Pardon originally lasted the entire week, involving a livestock fair and processions.[1889]

Pleucadeuc, Questembert, Vannes, Morbihan (56159)[1890]

Plebs condita Cadoc (826)[1891], Ploicaduc, Plucaduc (832-1100)[1892]

Dedications to Saint Cado are limited to the town place-name and a street called Rue Saint-Cadoc that runs from the centre of town in a north-easternly direction.[1893] Local churches are dedicated to Saint Marc and Saint Barthélémy.[1894]

[1886] S. Baring-Gould, *A Book of Brittany* (London: Forgotten Books, 2018), p. 56.
[1887] Baring-Gould, p. 56.
[1888] 'St Cado (Ria d'Etel)', Nos Virées en Camping-car [online]. Available at http://lagrenouille33.canalblog.com/archives/2011/06/21/21452427.html <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1889] 'Saint-Cado. Pardon: coup d'oeil dans le rétro', Le Télégramme [online]. Available at http://www.letelegramme.fr/morbihan/belz/saint-cado-pardon-coup-d-oeil-dans-le-retro-16-09-2016-11219601.php <Accessed 3 April 2017>
[1890] 'Town of Pleucadeuc', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Pleucadeuc-56140/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1891] Abalain, p. 91.
[1892] Cartulaire de Redon, p. 687.
[1893] 'Town of Pleucadeuc', map-france.com [online].
[1894] 'Monuments Historiques: Pleucadeuc', Ministère de la Culture, Architecture & Patrimoine [online]. Available at

Saint-Cado Statue, Les Vallée des Saints, Carnoët, Callac, Guingamp, Morbihan, Brittany (22031)[1895]

Saint-Cadou (2016)[1896]

A four-meter-high beige granite image of Saint Cado carved by Jacques Dumas in 2013 is one of the monumental figures of saints at Les Vallée des Saints near the village of Carnoët.[1897] Figure A-147 shows a group of visitors standing in front of the statue.



Figure A-147. Attendees of a gathering to celebrate Saint Cado, Les Vallée des Saints[1898]

Sainte-Reine-de-Bretagne, Pontchâteau, Saint-Nazaire, Loire-Atlantique, Pays de la Loire (44189)[1899]

The village and church (fig. A-148) are dedicated to Sainte Reine (Holy Queen), a young Gallo-Roman martyr, but during the Middle Ages the territory was named for Saint Cado,

http://www.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/merimee_fr?ACTION=RETROUVER&FIELD_98=INSEE&VALUE_98=56159&NUMBER=2&GRP=0&REQ=%28%2856159%29%20%3aINSEE%20%29&USRNAME=nobody&USRPWD=4%24%2534P&SPEC=9&SYN=1&IMLY=&MAX1=1&MAX2=100&MAX3=100&DOM=Tous <Accessed 3 April 2018>

[1895] 'City of Carnoët', map-france.com [online].

[1896] 'Saint-Cadou. Sortie à la Vallée des Saints', Le Télégramme [online]. Available at http://www.letelegramme.fr/finistere/sizun/saint-cadou-sortie-a-la-vallee-des-saints-03-05-2016-11053149.php <Accessed 3 April 2018>

[1897] 'Saint-Cadou. Sortie à la Vallée des saints', Le Télégramme [online].

[1898] 'Saint-Cadou. Sortie à la Vallée des saints', Le Télégramme [online].

[1899] 'Town of Sainte-Reine-de-Bretagne', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Sainte-Reine-de-Bretagne-44160/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>

who founded a monastery in Rhuys.[1900] In 1650 the chaplain who rebuilt the ruined chapel dedicated it to Sainte-Reine.[1901]



Figure A-148. Église Sainte-Reine-de-Bretagne, Pontchâteau, originally dedicated to Saint-Cado[1902]

Saint Carantec

Bernard Tanguy describes Saint Carantec as the son of Ceredig son of Cunedda Wledig, which according to the Welsh genealogies would identify his mother as Meleri daughter of Brychan.[1903] Tanguy also associates this saint with Carannog in Wales, Crantock in Cornwall, and St Cernach in Ireland.[1904] Tanguy states that even if these traditions are difficult to verify, the antiquity of the cult of Carantec in Brittany is not doubtful because a place called *Sent Carantoc* (now known as Saint-Caradec) in Roz-Landrieux is first identified in 870. Joseph Loth and Hervé Abalain identify the dedication to Carantoc son of Brychan.[1905]

[1900] 'Sainte-Reine-de-Bretagne', infobretagne.com [online]. Available at http://www.infobretagne.com/sainte-reine-de-bretagne.htm <Accessed 3 April 2018>

[1901] 'Église et patrimoine religieux de Sainte-Reine-de-Bretagne', Paroisse Sainte-Marie-en-Brière [online]. Available at http://saint-nazaire-briere.catholique.fr/Eglise-et-patrimoine-religieux-de,227?lang=fr <Accessed 3 April 2018>

[1902] 'Église et patrimoine religieux de Sainte-Reine-de-Bretagne', Paroisse Sainte-Marie-en-Briere [online].

[1903] *Finistère*, p. 48.
[1904] *Finistère*, p. 48.
[1905] Loth, p. 18, and Abalain, p. 61.

Saint-Caradec, Roz-Landrieux, Dol-de-Bretagne, Saint-Malo, Ille-de-Vilaine (35246)[1906]

Sent Carantoc (870)[1907]

Barnard Tanguy uses this place-name to illustrate the antiquity of the cult of Saint Carantoc in Brittany.[1908] On the other hand, Hervé Abalain identifies Caradec as a Welsh monk of the twelfth century, stating that the name means 'kind'.[1909]

Carantec Town and Parish, Taulé, Morlaix, Finistère (29023)[1910]

Karantec (1434), Carantec (1446)[1911]

Carantec is the name of a town, parish, and church close to the English Channel.[1912] Figure A-149 shows the Church of Saint Carantec located in the centre of the town.[1913]



Figure A-149. Église Saint-Carantec de Carantec, Taulé[1914]

[1906] 'Town of Roz-Landrieux', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Roz-Landrieux-35120/ <Accessed 3 March 2018>
[1907] *Finistère*, p. 48.
[1908] *Finistère*, p. 48.
[1909] Abalain, p. 105.
[1910] 'City of Carantec', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Carantec-29660/ <Accessed 2 January 2018>
[1911] *Finistère*, p. 46.
[1912] 'City of Carantec', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Carantec-29660/ <Accessed 2 January 2018>
[1913] 'City of Carantec', map-france.com [online].
[1914] 'Les églises et édifices religieux recensés par l'OPR à Carantec', Observatoire du Patrimoine Religieux [online]. Available at http://www.patrimoine-religieux.fr/eglises_edifices/29-Finistere/29023-Carantec <Accessed 5 April 2018>

Images of St Carantec in the church include a painted wooden statue and a banner showing Saint Carantec as a bishop.

Saint-Carantec Statue, Les Vallée des Saints, Carnoët, Callac, Guingamp, Morbihan (22031)[1915]

saint Carantec (2016)[1916]

A monumental figure of Saint Carantec (fig. A-150) sculpted in grey granite in 2011 by Norbert Le Gall is one of the statues in Les Vallée des Saints at Carnoët.[1917] Le Gall portrays the saint as a monk, merged with the stone upon which he sits, holding a stick in his left hand with a bird perched on his arm.



Figure A-150. Saint Carantec statue, Les Vallée des Saints[1918]

[1915] 'City of Carnoët', map-france.com [online].
[1916] Rio, p. 69.
[1917] 'Le Telegramme (13082011) Saint Carantec, La Statue Inaugurée Demain', calameo [online]. Available at http://en.calameo.com/books/004104547a293c70e21ca <Accessed 5 April 2018>
[1918] 'Photograph of La Vallée des Saints: Saint Carantec', Panaramio [online]. Available at http://static.panoramio.com/photos/large/92821579.jpg <Accessed 3 April 2018>

Trégarantec, Lesneven, Brest, Finistère (29288)[1919]

The place-name suggests Saint Carantec, son of Brychan according to the Life of St Nectan, but the town's parish church is dedicated to Saint-Thearnec.[1920] Bernard Tanguy does suggest that Saint Carantec could be the patron of Trégarantec.[1921]

Saint Cléden

Bernard Tanguy, Joseph Loth, Hervé Abalain, and Bernard Rio agree that *Saint Cléden* refers to a son of Brychan called St Cledwyn in Carmarthenshire and called St Clether at several churches in Cornwall.[1922]

Chapelle Saint-Michel (formerly St Cléden), Plogoff, Pont-Croix, Quimper, Finistère (29168)[1923]

The sixteenth-century chapel now dedicated to Saint Michael was originally dedicated to St Cléden and the dedication changed after the original chapel located in Laoual fell into ruins and was demolished in 1812.[1924] This chapel is south-west of the town of Cléden-Cap-Sizun, almost on its outskirts.[1925] A sixteenth-century statue in painted wood of St Cléden is one of the images in the chapel.[1926]

Cléden-Cap-Sizun, Pont-Croix, Quimper, Finistère (29028)[1927]

Plebs Cletuen (1000–2000), *Cletguen Cap Sizun* (1314), *Cletguen Cap Sizun* (*c.* 1330), *Cletguen* (1395), *Cletguen* (1426), *Cleden Cap Sizun* (1535)[1928]

The town of Cléden-Cap-Sizun is located in the township of Douamenez in the district of Quimper at the far end of Finistère on the Cap-Sizun promontory.[1929] Cléden was replaced toward the middle of the seventeenth century as patron saint of the parish by Saint Clet, a

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[1919] 'Town of Trégarantec', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Tregarantec-29260/ <Acessed 3 April 2018>
[1920] 'Town of Trégarantec', map-france.com [online].
[1921] *Finistère*, p. 48.
[1922] *Finistère*, p. 51; Loth, p. 23; Abalain, p. 63; and Rio, p. 75.
[1923] 'Town of Plogoff', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Plogoff-29770/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1924] 'Chapelle Saint Michel', Plogoff "Figure de Proue de l'Europe" [online]. Available at http://plogoff.fr/patrimoine/%e2%80%a2-patrimoine-religieux/chapelle-saint-michel/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1925] 'Town of Plogoff', map-france.com [online].
[1926] 'Chapelle Saint Michel', Plogoff "Figure de Proue de l'Europe" [online].
[1927] 'Town of Cléden-Cap-Sizun', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Cleden-Cap-Sizun-29770/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1928] *Finistère*, p. 51.
[1929] 'Accueil', Cléden Cap Sizun [online]. Available at http://www.cleden-cap-sizun.com/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>

pope and martyr of the first century.[1930] A statue of Saint Clet stands on the west face of the church.[1931] The Pardon of Cléden is held every year on Trinity Sunday.[1932]

Cléden-Poher, Carhaix-Plouguer, Châteaulin, Finistère (29270)[1933]

Cletguen Pocher (1368), *Cletguen-Pocher* (1468), *Cleden-Poher* (1910)[1934]

The parish enclosure in Cléden-Poher includes a church, calvary, and ossuary, but the church is dedicated to Our Lady of the Assumption rather than to Saint Cléden.[1935] A chapel is dedicated to Our Lady of Mur.[1936]

Saint Cléder

Bernard Tanguy, Joseph Loth, and Bernard Rio identify Saint Cléder as a son of Brychan based on the list of Brychan's children in the Life of St Nectan.[1937]

Cléder, Plouzévédé, Morlaix, Finistère (29030)[1938]

St Clederus (1249)[1939], *Parrochia de Cleder* (1282), *Parrochia de Cleder* (*c.* 1330)[1940]

The village of Cléder in Finistère is fourteen miles north-west of Morlaix, but the parish church is dedicated to Saint-Pierre and Saint-Ké.[1941]

Saint Connec

Dedications to Saint Connec pose a problem because the identity of the saint is not clear. On the one hand, the Life of Saint Paul-Aurélien identifies Tegonnec as one of the saint's companions.[1942] On the other hand, Connec corresponds to Cynog son of Brychan, according to the Welsh genealogies.[1943] Discussions of the many dedications in Brittany that include

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[1930] *Finistère*, p. 51.
[1931] 'L'èglise paroissiale', Cléden Cap Sizun [online]. Available at http://www.cleden-cap-sizun.com/ccs,chapelle-eglise.html <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1932] 'L'èglise paroissiale', Cléden Cap Sizun [online].
[1933] 'Town of Cléden-Poher', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Cleden-Poher-29270/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1934] Loth, p. 23.
[1935] 'Cléden-Poher photos, map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Cleden-Poher-29270/photos-Cleden-Poher.html <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1936] 'Cléden-Poher pictures', map-france.com [online].
[1937] *Finistère*, p. 52; Loth, p. 24; and Rio, p. 76.
[1938] 'City of Cléder', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Cleder-29233/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1939] Abalain, p. 63.
[1940] *Finistère*, p. 52.
[1941] *Finistère*, p. 52. See also 'St Peter Parish Church, French Heritage monument to Cleder', Patrimoine De France.com [online]. Available at http://en.patrimoine-de-france.com/finistere/cleder/eglise-paroissiale-saint-pierre-22.php <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1942] Le Grand, pp. 98–115.
[1943] Loth, p. 26.

this name indicate that opinions are divided. Bernard Tanguy notes that the Life of Saint Paul-Aurelien written in 884 identifies *Tegonnec* (in Old Breton *Toconoc*) as one of the saint's companions.[1944] Tanguy adds that a ninth-century Breton calendar preserved in Angers uses the form *Toconochus* while *Theogonocus* is the name of person in an entry for 7 September in the 1516 *Bréviare de Léon*.[1945] Joseph Loth identifies the name *Conoc* with Cynog son of Brychan for some place-names, but not for others.[1946] For example, he identifies Conoc with Saint-Connec, Plo-gonnec en Landrevarzec, Pleu-gueneuc, Saint-Queneuc in Quessoy, and the stronghold of Landégoneuc, but he attributes to the companion of Saint Paul-Aurélien the dedications at Saint Tégonnec in Guerlesquin, saint-Tégonnec chapel in Plogonnec, and the chapelle of Saint Egonnec at Lesconnec.[1947] Hervé Abalain identifies Saint Connec as a sixth-century disciple of Saint Caradec and describes Saint-Thegonic as a hypochoristic name for Connec.

Parish Enclosure of Notre-Dame et Saint-Thégonnec, Saint-Thégonnec, Morlaix, Finistère (29266)[1948]

Ploeyber Riual (*c.* 1330), *Pleyber Riuall* (1345), *Ploeyber Riual Saint Egonneuc* (*c.* 1450), *Pleyber Sainct Egonnec* (1467), *Ploeyber Saint Egonnec* (1557), and *Saint Thégonnec* (1693)[1949]

Saint-Thégonnec is one of the place-names most certainly attributed to the disciple of Saint Paul-Aurélien rather than Cynog son of Brychan.[1950]

Landégonec, Plourhan, Étables-sur-Mer, Saint-Brieuc, Côtes-d'Armor (22232)[1951]

Bernard Tanguy identifies Landégonec, a village in Plourhan, as one of the place-names whose earliest use involves *Saint-Connec*, which may refer to a disciple of Saint-Caradec, to Cynog son of Brychan Brycheiniog, or to Toconoc, said to be a disciple of Saint Paul-Aurélien.[1952]

[1944] *Finistère*, pp. 206–207.
[1945] Finistère, pp. 206–207.
[1946] Loth, p. 117.
[1947] Loth, p. 117.
[1948] 'City of Saint-Thégonnec', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Saint-Thegonnec-29410/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1949] *Finistère*, p. 206.
[1950] 'Town of Loc-Eguiner-Saint-Thégonnec', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Loc-Eguiner-Saint-Thegonnec-29410/ <Accessed 3 April> See also Loth, p. 117.
[1951] 'Town of Plourhan', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Plourhan-22410/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1952] Côtes-d'Armor, p. 277.

Lesconnec, Plounéour-Ménez, Loc-Eguiner-Saint-Thégonnec, Morlaix, Finistère (29202)[1953]

The hamlet of Lesconnec is near the Chapelle Saint-Divy, a dedication to St David; however, the dedication to Thégonnec likely refers to Saint Paul-Aurélien rather than St Cynog, and the church in the centre of town is dedicated to Saint-Yves. [1954]

Loc-Eguiner-Saint-Thégonnec, Morlaix, Finistère (29127)[1955]

This small town in the township of Saint-Thégonnec is one of the place-names most certainly attributed to the disciple of Saint Paul-Aurélien rather than Cynog son of Brychan.[1956]

Pleugueneuc, Tinténiac, Saint-Malo, Ille-et-Vilaine, Brittany (35226)[1957]

Although the place-name for the town reflects a parish dedicated to Connec (or Cynog), the church itself is dedicated to Saint Etienne.[1958] Both Joseph Loth and Bernard Rio include this place-name among those they associate with Cynog son of Brychan.[1959]

Plogonnec, Douamenez, Quimper, Finistère (29169)[1960]

Ploe Gonoc (*c.* 1203), *Plue Gunuc* (1200s), *Ploegonoc* (1285), *Ploegonnec* (1368), *Plogonec* (1602)[1961]

Although Joseph Loth lists Plogonnec as one of the place-names that reflect a dedication to Cynog son of Brychan, Hervé Abalain identifies the eponyme as Conoc or Conec who was one of the companions of Saint Paul-Aurelian.[1962] Bernard Tanguy cites the local tradition that Conoc was born in the village of Trefeuntec in Plonevez-Porzay.[1963] He supports this argument by referring to the nearby Chapelle Saint-Thégonnec, whose patron saint of the church is now Saint Thurien, although an inscription under the saint's niche proves that it is in fact Saint-Turiau, bishop of Dol and successor of Saint Samson. These factors would seem

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[1953] 'Town of Plounéour-Ménez', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Plouneour-Menez-29410/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1954] 'Town of Plounéour-Ménez', map-france.com [online].
[1955] 'Town of Loc-Eguiner-Saint-Thégonnec', map-france.com [online].
[1956] 'Town of Loc-Eguiner-Saint-Thégonnec', map-france.com [online]. See also Loth, p. 117.
[1957] 'Town of Pleugueneuc', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Pleugueneuc-35720/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1958] 'Pleugueneuc', Academic [online]. Available at http://fr.academic.ru/dic.nsf/frwiki/1346715#.C3.89glise <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1959] Loth, p. 26, and Rio, p. 369.
[1960] 'City of Plogonnec', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Plogonnec-29180/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1961] *Finistère*, p. 159.
[1962] Loth, p. 26, and Abalain, p. 93.
[1963] *Finistère,* p. 149.

to diminish the likelihood that the place-names for both the town of Plogonnec and Chapelle de Saint-Thégonnec are connected with Cynog son of Brychan.

Rosconnec, Dinéault, Châteaulin, Finistère (29044)[1964]

An isolated cluster of houses comprises the hamlet of Rosconnec, which is east of the town of Dinéault and south-east of l'abbaye de Landévennec, but not near dedications to other members of the family of Brychan.[1965] Neither Joseph Loth nor Bernard Tanguy document Rosconnec, but Bernard Rio does associate the dedication with Cynog son of Brychan.[1966]

Saint-Connec, Mûr-de-Bretagne, Guingamp, Côtes-d'Armor (22158)[1967]

Villa de Sancto Conoto (1284); *treffve Sainct Conec* (1535–1536), *Saint Gonnec* (1658), *Saint Gonnet* (1676), *Saint Gonet* (1678)[1968]

Bernard Tanguy establishes issues related to this dedication based on first use of the place-name, Breton pronunciation, and likely candidates for the dedication.[1969] He reports that the first use of the name occurred in an act related to a sale of land, and although transcribed *Sanctus Conotus*, the toponym does not seem to be closer to the village of Saint-Connet near Lignol (see the next article), whose eponym also relates to the origin of Langonnet, which was *Lan Chunuett* around 1050.[1970] He notes that the Breton pronunciation of *Sant Koneg* used at Kergrist, a neighbouring commune, indicates that *Sanctus Conotus* is a reading error for *Sanctus Conocus*, an error caused by the difficulty of distinguishing the letters *c* and *t* in ancient documents.[1971] Judging by the written form *Saint Gonnec* used in 1658, he states that Saint-Connec or the Breton form was still in use at the beginning of this century, as the local Breton pronunciation was *Sant Goneg*. Saint Gonery replaced Saint Connec as the patron of the church and nearby fountain.[1972] He also puts forward several options for the identity of Saint Connec.[1973] He suggests that according to tradition, Saint Connec and Saint Gonery were disciples of Saint-Caradec, patron of a nearby parish.[1974] Hervé Abalain also supports

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[1964] 'Rosconnec. Un espace naturel sensible', Le Télégramme [online]. Available at http://www.letelegramme.fr/finistere/chateaulin/rosconnec-un-espace-naturel-sensible-17-04-2017-11478540.php <Accessed 5 April 2018>
[1965] 'Rosconnec. Un espace naturel sensible', Le Télégramme [online].
[1966] Loth, p. 26; *Finistère*, p. 60; and Rio, p. 369.
[1967] 'Town of Saint-Connec', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Saint-Connec-22530/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1968] *Côtes-d'Armor*, pp. 276–277.
[1969] *Côtes-d'Armor*, pp. 276–277.
[1970] *Côtes-d'Armor*, pp. 276–277.
[1971] *Côtes-d'Armor*, pp. 276–277.
[1972] *Côtes-d'Armor*, pp. 276–277.
[1973] *Côtes-d'Armor*, pp. 276–277.
[1974] *Côtes-d'Armor*, pp. 276–277.

the idea that Saint Conec was a disciple of Saint Caradec.[1975] Tanguy also suggests Cynog, eldest son of Brychan, as well as Toconoc, now Tegonec.[1976]

Saint-Queneuc, Quessoy, Moncontour, Saint-Brieuc, Côtes-d'Armor (22258)[1977]

Capella Sancti Cunoci (1181), *Saint Guenoc* (1557)[1978]

The small village of Saint Queneuc is located east of the city of Quessoy, whose church is dedicated to Saint-Pierre.[1979] Among the possessions that l'abbaye de Saint-Magloire de Lehon possessed in 1181 is the Chapelle Saint-Queneuc 'with its borough and its domain'; nonetheless, this abbey was not the only one in the area.[1980] In spite of a reference in 1557 to 'the fief and bailiwick of *Saint Guenoc* in the parish of the same name', the place was unlikely to have ever been the seat of a parish.[1981] Saint-Queneuc is one of the place-names both Joseph Loth and Bernard Tanguy identify as possibly associated with Cynog son of Brychan.[1982]

Saint Divy

The Breton Saint Divy refers to Saint David, the patron saint of Wales, who was said to have been brought to Brittany by SaintNonne, his mother, who raised him at her hermitage until he became a monk and then returned to Wales. The traditions relating to veneration of Saint Divy are closely connected to those of his mother, Saint Nonne, whose cult-centre is found at Dirinon. Saint Ivy, a monk of Lindisfarne Abbey who is said to have emigrated to Brittany at the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century, is another culted saint whose dedications have been attributed to Saint Divy and vice versa.[1983] In fact, Bernard Tanguy suggests that it is possible that in the case of Chapelle Saint-Divy near Dirinon the veneration of the saint began after publication of the Welsh Life of St David in the twelfth century and replaced another, perhaps pagan figure.[1984] With interconnected issues and uncertainties as to dates and attribution, the scope of this thesis restricts the exploration of this topic to those that illustrate aspects of the cult of Saint Divy as they relate to veneration of Saint Nonne,

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[1975] Abalain, p. 105.
[1976] *Côtes-d'Armor*, pp. 276–277.
[1977] 'City of Quessoy', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Quessoy-22120/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1978] *Côtes-d'Armor*, p. 251, and Loth, p. 26.
[1979] Côtes-d'Armor, p. 251.
[1980] Côtes-d'Armor, p. 251.
[1981] Côtes-d'Armor, p. 251.
[1982] Loth, p. 26, and *Côtes-d'Armor*, p. 277.
[1983] *Finistère*, p. 210.
[1984] *Finistère*, p. 210.

considered a daughter of Brychan in Brittany. Possible dedications to Saint Divy outside Brittany, such as Landivy in the Pays de le Loire region, are also out of scope for this thesis.[1985]

Brandivy, Grand-Champ, Vannes, Morbihan (56022)[1986]

Hervé Abalain translates this place-name as 'woods of Dewi', associating the dedication with Saint David, patron saint of Wales.[1987] The city of Brandivy is adjacent to woodlands on its north, south, and eastern borders.[1988]

Chapelle Saint-Divy, Lannuzel, Brest, Finistère (29245)[1989]

This chapel (fig. A-151) dedicated to Saint-Divy is one kilometer south of Dirinon in the hamlet of Lannuzel, which comprises the chapel and a farm, and is now adjacent to a large industrial area.[1990]



Figure A-151. Chapelle Saint-Divy, Lannuzel[1991]

[1985] 'Town of Landivy', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Landivy-53190/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1986] 'Town of Brandivy', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Brandivy-56390/ <Accessed 1 April 2018>
[1987] Abalain, p. 58.
[1988] 'Town of Brandivy', map-france.com [online].
[1989] 'Town of Saint-Divy', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Saint-Divy-29800/ <Accessed 28 March 2018>
[1990] 'Town of Saint-Divy', map-france.com [online].
[1991] 'Le culte de sainte Nonne à Dirinon II : la chapelle Saint-Divy', Le blog de jean-yves cordier [online]. Available at http://www.lavieA-aile.com/2017/02/le-culte-de-sainte-nonne-a-dirinon-ii-la-chapelle-saint-divy.html <Accessed 3 April 2018>

Chapelle Saint-Divy, Plounéour-Ménez, Saint-Thégonnec, Morlaix, Finistère (29202)[1992]

The seventeenth-century Chapelle Saint-Divy built in 1605 or 1655 is a rectangular building with domed bell tower (fig. A-152) that bears the coat of arms of the Scaff family and houses a statue of Saint Divy as a bishop.[1993] The church was expanded during the nineteenth century and is now closed for religious services, although it is still a venue for concerts and other cultural events.[1994] As reported previously, this chapel is near a possible dedication to St Cynog as Saint Connec at Lesconnec.



Figure A-152. Chapelle Saint-Divy, Plounéour-Ménez[1995]

[1992] 'Town of Plounéour-Ménez', map-france.com [online].
[1993] 'Plounéour-Ménez', infobretagne.com [online]. Available at http://www.infobretagne.com/plouneour-menez.htm <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1994] 'Chapelle Saint-Divy. Ploun'patrimoine demande sa désaffection', Le Télégramme [online]. Available at http://www.letelegramme.fr/finistere/plouneour-menez/chapelle-saint-divy-ploun-patrimoine-demande-sa-desaffectation-20-11-2016-11298997.php <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1995] 'Chapelle Saint-Divy_Plounéour-Ménez', Capteuse-dimages.com [online]. Available at http://capteuse-dimages.com/?p=2576 <Accessed 3 April 2018>

Fontaine Saint-Divy, Kerverrot, Brest, Finistère (29245)[1996]

The fountain of Saint-Divy (fig. A-153) is located at Kerverrot about one-hundred yards from the fountain of Sainte-Nonne.[1997] A statue of Saint Divy in his robes is located on the pediment.[1998] Small wooden crosses were once offered at the fountain.[1999]



Figure A-153. Fontaine Saint-Divy, Kerverrot[2000]

La Chapelle Saint David, Quimperlé, Quimper, Finistère (29233)[2001]

The sixteenth-century chapel of Saint David, shown in figure A-154, is now the chapel for the cemetery.[2002] The building retains architectural interest because, even deeply reworked

[1996] 'Town of Saint-Divy', map-france.com [online].
[1997] 'Histoire de la Fontaine Saint-Divy', Fontaines de France [online]. Available at https://www.fontainesdefrance.info/accueil.php?page=historique-fontaine-dirinonb&&rep=historiques <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[1998] 'Histoire de la Fontaine Saint-Divy', Fontaines de France [online].
[1999] 'Histoire de la Fontaine Saint-Divy', Fontaines de France [online].
[2000] 'Le culte de sainte Nonne à Dirinon III : la fontaine Saint-Divy', Le blog de jean-yves cordier [online]. Available at http://www.lavieA-aile.com/2017/02/le-culte-de-sainte-nonne-a-dirinon-iii-la-fontaine-saint-divy.html <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[2001] 'City of Quimperlé', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Quimperle-29300/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[2002] 'Chapelle Saint David, actuallement chapelle du cimetière', Ministère de la Culture, Architecture & Patrimoine [online]. Available at http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/merimee_fr?ACTION=CHERCHER&FIELD_1=REF&VALUE_1=IA29000487 <Accessed 3 April 2018>

during the nineteenth century, the building retains sixteenth-century elements that intimate its original state.[2003]



Figure A-154. La Chapelle Saint David, Quimper[2004]

Saint-Divy, Landerneau, Brest, Finistère (29245)[2005]

Treff éclésial de Sainct Ivy (1531), *Saint Divy* (1560), *eccl. Sancti Davidis* (1637), *égl. Treffviale de Sainct Ivy* (1651)[2006]

The town dedicated to SaintDivy is four-and-one-half kilometers from Dirinon.[2007] Saint-Divy was once part of the Diocese of Léon until it became a parish of La Forest-Landerneau during the fifteenth century and was the property of the Penfeuntenious family in the seventeenth century.[2008] The parish of Saint-Divy was established in 1823.[2009] Église Saint-Divy, constructed from 1505 to 1531, is located in the centre of the town.[2010] The paintings of the paneling of the vault above the choir date from 1676, and in the choir a stone statue of Saint Divy is inscribed with the date 1533.[2011] Bernard Tanguy states that, although the

[2003] 'Chapelle Saint-David à Quimperlé', Patrimoine de France [online]. Available at http://patrimoine-de-france.com/finistere/quimperle/chapelle-saint-david-10.php <Accessed 3 April 2018>

[2004] 'Chapelle Saint David, actuallement chapelle du cimetière', Architecture [online].
[2005] 'Town of Saint-Divy', map-france.com [online].
[2006] *Finistère*, p. 196.
[2007] 'Town of Saint-Divy', map-france.com [online].
[2008] 'Saint-Divy', infobretagne.com [online]. Available at http://www.infobretagne.com/saint-divy.htm <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[2009] *Finistère*, p. 196.
[2010] 'Saint-Divy', infobretagne.com [online].
[2011] 'Saint-Divy', infobretagne.com [online].

church is dedicated to St Dewi, it is named for Saint Ivi, object of a cult widespread in Brittany, who emigrated to Armorica from Lindisfarne Abbey at the end of the seventh century or beginning of the eighth.[2012] Figure A-155 shows the exterior of the church and several of the scenes of the life of Saint-Divy painted on the vault above the choir.



Figure A-155. Église Saint-Divy, Landerneau, exterior and scenes from the life of Saint Divy[2013]

Saint Gonlay

Joseph Loth identifies the name Gonlai with Gwynllyw or Gundleus, husband of Gwladys daughter of Brychan, and father of St Cadog, much venerated in Brittany as Saint-Cado and Saint-Cadou.[2014]

Saint-Gonlay,Montfort-sur-Meu, Rennes, Ille-et-Velaine (35277)2015

The small community of Saint-Gonlay was formerly a parish in the diocese of Saint Malo.[2016] It is bordered to the north by the Comper and Meu rivers, to the east by the Boutavent stream, and to the south by the Brocéliande forest near Iffendic and Parthenay-de-Bretagne, where dedications to Saint Ahan also suggest veneration of the family of Brychan.[2017]

[2012] *Finistère*, p. 196.
[2013] 'Saint-Divy', infobretagne.com [online].
[2014] Loth, p. 46.
[2015] 'Town of Saint-Gonlay', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Saint-Gonlay-35750/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[2016] Loth, p. 46.
[2017] Loth, p. 46.

Saint Ehan

According to Joseph Loth, dedications to Saint Ehan in Brittany correspond to those to St Hychan son of Brychan Brycheiniog in Wales, such as Llanhychan in Clwyd.[2018] Guillotin de Corson suggests a possible link between the saint's name and the rheumatic pains called *mal de ahans* said to be cured at the nearby pilgrimage site of Saint-Meen, while Michel Priziac associates Saint Ehan with Saint Tehan, an obscure saint of the Middle Ages.[2019]

Saint-Ehan, Iffendic, Montfort-sur-Meu, Rennes, Ille-de-Vilaine (35133)[2020]

Saint-Tehan (1427), Saint-Ehan (1506)[2021]

Twelfth-century charters refer to the chapel and the lands of Saint-Ahan d'Iffendic, formerly owned by the Priory of Saint-Samson of Telhouët, which was part of l'abbaye de Notre-Dame du Nid-au-Merle near Rennes, now Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt.[2022] First mention is in 1124 when Raoul de Montfort gave the land and church of Saint-Ahan to the nuns and brothers of the prieure Saint-Samson de Telhouët.[2023] The lands and chapel continued to receive occasional notice until 1882, when the chapel wa said to be 'in ruins'.[2024] The old village of Saint-Ahan, described as 'formerly Saint-Jean or Saint-Jehan', has preserved several old houses such as the one shown in figure A-156.[2025]

[2018] Loth, p. 37.
[2019] A. de Corson, '*Pouillé historique de l'archevêché de Rennes*, 6 vols (Rennes and Paris: Fougeray, 1880–1886), vol. 4,
p. 727.
[2020] 'City of Iffendic', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Iffendic-35750/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[2021] A. de Corson, 'Pouillé historique de l'archevêché de Rennes, vol. 4, p. 727.
[2022] de Corson, vol. 4, p. 727.
[2023] de Corson, vol. 4, p. 727.
[2024] de Corson, vol. 4, p. 727.
[2025] 'Saint-Ahan', Châteaux et Manoirs d'Iffendic [online]. Available at http://manoirs-d-iffendic.e-monsite.com/pages/saint-ahan.html <Accessed 3 April 2018>



Figure A-156. House in Saint-Ahan, Iffendic[2026]

Manoir de Saint-Ehan, Parthenay, Rennes-Nord-Ouest, Rennes, Ille-de-Vilaine (35216)[2027]

Saint-Ehen (1395)[2028]

A tradition says that the old manor of Saint-Ahan, Saint-Ehan, Saint-Ehen, or Saint-Jean owes its name to a nearby chapel with the same name as that of Saint-Ahan in Iffendic. Saint John later replaced the Breton patron, whose legend was unknown. The lordship is mentioned for the first time as Saint-Ehen in a confession of 1395.[2029]

Saint Nizon or Neizan

Bernard Tanguy states that the toponym *Nizon* could correspond to *Saint-Nizon*, a village of Malguénac in Morbihan and that the Welsh *Neithon*, a Brythonic version of the Gaelic *Nechtan* (also the Breton *Neizon*, which in old Breton is *Naitan*) was the name of sixth-century martyr and descendent of Brychan Brycheiniog honored in Devon.[2030] Joseph Loth also indicates that Breton dedications to St Nectan exist, but he attributes them to Saint Neizan.[2031] The place-names they identify are to hamlets in the countryside rather than to churches.

[2026] 'Saint-Ahan', Châteaux et Manoirs d'Iffendic [online].
[2027] 'Town of Parthenay-de-Bretagne', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Parthenay-de-Bretagne-35850/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[2028] 'Parthenay-de-Bretagne', infobretagne.com [online]. Available at http://www.infobretagne.com/parthenay-de-bretagne.htm <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[2029] 'Parthenay-de-Bretagne', infobretagne.com [online]. Available at http://www.infobretagne.com/parthenay-de-bretagne.htm <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[2030] *Finistère*, p. 138.
[2031] Loth, p. 97.

Kerneizan, Plonéour-Lanvern, Plogastel-Saint-German, Quimper, Finistère (29174)[2032]

Joseph Loth identifies the toponym *Kerneizan* with Saint-Neizan; that is, Saint Nectan son of Brychan Brycheiniog.[2033] Kerneizan is a hamlet that comprises a large farm and a cluster of houses south of Plonéour-Lanvern near dedications to Sainte Nonne and Saint Divy.[2034]

Nizon, Pont-Aven, Quimper, Finistère (29217)[2035]

Nizon (*c.* 1330), *Nizon* (1368), *Nyon* (1566)[2036]

The community of Nizon with a church dedicated to Saint-Amet was added to nearby Pont-Aven in 1955.[2037] During the eleventh century, Nizon was part of the parish of Nevez, donated by King Gradlon to the Abbey of Landévennec.[2038]

Saint-Nizon, Malguénac, Cléguérec, Pontivy, Morbihan (56125)[2039]

Saint Nuzon (1448), *Saint Nizon* (1514)[2040]

The village of Saint-Nizon is north-east of the town of Malguénac, described by Theodore Rosenzweig as a lordship and manor with village.[2041] Aerial photography shows an enclave of farm buildings remains.[2042]

[2032] 'City of Plonéour-Lanvern', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Ploneour-Lanvern-29720/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[2033] Loth, p. 97.
[2034] 'City of Plonéour-Lanvern', map-france.com [online].
[2035] 'City of Pont-Aven', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Pont-Aven-29930/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[2036] *Finistère*, pp. 137–138.
[2037] *Finistère*, pp. 137–138.
[2038] *Finistère*, pp. 137–138.
[2039] 'Town of Malguénec', map-france.com [online]. Available at http://www.map-france.com/Malguenac-56300/ <Accessed 3 April 2018>
[2040] *Finistère*, p. 138.
[2041] Rosenzweig, p. 254.
[2042] 'Town of Malguénec', map-france.com [online].