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LIFE OF ST. DAVID

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TRANSLATIONS OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

SERIES V

LIVES OF THE CELTIC SAINTS

EDITED BY ELEANOR HULL

ST. DAVID



Rhygyfaren.

LIFE OF ST. DAVID

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INTRODUCTION

A.—EARLY REFERENCES TO ST. DAVID

1. THE earliest mention of St. David comes from Ireland. It occurs in a short treatise, the *Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland*, drawn up about A.D. 730. According to this there were "Three Orders" of Irish saints between 432 and 665; the "Second Order" began and ended in the sixth century, and we are told that it received a mode of celebrating mass "from holy men of Britain, to wit, from St. David and St. Gildas and St. Docus," or, as another version has it, "from Bishop David, and Gildas, and Docus, Britons." Thus we have early reliable evidence, not only that there was such a man as David, but that he was a notable British saint and bishop, who with two other religious men of Britain, including the celebrated St. Gildas, had agreed upon a form of celebrating Holy Communion, which was widely received among the foremost saints of Ireland in the sixth century. It is therefore more probable than not, that these three Britons, David, Gildas, and Docus, were already men of renown before the middle of that century.

From Ireland, too, we have evidence, not quite so early but no less reliable, that St. David's chief monastery was in Mynyw or Menevia, and that his festival fell on the first day of March, for in *The Martyrology of Oengus*, which is now agreed by all scholars to have been compiled about the year 800, we find under March 1st, *David Cille Muni*, which means "David of the 'monastery' of Mynyw."

2. Other early evidence of St. David comes from outside Wales, and is very instructive. It hails from Brittany, and

occurs in the Life of St. Paul Aurelian, which was written in 884. In this we are informed that David was a fellow-disciple of Paul, Samson and Gildas, under St. Illtud. This is disputable. But we are told as well that St. David was surnamed "the Aquatic," which is a way of expressing in Latin the Welsh *Dywrwr*, "Waterman." He was *Dewi Ddywrwr*, Dewi the Waterman. We cannot doubt from this early testimony that St. David was "the Waterman" *par excellence*, that is, that he was the head and leader of "the Watermen," those stricter monks of Wales, who aimed at imitating the austerities of Egypt, and whom St. Gildas deemed to be often more abstemious than Christian. Here probably we have the true and historic ground for the antagonism between St. David and St. Gildas, of which we seem to hear rumblings in both Welsh and Irish tradition.

3. In or about 893 the famous Asser, then Bishop of St. Davids, in his Life of Alfred the Great, § 79, mentions the monastery and *parochia* of holy *Degui*, that is, Dewi, as a well-known institution, west of the river Severn and north of the Severn Sea, with presiding bishops, of whom his kinsman, Nobis, who died in 873, was one, and himself another. He speaks of the assistance which Dewi, as a well-known powerful saint, could render to those who trusted in him.

But perhaps even earlier than this book of Asser are the references to St. David in *Arymes Prydein Vawr*, a poem of some two hundred lines in the Book of Taliesin, which predict the expulsion of the Saxons from Britain. I can find nothing in this vigorous composition to disprove Ifor Williams' contention¹ that it was written towards the close of the ninth century, or, at latest, at the beginning of the tenth. On the contrary, I should be tempted to date it before Alfred's friendship with Asser, which began about 884, and to believe that the two lines—

¹ *Y Beirniad*, 1916, p. 212.

Ef talhawr o anawr Garmaawn garant

Y pedeir blyned ar pedwar cant

There will be paid with the help of the kinsmen of Germanus

The four hundred and four years

refer to the four hundred and four years of "Saxon oppression," counting from some point in the mid-fifth century, which would fix the writing of this predictive work in the mid-ninth century. But whether 850 or 900 is its more approximate date, the poem cannot be dissociated from the traditions and the notions embodied in the *History of the Britons* of the previous century, where (ch. xlii.) we find it foretold that "our nation shall rise and valiantly drive away the nation of the English across the sea." By the "Cymry" the poet clearly means the people of Wales, whom he differentiates from Cornishmen, Clydesmen, and Bretons. These three together with the Irish and the Scandinavians of Dublin [this fixes the date of the poem after about 840], will join the Cymry to oust the Saxons out of Britain. Their military leaders will be Cadwaladr and Cynan, who historically were princes of North and Mid Wales respectively, and their ecclesiastical champion will be St. David, who of course historically was a saint of the south. Under these all Wales will move. The only other saint named is Germanus, which makes me think that this poem, like the *History of the Britons* mentioned above, originated in the little joint-kingdom of Gwrtheyrnion and Buellt, which was ruled by its own line of kings, who traced their origin from Vortigern. Gwrtheyrnion is from "Vortigerniana," the land of Vortigern, and lies between the Wye and the Ieithon in modern Radnorshire. One of its saints was Germanus, at St. Harmons, where doubtless in the poet's time the supremacy of Dewi and Mynyw was already established, being as it is to-day (1922) within what Asser would call *parochia Degui*, the "diocese" of Dewi. In the poem St. David is mentioned five times as follows: (1) the

Cymry yd Duw a Dewi ydymorchymynynt, to God and Dewi commended themselves; (2) there will be a flight of the Saxon aliens *trwy eiryawl Dewi a seint Prydeyn*, through the intercession of Dewi and the saints of Britain; (3) *a lluman glan Dewi a drychafant*, and Dewi's holy banner will (the Cymry) raise; (4) with their Irish confederates and *Gynhon Duly*n, the Scandinavians of Dublin, the Cymry will put many taunting questions to the Saxons, including *neu reitheu Dewi pyr y torrassant*, why have they broken the laws of Dewi? and (5) *poet tywyssawc Dewi yr kynifwyr*, may Dewi be a leader to the combatants.

4. In the old Latin Welsh Chronicle, written in 954, there appears at [601] this entry, "*Dauid episcopus moni iudeorum*," which has never been satisfactorily explained. It probably refers to Dewi's death. If so, like that of St. Dubricius at [612], it is doubtless considerably post-dated. This Chronicle, if we may judge from the frequent allusions in it to St. Davids and its bishops, was probably written at St. Davids itself.

5. About the year 1090 Rhygyvarch, son of Bishop Sulien of St. Davids, undertook to write the Life of St. David. He tells us that in his day there existed some "very old writings" about the saint, especially at St. Davids, in the monastery there, written "in the old style of the ancients." He declares that in his Life of St. David he is drawing from these written sources. Of oral tradition he says nothing, except as to miracles done by the saint after his death, which Rhygyvarch will not trouble to recount. What Rhygyvarch will have to say will be drawn from written sources. They are so old that they would perish, did he not undertake to rescue some of them. Yet he has culled but a few out of many. He particularly mentions the survival of writings in St. David's own hand. In all this Rhygyvarch reveals the instinct of a historian, and on his work practically all our knowledge of the career of the saint rests.

B.—LIVES OF ST. DAVID

1. The best copy of Rhygyvarch's Life of St. David, being the fullest, and, as far as I know, quite unique, is that now contained in the Cottonian Codex, marked Vespasian A xiv, at the British Museum, London. It appears to have been transcribed about A.D. 1200, a century after Rhygyvarch's death. It is certainly not an exact copy. There are at least some slight omissions and alterations, to say nothing of possible scribal mistakes. In 1853 it was printed in full for the first time by the Rev. W. J. Rees, Rector of Cascob, Radnorshire, in his *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints* (117-144), together with an English translation (418-438), a most unsatisfactory performance, teeming with blunders. More than half a century was allowed to elapse before a second attempt was made to provide the public with a more accurate printed text. This appeared in 1913, the present writer being responsible, in vol. xxiv. of *Y Cymmrodor*, 4-28, the Magazine of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, London. The text there presented¹ is the result of my own private collation of Rees' text with the original in the British Museum. In order to facilitate reference I ventured to divide the Life, with its important epilogue, etc., into sections. A new English translation was provided, which has been thoroughly revised for this present book. The annotations, too, are here corrected, revised, and added to.

2. There are many anonymous "Norman-French" recensions of Rhygyvarch's original work, some as old, if not older, than the Cottonian MS. just mentioned. The earliest of these are said to be, London, B. M., Cott. Nero i; Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 112; and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 161. These three were written by about

¹ It should be now supplemented with the following *corrigenda*: p. 9, l. 19, operam; 10, l. 14, accepit. Pepiau quo[que]; 10, l. 16, Maitrun; 15, l. 5, fratrum *for* firmam.

1200. Of the thirteenth century are said to be Bodleian, 793; Bodleian, Rawlinson B. 485 (of which Rawlinson B. 505, a century later, is a direct copy; this is what may be called an "Irish" recension, a copy of which is printed in Colgan's A.S.H., 1645, I. 425-9); Bodleian, 285; and Cambridge University Library, Ff. 1, 27, 28 (from Bury St. Edmunds, about 1300). The Bodleian 336 was written early in the fourteenth century in England; it was never completed and ends with § 19. There is an old recension printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, March 1, i. 41. This, used by the Bollandists, belonged to the Church of St. Saviour, at Utrecht, having been originally brought from Britain. With the exception of the last and that in Colgan, I am not aware that any of these recensions has been printed; and certainly, all these anonymous recensions, and others which are said to exist, have never been collated.

3. The Life of St. David by Giraldus Cambrensis (c. 1147-c. 1223) is either a recension of the original work of Rhygyvarch, or of some early recension of it. Mr. Egerton Phillimore tells me that it exists in two MSS., the older of these being the Cottonian Vitellius, E. vii., of the early thirteenth century, which was partly destroyed in the fire at Ashburnham House, October 1731. Six folios of the Life remain (4-9), beginning with the words "aquis spargens" (Gerald, iii. 385, last line). From this MS. Wharton printed his edition in *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 628 ff., of which Brewer's text (Gerald, iii. 377-404), is a mere reprint with a few collations from fragments quoted by Ussher and from the older Lives (*ib.*, xlii.-iii.). The other MS. is in the British Museum, Royal, 13. C. i., folios 171-180. It is the only complete copy now known to exist. "It contains (says Phillimore) an appendix of *Miracula s. Davidis* (many of them performed in England), unknown to exist elsewhere; and these are followed by *Lectiones de Sancta Nonnita*, which break

off imperfect with folio 180, and are virtually extracted from some Life of St. David. This MS. is ascribed by Hardy to the seventeenth century. It does not seem to be a copy of Vitellius E. vii., for some of the place-names on folio 173*a* are spelt in a more archaic form than in the corresponding passage (folio 4*a*) of the other MS." Until these two MSS. are thoroughly examined, collated, and then compared with our 1 and 2, it is not safe to say what original Gerald had before him, or how far he is responsible for the various identifications of persons and localities, which distinguish his recension. But it may be stated with some confidence, that much of what is generally thought and said nowadays of St. David emanates from Gerald's interpretation of Rhygyvarch rather than from Rhygyvarch himself; which is unfortunate.

4. The Life of St. David by John of Tynemouth (c. 1290-1350) is a recension of our 1. It appears in the Cottonian Tiberius E. i. ff. 48*b*-51*b*, a MS. of the fourteenth century, damaged by the 1731 fire, and reproduced "with slight variations" in John of Tynemouth's *Historia aurea* in MSS. Lambeth 10-12, late fourteenth century. A copy of it is in the Bodleian, Tanner 15 (written in 1499). It is printed in Horstman's *Nova Legenda Anglie*, Oxford, 1901, i. 254-262.

5. The Welsh Life of St. David is first found in the Oxford, Jesus Coll., MS. 2, written in 1346 by the then anchorite of Llanddewi Vrevi, Cardiganshire. It is printed by Morris Jones and Rhys in the *Elucidarium*, Oxford, 1894, pp. 105-118. It also occurs in the Llanstephan MSS. 4 and 27, both of about 1400; the B.M. Cott. Titus D. xxii., ff. 138-155*b*, written in 1429 and printed inaccurately in Rees' *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, 102-116; and in the Peniarth MSS. 15 and 27 (part ii.), both of the fifteenth century. The Welsh Life is an abridgment of the work of Rhygyvarch, but whether translated directly

from the original or from some recension of it, is yet to be discovered.

In addition to the above there are extant some Welsh poems, especially one entitled *Canu y Dewi*, lit. "singing to Dewi," written by Gwynvardd Brycheiniog, a contemporary of Rhys ab Gruffudd, king of Deheubarth or the "south part" of Wales. Gwynvardd's years are conventionally given as from 1160 to 1220. The poem is printed in Anwyl's *Poetry of the Gogynfeirdd* (from the Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales), 1909, pp. 82-84, where it is given as consisting of some 295 lines. By the change of rhyme it would appear that this composition comprises ten odes, stanzas, or sections, all in the same metre. The metrical unity is maintained, partly at least, by the stanza link, either by word repetition or consonantal harmony. A few lines are irregular in length. Though obscure and probably corrupt in parts, the general meaning of this strange production is quite clear, but no full translation as yet could be more than tentative. Notwithstanding the very generous help given me by the Welsh Professors, Ifor Williams and T. Gwyn Jones, in the translation and elucidation of this composition, I refrain from giving more than a few extracts from it. The poem embodies material not found in any of the Lives of St. David as at present known.

C.—RHYGYVARCH

1. For the age in which he lived Rhygyvarch was in the best possible position to compile a Life of St. David. He was born in 1057, and died in 1099 at the premature age of forty-two years. He belonged to a family renowned for its learning, his father being Sulien the Wise, twice bishop of St. Davids, who long before his elevation to this high office had acquired much fame as a teacher. This Sulien was a native of Llanbadarn Vawr, a district which included

Aberystwyth; he was born of noble and clerical stock. While yet a child, he "edited a psalter," after which he passed through British (that is, Welsh) schools. Then, "moved by the example of the fathers" and "by the love of reading," he started out for Ireland, which was still famous for its scholarship. But the ship, driven by contrary winds, arrived in Scotland, where he studied for five years. After this he went to Ireland, where he remained for apparently thirteen years. He then came back to Ceredigion, and gained much fame as a teacher. Four sons were now born to him, whom he carefully educated—Rhygyvarch the Wise, Arthen, Daniel, and Ieuan; it was the latter who wrote the poem which gives us these interesting particulars.¹ Some time later Sulien was called to become Bishop of Vallis Rosina (that is, St. Davids), where he presided between 1072 and 1078, and again (after the murder by Scandinavian pirates of Bishop Abraham, who succeeded him), between 1080 and 1085. He died January 1, 1091, "the wisest of the Britons, and excellent for his religious life, after the most renowned teaching of his disciples, and the most skilful instruction of the congregations" (so says the Welsh Chronicle).

Several relics remain of the work of this family, such as the Life of St. David by Rhygyvarch; the Psalter of Rhygyvarch, written about 1079, of which Lawlor published an edition for the Henry Bradshaw Society in 1914; and a copy of St. Augustine's *De Trinitate* in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 199, written by Ieuan, son of Sulien, between 1085 and 1091. In the British Museum Cotton MS., Faustina C. i., too, is the poem called the "Lament of Rhygyvarch," written apparently just before the Welsh revolt of 1094, and some verses of Rhygyvarch, which Bradshaw and Lawlor think are written by his own hand.

The fortunes of this learned family may be traced in the chronicles well into the twelfth century.

¹ Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils*, i. 663 ff.

2. Rhygyvarch's life coincides with the end of an epoch in Welsh history, that of the "Ancient British Church of Wales." He saw with grief the coming of the Norman French, the permanent subjugation of large tracts of South Wales, and the approaching mergence of the Welsh Church into the province of Canterbury, which mergence was not to cease for some eight centuries, not indeed until the happy midnight of March 31, 1920.

When Rhygyvarch was born in 1057, the whole of Wales was temporally under the rule of one strong man, Gruffudd ab Llywelyn. This had continued for two years, and was not to end for another five. After the death of King Gruffudd on August 5, 1063, the various portions of Wales, such as Gwynedd, Powys, Deheubarth, Morgannwg, and some smaller districts, fell as before under the rule of separate princes; and such was the political situation in Wales when Duke William of Normandy won the battle of Hastings in 1066, our Rhygyvarch being then nine years old and probably living at Llanbadarn Vawr, a scholar under his father's roof.

The presence of the new French regime in England was immediately felt throughout Wales; for the remainder of Rhygyvarch's life it was the chief factor in Welsh history. Henceforth the whole country with its Church became the object of French aggression. As the Anglo-Saxons had been crushed to the ground, so the Britons were to be brought under. But this was easier said than done. Nor did the French through many compromises and after much intermarriage effect supremacy for more than two centuries. Yet before Rhygyvarch died, most of South Wales was to fall permanently under their sway. By 1070 the ancient principality of Gwent, the land between the Wye and the Usk, had fallen. In 1081, as the result of the battle of Mynydd Carn, near Fishguard,¹ the Welsh dynasties that

¹ *i. e.* if the *Carn* is *y Garn Vawr* in Dinas (*Y C.*, xxii. 57-8)

were to rule in south, north, and mid-Wales respectively, secured their positions, but that same year William the Conqueror paid an ominous visit to St. Davids, where doubtless Rhygyvarch saw him. Later we find Rhys ab Tewdwr, the king of "the south," paying £40 rent to the English Crown, which is the same sum as was paid by the man who held the north. In 1093 Rhys ab Tewdwr was killed whilst fighting the French conquerors of Brycheiniog, or "Brecon," after which the Welsh were in confusion, whilst the invader swept the country. Doubtless this was the occasion when Rhygyvarch wrote his pathetic "Lament." "Alas!" says he, "that life hath led us to such a time as this, wherein a cruel power threatens to oust from their rights those who walk justly. Free necks submit to the yoke. Nothing is too excellent but that I may be compelled to surrender it. Things once lofty lie despised. Both people and priest are scorned by every motion of the French. They increase our burdens and consume our goods. Parents no longer delight in their children. The youth no more delight in jests, nor pay they any heed to the poet's verse. A stupor has fallen upon the people. Righteous hands are branded with hot iron. Both women and men are mutilated. Prison and slavery are our lot, with lack of ease. Surely, it is because of our sins. So great are these, that our people refrain from taking up arms. Art thou hated of God, O British nation, that thou darest not bear the quiver, stretch the bow, wear the sword, carry the shield, vibrate the spear? Alas! an alien crowd make songs at thee. What remains but to weep, yea, to weep excessively. Such things I, Rhygyvarch, sorrowfully bewail. I mourn the sins of a wretched race. I depict the punishments of their crimes." Rhygyvarch had not long to wait. In 1094 all Wales began to rise against the oppressor; and by the time that Rhygyvarch died a settlement had been reached which was to continue for some two centuries.

Such were the circumstances amid which the Life of St. David was written, and such was the man who wrote it. He stood for the independent traditions of his Church and country against alien lack of sympathy and violence. With the death of Rhys ab Tewdwr in 1093, Canterbury in the person of Anselm, who became archbishop that year, began to interfere with the liberties of St. Davids. Anselm had actually taken upon him to suspend Wilfrid, the then bishop. We cannot but regard the Life of St. David as a protest against such high-handed proceedings. Though it proved futile for the immediate object in view, that is to say, to preserve the independence of the Church in Wales and to establish a metropolitan position for St. Davids, it has served to keep alive the remembrance that Canterbury is not the rock from which the Welsh Church was hewn or the hole of the pit from which she was digged.

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O's P. *The Description of Pembrokeshire*, by George Owen, ed. by Henry Owen, 1892-1906. This work contains numerous most valuable notes by Mr. Egerton Phillimore, who has kindly allowed me to see several pages of the as yet unpublished Part IV. For this and other friendly help from Mr. Phillimore I am deeply grateful.

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THE LIFE OF ST. DAVID

Here begins the Life of the blessed David, who also is Dewi, Bishop and Confessor. March 1st.

§ 1. OUR LORD, although he loved and foreknew all his own before the creation of the world, has foretold some by many clear revelations. Thus that saint, whom baptism calls David but the people Dewi, became famous, not only because, thirty years before he was born, he was foretold by truth-telling oracles of angels, first to his father, then to Saint Patrick, but also because he was enriched with donations of mystical gifts.

§ 2. For on a certain occasion, his father, Sant by name and merits, who relied on his royal power over the people of Ceredigion, which subsequently he laid aside to procure a heavenly kingdom, was warned in dreams by an angelic voice, which he heard, "To-morrow on waking thou shalt go hunting, and having killed a stag near a river, thou shalt find there three gifts by the river Teivi, namely, the stag which thou pursuest, a fish, and a swarm of bees settled in a tree in the place which is called Llyn Henllan. Of these three, therefore, reserve a honeycomb, a part of the fish, and of the stag, which send to be kept for a son, who shall be born to thee, to the Monastery of *Maucannus*," which till now is called the Monastery of the Deposit. These gifts foretell his life, for the honeycomb proclaims his wisdom, for as honey in wax, so he held a spiritual mind in a temporal body. And the fish declares his aquatic life,

for as a fish lives in water, so he, rejecting wine and beer and everything that can intoxicate, led a blessed life in God on bread and water only, wherefore David is also named "of the Aquatic Life." The stag signifies his power over the Old Serpent, for as a stag, having deprived serpents of their food, seeks a fountain of water and is refreshed as in youth with the strength received, so he, borne on high as on stags' feet, deprived the Old Serpent of the human race of his power of hurting him and fled to the fountain of life with constant flowings of tears, and, being renewed from day to day, so brought it to pass that in the name of the Holy Trinity, by the frugality of moderate repasts, he began to have saving knowledge [and] the power of governing demons.

§ 3. Then Patrick, polished with Roman learning and teeming with excellences, having been made a bishop, sought the people from whom he had lived in exile, among whom he might by unwearied toil replenish the lamp of fruitful endeavour by a double portion of the oil of charity, unwilling to place the same under a bushel, but on a stand that it might shine on all to the glory of the universal Father. He came to the country of the people of Ceredigion, wherein he sojourned a little while. He enters *Demetica rura*, the country of Dyved, and there wandering about arrived at length at the place which was named Vallis Rosina; and perceiving that the place was pleasant, he vowed to serve God faithfully there. But when he was revolving these things in his mind, an angel of the Lord appeared to him. "God," said he, "hath not disposed this place for thee, but for a son who is not yet born, nor will he be born until thirty years are past." On hearing these words Saint Patrick grieved and was confounded, and in anger he exclaimed, "Why hath the Lord despised his servant who has served him from his infancy with fear and love? Why hath he chosen another not yet born into this

light nor will be born for thirty years?" And he prepared to fly, and to abandon his Lord, Jesus Christ, saying, "Inasmuch as my labour is reduced to nothing in the sight of my Lord, and one is preferred before me, who is not yet born, I will go and submit no longer to such toil." But the Lord loved Patrick much, and sent to him his angel to coax him with kindly words, saying to him, "Rejoice, Patrick, for the Lord hath sent me to thee that I may show thee the whole of the island of Ireland from the seat which is in Vallis Rosina" which now is named "the Seat of Patrick." And the angel says to him, "Exult, Patrick, for thou shalt be the apostle of the whole of that island which thou seest, and thou shalt suffer many things in it for the name of the Lord thy God, but the Lord will be with thee in all things which thou shalt do, for as yet it has not received the word of life; and there thou oughtest to do good; there the Lord has prepared a seat for thee; there thou shalt shine in signs and miracles, and thou shalt subdue the whole people to God. Let this be to thee for a sign. I will show thee the whole island. Let the mountains be bent; the sea shall be made smooth; the eye bearing forth across all things, looking out from [this] place, shall behold the promise." At these words he raised his eyes from the place in which he was standing, which now is called "the Seat of Patrick," and beheld the whole island. At length the mind of Patrick was appeased, and he cheerfully quitted the sacred spot for holy David; and preparing a ship in Porth Mawr, he raised from the dead a certain old man, Criumther by name, who for twelve years had lain buried by that shore; and Patrick sailed for Ireland, taking with him the man he had just raised from the dead, who afterwards was made a bishop.

§ 4. When the aforesaid thirty years were done, divine power sent Sant, king of the country of Ceredigion, as far as a community of the people of Dyved. And the king

met a nun, a virgin called Nonnita, a very beautiful and graceful girl, whom desiring he took by force and violated. And she conceived her son, holy David, who neither before nor after knew a man, but, continuing in chastity of mind and body, led a most faithful life, for from that time of conception she lived on bread and water only. In the place wherein she conceived on being forced, there lies a small level space, pleasing to the sight, and well supplied with moisture from above. On this level space at that time of her conception two great stones appeared, one for the head and the other for the feet, which had not formerly been seen. For the earth, rejoicing at her conception, opened its breast that it might both preserve the modesty of the girl and foretell the importance of her offspring.

§ 5. As her womb was growing, the mother, for the purpose of offering alms and oblations for childbirth according to correct custom, enters a certain church to hear the preaching of the Gospel, which Saint Gildas, son of Caw, used to preach in the time of King Triphunus and his sons. When the mother had entered, Gildas became suddenly dumb, as if his throat were closed, and was silent. When asked by the people why he had stopped preaching and was mute, he replied, "I am able to speak to you in ordinary conversation, but preach I cannot. But go you out, and cause me to abide alone that so perhaps I may be able to preach." When, therefore, the congregation had gone outside, the mother secreted herself in a corner and lay hid, not that she would disobey the order, but thirsting with vehement desire for the precepts of life she remained to demonstrate the status of her mighty offspring. Then even a second time, trying with all the effort of his heart, restrained from heaven he prevailed nothing. Being frightened at this he speaks out in a high voice. "I adjure thee," says he, "if any one lies hid from me, that thou shouldest show thyself from thy hiding-place." Then she answering said, "I lie

hid here between the door and the wall." But he relying on divine providence said, "Go thou outside, but let the people re-enter the church." And every one came into his seat as before, and Gildas preached clearly as from a trumpet. And the congregation asked holy Gildas saying, "Why couldest thou not the first time preach the Gospel of Christ to us, anxious to listen?" And Gildas answered and said, "Call hither the nun, who went outside the church." And when the mother was questioned, she confessed that she was pregnant, and Saint Nonnita said, "Lo, I am with you." But he said, "The son, who is in the womb of that nun, has grace and power and rank greater than I, because God has given him status and sole rule and primacy over all the saints of Britannia for ever, before and after judgment. Farewell, brothers and sisters. I am not able to abide here longer owing to the son of this nun, because to him is delivered sole rule over all the people of this island, and it is necessary for me to go to another island, and to leave the whole of Britannia to this woman's son." One thing was clearly manifest to all, that she was about to bring forth into the world one who in honourable status, effulgent wisdom, and eloquent speech would excel all the doctors of Britannia.

§ 6. In the meantime there was a certain tyrant in the neighbourhood, who had heard from a prophecy of the druids, that a son was about to be born within his borders, whose power would fill the whole country. He, who, intent on earthly things only, deemed his highest good to consist in these lowest, was tortured with black envy. And so the place, where subsequently the son was born, being made known by the revelations of the druids, he said, "Alone will I sit above the spot for so many days, and whomsoever I shall find resting there or thereabouts shall fall and die by my sword." These things being so determined upon, and the nine months having elapsed whereby the time of birth

was at hand, the mother on a day went forth along that path where the place of child-bearing was, which the tyrant was watching in accordance with the druids' prognostic. And as the time for bringing forth was urgent, the mother sought the aforesaid spot. But on that day there prevailed such a storm of wind that none could even go out of doors, for there was a vast display of lightning, a dreadful clangour of thunder, and great floods caused by hailstorms and rain. But the place, wherein the mother cried in her travail, shone with so serene a light that it glistened as though the sun was visible and God had brought it in front of the clouds. The mother in her labour had a certain stone close by, whereon, when urged by pain, she had leaned with her hands, for which reason the stone shows to those who examine it traces impressed as on wax. Dividing in the middle, it condoled with the sorrowing mother, one part leaping above the nun's head as far as her feet, when the child-bearer was bringing forth. In this place a church is situated, and in the foundation of its altar this stone lies covered.

§ 7. Again, when he was baptized by Aelvyw, bishop of the people of Mynyw (or of the people of Munster), a fountain of clearest water, bursting forth, suddenly appeared in that place for the administration of baptism, which had never been seen before. Moreover, it cured the eyes of a blind monk, who held him while he was baptized; for that blind saint, who, so it is said, had been born from his mother's womb without nostril and without eyes, perceiving that the infant, which he held in his bosom, was full of the grace of the Holy Ghost, took the water, wherein the body of the holy infant had been thrice dipped, and sprinkled his own face with it three times, and, sooner than said, he joyfully received the sight of his eyes and the full completion of his countenance. And all who were present glorified the Lord and holy David on that day.

§ 8. The place where holy David was educated is called *Vetus Rubus*, Hen Vynyw; and he grew up full of grace, and lovely to behold. And there it was that holy David learned the alphabet, the psalms, the lessons for the whole year, the masses, and the synaxis; and there his fellow-disciples saw a pigeon with a gold beak playing at his lips, and teaching him, and singing hymns of God.

§ 9. But it was at a subsequent time, when his virtuous merits had increased, he having preserved his flesh pure from the embraces of a wife, that he was made priest and raised to sacerdotal dignity.

§ 10. After this he went to Paulens (or Paulinus) the scribe, a disciple of St. Germanus the bishop, who in a certain island was leading a life pleasing to God, and who taught him in the three parts of reading until he was a scribe. And Saint David tarried there many years reading and fulfilling what he read.

§ 11. And it happened while the holy David was with the master, Paulens, that the latter lost the sight of his eyes by reason of an intense pain in them. And he summoned all his disciples in succession that they might look into his eyes and bless them, and they did as he had commanded them, and received relief from none of them. At last he invited the holy David to him, and said to him, "Holy David, examine my eyes, for they pain me much." And the holy David answered and said, "My father, bid me not to look on thy countenance, for these ten years I have laboured at scripture with thee, and so far I have not glanced at thy face." And Paulens, admiring his excessive modesty, says, "As it is so, it will suffice that thou bless my eyes with a touch and I shall be well." And straightway, as he touched them, they were healed in the twinkling of an eye; and when the blindness of his eyes had been expelled, the master received the light which had been removed. Then thanks are rendered to God; and Paulens (or Paulinus)

blessed holy David with all the blessings which are written in the Old Testament and in the New.

§ 12. Not long after an angel appeared to Paulens. "It is time" (said he) "that holy David should double his talents by merchandize, and consign the talent of wisdom entrusted to him not to the earth, digging indolently with the slow languor of sloth, but augment the money which he has received of his Lord, with a larger increment of gain, so that he, appointed thereto, might, by amassing bundles of souls for the heavenly barns of eternal blessedness, bring them into the joy of the Lord." For from what numbers, after ploughing with the nail of exhortation and sowing with the seed of wheat, did he obtain the fruit of good harvest, of some indeed a hundred-fold, of others sixty-fold, of others thirty-fold! For not ploughing equally, with much force in the case of an ox and with less in the case of an ass, administering the strong meat of life to some and the milk of pious exhortation to others, confining some within the barriers of a monastic cloister and weaning others, who followed a broader life and whom he exhorted with divers instructions, from the deceitful lusts of worldly pleasures, he became all things to all men.

§ 13. For he founded twelve monasteries to the praise of God: first, arriving at Glastonbury, he built a church there; then he came to Bath, and there causing deadly water to become salutary with a blessing, he endowed it with perpetual heat, rendering it fit for people to bathe; afterwards he came to Croyland, and Repton; thence to Colva, and Glascwm, and he had with him a two-headed altar; after that he founded the monastery of Leominster; afterwards in the region of Gwent, in a place which is called Raglan, he built a church; then he founded a monastery in a place which is called Llan Gyvelach, in the region of Gower, in which, afterwards, he received the altar, which was sent to him. Also he cured Peibio, the blind king of

Erging, by restoring light to his eyes. Moreover, two saints, *Boducat* and *Maitrun*, in the province of Cedweli, submitted to him.

§ 14. When, therefore, these had been founded in the usual way, and what was of use for canonical discipline had been arranged, and a rule for the monastic life had been established, he returned to the place, whence he had previously started forth on his wanderings, that is, to *Vetus Rubus*, Hen Vynyw. And bishop Guistilianus, his *fratruehis*, sojourned there; and as they comforted one another with religious talk, Saint David said, "An angel of the Lord hath spoken to me saying, 'From the place where thou dost propose to serve, scarcely one in a hundred will be able to escape to the kingdom of God.' And he hath shown me a place whence few shall go to hell, for everyone who shall have been buried in the cemetery of that place in sound faith shall obtain mercy."

§ 15. On a certain day David and his three most faithful disciples, accompanied by a great throng of fellow-disciples, meet together, to wit, Aeddan, Eiludd and Ysvael, and with one mind they go together to the place which the angel had mentioned beforehand, that is, Vallis Rosina, which the Britons commonly call Hodnant, in which place, when the first hearth had been kindled in the name of the Lord, the smoke rose upwards, and circling round filled, as it seemed, the whole of the island and Ireland besides.

§ 16. In the vicinity near the spot there was a certain chieftain and druid, called Bwya, an Irishman, who sitting within the walls of his citadel whilst the beams of the sun were scattered over the world, trembled at the sight of such a portent and was overcome; and he was stirred with such resentment that he forgot his meal and spent the whole day grieving. To whom his wife came and asked why in so unwonted a manner he had forgotten his repast. "Why so sad and cast down," said she, "art thou grieving in thyself?"

To this he answered, "I grieve to have seen smoke rising from Vallis Rosina, which encircled the whole country, for I hold it as certain that the kindler of that fire shall excel all in power and renown in every part that the smoke of his sacrifice has encircled even to the end of the world, for that smoke as by a token predicts his fame." His wife, enraged, said to him, "Arise, and take a troop of servants, and with drawn swords follow up that man and his servants who have dared such an offence as to kindle fire on thy lands without thy bidding, and destroy them all." Bwya and his followers arrived to slay David and his disciples, but a fever suddenly took them as they proceeded on their way, and they were powerless to kill David or his attendants, but they blasphemed the Lord and holy David, and uttered evil words, for the wish to injure was not wanting, although the power to act was thwarted by the will of the Eternal and rendered void. When they had returned thence home, they met his wife, who said, "Our cattle and beasts of burden and sheep and all the stock are dead." And Bwya and his wife and all his household lamented bitterly, and they all wailed together and said, "That saint and his disciples, whom we blasphemed, have caused the death of our cattle. Let us, therefore, turn back, and asking for mercy on bended knees, let us pray the servant of God that he may so perchance pity us and the cattle." And they return and approach the servant of God, and ask for mercy with tears and entreaties. "The land," say they, "whereon thou art, shall be thine for ever." And Bwya gave that day to holy David the whole of Vallis Rosina for a perpetual possession. And David, the servant of God, answered kindly, "Your cattle," said he, "shall be restored to life." And Bwya, when he returned home, found his cattle alive and well.

§ 17. Next day his wife, inflamed by malicious envy, called together her female slaves. "Go you," said she,

“to the river which is called Alun, and display your naked bodies in the sight of the saints, and indulge in lewd talk.” The female slaves obey, they make shameless sport, they simulate coition, they display love’s alluring embraces. They entice the minds of some of the monks to wanton thoughts, and cause unrest in those of others. But all his disciples, unable to endure this intolerable affront, said to holy David, “Let us fly from this place because we cannot dwell here owing to the molestation of these spiteful sluts.” But the father, Saint David, firm in patient long-suffering, whose purpose was neither dissolved when softened by prosperity, nor terrified when weakened by adversity, “Know,” said he, “that the world hates you, but understand that the people of Israel, accompanied by the ark of the covenant, when they entered the land of promise, having been beaten in successive perilous battles but not overcome, destroyed the people dwelling near and the uncircumcised, which struggle by a clear token indicates our victory. For he, who seeks the promise of the heavenly country, must needs be wearied with adversities and yet not overcome, but at the last with Christ as comrade conquer the unclean stain of vices. We ought, therefore, not to be overcome of evil, but to overcome evil with good, because if Christ is for us, who is against us? Be strong, therefore, in a war which may be won, lest your enemy rejoice in your flight. We ought to remain, and Bwya to leave.” With these words he strengthened the hearts of the disciples, and that night David fasted and his disciples till the morning.

§ 18. That day Bwya’s wife said to her stepdaughter, “Let us go together to the valley of the Alun and let us look for its *cucumeri*, that we may find nuts in them.” And she humbly answered her stepmother, “Behold, I am ready.” They went together to the bottom of the aforesaid valley, and when they had arrived there, the stepmother sat down and spoke softly to her stepdaughter, Dunod by name:

“Place thy head in my lap, for I wish quietly to examine thy locks.” And the guileless girl, who from her infancy had lived piously and chastely amid crowds of the worst women, bends her inoffensive head on the lap of her step-mother. But that savage stepmother quickly drew forth her knife, and cut off the head of that most happy virgin. Her blood flowed on the earth, and there sprang up from that spot a clear running fountain, which has healed in abundance many human sicknesses; which spot the people call to this day Merthyr Dunod. The stepmother fled from Bwya, and no one under heaven knows by what death she ended her life. And so Bwya the chieftain wept bitterly, but David with his disciples sang praises to the eternal God.

§ 19. And so Bwya resolved to destroy holy David, but his enemy, *Lisci* by name, the son of *Paucaut*, cut off his head in his citadel, for his gate lay open at daybreak, when his enemy arrived unexpectedly from his ship; and soon fire fell from heaven and speedily burnt up the whole of his building. Let no one doubt that it was the Lord for his servant, David's, sake, who struck down Bwya and his wife. For it is meet that destruction should overtake him, who was threatening with slaughter the man of God, and that he who was pitiless to the servants of God should suffer vengeance without pity.

§ 20. The malice of enemies having thus been expelled by the good God, the monastic community in the Lord built a notable monastery in the place, which the angel had foreshown.

§ 21. And when everything was completed, the saintly father decreed with fervour such rigour of cenobitical purpose that every monk should toil at daily labour, and spend his life in common, working with his hands, “for he who labours not,” says the apostle, “let him not eat.” For knowing that untroubled rest was the fomenter and

mother of vices, he subjected the shoulders of the monks to divine fatigues. For those, who bend thought and time to leisurely repose, generate an unstable spirit of apathy and restless incitements to lust.

§ 22. Therefore with increasing zeal they labour with hand and foot; they place the yoke on their shoulders; with unwearied arm they dig into the ground mattocks and spades; they carry in their saintly hands hoes and saws for cutting; they provide with their own labour all the necessities of the community. Possessions they regard with disdain; they reject the gifts of the unjust; they detest riches. No care of oxen is introduced for ploughing. Each to himself and the brethren is riches, each too an ox. When work was done, no complaint was heard, no conversation was held beyond what was necessary. But each did the task enjoined either with prayer or well-directed meditation.

§ 23. When outside labour was finished, they returned to the cells of the monastery, and spent the whole day till evening in reading or writing or praying. On the approach of evening, when the stroke of the bell was heard, each one left his study, for if the stroke should sound in the ears of anyone, the top of a letter having been written or even half the form of that letter, they rose up the more quickly and left their tasks, and thus in silence proceeded to church without any idle talk. When the chanting of the psalms is done, the voice being in accord with the intention of the heart, they worship on bended knees until the stars are seen in heaven bringing the day to a close. The father alone, after all had gone out, poured forth a prayer in secret to God for the state of the Church.

§ 24. At length they assemble at table. They relieve, each one, their wearied limbs, refreshed by partaking of supper, not however to excess, for too much, though it be of bread only, produces wantonness, but on that occasion they all take supper in accordance with the varying con-

dition of their bodies and ages. Not dishes of various tastes lie before them or too dainty provisions, but having fed on bread and herbs seasoned with salt, they assuage ardent thirst with a temperate sort of drink. On that occasion they provide for the sick and those advanced in age, and even those wearied with a long journey, some refreshments of a more appetising sort, for one must not weigh out to all in equal measure.

§ 25. After giving of thanks, they go to the church at the canonical ringing, and there they are insistent in watchings, prayers, and genuflexions for about three hours. As long as they prayed in church, none dared unrestrainedly to yawn, none to sneeze, none to spit.

§ 26. These things being so done, they compose their limbs for sleep. Waking at cockcrow, they devote themselves to prayer on bended knee, and then spend the whole day without sleep from morning till night. And in like manner they serve through other nights.

§ 27. From the eve of the sabbath until after dawn light shall have begun in the first hour of the Lord's Day they apply themselves to watchings, prayers, and genuflexions, one hour then excepted after the matins of the sabbath.

§ 28. They open out their thoughts to the father, and obtain the father's permission even for the requirements of nature. All things are common. Nothing is "mine" or "thine," for anyone who should say either "my book" or what not, would straightway be subjected to hard penance. They were wont to wear mean garments, especially skins. Obedience was not lacking to the father's order. There was exceeding perseverance in doing what was to be done. There was uprightness in all.

§ 29. For he who, desiring this manner of saintly living, should ask to enter the community of the brethren, would first remain for ten days at the doors of the monastery as

one rejected, being subjected also to reproachful words. But if he stood his ground, duly exercising patience till the tenth day, he was first received under the elder who by authority presided over the entrance and served him. And when he had toiled there for a long time, many antipathies of his soul being broken, he was at length deemed worthy of entering the society of the brethren.

§ 30. No superfluity was allowed; voluntary poverty was loved. For whosoever desired their mode of life, the saintly father would receive none of his substance, which he had parted with in renouncing the world, not even one penny, so to speak, for the use of the monastery. But being received naked, as one escaping from shipwreck, he might in no way extol or raise himself among the brethren, or relying on his wealth fail to enter upon equal toil with the brethren. Nor, vacillating as to the way of religion, might he extort by force what he left to the monastery, and move to wrath the patience of the brethren.

§ 31. The father himself pouring forth fountains of tears daily, irradiating with censured holocausts of prayers, and blazing with a double flame of charity, consecrated with pure hands the due oblation of the Lord's Body, and thus after matins proceeded alone to angelic discourse. After this he immediately used to seek cold water, in which by lingering a long while wet he subdued every heat of the flesh. Afterwards he was wont to spend the whole day, unshaken and unwearied, in teaching, praying, and genuflecting, in care for the brethren, and also in feeding a multitude of the bereft, orphans, widows, the needy, the weak, the infirm, and pilgrims. So he began, continued, and ended. As for the rest of his severe living, although necessary for imitation, the intended shortness of this little work forbids us to set it forth. But imitating the Egyptian monks he led a life similar to theirs.

§ 32. When, therefore, the report of holy David's good

name was heard, kings and princes of this world abandon their kingdoms and seek his monastery. Hence it was that Constantine, king of the Cornishmen, abandoned his kingdom and bent the necks of his pride, untamed before, in humble obedience in the monastery of this father. And when he had followed this mode of life for a long time in faithful service, he at length founded a monastery in another far-off country.

But seeing that we have said enough of his manner of life, let us now return again to his miracles.

§ 33. On a certain day when the brethren were assembled together, they complain, saying, "This place of yours," say they, "has waters in winter, but in summer scarcely does the river flow in a tiny stream." Having heard this, the holy father started out and arrived at a place very near, where an angel was wont to talk with him ; and praying there hard and long, with eyes raised to heaven, he asked for the water needed. With the voice of his praying there flowed a fountain of clearest water. And because the country was not fruitful in vines, it was turned into wine for the use of the sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood, so that in his time it never lacked pure wine, a most worthy gift to such a man from the Lord God. But we know of other sweet waters too, given by the disciples in imitation of the father, serviceable for human use and health.

§ 34. Also, on a day, a certain rustic, named *Terdi*, praying and beseeching much, sought from him services of love, saying, "Our land is drained dry of water, wherefore we have a laborious journey to get water, for the river is a long way off." The holy father, pitying the need of his neighbours, humbly started forth, believing that he could find water by the suppliant request of his prayer and by his most humble compassion. Starting out, therefore, and opening a little bit of the surface of the soil with the point of his bachall, a most clear fountain gushed forth, which, bubbling

up in a continual vein, supplies the coldest water in time of heat.

§ 35. On another occasion while Saint Aeddan, his disciple, chanced to be reading out of doors to confirm what he had received of doctrine, the prior of the monastery came and bade him take two oxen and go bring timber from the valley, for the wood was situated at a distance. Aeddan, the disciple, obeyed sooner than the word, without even stopping to close the book, and made for the wood. When the timber was made ready and placed on the animals, he took the road back. Now as the road on which he travelled led to a steep precipice, the oxen were hurled into the sea together with the vehicle. As they are rushing over, he makes the sign of the cross over them, and so it was that he received the oxen safe and sound from the waves, together with the vehicle, and joyfully proceeded on his way. While he journeyed, there begins such a deluge of rain that the ditches flowed in torrents. When the journey was done, and the oxen released from toil, he goes where he had left the book and finds it open and uninjured by the rain even as he left it. Whilst the brethren were listening to these events, both the grace of the father and the humility of the disciple were equally extolled. For the grace of the father pointed to the book, untouched by the rain and preserved for the obedient disciple, whilst the humility of the disciple preserves the oxen safe for the father.

§ 36. When Saint Aeddan had been fully instructed, being potent in virtues and thoroughly purified from vices, he made for Ireland. And having constructed a monastery there, which in the Irish language is called *Guernin*, Ferns, he led a most holy life.

§ 37. When on an Easter Eve he was the more earnestly engaged in prayer, an angel appeared to him, saying, "Knowest thou that to-morrow at meal-time poison will be placed by certain of the brethren before the venerable Saint

David, to wit, thy father?" Saint Aeddan answered and said, "I know it not." The angel said to him, "Send one of the servants to the father to tell him." Saint Aeddan answered and said, "Neither is there a ship ready, nor is the wind right for sailing." The angel said to him, "Let thy fellow-disciple, called *Scutinus*, proceed to the sea-shore, for I will bear him across thither." The disciple obeys and goes to the shore, and enters the water to his knee. And a monster took him and carried him across to the confines of the monastery.

§ 38. When the solemnities of Easter were over, the holy father, Saint David, goes to the refectory to a meal with the brethren. There met him his former disciple, *Scutinus*, who told him all the things which had been done against him and what the angel had enjoined concerning him. They joyfully recline together in the refectory, giving thanks to God. When prayer was ended, up rose the deacon, who had been wont to minister to the father, and placed on the table the bread prepared with poison, the cellarer and the prior consenting to the same. *Scutinus*, who has also another name, *Scolanus*, stood up and said, "To-day, brother, you will perform no service to the father, for I myself will do it." The deacon withdrew in confusion, being conscious of the crime, and rigid with astonishment. And holy David took the poisoned bread, and dividing it into three parts, gave one to a little dog which stood outside by the door, and as soon as it had tasted the bit it died a wretched death, for in the twinkling of an eye all its hair fell off, so that its entrails burst forth, its skin splitting all over; and all the brethren who saw it were astonished. And holy David threw the second part to a raven, which was in its nest in an ash, which was between the refectory and the river on the south side, and as soon as it touched it with its beak, it fell lifeless from the tree. But the third part holy David held in his hand, and blessed, and he ate

it with giving of thanks, and all the brethren looked at him, amazed with wonder, for about three hours. He dauntless preserved his life intact, no sign of the deadly poison appearing. And holy David told his brethren everything which had been done by the three men aforesaid. And all the brethren stood up and lamented aloud, and cursed those treacherous men, to wit, the prior, the cellarer, and the deacon, and damned them and their successors, declaring with one voice that they should never have a part in the heavenly kingdom throughout eternity.

§ 39. At another time too, when among others that most faithful abbot of the Irish, whose name was *Barre*, had an unquenchable desire to visit the relics of the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, and undertook with unwearied feet the journey devoted to pilgrimage, after he had completed his salutary vow and was returning to the enclosures of his monastery, he visited the holy man, Saint David; and having sojourned there a little while by request in holy intercourse, he was delayed for a longer period, for the ship, wherein he had made ready to revisit his native land, was hindered by lack of winds. Fearing lest there should arise contentions, strifes, and quarrels among the brethren in the absence of their abbot, the bond of charity being relaxed, even as bees, when the king is destroyed, pull asunder and ruin the stores of honeycombs, which they had secured with firm fastening, he searched with anxious mind and found a wondrous path. For on a day he asked for the horse whereon the holy father, David, had been wont to ride for ecclesiastical purposes, and obtained leave. Having received the father's blessing he goes to the harbour, enters the sea, and putting his trust in the blessing of the father and the support of the horse he uses it for a ship, inasmuch as the horse ploughed through the swelling masses of the waves as through a level field.

§ 40. As he was proceeding further into the sea, he

appeared where Saint Brendan was leading a wondrous life on a marine animal. When Saint Brendan saw a man horse-riding in the sea, he was astonished and said, "God is wonderful in his saints." The horseman drew near where he was, so that they were able to exchange greetings. When they had saluted one another, Brendan asks whence he was, and from whom he had come, and how he rode a horse in the sea. *Barre*, after having narrated to him the causes of his pilgrimage, said, "Since the vessel's delay kept me from my brethren, the holy father, David, gave me the horse whereon he had been wont to ride that thereby I might satisfy my need, and so, fortified by his blessing, I entered on such a journey." Brendan said to him, "Go in peace, I will come and see him." *Barre* arrived in his native land, his journey unbroken, and narrated to the brethren who met him what things had been done. They kept the horse in the service of the monastery till its death. But after its death they made a painted image of the horse as a memorial of the miracle, which even till now may be found in the island of the Irish, covered with gold. It is also renowned for the number of its miracles.

§ 41. On another occasion also, his other disciple, *Modmnuoc* by name, was excavating a road with the brethren on the steep near the confines of the monastery, whereby an easier access might be made for wayfarers to convey their burdens of necessities. He said to one of those who were working, "Why dost thou work so lazily and so slowly?" The man, stirred by the spirit of anger against him who said the words, lifted up the iron which he held in his hand, to wit, a two-edged axe, and attempted to strike him on the head. The holy father, David, saw this from a distance, and raised his hand towards them, making the sign of the cross; and so the hand of him striking was withered.

§ 42. But almost a third part or fourth of Ireland is subject

to David the Waterman, where Maeddog was, who also from infancy is Aeddan, to whom Saint David gave a little bell, which is called "Crueidin." But he, sailing to Ireland, forgot his little bell. And Maeddog sent a messenger to holy David that he might send the dear little bell across to him. And Saint David said, "Go, boy, to thy master." And it was done while that messenger was returning. And lo, the little bell on the morrow was alongside of the renowned Aeddan, an angel carrying it across the sea before his messenger had arrived.

§ 43. After that the aforesaid *Modomnoc* had devoted himself for a long lapse of years to the humility of obedience, his virtuous merits increasing, he sought the island of Ireland. The whole multitude of bees followed the ship which he had entered and settled with him in the ship, where he had sat down, on the ship's prow. For as he attended on the bees' quarters, he paid heed with the rest of the work of the brotherhood to the hives in rearing the young of the swarms, whereby he might procure some luxuries of sweeter food for those in need. He, loath to defraud the fraternal community, returned, re-appearing in the presence of the holy father, and attended by the swarm of bees, which flew to their own quarters. David blessed him for his humility. Then bidding farewell to the father and brethren, and being saluted, he went away, but again the bees follow him. And it so happened that, whenever he started forth, they also followed. Again, a third time, he sailed for a while, and it happened as before. The swarms followed him, and he returned to David thrice. On the third occasion holy David dismissed *Modomnoc* to sail with the bees, and he blessed them, saying, "May the land to which ye hasten abound with your offspring. Never may your progeny be wanting in it. Our monastery will be deserted for ever by you. Never shall your offspring grow up in it." That this has continued till now we have learnt

by experience, for we find swarms imported into the monastery of this father, but they, remaining there a little while, gradually cease. Ireland, however, wherein never could bees exist till that time, is enriched with abundance of honey. And so by the blessing of the holy father they have multiplied in the island of Ireland, since it is agreed that they could by no means exist there at first, for if you should cast Irish earth or stone in the midst of bees, they would shun it greatly, being scattered and flying away.

§ 44. As his merits increased, his offices of honour increased also. For one night an angel visited him, and said to him, "To-morrow thou wilt gird thyself. Put on thy shoes. Start to go to Jerusalem. Undertake the desired journey. But two others will I call also to be thy companions on the way, to wit, Eiludd," who is now commonly called Teilo, who formerly was a monk in his monastery, "and Padarn," whose life and miracles are contained in his history. The holy father, wondering at the word of command, said, "How shall this be, for the comrades whom thou dost promise are distant by the space of three days, or as many more, from us and from themselves? By no means, therefore, shall we come together to-morrow." The angel informs him, "I will go this night to each of them, and they shall assemble at the place appointed, which I now shew." Saint David, making no delay, settled what was necessary for the monastery, received the blessing of the brethren, and started on his way early in the morning. He arrives at the appointed place, finds there the promised brethren, and together they enter on the journey. Their pilgrimage is on terms of equality, for none in mind is prior to another, each of them being servant, each being master. They persevere in prayer, and water the way with tears. The further the foot proceeded, the reward increased, they being one as to their mind, one in joy, one in sorrow.

§ 45. When they had sailed over the Britannic sea and

were come into the Gauls and were hearing the strange languages of diverse nations, father David was endowed with the gift of tongues like that apostolic gathering of old, lest when in need among foreign peoples they might want an interpreter, and also that they might confirm the faith of others with the word of truth.

§ 46. At length they arrive at the confines of the desired city, Jerusalem. On the night before their arrival an angel appeared to the Patriarch in a dream, saying, "Three catholic men are coming from the limits of the west, whom thou art to receive with joy and the grace of hospitality, and to consecrate for me to the episcopate." The Patriarch made ready three most honourable seats, and when the saints came into the city he rejoiced with great joy and received them graciously into the seats which had been prepared. After indulging in spiritual conversation, they return thanks to God. Then supported by the divine choice, he promotes holy David to the archiepiscopate.

§ 47. When these things were ended, the Patriarch addressed them, and said, "Obey my voice, and attend to what I direct. The power of the Jews (says he) grows strong against the Christians. They alarm us, they reject the faith. Attend ye, therefore, and go preach daily that their vehemence, being confuted, may quiet down, knowing that the Christian faith is spread abroad to the limits of the west and sounded forth to the utmost parts of the earth." They obey the command. They preach, each of them, every day. Their preaching becomes acceptable. Many come together to the faith. Others they strengthen.

§ 48. When all things are done, they undertake to return to their native land. Then it was that the Patriarch presented father David with four gifts, to wit, a consecrated Altar, whereon he was wont to consecrate the Lord's Body, which, potent in innumerable miracles, has never been seen by men from the death of its pontiff, but covered with skin

veils, lies hidden away. Also, a remarkable Bell, which too is renowned for miracles. A Bachall. And a Tunic woven with gold. The Bachall, resplendent with glorious miracles, is extolled throughout the whole of our country for its wonders. "But because," said the Patriarch, "they are a labour for you to carry on the journey, whilst going back to your country, return in peace. I shall send them over after you." They bid farewell to the father, and come to their native land. They severally await the promise of the Patriarch and receive their gifts sent to them through angels, David in the monastery called Llan Gyvelach, Padarn and Eiludd in their respective monasteries. Therefore it is that the common people call them gifts from heaven.

§ 49. Because after the aid of Saint Germanus for the second time the Pelagian heresy was reviving, introducing the vigour of its stubbornness, like the venom of a poisonous serpent, into the inmost joints of the country, there gathers a universal synod of all the bishops of Britannia. Accordingly, one hundred and eighteen bishops having assembled, there came an innumerable multitude of presbyters, abbots, and other orders, kings, princes, laics, men and women, so that this vast army covered all the places round about. The bishops whisper among themselves, saying, "So great is the multitude that not only a voice, but even a trumpet's call will fail to sound into the ears of everybody. Consequently almost the whole of the people will be unaffected (or alienated) by the preaching, and will carry the heretical taint back with them as they return home." It is arranged, therefore, to preach to the people in this manner, that a heap of garments should be piled up on high ground, whereon one should stand and preach from above; and whosoever should be endowed with such gift of speech that his discourse sounded into the ears of all, who stood afar off, should be made with universal consent metropolitan archbishop. Then at the appointed place, the name of

which is Brevi, they endeavour to preach on a raised tower of garments, but scarcely does speech, being swallowed as it were in the throat, reach the very nearest. The people wait for the word, but the most part hear it not. One after another tries to expound, but they avail nothing. The difficulty increases. They fear the people will return to their homes with the heresy undiscussed. "We have preached," say they, "and have no gain. And so our labour is rendered void." One of the bishops, called Paulinus, rises, with whom the pontiff, Saint David, had formerly read, and says, "There is one, made bishop by the Patriarch, who has not yet appeared at our synod, an eloquent man, full of grace, approved in religion, who has an angel as comrade, a lovable man, pleasing in feature, distinguished in form, upright in stature of four cubits. My advice, therefore, is that you invite him."

§ 50. Messengers are forthwith sent. They come to the holy bishop. They announce for what purpose they had arrived. The holy bishop refuses, saying, "Let no one tempt me. What they cannot do, who am I that I can do it? I acknowledge my lowliness. Depart ye in peace." Messengers are sent a second and third time, but neither so does he consent. At last the most holy men and the most faithful brethren, Daniel and Dubricius, are sent. Saint David, the bishop, foreseeing this by the spirit of prophecy, says to his brethren, "To-day, brethren, most holy men are visiting us. Receive them with a joyful mind. Procure fishes with bread and water." The brethren arrive. They salute one another. They enter into holy conversation. A meal is placed before them. They affirm that never will they eat in his monastery unless he returns with them to the synod. To this the saint replied, "Refuse you I cannot. Eat, and we will visit the synod together, but I am unable to preach on the occasion. Yet with prayers I shall bring what little help I may."

§ 51. They start out and arrive at a place very near to the synod, and lo ! they hear lamentable mourning close by. Says the saint to his companions, "I will go where this great wailing may be." His companions answered and said, "We will go to the assembly lest our delay vexes those who are waiting for us." But the man of God went forward and came to the place where the lamentation was, by the river Teivi. And lo ! a widowed mother was watching over the body of her dead boy, who was called Magnus. Blessed David consoled the mother and comforted her with salutary admonitions, but she, having heard of his fame, threw herself at his feet, and begged with distressing appeals that he should have pity on her. The man of God, having compassion on human weakness, went near to the body of the deceased, and watered the face with tears, and threw himself on the body of the dead, and prayed to the Lord, and said, "O Lord, my God, who didst descend into this world for us sinners from the bosom of the Father to redeem us from the jaws of the old enemy, have pity on this widow, and restore life to her only son, and breathe into him the breath of life, that Thy name may be magnified in all the earth." Then the limbs became warm, the soul returned, the body stirred. And taking the boy's hand, he restored him alive and well to his mother. The mother turns her sad weeping into joyful tears and says, "To me my son was dead, but to thee and God let him live henceforth." The holy man took the boy and placed on his shoulders the copy of the Gospel which he always carried on his breast, and caused him to go with him to the synod. Afterward, as long as he lived, he led a holy life for many years. And all, who beheld that miracle, praised the Lord and holy David.

§ 52. Then he enters the synod. The company of bishops rejoices. The people are glad. The whole army exults. He is asked to preach. He rejects not the wish of the

council. They bid him mount the pile of garments, but he refused. So he orders the boy newly raised from the dead to spread his handkerchief under his feet. On this he stands, and expounded the gospel and the law as from a trumpet. In the presence of all a snow-white pigeon, sent from heaven, settled on his shoulders, which remained as long as he preached. While he was holding forth in a voice clear to all, both to those nearest to him and equally to those who were far off, the ground beneath him swells upwards and is raised into a hill. Placed on the top he is seen by all, so that standing on a high hill he might lift his voice like a trumpet. On the top of this hill a church is situated. The heresy is expelled. The faith is confirmed in sound hearts. All are in agreement. They pay thanks to God and to Saint David.

§ 53. Then, blessed and extolled by the mouth of all, he is with the consent of all the bishops, kings, princes, nobles, and all grades of the whole Britannic race, made archbishop, and his monastery too is declared the metropolis of the whole country, so that whoever ruled it should be accounted archbishop.

§ 54. The heresy, therefore, having been expelled, decrees of catholic and ecclesiastical rule are confirmed, which, owing to the frequent and cruel attacks of enemies, have become void, and, being almost forgotten, have ceased to be. By these, as though roused from heavy slumber, they one and all zealously waged the battles of the Lord. They are found in part in the oldest writings of the father, enjoined in his own sacred hand.

§ 55. Then, when a number of seasons was gone, another synod assembles, called Victory, in which a crowd of bishops, priests, and abbots, having come together, renew what they had confirmed in the former, after a close and severe scrutiny, some useful matters being added. So from these two synods, all the churches of our country take their standard

and rule by Roman authority. The decrees which he had affirmed with his mouth, the bishop alone committed to writing with his own sacred hand.

§ 56. Consequently in every place throughout the whole country the brethren built monasteries. Everywhere indications of churches are heard. Everywhere sounds of prayers are raised to the stars. Everywhere miracles are reported to the bosom of the Church on unwearied shoulders. Everywhere offerings of charity are distributed to the needy with an open hand. Saint David, the bishop, was made the chief overseer of all, the chief protector, the chief spokesman, from whom all received the rule and model of right living. He was the standard for all, he was consecration, he was benediction, he was absolution and correction, learning to readers, life to the needy, nourishment to orphans, support to widows, head to the country, rule to the monks, a way to seculars, all things to all men. What swarms of monks he engendered! With what advantage he profited all! With what blaze of miracles he shone!

§ 57. All the bishops surrendered to holy David both monarchy and primacy, and they all agreed to the granting of his right of sanctuary, that it should apply to every ravisher and homicide and sinner, and to every evil person flying from place to place, in priority to every saint and kings and persons of the whole Britannic island, in every kingdom and in each region, wherever there may be land consecrated to holy David. And let no kings or elders or governors, or even bishops or superiors and saints, dare to provide right of sanctuary in priority to holy David. Indeed he provides right of sanctuary before every person, and there is none prior to him, because he is head and leader and primate over all the Britons. And all the saints ordained that whosoever should not observe that decree, namely, Saint David's right of sanctuary, should be anathema and accursed.

§ 58. And thus continuing into old age he was renowned

as the head of all the Britanni race and the honour of his country, which old age he completed in a round one hundred and forty-seven years.

§ 59. When the day was drawing nigh for compensating the hallowed rewards of good deeds, on the eighth day before the first of March, whilst the brethren were observing matins, an angel addressed him, announcing in a loud voice, "The long-desired day," said he, "is now reckoned nigh at hand." The holy bishop recognised the friendly voice, and said to him with a joyful mind, "Lord, now lettest thou Thy servant depart in peace." The brethren merely received the sound into their ears without distinguishing the words, for they had heard them conversing together and were fallen to the earth in terror. Then the whole monastery is filled with angelic harmonies and sweet-smelling fragrance. The holy bishop calling with a loud voice, with mind intent on heaven, says, "Lord Jesus Christ, receive my spirit." Again the angel speaks in a clear voice, the brethren understanding the same, "Prepare and gird thyself. On the first of March the Lord Jesus Christ, accompanied by a great host of angels, will come to meet thee."

§ 60. When these things were heard, the brethren made great lamentation with violent sobs. There begins a great sorrowing. The monastery overflows with tears, saying, "O Saint David, bishop, remove our sadness." He, caressing them and sustaining them with comforting consolations, said, "Brothers, be ye constant. The yoke, which with single mind ye have taken, bear ye to the end; and whatsoever ye have seen with me and heard, keep and fulfil." From that hour, therefore, to the day of his death he remained in the church and preached to all.

§ 61. That report, therefore, was carried most swiftly in one day throughout the whole of Britannia and Ireland by the angel, saying, "Know ye that next week your master, holy David, will migrate from this light to the Lord."

§ 62. Then there arrive from all sides assemblies of saints, like bees to a hive on the approach of a storm, who hasten with speed to visit the holy father. The monastery overflows with tears. Lamentation resounds to the stars. Youths mourn him as a father, old men as a son. On the intervening Sunday, whilst a very great multitude is listening, he preached a most noble sermon, and consecrated the Lord's Body with pure hands. Having partaken of the Body and Blood of the Lord, he was immediately seized with pain and became unwell. When he had finished the office and blessed the people, he addressed them all, saying, "My brethren, persevere in these things which ye have learnt from me and which ye have seen with me. I on the third day of the week on the first of March shall go the way of my fathers. Fare ye well in the Lord. I shall depart. Never shall we be seen on this earth again." Then the voice of all the faithful was raised in lamentation and in wailings, saying, "O that the earth would swallow us, the fire consume us, the sea cover us! O that death by a sudden irruption would overtake us! Would that the mountains would fall upon us!" Almost all yielded themselves to death. From Sunday night till the fourth day of the week when he was dead, all who came remained weeping, fasting, and watching.

§ 63. And so when the third day of the week was come, at cock crowing the monastery is filled with angelic choirs, and is melodious with heavenly songs, and is full of sweetest fragrance. At the hour of matins, when the clerks were replying to the songs with psalms and hymns, the Lord Jesus deigned to bestow his presence for the consolation of the father, as he had promised by the angel. When he saw him, he altogether rejoiced in spirit. "Take me," said he, "after thee." With these words he gave back his life to God, Christ being his companion, and accompanied by the angelic host he went to the abodes of Heaven.

§ 64. O, who then could bear the weeping of the saints, the sad sighs of the anchorites, the groaning of the priests, the wailings of the disciples, who exclaimed, "By whom shall we be taught?", the grief of the pilgrims, saying, "By whom shall we be aided?", the despair of kings, who said, "By whom shall we be appointed, corrected and established? Who so very mild a father as David? Who shall intercede for us to the Lord?", the lamentations of peoples, the grief of paupers, the cryings of sick folk, the clamour of monks, the tears of virgins, married people, penitents, young men, young women, boys, girls, infants sucking breasts? Why do I delay? The voice of all was one of mourners, for kings grieved for him as an arbiter, old men wailed for him as a brother, adults honoured him as a father, nay, he was one whom all venerated as God.

§ 65. And so his body, carried in the arms of holy brethren, and accompanied by a great throng, is honourably committed to the earth and buried in his own monastery. But his soul without any limit of passing time is crowned for ever and ever.

May he, whose festival we devoutly celebrate on earth, unite us by his intercessions to the angelic citizens, God being over all and our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom is honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

§ 66. These and many other things did the holy father, David, do, while a corruptible and burdensome habitation carried his soul. But out of many we have in a mean form of speech supplied a few to assuage the thirst of the ardent. Even as none can exhaust to dryness in the hollow of a shallow vessel a stream flowing from a perpetual fountain, so none can commit to writing even with an iron pen all his miraculous signs, his most devoted practice of the virtues, and his observance of the commandments. But these few things out of many, as we have said, we have collected together

into one place for example to all and for the glory of the father. They have been found scattered in very old writings of the country, especially of the monastery itself, which have survived until now, eaten away by the constant devouring of moths and the yearly borings of ages through the hours and seasons, and written according to the old style of the ancients. Having brought them together into one place, as from a flowery garden of diverse plants, I, sucking most discriminatingly as it were with the mouth of a bee, have collected them to the glory of so great a father and for the use of others, lest they should perish. But those things, now that he has laid aside the burden of the flesh and sees God face to face, which he does and has done at constant intervals of time, so much the more effectively as he adheres closer to God, he, who would wish to know of them, can do so from the relation of many.

§ 67. And as for me, who am named Rhygyvarch, and who, although rashly, have applied the capacity of my small intelligence to these things, let those who shall have perused them with a devout mind, render assistance by their prayers that, because the clemency of the father, like that of spring, has conducted me in the summer heat of the flesh to a tiny flower of intelligence, it may at length lead me by mature works before the end of my course, when the vapours of concupiscence are exhausted, to the fruit of a good harvest. So that, when the reapers shall separate the tares of the enemy and fill the barns of the heavenly country with most carefully picked bundles, they may place me as a tiny sheaf of the latest harvest within the hall of the heavenly gate to behold God for ever, who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen.

OF THE GENEALOGY OF SAINT DAVID

§ 68. Here begins the genealogy of Saint David, archbishop of all Britannia by the grace and predestination of God

David was the son of Sant, Sant son of Cheritic, Cheretic son of Cuneda, Cuneda son of Etern, Etern son of Patern, Patern son of Peisrud, Peisrud son of Doeil, Doeil son of Gurdeil, Gurdeil son of Dumn, Dumn son of Guordumn, Guordumn son of Amguoil, Amguoil son of Amguerit, Amguerit son of Omid, Omid son of Perum, Perum son of Dobun, Dobun son of Iouguen, Iouguen son of Abalach, Abalach son of Eugen, Eugen son of Eudolen, Eudolen son of Eugen, Eugen son of Mary's sister.

Here ends the Life of Saint David, Bishop and Confessor.

THE MASS OF SAINT DAVID

§ 69. God, who didst fortell thy blessed confessor and pontiff, David, by the announcement of an angel to Patrick, prophesying thirty years before he was born, we beseech thee that by his intercession, whose memory we celebrate, we may come to the eternal joys, through [thy Son, our Lord, Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. Amen].

SECRETA

§ 70. Almighty God, be pleased to regard the sacrifices of praise and the devout prayers, which we offer to thee in honour of thy blessed confessor and pontiff, David ; and what our merit may not obtain, may thy mercy and his frequent intercession for us effect, through [thy Son, etc. Amen].

POST COMMUNIO

§ 71. O Lord, being replenished with the partaking of the Sacrament, we beseech thee that by the merits of Saint David, thy confessor and pontiff, whose glorious festival we do celebrate, we may be sensible of the patronage of thine ineffable mercy, through [thy Son, etc. Amen].

FROM THE LIFE OF ST. AEDDAN OF FERNS

[I translate these passages from v. as printed in *V.S.H.*, ii. 297-300, 304. They are also printed, but very inaccurately, in *C.B.S.*, 235-8, 243. Plummer is certain that this Latin Life is from an Irish original.]

§ 11. WHEN St. Aeddan wished to abandon his race and country, and go into exile, the king of his race, named *Albus*, was unwilling to let him go. St. Aeddan said to him, "Let me go into exile, and I will give thee the kingdom of heaven." The king says to him, "Whence shall I know this, that thou wilt give me the kingdom of heaven?" St. Aeddan answered, "Thou wilt receive the new tonsure from my hand, and thou shalt be till old age and death under the new tonsure." The king said, "What thou dost promise pleases me, if thou wilt bear with me till the time of tonsure, that we may see whether the hair grows again." And St. Aeddan bore with him till the time. And so he let him go on pilgrimage. And that king remained till old age under the new tonsure.

St. Aeddan came to the territories of the Leinster men. And desirous of reading the holy scriptures, he sailed over sea to the districts of the Britons, and reading there at the monastery of St. David he remained a long time, and performed many miracles in that place.

§ 12. One day whilst Saint Aeddan sat reading there, the prior came to him, saying, "Rise and take a waggon that thou mayest accompany the brethren to carry necessary loads." And straightway the boy obeyed, rising quickly, and in his haste left the book open. And much rain falling did not hurt the book, until David himself came to the

book. And the prior told the holy boy to lay hold of two untamed and savage oxen, but the oxen straightway became gentle and tame under the boy's hand. The prior also gave the boy a yoke without thongs, and the yoke adhered to the necks of the oxen, as though it were securely tied with thongs. And the boy asked the prior for a cross-piece to join the waggon, that is, *huili ar in feni*. The prior says to him, "Put thy finger instead of the piece." And so the obedient boy did, yet his finger was not hurt.

All the workmen in consequence preceded Saint Aeddan whilst he tarried and a small boy with him. And the boy said to him, "It was ordered us to proceed on this journey." And Aeddan says to the small boy, "Make the sign of the cross on thine eyes, and come after me." And they crossed through a marsh. The path remains to this day. And Aeddan a second time outstripped the workmen and their waggons. And that hour David went forth as far as the seashore with his community. And there he said to the holy boy, "Why didst thou leave the book open in the rain?" When the boy, Aeddan, heard this, he bent his knees, and prostrated himself in the presence of David. And he rose not until that the elder, David, should tell him. And "Rise" was not said to him. And the brethren came to their monastery, and the boy remained prostrate on the shore. Afterwards David inquired where the boy was? And the brethren said, "We have not seen him, save when we saw him prostrate on the shore." Then David sent his community to the shore, and they found the tide in, and the boy lying in the tide. And the sea was uplifted round about him. And they drew him into a ship with a cord.

§ 13. Also at another time the prior, moved with envy, meditated killing the holy boy, Aeddan. One day he sent the boy with another lay brother and a cart to bring timber from the woods. And the prior persuaded the lay brother to kill the boy in the woods. When, then, the oxen were

yoked, the lay brother and the holy boy went into the woods. And when the boy was stooping there to shift the timber, the lay brother raised his axe to strike a blow on his head. But his hands, raised aloft, dried in the air. Then the lay brother confessed his fault, and so through the prayer of the saint was free. This deed was revealed to Saint David, who straightway rose up quickly, and ran with a boot on one foot. Then the brethren, upset at seeing the elder walking without a boot, followed him. The holy boy came with the cart to the river, which is called *Gladus*. When David saw the boy coming, he stopped there, and said to the brethren, "Do not follow me." For Saint David saw innumerable troops of angels round about the boy as he came. When the boy saw from afar that Saint David was waiting for him, he came quickly through the river, and through rough ways, where no man walked before, in a straight line to the place where he saw David standing. And there a cross was erected, which stands to this day. When the brethren had returned home, David began to upbraid the prior. And the holy boy said, "It is not necessary for thee to upbraid him, for if thou upbraid him, he will soon die, and his sepulchre no one will know." And so it happened.

§ 14. Another day the holy boy, Aeddán, carried a "tribute" vessel, full of beer, to his monastery. When, then, he had reached a certain difficult road near a valley, the waggon together with the vessel and oxen fell into the valley. The holy boy made the sign of the cross on vessel and oxen, and not even one drop perished from the vessel till the waggon reached level ground in safety.

§ 15. One day the king's son, who was blind and lame and deaf, was brought to the holy boy, Aeddán. And whilst he prayed, he healed the king's son of every infirmity.

§ 16. Another day there was brought to him a man, having a *tabulatam faciem*, flat face, void of eyes and

nostrils. And Aeddan blessed his face, and God gave him eyes and nostrils.

§ 17. Another time, too, the Saxons came to war against the Britons. Then the holy boy, when asked, went with the Britons to war. And immediately the Saxons saw him, they were put to flight. And the Britons pursued them seven days, but by the blessing of the holy boy, not even one man fell in that war. And as long as the holy boy, Aeddan, dwelt in the districts of the Britons with Saint David, the Saxons dared not come thither.

§ 18. Some robbers of the Saxons came into those districts of the Britons that they might injure anyone there, if they could. When Aeddan knew this, they were immediately blinded by his curses. And without hurting anyone or killing they returned back, and were blind through the whole year.

A king of the Saxons came to prove him saying, "I am blind and deaf." Saint Aeddan answered him, "On the contrary thou art nor deaf nor blind, but as thou hast lied by tempting me, from this day thou shalt not be king; and to the day of thy death thou shalt remain blind and deaf." And so it was fulfilled.

§ 19. After these things Saint Aeddan with the blessing of the blessed David sailed to the island of Ireland, and he arrived at the districts of *Fothart campi Itha*. . . .

§ 20. . . . Saint Aeddan thought in his heart, saying, "It repents me that I did not ask of my teacher, Who in this island of Ireland shall be my *amicus anime*, soul-friend?" Then he arose to go over sea to Saint David. And when he was walking on the sea dry shod, even a third part of the journey, lo, an angel of God met him, saying, "Great assurance is in this thou hast done, to walk afoot on the sea." Aeddan answered him, "Not from assurance have I done it, but from strength of faith." And the angel said to him, "It is not necessary for thee to have

a soul-friend, for God loves thee, and between thee and God there will be no middle person. And if thou wilt have a soul-friend, thou shalt have Molue mac Coche." Then Aeddan returned to Ireland.

After these things Aeddan came into that district, which is called *Ard Ladrangd*. And when he had settled there in the place, which is called *Accel*, he considered that he had forgotten his bell in the land of the Britons. And when it was necessary for him to strike his bell at the regular hour, he straightway saw his bell placed at his side, for it had come from Britannia across the sea; and rejoicing at its arrival, he gave thanks to God.

§ 32. At another time Saint David sent to Saint Aeddan to go to salute him. Aeddan straightway obeyed and went to the districts of the Britons. And when the time had come that he should return again, he said to Saint David, "How shall I go through the sea?" The blessed David answered him, "Go to the sea, and whatever animal shall come to thee, mount it and proceed through the sea." Then Aeddan came to the sea in the land of the Britons, and saw a great animal like a great horse. Sitting on its shoulder he came over sea to Ireland to the place which is called *Imber Cremthain*, and the animal returned into the sea.

FROM THE LIFE OF ST. AILBE OR AELVYW

[Translated from s., col. 245.]

IN those parts too St. Ailbe found in a certain church a priest standing before an altar, wishing to offer the sacrifice. But he could not, for his tongue was tied. Then Ailbe looking round at the people, who were in the church, saw among them a certain pregnant woman; and he said

to the priest, "The reason thou canst not offer is because this woman has in her womb a bishop. He is David of *Cill Muni*. For a priest ought not to celebrate in the presence of a bishop, except at his bidding." And when that woman was outside the church, straightway the priest offered with a loud voice. And all the people with one consent blessed Ailbe, who, by God's grace, had revealed this dark matter. But the father gave that son of his, David, to St. Ailbe for ever.

[A different ending occurs in T (*V.S.H.*, i. 53) as follows.]

. . . "The reason thou canst not speak is because God hath willed that the fame of the infant, which that woman has in her womb, should first be heard. For he shall be the elect of God, and a renowned bishop, and will be called David. This shalt thou have for a sign,—when the people present shall have heard these words, thou shalt sing with a clear voice." When, then, the people had heard this prophecy, he sang the mass. And all the people with one consent blessed the blessed Ailbe, who by God's grace revealed this dark matter. Afterwards the son was born. His father gave him to St. Ailbe to bring him up to God. The same is David, a holy bishop, whose relics lie in the monastery of *Chell Muni*, which is in Britain.

FROM THE LIFE OF ST. CADOG

[This was written by Lifris or Lifricus, son of Bishop Herwald (*d.* 1104) of Llandaff (*C.B.S.*, 80; *B.L.*, 271, 3-4). I translate from the Latin as printed in *C.B.S.*, 39-40, 44, which I have collated with v.]

How St. David at an angel's direction assembled a Synod.

IN that time, wherein these things were being accomplished (or done), St. David, a true confessor of God and a bishop, shone with great virtues in Britannia, to whom an

angel was sent by God, saying to him, "Rise, do not tarry, assemble all the clergy, elders, and the better born, and form a synod." The blessed David answers him, "I am ready at thy bidding to do whatever shall be well-pleasing to the Lord, were I worthy, but there dwells in Glywysing one named Cadog, sprung from the satraps of Britannia, who is much more worthy by birth than myself, more distinguished for sanctity, wiser in understanding, and more skilful in speech for assembling a synod, without whose leave and support I least of all presume to undertake so large a matter." To whom the angel, "Nay, fulfil my commands, and fear him not in the least for in this affair he will in no way thwart thee, since he will straightway go abroad." The rest truly is accomplished (or done) in both instances according to the angelic discourse. Cadog went on a journey, and David after his departure assembled a great synod in the monastery of Brevi.

Of the indulgence shown to St. David for summoning the Synod.

When certain disciples of the blessed [Cadog] were gathered together, they said to each other in turn, "Who of us will dare to disclose to our master what things were done by St. David in Britannia, whilst he was on pilgrimage?" To this all were silent, nor presumed anyone to mention the matter to him. Therefore they cast lots on this affair, and the lot fell on Finnian. Therefore St. Finnian rose from the midst of the brethren, and went forward with great trepidation. He prostrates himself in the footsteps of the man of God, devoutly beseeching that he should not be angry with him. And he insinuated how that a universal synod had been assembled by St. David, whilst he was travelling abroad. Which thing displeased him not a little, and he was incensed with great anger

against St. David for such an affront, and continued fasting a day and night. The same night, too, an angel of the Lord came to him, speaking in words of this kind, "I beseech thee not to be angry against thy brother, for as it is written in the Epistle of John, He who hates his brother is a murderer." By the angelic intervention in this matter he quite forgave the blessed David his fault. Wherefore the angel added, "Because thou hast obeyed my voice, and at my request hast pardoned him who did thee wrong, the Lord thy God will free thy castle full of the souls of men, three times, in the Day of Judgment from eternal penalties. And as many tufts or hairs as are joined together in thy cowl (as is commonly called a certain kind of garment, which the Irish use out of doors, full of shaggy hair or tufts *in modum cinium*), so many persons shall be snatched for thy sake from perpetual penalties. Also every Saturday from this night for ever, let one soul be freed from infernal torments for thy love, and all your familiar friends, who shall have died in this place, will be liberated from the sufferings of hell. Moreover, whatsoever thou shalt ask of the Lord, thou shalt obtain." Then the blessed Cadog rejoiced in his fort, and rose up, and recounting the angelic promises to his disciples, exclaimed, "Praise ye the Lord, ye servants of his, praise the name of the Lord, for his mercy is confirmed upon us, and the truth of the Lord remains for ever."

FROM THE LIFE OF ST. CYNNYDD

[In one place only in Wales did John of Tynemouth (c. 1290-1350 see a Life of this saint, probably at Llangynnydd in Gower, Glamorgan shire. He was only able to copy a little as it was illegible with age. St. Cynnydd was a cripple. I translate from *N.L.A.*, ii. 108-9.]

ST. DAVID, Teilo, and Padarn, journeying for the consolation of the brethren, came to the man of God

(Cynnydd), who, rejoicing at their arrival, received them kindly and ministered the benefits of hospitality as to reverend fathers. The blessed David had announced that there was to be a general synod, and humbly took care to invite St. Cynnydd there. The latter says, "I, having merited crooked limbs, and being unworthy of companionship, am more unworthy to associate with such great men; and, moreover, natural power to proceed on such a journey is lacking to me." St. David says, "Let us pray to Jesus Christ that He may think fit to straighten thy limbs to accompany us on our journey." And a prayer being poured out to God, his calf is loosened from his thigh, as the natural arrangement should be. And when, ready to start on their way, they were all proceeding forward, Cynnydd, the servant of God, pouring out a prayer in the secrets of his heart, attached his calf to his thigh as before. Then St. David, the bishop, said, "Why dost thou despise our fellowship, seeing that we rejoice in thy society? Why dost thou leave us, pious father, who are anxious in thy absence, seeing we can relieve the burden of our cares in thy presence?" And when they had mutually saluted, the bishops departed, and he returned to his own monastery.

FROM THE LIFE OF ST. DECLAN OF ARDMORE

[This portion of a section is translated from T (*V.S.H.*, ii. 41). "St. Declan is exclusively a saint of the Munster Deisi, and his labours are mainly confined to them and the adjacent parts of Munster. . . . The tradition of a special connexion between Ardmore and St. David's (§ 15) probably rests on fact, for the latitude of the two places is almost exactly the same" (*ib.*, I. lxi-ii).]

§ 15. THE people say that Saint Declan visited Rome many times, but in old writings we have not found that he did so more than thrice. Whilst he was returning on one

of these occasions, he came to a holy bishop of the Britons, named David, remaining in his monastery of *Chell Muny*, which is on the shore of the sea that divides Ireland and Britannia, and was received there honourably. And Saint Declan remained there at the request of Saint David in all charity for forty days, celebrating mass every day. These two pontiffs, to wit, Declan and David, confirmed for ever in Christ's name the brotherhood between themselves and their followers. And after forty days, with the blessing and permission of the most holy Bishop David and his brethren, the blessed father Declan and his followers with the kiss of peace took ship, and began to sail to Ireland. . . .

FROM THE IRISH LIFE OF FINDIAN OF CLONARD

[This translation is by Whitely Stokes from the Irish of the *Book of Lismore* (Oxford, 1890). The Irish dates from the latter half of the fifteenth century, and is taken from older and lost originals.]

2527. Now when [Findian] reached the age of thirty, he went over sea. He came to [Dairinis, an island in Wexford Haven]. There he found before him an elder named Caeman. They were for a time together, and they made a union. After that Findian came to Cell Muine. There he found before him three sages, named David, and Gildas, and Cathmael. This was the cause of their being gathered together there—a contention for the headships and abbacy of the island of Britain between two of them, that is, between David and Gildas. They agreed that Cathmael should be arbitrator between them. Now when Cathmael beheld Saint Findian, he looked at him meditatively. "What is that great attention," saith David to Cathmael,

"that thou bestowest on the unknown youth that is gone into the house?"

"Great grace," said Cathmael, "I perceive upon him."

"If," saith David, "there is grace upon him, let him now speak in the British tongue, and let him decide the cause in which we are engaged."

Findian made the sign of the cross over his mouth, and he spake in British, as if it had been his mother-tongue, and he awarded the island to David because of his seniority.

2540. Then went Findian and Catmael and David and Gildas to parley with the king, (and) to ask him for the site of a church. He said that he had none. Howbeit a certain man in the house said boldly, "If the clerics like," saith he, "let them put this great lake away from the side of the fortress, and let them build their church in its place." "If they do that," saith the king, "they shall have even this stronghold beside the place of the lake." Howbeit Findian went with a torch in his hand, and he dipped it into the lake, and the lake fled before him into the sea; and God's name and Findian's were magnified by that great miracle. So those lands were offered to God and Findian. He gave them to the British elders, who were along with him. Three monasteries were founded by them thereon. Of these is Lann Gabran to-day.

2550. Now Findian was for thirty years studying together with the British elders, who were along with him.

FROM THE LATIN LIFE OF ST. FINNIAN

[I translate from S, cols. 191, 192.]

§ 4. HERE he completed the thirtieth year of his age, when he resolved to go across the sea. Bidding farewell to

his master, he started on his journey, desiring first to visit an elder named *Cayman*, with whom he sojourned awhile for the sake of learning. This elder was living in an island which is called *Dayrineanis* [an island in Wexford Haven]. From there he went across the sea with merchants, but their object was different, for he purposed to trade in the affairs of the kingdom of heaven, but they in temporal gain. When they had landed at the *civitas Kellmunnensis*, the monastery of St. Davids, in Britain, Saint Finnian found there three holy men, to wit, Saint David, and Saint Cathmael [*i. e.* Cadog], and Saint Gildas. As Finnian drew near to the place, where the elders were, he blessed them. Then Cathmael looked diligently at the youth. "Wherefore," says David, "dost thou look at the young stranger, blooming with the grace of the true God?" And Cathmael says, "The reason I look so diligently at him is, because the grace of God glows in him." And David says, "He speaks the language of our race fluently, as though he were a native."

§ 5. When the elders had welcomed the arrival of such a guest, they retired and came to a certain powerful man. When they had asked of him a small place to dwell in, he replied, "I have no such place at hand." One of his household adds, "If they desire a place to dwell in, let us concede this great mere, which is near them." For there was close by a great lake, on the shore of which was a fortress, wherein kings were wont to dwell. Cathmael says again, "Not only will this extensive lake be given to them, but also the fortress will be gifted to them." After this Finnian says to Cathmael, "Allow me to approach the mere and say to it, Withdraw from these bounds in the name of the Lord." Cathmael is said to have replied, "If this contradicts not the counsel of God, you certainly have permission." The holy youth, Finnian, approached the shore of the lake with fire, and in the name of the Holy Trinity he put its waters

to flight as far as the sea. And there afterwards many monasteries were built, of which one is called in the Welsh language *Melboc*, and another *Nont*, and so forth.

FROM THE LIFE OF ST. GILDAS BY CARADOG OF LLANCARVAN.

[This Life by Caradog, who was a contemporary of Geoffrey or Monmouth (*H.R.B.*, xii. 20), is much inferior in value to the older Breton Life. Both will be found in *C.M.* 91-110, from which I translate.]

[GILDAS] used to preach every Lord's Day at a church by the sea, which stands in the region of *Pepidiauc* in the time of King *Trifin*, a countless multitude of people listening to him. Whilst he was beginning to preach, the sound of the preaching was checked in the act, for which reason the congregation was very astonished at the strange interruption. Saint Gildas, discovering this, ordered all who were standing by to go out, that he might be able to know whether the interruption of the divine discourse was due to one of them. And not even after their exit could he preach. He then asked if any man or woman was hiding in the church. There answers him the pregnant Nonnita, who was about to be the mother of a most holy boy, Dewi, "I, Nonnita, remain here between the wall and the door, unwilling to join the crowd." Having heard this, he ordered her to go out; and after she had gone he called the people, who, when summoned, came to hear the preaching of the gospel. After the end of the sermon, he asked an angel of God about the aforesaid incident, to wit, why he had begun to preach and had not been able to finish. And he revealed to him in such words as these: "Nonnita, a holy woman, remains in the church, who is now pregnant and is with great grace about to give birth to a boy, before whom

thou couldst not preach, for divine power hindered thy discourse." [Then Gildas said to the people,] "Of greater grace will be a boy who is about to come. None in your parts will equal him. This district I will leave to him. He will speedily grow and flourish from age to age. For an angel messenger of God has declared this to me as my true destiny." Whence it happened that the most holy preacher, Gildas, crossed over to Ireland, where he converted countless people to the Catholic faith.

FROM THE LIFE OF ST. ILLTUD

[I translate from the Latin as printed in *C.B.S.*, 167, 175, corrected for me by Mr. Idris Bell from v.]

VERY many scholars flowed to him [Illtud], of the number of whom these four, to wit, Samson, Paulinus, Gildas and Dewi (*i.e.* David), studied with him, being wisely erudite, and others, very many, like them.

Whilst such things and many others were being said, a certain wayfarer passed by, who was a messenger of Gildas the historian, carrying a brazen bell made by the same Gildas, to be given as a present to the holy pontiff, Dewi, in memory of past fellowship and love. And as he passed by the cave which was near the public road, the bell sounded, being moved without human agency. Saint Illtud, hearing the sweet sound, came to the person who was carrying it, and being pleased with its very delightful melodiousness he moved it three times, asking the man where he was going or whither he carried that beautiful thing, superior to gold? He answered and said, "I go and I carry this bell to Saint Dewi by order of the renowned Gildas." These things being said, he withdrew and came to *Meneuensem vallem*,

the Mynyw Valley, presenting the pontiff with such a gift. Being presented with the bell, he moved it ; it rendered no sound with the motion. The pontiff, wondering at that marvel, asked the messenger if it had been moved or tested by anyone along the way during his messengership. He being asked told him as had happened above, and the bishop believed it to be truly told, saying, "I know that our master, Illtud, wished to possess it for the sweetness of its sound, but he was unwilling to ask for it, hearing it was to be sent to me by the donor, Gildas. God does not wish that I should have this. Return without delay to the cave, and restore to Saint Illtud the thing meant for him which he desired." The messenger returned to Illtud and did the pontifical command, leaving there the lonely occupant, were it not for the frequent visitation of angels.

LIFE OF ST. JUSTINAN

[John of Tynemouth (*d.* 1350) probably copied and condensed this life from one at St. Davids. I translate from *N.L.A.*, ii. 93-95.]

SAINT JUSTINAN drew his origin from a most noble stock of Lesser Britain [*i.e.* Brittany]. Given to literature from childhood, he shone owing to his wonderful learning among the most renowned doctors of his nation. Having received the order of priesthood, he faithfully discharged his sacred duty, and at length merited having a divine message as follows, "Go forth from thy country and from thy kindred and from thy father's house."

When the holy man understood this, he joined to himself certain companions, and entered a vessel of woven osiers and hides, praying continually to God that he might convey him to a land where he could lead a solitary life. And at length he touched a country called *Chormeu*, where for

some time he sojourned, and where many began to abandon the world after his example, and to hasten to the holy man for instruction.

But soon, as it had been commanded him at first by God to leave his country and his kindred, so for the second time it was told him to leave that abode. Then entering a skiff and committing himself to the sea and to the winds, he came to the island, which at that time was called *Limeneia*, where a man devoted to God, Honorius, son of King Thefriaucus, having abandoned the things of this world, was giving himself entirely to God. Being received therefore with kindly hospitality, he increased in such ardour of devotion, that [Honorius] would hand over to the holy man his place and abode, that he might devote himself to gaining souls for Christ without any inconvenience. The blessed Justinan, seeing that the place was fitted for the religious life and was remote from all worldly chatter, said, "I would assent to thy request, if thy sister with her handmaid had a bed far away from us," which by some incredulous ones was derisively laughed at. But since the eloquence and charm of his holy preaching, and the glory of so great a reputation pleased the blessed man, he said, "Holy father, in order that I may enjoy thy sweet and honourable society, I will send away my sister to another country." So the sister of the blessed Honorius, having received the blessing and consent of the holy men, went away to far-off regions. And in that place, when very many had come together to him, being illuminated by the word of faith, they returned with the salvation of their souls.

When the fame of so great a man had reached the blessed David, he was overjoyed at the rare arrival of so great a man, and, calling for him through messengers, humbly entreated that [Justinan] would honour him by paying him a visit. It pleased both the blessed David and Saint Justinan to be supported by each other's fellowship and

prayers. And Saint David took him to be his confessor, and to be after God the guardian of his life. And what cells he chose both in the island and outside the island, he granted to him and to the brethren who flowed together unto him.

One day whilst he was given to praying and reading, five men arrived sailing in a fast sailer, and hurrying to him said, "Lo, he whom thou lovest is sick. He bids thee to hasten to him without any delay." When [Justinan] heard of the sickness of him, who was his friend in Christ, he hastened to the fast sailing skiff, and began to chant psalms. When he had come by rowing to the middle of the sea, then at length lifting up his face, he perceived that they were uglier than people whom he had been wont to see, and he observed plainly that they were evil spirits. Then with hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, he began the 79th Psalm, to wit, "Haste Thee, O God, to deliver me." And when he was chanting the second verse of that psalm, "Let them be ashamed and confounded that seek after my soul," they vanished and flew away like black crows. Relying so on God's help he was carried to land on a rock, which rose by divine power from the depth of the sea, and found Saint David, whom the evil spirits asserted to be sick, safe and sound.

The enemy of the human race, seeing therefore that he was overcome by the holy man, and that neither could he prevail by trying him with frequent assaults, nor could he separate him from the service of God by evil suggestions, devised other means of his crafty art, and poured his poison into the three servants of the holy man. The servants, then, seized by madness, not only despised the salutary admonitions of their master wherewith he used to exhort them so to employ their labour as not to live an idle life, but rushed at him and threw him on the earth, without fearing cruelly to cut off his head. On the spot where his sacred

head fell to the ground, a copious fountain of clearest water emanated forthwith in abundance from the rock, whose stream, quaffed by sick folk, conveys health of body to all.

One named Jonas, having poison administered to him in a drink of milk, found his belly marvellously swollen. When he had partaken of that water, he straightway threw up a live frog, and all the swelling of his belly disappeared.

Those sons of iniquity, after the deed of iniquity committed by them, perceived that they were struck by leprosy, and that divine vengeance had been manifestly directed against them. Having gone from that place with groaning and weeping, they arrived together at a certain rock, which to this day is called "the Rock of the Lepers." Afterwards, mourning there and torturing their bodies with heavy afflictions, and beating them with many stripes, in grief and hardship as long as they lived, they ended their existence in greatest penitence, and deserved to obtain pardon for their sins by the merits of Saint Justinan.

Greater marvels followed great ones. For the body of the blessed martyr, deprived of its head, rose in that place, and bearing the head between its arms, descended to the sea-shore ; and walking on the sea, went over to the creek called by his name ; and in the place, where now stands a church dedicated to his honour, falling on the ground, lay there, and at that spot he deserved to be buried.

In the same church, where the holy martyr's body lies, our Saviour has seen well to exhibit many miracles. Sick people going there, detained by any kind of sickness, return home safe and sound, full of thanksgiving to God.

The holy bishop, David, not unaware of the suffering of his friend, and the full issue of the matter, warned by divine revelation, with his brethren carried the sacred body with hymns and chants to the Church of Mynyw, and placed it honourably in a new sarcophagus.

FROM THE LIFE OF ST. MOLUA, ABBOT OF CLONFERTMULLOE

[This opening of a section I translate from the Life in M (*V.S.H.*, ii. 219). Molua is a hypocoristic form of Lugaid. His sphere of influence was partly Munster and partly Ossory.]

§ 38. THE most blessed archbishop of the Leinstermen, *Moedhog* [*i.e.* St. Aeddan of Ferns], wished to cross the sea to Britannia to his holy master, the bishop David, to ask him whom he should have in Ireland as his *patrem confessionis*, father confessor. And an angel of the Lord came to him, saying, "Do not cross the sea, for almighty God knows that thy confession is holy and pure. Yet go thou to Saint Molua, son of Coche, and let him be thy father confessor, unless thou willest otherwise." Afterwards the holy archbishop *Moedhog* came to Saint Molua, and was received honourably by him. . . .

FROM THE LIFE OF ST. PADARN

[I translate from the Latin as printed in *C.B.S.*, 192-3, 196-7, corrected for me by Mr. H. Idris Bell from v.]

"A HEAVENLY messenger comes to Saint David, who was serving the God Christ in Vallis Rosina, and says to him, 'Rise, and go to Jerusalem, that thou mayest be ordained there. Join to thee two worthy comrades, who likewise will be ordained, that is, Padarn and Teilo.' Thereupon David sent to them. They came without delay. They proceeded together through foreign nations, receiving the gift of languages, for though they were men of one language, they addressed each person in his own language wherein he was born. At length they arrived at Jerusalem, and there they

preach in the noblest fashion after the manner of the apostles. Afterwards the three saints were ordained bishops by the imposition of the Patriarch's hand. Then they were presented with gifts. Padarn was presented with a double present, to wit, a Bachall and a Tunic woven throughout. They returned happily. They divided Britannia into their three episcopacies, had not the wickedness of tyrants afterwards disturbed them."

"The Patriarch of Jerusalem being present, the three southern kingdoms of the Britons succeeded under three episcopacies of three saints: the kingdom of Seisyll [*i.e.* Seisyllwg] received the consecration of churches, and the imposition of ecclesiastical orders, and the confirmation of episcopal baptism, and the chrismal oil, and all episcopal duties from the episcopacy of Saint Padarn; the kingdom of Rhain [*i.e.* Rheinwg] received these aforesaid rights from the episcopacy of Saint David; and the kingdom of Morgan [*i.e.* Morgannwg] received episcopal duties from Saint Eiludd [*i.e.* Teilo]. Therefore the third episcopal *locus*, monastery, among the southern Britons is the monastery of the bishop, Saint Padarn."

FROM THE LIFE OF ST. TEILO

[This was written "by Master Geoffrey, that is, Stephen, brother of Urban, bishop of the Church of Llandaff" (*B.Ll.*, 360, col. i.). Geoffrey is clearly called Stephen to distinguish him from the more famous Geoffrey Arthur. As Bishop Urban died in 1133, Geoffrey Stephen was flourishing in the early twelfth century. I translate the following from Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans' superb reproduction of *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâu*, Oxford, 1893, pp. 99-101, 114-5.]

THEN having heard of the fame of a certain learned man, Poulinus, [Saint Teilo] went to him and abode with him for some time. If there were any scriptural obscurities

hidden from him before, they saw all things made reasonably clear by mutual conference. And there he had Saint David as companion, a man of most perfect life. Such great love joined them together with the grace of the Holy Spirit, that in their transactions their likes and dislikes were identical.

Now in the days of these saints, certain peoples, who either from their painted clothes or from their eye-marks were called Picts, came in a number of ships to Britannia from Scythia, and desirous of possessing the land on account of the supply of good things, wherein at that time it excelled all islands, they attacked the Britons more by treachery than by force, and for a while exercised extraordinary tyranny over them. Nor is it a wonder that the Britons were overcome by them, for the Pictish nation was crafty and trained in many engagements by sea and land, whereas the Britons, although endowed with strength of body, were artless and peaceful, and, not having hitherto been assailed by anyone, were, so to speak, ignorant of warfare, so that they could the more easily be brought under. If anyone from this wishes to know more fully of the matter, he will find it in the history of Gildas, the historian of the Britons [see pp. 73-74 below].

When a certain prince of that execrable race (they had landed from their skiffs), after butchering the wretched inhabitants and burning houses and temples of saints, had proceeded as far as *minuensem ciuitatem*, the monastery of Mynyw, he there remained, and there he built his *palatium*, chief stronghold. When he saw the uprightness of the life of Saint Teilo, David and the other servants of God who lived with them in the same place, he not only envied them, as is ever the wont of the wicked to envy the good, but also, seeing them so intent on the service of God, frequently said many shameful things to them, that so he might

separate them from Christ. But as he could not effect his designs by threats and low talk, having tried to seduce them by many devices, he saw he could not accomplish his purpose in any way more aptly than by feminine allurements. So he bade his wife to send her female attendants to the saints, and to offer themselves to the passions of the saints, that by the silly motions of their bodies and by meretricious charms they might try to turn the minds of the saints from their saintly purpose. While they were carrying out the commands of their mistress and feigning, as it were, to be mad, they became mad. For as it is truly said, He who is filthy deserves to become more filthy [Rev. xxii. 11]. When this was seen, the aforesaid persecutor and all his house by the grace of the servants of God received the Catholic faith, and were baptized by them in the name of Christ.

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[*B.Ll.*, 102, 103-107, give the story of David finding the book left by Teilo and Maeddog uninjured by the rain, and a long-drawn account of the journey of Teilo, Padarn, and David to Jerusalem to the greater glory of Teilo.]
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After these things the holy man [Teilo] sought again his episcopal see [of Llandaff], accompanied by a supply of clergy and people, and he dwelt there to the end of his life, holding supremacy over all the churches of the whole of "Dextral Britannia" [*i.e.* Deheubarth] according to the instruction of the fathers, who had consecrated him at Jerusalem, as aforesaid. But the race very rapidly increased from ever so few to a great multitude; and this no doubt happened, because it now became obedient to every ordinance of the saint. Thus, holy Church, which for a long time had been dispersed, was restored by the intervention of Teilo, the most holy of the saints. To him disciples gathered together, who had been disciples of the

blessed Dubricius, to wit, *Iunapeius*, *Gurmaet*, *Toulidauc*, *Iuhil*, *Fidelis*, *Hismael*, *Tyfhei*, *Oudoceus*, and many other disciples, that they might copy him in morals and doctrine. Of these he consecrated *Hismael* to be bishop, and sent him to take charge of *aecclesiam minuensem*, the Church of Mynyw, which was now deprived of its pastor. For Saint David had migrated to the Lord.

NOTES

Rubric. *Dewi* for *Dewid* (modern *Dewidd*) from *David-us*; final *dd* is dropped in the Welsh dialects of Pembrokeshire, as *newi*, new (newydd), *danne*, teeth (dannedd), etc. In the Cambridge Univ. Lib. MS. Ff. 1, 27, 28 (c. 1300), *Dewid* actually occurs (Hardy's *Des. Cat.* Rolls S., 1862, i. 118). In post-Norman times the Welsh again borrowed *David-us*, and produced *Davydd*, *Davi*, *Dai*.

A later hand has written *Dewi dyfyrwr*, D. the Waterman, for which see §§ 2, 42.

§ 1. *Thirty years*. Many instances occur of a habit among the Britons of dating events from incidents in their own history or bearing thereon, even fictitious incidents. Thus the author of *De excidio Britanniae*, 26, tells us that he is writing his little book in the forty-fourth year after the battle of the Badonic Hill. And he implies (23) that this victory was won, when a clear century and a half had elapsed since the advent of the Saxons into Britannia (*C.M.* 40, 38). For other examples see *Y C.*, xxvii. 26-36. The most remarkable is that of the old Latin Welsh Chronicle (now dubbed *Annales Cambriae*) in the B.M. Harleian 3859, in which all the annals for five centuries are reckoned from A.D. 444, the year 1 being A.D. 445 (*Y C.*, ix. 152). The thirty years' interval between Bishop Patrick's arrival in Ireland and the birth of St. David is alluded to in the first life of St. Carannog, § 2. Here we are told that Carannog, Dewi's uncle, followed Patrick to Ireland. From the second life of the same saint we learn he had refused to accept the military leadership of Ceredigion after his father, Ceredig, preferring the religious life instead. It was a serious matter, for the Irish at the time were invading Britannia. It is evident, therefore, that Dewi's birth is calculated from two events in British history, one ecclesiastical and one military, which synchronized, *i.e.* Bishop Patrick's arrival in Ireland and an Irish attack on Britannia (*C.B.S.*, 97-101). Now Bury (331) says that "the chronological framework of Patrick's life is determined by two certain dates: the year of his coming to Ireland (as bishop), which rests upon clear and unvarying tradition, A.D. 432, and the year of his death, A.D. 461." It follows from this that St. David was born in A.D. 462.

Patrick, a Briton, son of Calpurnius, deacon, and grandson of Potitus, priest, born at the village of "Banavem Taberniae" (not yet identified), in western Britain, near the sea, c. 389; taken captive to Ireland c. 405, where he toiled as a slave, at Slemish in Ulster; escaped to the Continent c. 411; lived awhile in the newly established monastery on the island of Lerins in the Mediterranean Sea; ordained deacon, probably by Bishop Amator of Auxerre, c. 418, and afterwards priest

by Bishop Germanus of the same see. When Germanus and Lupus visited Britain in 429, the question of Christian Ireland was, or became, prominent, in which Patrick was intensely interested. In 431 Pope Celestine consecrated Palladius to be Bishop in Ireland, who, dying after a short time, was succeeded by Patrick in the teeth of much opposition. It was Germanus who probably consecrated him, in 432. The Church had already taken root in the south of the island, for which reason Patrick soon went north and west to convert the Irish heathen. He proved one of the greatest of missionaries. He died, fearing his work was a failure, March 17, 461.

§ 2. *Sant*, Welsh for *Sanctus*, "saint," a well-known Christian name, borne, for example, by a deacon of Vienne, who suffered martyrdom at Lyons in the second century. Cognate forms are Sanctianus (a saint at Sens), and Sanctanus, which is said to have yielded the Sannan of Llan Sannan (Lloyd, 150). That Sant was Dewi's father is attested by all the evidence known to me. In *B. y S.* (a) and (b), Sant is affiliated to Cedig, son of Ceredig, which Cedig is given as father of St. Avan of Buell (in *P.K.*). But the latter and all other old and reliable sources make Dewi to be son of Sant, son of Ceredig, son of Cunedda Wledig (§ 68). Sant's mother was Meleri, daughter of Brychan, who gave his name to Brycheiniog, "Brecon," the land of Brychan (*Y C.*, xix. 26). That Sant was so by merit as well as by name is shown by the existence of at least one church of his, Lezant in Cornwall, which lies between two foundations of St. Non, Bradstone and Altarnun, and has a Landue, perhaps "the *llan* of Dewi," within its parochial bounds. Prince Sant became St. Sant.

Ceredigion, "the land of Ceredig," son of Cunedda, and grandfather of St. David. The word is from *Caraticiana* (Lloyd, 119). It was normally co-extensive with modern Cardiganshire, and continued to be governed by its own line of kings for some four to five centuries, whose names have been preserved (*Y C.*, ix. 180-1). See note to § 14.

Teivi, the river which bounds Ceredigion to the south, and enters the sea at Cardigan, in Welsh Aberteivi.

Llyn Henllan, "the Pool of Henllan." The Latin has *linhenlanu*, doubtless for *lin henlann*. Henllan, "old monastery," is on the Teivi; its church is St. David's.

Maucannus. It would seem that normally this name should yield *Mawgan* in modern Welsh. In Cornwall are two parish churches called St. Mawgan, and there is some slight evidence, but hardly convincing, that Porth Mawr or Whitesand Bay, near St. David's, was once called Porth Mawgan. In § 3 below, St. Patrick is made to leave Wales at Porth Mawr, but in one of the paintings, done in 1676, on the ceiling of the Church of St. Divy-la-Forêt, near Landerneau, in Finistère, Brittany, a French inscription states that Patrick embarked at *Port Maugan*, and the picture of a town by the sea is called *Portus Maugan* (*L.B.S.*, ii. 320-1). As these names could hardly have been invented for the occasion, one assumes that the people responsible for the pictures used some original now lost to us. There is a creek to the N.W. of Porth Mawr, marked Porth Melgan on the ordnance maps, but locally called Porth Milgan, which can hardly be a corruption of

P. Mawgan. Like local "Sisneg" from Saesneg through "Seisneg," so "Milgan" may be from Maelgan through "Meilgan." There can be no doubt that *Maucannus* was a real name, borne, for example, by a sixth-century king of Powys, *Maucann* or *Maucant*, son of Pascent (*Y C.*, ix. 179, 181); it appears also, strangely, in a list of Roman emperors, where it seems to be a bungle for Macrinus (*ib.*, 177). In the Life of St. Cadog (*C.B.S.*, 94) a holy man called *Moucan* and *Maucan* intervenes in a dispute between the saint and Maelgwn Gwynedd, from which it would seem as though two distinct names were being confused, namely, *Maucan*, which yields Mawgan, and *Moucan*, which gives Meugan. It is certainly remarkable that, whereas we find Mawgan, but not Meugan, in Cornish place-names, it is the reverse in Wales, where we find many places called after Meugan, but none apparently after Mawgan. There is a very familiar Welsh saint, Meugan, of whom, however, little or nothing is known, commemorated, or formerly so, in the four corners of Wales: in the N.W. in Anglesey at Capel Meugan, under Llandegvan; in the N.E. in Denbighshire at Llanrhudd, otherwise Llanveugan, the mother church of Ruthin; in the S.E. in Breconshire at Llanveugan; and in the S.W. in Carmarthenshire at Capel Meugan, near Cilymaenllwyd (Lhwyd's *Parochialia*, iii. 65), and especially in Cemes, N. Pembrokeshire, at Llanveugan in or near Bridell. Whether the Mawgan, or Meugan, of Irish hagiology was the same man remains to be seen. In the Life of St. Enda, § 6, he is called *Maucen*, the master of the monastery of Rosnat or Whithern on Wigton Bay, the *Candida Casa*, "white house" of Bede (*H.E.*, iii. 4); whilst in § 20 he is called *Monend*, "my Nennius," for it appears from s.-col. 915, that he was also known as *Nennyo* (*V.S.H.*, I. lxiii. n. 3, etc.). This is the same name as Nynias, whom Bede (*l.c.*) extols as an early fifth-century British missionary in S. Scotland. That *Maucan*, or *Moucant*, was an important personage in the early history of the Church in Wales is also shown by the use of the name by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who in his historical romance (*H.R.B.*, vi. 18) makes *Maugantius* to be a kind of learned druid, whom Vortigern consulted on dark sayings; and later (ix. 15) makes *Mauganius* to be raised by Arthur to the see of Silchester.

Monastery of Maucannus. From what has just been said, this should normally be in modern Welsh a name compounded of *llan* and *Mawgan*, which is not known to exist. If the personal name stands, or has been made to stand, for *Mougan*, later *Meugan*, the monastery should now be known as Llan Veugan. Such a name survives in or near Bridell in Cemes, N. Pembrokeshire, accompanied by Pistyll Meugan (his Spout), Cwm Meugan (his Dingle), and Dyffryn Meugan (his Glen), all less than three miles S. of the river Teivi. It was once celebrated as "St. Meugan's in Kemes." A great fair to the saint's honour, called Ffair Veugan, was and is held at Eglwysrwrw close by (it seems to have been once held at St. Meugan's itself) on the Monday after Martinmas (Old Style); a similar fair was held at St. Dogmaels, another neighbouring parish (*O's P.*, i. 100, 143). For the utter demolition of St. Meugans in 1592 by order of the Privy Council, see *O's P.*, i. 271-2.

Monastery of the Deposit. This was another name for the "Monastery of Maucannus," which I conjecture to have been Llan Veugan in or near Bridell. And I submit that the name "Monastery of the Deposit" is now represented by Bridell, for an older "Llan Bridell."

If we suppose that the identity of *Monasterium Depositum* was forgotten, it would be very natural for a Welsh writer of the twelfth century to think that it stood for "Llan Adneu," inasmuch as "adneu" was at that time a regular and familiar term in Welsh law for "deposit" (e.g. *W.M.L.* 118). This name, "Llan Adneu," actually occurs in Gwynvardd's poem to Dewi in the list which he gives of twenty churches "owned" by the Saint (*Y G.*, 82). As no such place as "Llan Adneu" is known to exist, the next step would be to identify it with some place bearing a name of more or less similar sound. Such a place would be Llan Arthneu (which in the *B.L.L.*, 279, is "lan hardneu"), some seven miles E. of Carmarthen; and the identification is made by Rice Rees in his *Essay*, 51, and by Lloyd (158, n. 165), who thinks that "Llan Adneu" was a current erroneous derivation from Llan Arthneu. But Llan Arthneu does not seem to have ever been associated with *Maucannus*, as Rhygyvarch's datum demands. Another guess would be Laney, as the place is locally called, in a detached portion of Llanrheithan parish, near St. Davids, which appears as "Landenev" in the *B.B. St. D.*, p. 70. It lies between Llan Non and Tre Veugan, "Meugan's homestead," which last is some quarter mile to the south.

But there was another legal term in Welsh, which in or prior to Rhygyvarch's time might have been represented in Latin by *depositum*, and which appears to have been always associated with land; if we may judge from its total absence in the law books of Gwynedd and its rarity in other law books, it was becoming in the twelfth century more or less obsolete. This word was *prid*, which Owen (*A.L.*, ii. 1124) defines as "*price*;"—the price given to the lord for the tenure of land." In 1909 (*W.M.L.*, 345) I defined it as "price, value, equivalent, payable in certain circumstances for land." It seems to have signified any security value for rights over land. Bodvan Anwyl in his *Welsh-English Dictionary*, 8th ed., adds "ransom" and "pledge" as meanings; also *pridio*, to ransom, *prido*, to pawn, and *pridwerth*, purchase-money, ransom, as in St. Matt. xx. 28. If this was the word intended by Rhygyvarch, then Llan Veugan would also have been known as "Llan Brid," which does not occur. But we have Bridell, which is a mutated diminutive of *prid*, and which I conjecture stands for "Llan Bridell." The church of Bridell is dedicated to St. David. See next note.

These gifts. With this passage compare the following extract from *D.S.B.*: "A boar came from the wood and stood by the bank of the river *Ischir*, and behind it in the river was a stag, and under the belly of the stag was a fish. These three portended that Brachan would be fortunate in supply of wealth. Moreover, there was standing on the shore of the aforesaid river a beech tree, in which bees were making honey. And Drichan said to Brachan, his foster son, 'Lo, I give thee this tree full of bees and honey, also of gold and silver, and may the

grace of God and his love abide with thee always, here and hereafter.'"

In this strange passage we have fish, stag (also boar), and bees in some way symbolizing possession for Brychan, as they do for St. David. It would seem that there was a time when a man's lordship over uncultivated land was declared by his right to all the honey, fish, and wild animals in it. In the earliest MS. extant of the Laws of Howel, viz. the Peniarth MS. 28, which, written in the last quarter of the twelfth century, is a Latin translation of a South Welsh law book, we read (*A.L.*, ii. 766): "A *mayr* and *kymellaur* [royal officials] ought to guard the king's waste, and they shall have the honey, and the fish, and the small sylvan animals, that is, *preuet* [modern Welsh, *pryved*], until the king shall do his will concerning it, and until men shall come to inhabit it." It is clear that at first, when the land was uninhabited, the *prid* or "preciousness" of the land would be represented only by the honey, fish, and game. This *prid* is symbolized by a reservation of pieces of honeycomb, fish, and a wild animal such as a stag or a boar, which becomes a pledge of lordship. It may be that afterwards, when the land was inhabited, and greater value could be obtained from it in the form of food rents, etc., the original *prid* of honey, fish, and game might have been designated **pridell*, the lesser *prid*, whence our Bridell, whilst *prid* might have come to be applied to more substantial profits. The above section from the Latin law book continues as follows: "Afterwards that land will be under the king, subject to laws as other land. Only of *tunc* [money equivalent of food rents] and *pryt* [other charges] do the *mayr* and *kymellaur* not take share with the king." This might mean that the royal officials had the original *prid*, but not the newer forms of *prid*, such as those mentioned in the following triad (*W.M.L.*, 53; *A.L.*, i. 550), which I translate thus: "There are three kinds of *prid* on land: one is, *gobyr gwarchadw*, fee for custody; a second is, chattels which may be given to augment land or its privilege; a third is, lawful labour which may be done on the land, whereby the land is improved."

Rhygyvarch clearly did not understand the purport of the "deposit," to which he gives the fantastic explanation that they were "mystical gifts," foretelling Dewi's wisdom, asceticism, and victory over evil. But the Welsh Life (105) is nearer the mark, which gives the following remarkable equivalent for the passage: "And to (Sant) an angel appeared in his sleep, and said to him, 'To-morrow,' said he, 'thou wilt go to hunt, and thou wilt find three finds by the bank of the river Teivi, to wit, a stag, and a salmon, and a swarm of bees in a tree above the river in the place which is now called Henllan. Grant the right over the land to be kept for a son not yet born. He shall own two places until the judgment day,' which are mentioned above, Linhenllan and Litoninancan." From this it is clear (a) that the translator or his original identified "Linhenlanu" with Henllan on the river Teivi; (b) that a passage is omitted, which gave the two place-names, for he says, "which are mentioned above," and they are not mentioned; (c) that he had the form "Linhenlanu" or "Linhenlann" before him; (d) that the stag, salmon, and bees were somehow connected with "right over land." It is also evident that the last part of *Litoninancan*

is *-maucan* to equate with the Latin "of Maucann"; likewise *Liton-* should stand for "monastery." Phillimore compares *lytu teliau* in the *B.L.L.*, 120, where *lytu* is *populus* in the Latin equivalent (*ib.*, 118), and is translated "community" by the editors (*ib.*, 365); "*llydw*, a host, household, community" (Strachan's *Introduction to Early Welsh*, 267).

of the Aquatic Life. With this compare *David Aquilentus*, D. the Waterman, § 42, *David Vir Aquaticus*, Gerald's translation of the Welsh *Dewi Deverur* (iii. 379), and *Dewi Dyfyrwr* added to initial rubric above (see note). In the Life of St. Paul Aurelian, written in A.D. 884, that is, some two centuries before Rhygyvarch wrote his Life of St. David, where it is said that SS. Paul, Samson, Gildas, and *David* were fellow-disciples under St. Illtud, St. David is described as "surnamed *Aquaticus*" (*Rev. Celtique*, v. 421). Thus there can be no manner of doubt that this is a genuine and an ancient appellation of Dewi Sant; and that the term is specially applied to him indicates that he was the "Waterman" *par excellence*.

But that St. David was not the only "Waterman" is proved by the place-name *Llan Ddyvrwyr*, the Monastery of the Watermen, two examples of which are known. The first is Llanddowror in Carmarthenshire; the second was in Monmouthshire on the river Usk, probably Tredonock, called *Landubrguir* in the Life of St. Cadog, and *Landaverguir* and *Landauer Guir* in the Life of St. Cybi (*C.B.S.*, 50, 184; *L.B.S.*, iv. 380). Llanddowror, by the Carmarthenshire Tav, is called *Ecclesia Aquilensium*, the Church of the Watermen, and its land *territorium Aquilentium*, the territory of the Watermen (*B.L.L.*, 77), while its legend is as follows (*ib.*, 127-9). Cynwaew, a man of Dougleddyv, of good lineage but very poor, was troubled with too many children. He and his wife consulted St. Teilo, who advised them not to cohabit, which advice they followed for seven years and then broke. The result was that the wife gave birth to seven sons at one time, whereupon Cynwaew took them to the river Tav to drown them. At *Ryt Sinetic* St. Teilo rescued them one by one, baptized them, and brought them up. He sent them to a monastery of his called Llandeilo, which now took with some the name of Llan Ddyvrwyr, the Monastery of the Watermen, "because on account of their life of religion they lived on no other food than aquatic fishes, even to suffice for their number, for seven fishes were daily sent them by God on a stone in the river Tav, which stone took its name from them, namely, *Lech Meneich*, Monks' Slab. And again they were called *Dyvrwyr* because they were found in water, and were rescued through water, and were maintained by fishes from the water, for *Dyvrwyr*, a British word, means Water men." Whenever St. Teilo visited them, eight fishes were found on the stone, the eighth being larger than the rest and clearly meant for Teilo. After a while the seven brethren went to Mathry in Pebydiog, and were there known as *Seith Seint Mathru*, the Seven Saints of Mathry. From here they went to Cenarth Mawr, where they died, leaving the estates, wherewith they had been endowed at Mathry and Cenarth by King Agricola of Dyved, to St. Teilo and his successors.

In this § 2 it is said that David was surnamed "of the Aquatic Life" because he drank nothing but water. From § 4 we gather that his mother, St. Non, also ranged herself among the Water-folk. In § 50 we read that he provided St. Daniel and St. Dubricius with a supper of fish, with bread and water. Gerald (VI. 104) preserves a tradition that all the successors of St. David till Bishop Morgeneu, who was killed in 999, abstained from meat—"Morgeneu was the first of the bishops of Menevia to eat flesh, and on that account was slain by pirates. Wherefore also that same night, the last he spent, he appeared to a certain bishop in Ireland, showing his wounds and saying, 'Because I ate flesh, I am become flesh.'" From this, and from the picture of the hard life of the Menevian monks in §§ 21-31, Lloyd (155-6) is led to suppose, "that St. David's was a monastery of that stricter pattern which caused Gildas, if the extracts cited under his name on this subject are really his, so much anxiety in his later years. Monks, he complains, are forsaking their old allegiance in many monasteries of the ancient and less exacting type in order to join communities having a more rigorous ideal, in which the eating of meat, the drinking of all beverages save water, the use of horses and carriages are abjured. Bread is eaten by measure; oxen are discarded so that the zeal of the brethren may show itself in the drawing of ploughs, and meanwhile, such is the burden of his lament, there is a notable falling off in Christian charity and a dangerous uprising of the pharisaic spirit" (for the Gildasian extracts see Williams' *Gildas*, 257-69).

It is curious that Dubricius bears a name which is simply a latinization of the Welsh *Dubric*, later *Dywrig*, meaning "waterling." That the British heresiarch of the same century, Pelagius, should also have borne a "water" name is perhaps a mere coincidence. It would be hard to believe, however, that such a man as Pelagius was not a staunch supporter of "teetotalism."

§ 3. Before Bishop Patrick arrived in Ireland in A.D. 432, he must have made preparations in Britain. That such preparations should have occurred in South Wales before he embarked at Porth Mawr is not improbable. Dr. Newport White (*St. Patrick*, 12-13) says, "The language of the Confession implies three occasions on which Patrick was the object of adverse criticism. (1) We may suppose that c. 46 ('many were forbidding this embassy,' etc.), refers to the time when Patrick first mooted the notion of a mission to Ireland. Then (2) there came an attack in Britain (c. 32), when Patrick's 'dearest friend' fought for him in his absence. And finally (3), the deadliest blow of all (c. 26-33), when 'not a few of his elders,' supported by his quondam dearest friend, 'came and urged his sins against his laborious episcopate.' I would venture to suggest that these dim hints possibly indicate that Patrick's evangelizing work in Ireland, as distinguished from his work as bishop, began before the year 432. In the first place, it is difficult to see what ground Patrick could have given the *seniores* for their second attack, if he had not *done* something to irritate them. Again, unlearned as he was, Patrick must have given Germanus some proof of his powers to justify his consecration as missionary bishop, at once, on the death of Palladius." Then

Dr. White makes the suggestion that Patrick's "dearest friend" was no other than Germanus, and that the third attack was made by Germanus when he visited Britain the second time, about 447. Now the Life of St. David states that Patrick, before he went to Ireland as bishop, spent some time in Ceredigion and Dyved. It is possible that he was doing Irish work from these parts. The first Life of St. Carannog (*C.B.S.*, 97-8) seems to bear the stamp of truth, when it says that Carannog, the uncle of St. David, went to Ireland the same year as Bishop Patrick, *the latter going first*. It looks as though the two saints were working together, and that now the new bishop, anxious and eager, was hurrying before the other to complete arrangements in Dyved before setting sail. St. Patrick does not appear to have left any traces of himself in the topography of Ceredigion, unless we regard Capel Padrig in Nevern, which is in Cemes, as such, for Cemes appears to have been debatable ground between the two kingdoms, and remains to this day *ecclesiastically* in the Archdeaconry of Cardigan. In Dyved he was remembered at what is now Pembroke Dock, still locally known as Patter Dock, where once was Patter Church, or Patrick Church (Owen's *Old Pembroke Families*, 76), and at some three or four spots in St. David's parish. St. Issel's, near Tenby, commemorates an Auxilius, who may have been that one of Patrick's associates (Bury, 163), whose name is preserved in Killishea, or Kill-ossy, near Naas, of which last place St. David is patron. Auxilius and Iserninus seem to have been Patrick's most important coadjutors, whose names, and no others, are joined with his in the preamble to the Irish Canons (White's *St. Patrick*, 123-4). One's confidence in the evidence of the Life of St. Carannog is strengthened by the ancient association in Ireland itself of this saint, there called Cernach (*C.B.S.*, 98), or Cairnech, with St. Patrick in the compilation of the Irish code of law, the *Senchus Mor*, "great antiquity." In Cormac's *Glossary*, tenth century, nine persons are named as having drawn up the original code, three kings, three lawyers, and three saints. The three saints are Patrick, Benén, and Cairnech. Bury (355-7) is impressed by the fact that of these nine persons, only five, including Patrick himself and king Loigaire, are conspicuous in the lives and legends of Patrick. Of the other four only one appears, whilst the remaining three, including Cairnech, are not mentioned at all. This tells for truth. Wherefore he concludes that the record "has a genuine and ancient basis." St. Carannog was buried in his own monastery at Dulane, 2½ miles N. of Kells, co. Meath (*C.B.S.*, 100).

Dyved. At the time Rhygyvarch was writing, Dyved would normally have meant the whole of what is now Pembrokeshire, and also the west of Carmarthenshire as far as a line drawn roughly from Abergwili on the river Towi to Llandysul on the river Teivi. Such had been the normal limits of Dyved for about three centuries. But previous to this Dyved had included as well the whole of the remainder of Carmarthenshire between the river Towi and the river Teivi, a district of seven cymwds grouped together under the name of Cantrev Mawr. Lewys Dwnn (*Heraldic Visitation of Wales*, i. 20), in Queen Elizabeth's reign, found reason to go even further, for he says, "The boundaries

of the kingdom of Dyved were formerly between the river Teivi and the river Towi from Llyn Teivi and the source of the Towi to Dewi's Land; and the centre of this kingdom was at the Dark Gate in Carmarthen; and there is to-day a record of these bounds in an old parchment book of the Bishop of St. Davids." This would carry Dyved northwards beyond Strata Florida, and, as we may note, would include Llanddewi Vrevi. The diminution of Dyved occurred about A.D. 750-800, when king Seisyll of Ceredigion, possibly through invasion and conquest, took over the three cantrevs which lie E. of Carmarthen town between the river Teivi and the river Tawe (say between Lampeter and Swansea). These three cantrevs added to the four of Ceredigion made up the new kingdom of Seisyllwg, *i.e.* Seisyll's land (*Mab. R.B.* 25). The diminished Dyved from its king, Rhain ab Maredudd, took on the name of Rheinwg, *i.e.* Rhain's land.

wandering about. Gerald (III. 380) mentions by name the cantrev or hundred, in which Vallis Rosina lies, thus, "where at length after wandering about he entered the angular district of Pepidiauc," later Pebydiog, *i.e.* the land of Pebyd. It does not appear that Pebyd has been identified. The existence of a hill in Cemes, the adjoining cantrev, called Mynydd Pebyd, in Eglwysrw, would seem to indicate that the original Pebydiog was more extensive than the one with which subsequent ages were familiar. The last in English was called Dewi's Land, now Dewsland. Very roughly it is the district which lies to the N.W. of Pembrokeshire between Fishguard Bay and St. Bride's Bay. About 1536 Leland (64-5) finds that "S. David-Land beginnith at Newgulle," and that the river Gwaun divides Pebydiog from that part of the parish of Fishguard which lies in Cemes. In 1617, however, according to the evidence of ancient residents, at an Inquisition held at Fishguard on August 19 of that year, Goodwick River, which divides Fishguard and Llanwnda parishes, also divided the hundreds of Dewsland and Cemes, so that the whole of Fishguard was in Cemes (Pritchard's *St. Dogmael's Abbey*, 197-8). There is a note in MS. c of the Latin-Welsh Chronicle (*Trs. C.S.*, 1899-1900, p. 177) to the effect that Pebydiog was given to the bishops of St. Davids by Rhys ab Tewdwr, king of the Deheubarth, in 1082. And Gerald (III. 154) says that "the whole cantrev of Pebydiog was conferred on St. Davids by the pious bounty of the princes of South Wales." He complains that Bernard, the first Norman French Bishop of St. Davids (1115-1147), very indiscreetly divided it among the magnates of the country, providing only small portions for the prebends though a goodly share was reserved to supply the bishop's table. "In this Bernard's time, too, the land of Fishguard of the province of Pebydiog was sworn away." It is clear from a well-known section in the Laws of Howel Dda (*d.* 950), that long before the time of Rhys ab Tewdwr the bishops of St. Davids had received favours from the kings of Dyved, for there we read that "Mynyw is free from every due" (*W.M.L.*, 121). George Owen's account (*O's P.*, i. 48-9) is as follows: "*Dewisland* is that which was in Ancient tyme called the Cantre of *Pebidiok*, and so is it called of all the welshmen to this daie. It tooke the name of *Dewislande* amonge the Englishmen, for that it was given

to the bushoppsea of *St. Dawides*, which *St. dauide* was called in welsh *Dewy*, and therefore the Englishmen called it *Dewisland*, as the landes of *St. Dawides*. And that name beinge given to the hundred at the first tyme yt was made a hundred, the same soe contynueth still." He also tells us (*ib.*, 39) that Dewsland retained the Welsh language because the Norman French invaders cared not to harry Church estates, which to them would be "a prophane and Impiouse offence." Gerald (VI. 127) compares Pebydiog with Anglesey, arid and stony lands, ugly in appearance and unpleasant. The cantrev of Pebydiog was divided into two cymwds, the smaller one to the north, called Pencaer, *i.e.* "fortress end," as it contained the strong *caer* or fortress, now known as Y Garn Vawr, "the great rock." The cymwd of Pencaer would seem to have been coterminous with the parish of Llan Wnda. The rest of the cantrev was the cymwd of Mynyw.

Vallis Rosina, the "Valley" in which St. David's Cathedral now stands, surrounded by gaunt, desolate ruins, piteous to behold. The little stream, Alun, flows through it, the source of which is traceable some six miles from where it empties itself into the sea. "Its course, though tortuous, is in general from N.N.E. to S.S.W., and for the last two or three miles runs through a narrow and winding dell" (*J.F.*, 5). This "narrow and winding dell" from about Pont y Penyd to the sea, owing to its depth as compared with the upper portion of the river's course seems to have been distinguished for ages as the *nant*, *vallis*, or vale, specially so called. George Owen (1552—1613) says, "St. Davids church, close, and Canons houses called the valley" (*O's P.*, i. 109); also (*Survey*, 48-9), "The Town stands upon a Hill above the Bottom in which the Church stands, which is call'd the Valley"; and again, "The Valley is enclos'd with a very high Wall, by which and the Gates, when well look'd to, the Church-men would formerly have defended themselves against a whole Country that should have come against them with Spears and Shields." Browne Willis (34) tells us in 1715 that the Close "from its low Situation with respect to the Town, is call'd the Valley." In 1811 Richard Fenton (35) of Glynâmel, who was born and brought up at St. Davids, writes of "the little cheerful vale, justly called the Merry Vale, through which the Alan glitters in its meandering course." In 1856 Jones and Freeman (10) speaking of the four townships of St. Davids, each of which is called *cylch*, circle, say, "To these must be added the Close or Valley, which is extra-parochial." In present day Ordnance Survey maps the course of the Alun, S. of the Close, is marked Merry Vale, which by the Welsh is called Virival, as Pont V., and Ffynnon y V.; on an 1853 tombstone in the churchyard I saw "Verivall." From all this it follows that *Vallis Rosina* never meant the whole course of the Alun from Llangige Vach to Porthclais, but only the "Valley." Much less does it mean (as when we read in § 16 of *Bwya*, the Druid chieftain, giving St. David "the whole of *Vallis Rosina* for a perpetual possession") all the cymwd of Mynyw, and even the cantrev of Pebydiog, as has been stupidly asserted.

Rosina. Gerald (VI. 107), says, "The spot, where the Church of Menevia is situated, and founded in honour of the blessed Apostle,

Andrew, is called Vallis Rosina, which might preferably be named *marmorea*, of marble, rather than *rosea*, of roses, or *rosina*, since it abounds very little in roses, but very much in marble." From this it is evident that Gerald supposed Vallis Rosina to mean *vallis rosea*, rosy valley, whence writers have confirmed themselves in the notion that *rosina* is a latinization of the Welsh *rhosyn*, a rose; but *rhosyn* "is a mere loan-word, with the Welsh masculine singulative-suffix. The true Welsh word for 'roses' was *breilw*" (*Y C.*, xi. 201). It is more likely that *rosina* is connected with *rhos*, moor. A form of this word, *rhosan*, was once familiar in the language spoken at St. Davids, as shown by the name of Rhoson, a farm between Clegyr Vwya and Porth Sinan. There too we find Rhoson Ganol and Rhoson Isa (middle and lower Rh.), north of Carn Roson (Rh. rock). All these lie immediately west of a moor, from which, doubtless, the name is derived. This moor, though now called Treveiddan after an adjoining farm, might quite as well have been designated Rhoson Moor, and indeed a bit of it to the N.E. is so designated, viz. Waun Rh., which means Rh. Moor. Moreover, that one of the seven islands or rocks, known as Bishops and Clerks, which is due west of Rhoson Farm, is called Carreg Rhoson, and near it is Maen Rhoson. The word *Rhoson* is dialectical for older *Rhosan* (see the pre-Reformation *Liber Communis* of the Cathedral Church, J.F., 375, 378, etc., where it is spelt *Rossan*; also O's *P.*, i. 113, *Carreg y rossan*), with which may be compared our Pembrokeshire *diofol* (diofal), *hoson* (hosan), *gofol* (gofal), etc. It is the Welsh name for Ross in Herefordshire, *Rhosan ar Wy*, Rh. on Wye (*Report of MSS. in Welsh*, i. 920), and is found elsewhere as in the name of the Rhosan brook, Cil y Cwm, Carmarthen-shire. It seems to be a diminutive of *rhos*, meaning "little swamp."

Now it is remarkable that St. David built his original monastery on a little swamp, what Jones and Freeman (38) term a "quagmire," in the "Valley." Fenton (41) says, "The cathedral church of St. David's, from some particular attachment to the primitive sanctity of the spot, was built in damp, boggy ground, nor was the veneration for the ancient site at all lessened when the present fabric rose under the auspices of Peter de Leia [bishop from 1176 to 1203], who, to make room for the extension of the building eastward, excavated the hill till he bared the spring, the *origo mali*, that fed the moisture which rendered it necessary to raise the building on piles. This spring, the miraculous Pistyll Dewi, afterwards sainted, and referred to with superstitious veneration by Giraldus [III. 390], and which, now choked up with rubbish, I remember open, and yielding water of the finest quality, though not overflowing with wine or milk, was always most unaccountably suffered to lose itself under the church, thereby continuing the mischief it was meant from the first to obviate or to remedy, and which must unavoidably hasten the downfall of the venerable fabric." It is not impossible, or improbable, that Vallis Rosina was so called after this "quagmire" in it, upon which the Cathedral stands, that these Latin forms represent some such original as Nant Rhosan (of which Nant Rhosyn might be a variant), and therefore that the meaning is simply "the valley of the little bog." This was not the

common name in Rhygyvarch's day, who tells us (§ 15) that the Welsh generally called it Hodnant or Hoddnant.

that the place was pleasant. It is Gerald (III. 380), who is responsible for the common opinion that Vallis Rosina was selected because of its seclusion, for he paraphrases this passage as follows: "Arriving, therefore, at the place, which is called Vallis Rosina, and perceiving and considering that the place was very remote from the noisy crowd, a place, owing to its delightful solitude on the Irish Sea, suitable for religion and contemplation, he conceived in his heart, and vowed as a fixed and established thing in his mind, that he would surrender himself to God in that place in devoted service till his latest breath." There is nothing of this in Rhygyvarch, who gives no hint that the spot was chosen for its remoteness. Rather is the spot the nearest and most accessible centre to all the "saints" of Scotland, Ireland, Man, Wales, the Devonian Peninsula and Brittany. Vallis Rosina lies midway between Porth Mawr and Porth Clais, whence the small craft of those days could sail north or west and south or east respectively. By placing the monastery in the valley it was protected from the fierce winds, which blow seaward and landward over the plain of Dewsland. Thus the spot was carefully chosen, not as being remote, but on the contrary, as being in the very heart of the monastic activities of Britons and Irish. Nor can it be doubted that to this St. Davids owed most of its marvellous success.

the Seat of Patrick. Rhygyvarch tells us plainly that "the Seat of Patrick" was in Vallis Rosina. His words are: *de sede que est in Rosina Ualle que modo Sedes Patricii nominatur*, from the seat, which is in Vallis Rosina, which now is named the Seat of Patrick. In view of this precise statement, it is amazing that writers should have sought for it elsewhere than in the "Valley," and should still be continuing to do so. John of Tynemouth (*N.L.A.*, i. 255) inserts the following bracketed words into Rhygyvarch's text: *ex loco in quo stabat [et erat vallis satis magna, in quo est lapis, super quem stetit, ante hostium cuiusdam capella antique; quem ego oculis vidi et manibus palpaui] totam prospexit insulam*, from the place in which he was standing [it was a rather large valley, wherein is a stone on which he stood, before the door of a certain ancient chapel, which I saw with my eyes, and touched with my hands] he viewed the whole island. The words I have bracketed take the place of the following in the original: *qui modo Sedes Patricii dicitur*, which now is called the Seat of Patrick. This proves that in John of Tynemouth's time (c. 1290-1350), the "Seat of Patrick," which was *lapis*, a stone, was still in the "Valley." Yet Jones and Freeman (228) will have it that "Parc y Capel" at the northern end of Whitesand Bay, at the foot of Carn Lleity, marks the site! "There can be no doubt" (they tell us) that the Chapel, "probably" St. Patrick's Chapel, was erected on the spot!

There are four places in St. David's parish associated with St. Patrick, two of which are in the "Valley." These are (1) *Porth Padrig*, the south gate of the Close; (2) the Treasury within the Close, where according to popular tradition, of which Jones and Freeman (219) make fun, St. Patrick was born (the embattled wall of the garden

still remains, and contains a gateway with a stone seat for a porter, which I do not say is the Seat of Patrick, but, as we know it was a stone, it may have survived in this fashion); (3) *Carn Badrig*, Patrick's Rock, on Carswidge farm, a few steps S.W. of the house (I am indebted to Mrs. Dawson, late of St. Davids, for telling me of this, and to Mr. Howel James of Carswidge for taking me there, May 2, 1918); and (4) *Parc y Capel*, at Porth Mawr, which, as Jones and Freeman (228) cautiously say, "*probably* marks the place of St. Patrick's Chapel." The earliest evidence known to me for attributing this Chapel to St. Patrick is that of George Owen (*d.* 1613) in Browne Willis' *Survey*, 54.

Of course it would have been a marvel had St. Patrick seen all Ireland from the top of Carn Lleity, but it is one of the points of the story that the saint was allowed by God to see the whole of the island from a *valley*. Mountains and seas were miraculously lowered that the future Apostle of Ireland might take in the vision of the task before him, which by the greater miracle of the grace of God he did so well. Jones and Freeman (228) saw that the wonder was increased by the mention of mountains, but they must have considerably stretched their imaginations if they considered *Parc y Capel* to be in a valley, and still more so if they supposed it to lie in a valley "rather large."

Porth Mawr is now the Welsh name of the whole of Whitesand Bay, some mile and a half to the N.W. of the Cathedral. This bay is of oval form, stretching from St. David's Head in the north to a sea rock in the south called Y Gawlog. The distance between these points is a mile. Within this oval bend there are some four creeks, such as Porth Milgan below the Head, and Porth Seli, "Solomon's Creek," near Y Gawlog. But the most commodious is Porth Mawr, strictly so-called, "the large creek," which is at the mouth of a tiny stream, curiously known as Avon Vawr, "large river," perhaps short for Avon Porth Mawr, where is the site of the ancient chapel, which has long been regarded, but with what authority I cannot tell, as St. Patrick's, and where too the road from St. Davids terminates. A farm, to which the name of the creek has attached itself, is close by on the southern slope of Carn Lleity. In front of Porth Mawr is a broad stretch of firm sand over half a mile in length at low water of ordinary tides, whence one could then walk on it to Porth Seli. It is called Trâth Mawr, "large beach." On the landward side of Trâth Mawr are the Burrows, in Welsh Towyn, "sand," being an extensive tract of blown sand, beneath which human imagination has pictured anything from a cathedral church to a Roman "station." Porth Mawr is the harbour of St. Davids for Ireland and the north, as Porth Clais is the harbour of St. Davids for the shores of the Severn Sea and the English Channel.

The earliest reference to Porth Mawr known to me shows that from early times it was a recognised point of departure from South Wales to Ireland. In *D.S.B.* there is a record of a journey from near Llanvaes in Breconshire to Ireland. The travellers stopped the first night at Llansevin, near Llangadog Vawr, by the river Towi. The second

night they stopped at Meidrym, also in Carmarthenshire. And the third night they reached Porth Mawr, where they embarked for Ireland. The head of this party was Marchell, afterwards wife of Anlach, an Irish king, and mother of Brychan, who gave his name to Brycheiniog (*Y C.*, xix. 24). This Marchell may have given her name to Caer Varchell, "Marcella's Fort" not far E. of Dowiog Common. St. David was her descendant in the fifth generation. Gerald (VI. 165), mentions "*Porthmaur* at Menevia, that is, Great Harbour," and (VI. 108) tells of Henry II. landing there from Ireland in *portu Menevensi*, in the harbour of Menevia, whence the king proceeded to the Valley, being met by a procession of canons *apud Albam Portam*, at Porthgwyn, which was the west entrance to the Close. Leland, c. 1536, notes, "Port Maure, where is a greate sande with a short estuary into the lande," that is, at the mouth of the stream; also "And sum say that there hath bene a castel at or aboute Port Maur, but the tokens be not very evidente" (*Itinerary*, 1906, pp. 64-5). George Owen (*d.* 1613) says, "The next noted Place upon this Coast, is *Port-mawr*. It is no Road for Ships, being in a manner dry when the Tide is out. But then the Country People throw their *Sayns*, or large Nets, in Summer Time along this Bay, and catch what Fish are there within that Compass. The chiefest Fish they catch are Suens. This Bay is near Capel-Patrick" (*Survey*, 62). Casting *rhwyd sâŵ*, the seine net, for salmon, etc., is no longer done at Porth Mawr, but is to be seen further up the coast, as at Fishguard, Newport, and St. Dogmael's.

Criumther. Doubtless a mistake for *Cruimther*, which is Irish for "priest," equating with Welsh *prydyer*, from "presbyter." It may be, as stated in the text, a personal name (cf. *Sacerdos*, the name of a British priest, who attended the Council of Arles in 314). Gerald (iii. 381) gives the name of the man raised from the dead at Porth Mawr as *Dunaudus*, i.e. Dunawd, or Dunod, a Welsh name borrowed from the Latin *Donat-us* (see § 18 and note). That St. Patrick should have taken with him as a fellow-worker to Ireland an old priest, who had been "buried," let us say "stationed," for 12 years at Porth Mawr, is not incredible. Anyhow the story implies that the chapel, which formerly stood in *Parc y Capel* at Porth Mawr, and now attributed to Patrick, represents an ecclesiastical foundation older than the days of his episcopacy, i.e. before A.D. 432.

§ 4. *community*. Latin *plebem*, whence is derived the Welsh *plwyf*, "parish." It first meant "people," "congregation," "community." I am uncertain as to the exact significance of the word here. Gerald (III., 379), who places this section before the last, says that Sant, "turning aside into the province of Dyved, had diverted into the parts of Pebydiog," which looks as though he had understood *plebs* to stand for *cantrev*, the "hundred" community, which he identifies with Pebydiog.

Nonnita. This name survives as Nynnid in the extinct church of Eglwys Nynnid, near Margam, Glamorganshire. As the genitive of a man's name it is found on an inscribed stone at Tregoney in Cornwall (*Y C.*, xviii. 20). But the mother of St. David is better known as

Nonn, spelt Non, as in the familiar place-name, Llan Non, which occurs at least five times in Wales: (1) in Llanrian, Pem.; (2) near Cregina, Rad.; (3) near Penbre, Carm.; (4) near Ilston, Gower, Glam.; (5) in Llansantffraid, Card.; to say nothing of Capel Non, over St. Non's Bay, in St. Davids. Rhygyvarch says nothing of her ancestry, but from his account that Sant met her in Dyved, apparently in "a community of the Demetic nation," and that it was in the days of Triphunus and his sons, whom we know to have been rulers of Dyved (*Y C.*, ix. 171), and that the child was baptized by St. Aelvyw, whose foundation in Wales is at St. Elvis near St. Davids, it is evident that he is implying that Nonnita was living in Dyved and was doubtless a Demetian girl. Gerald is much more definite, who makes Sant to meet Nonnita in Pebydiog (III. 379), and the pregnant girl to go to church at Caervorva (*ib.*, 381), which was south of the "Valley" and near the sea, and the child to be baptized at Porthclais (*ib.*, 383). In fact Gerald seems to locate all the incidents connected with St. Non, in Pebydiog, round about Capel Non, over St. Non's Bay.

In *B. j' S.* we are told that Non was the daughter of a certain Cynyr, who is said to have been "of Caer Gawch in Mynyw," a place which has not been identified. One copy, however (*c*), calls the spot Caer Gawc, whilst another (*b*), omits "in Mynyw" Caer Gawch is possibly for Caer Gawc. Phillimore draws attention to the name *Kaoc*, which Gerald (VI. 34, 81) applies twice to the cymwd of Cao in Cantrev Mawr. The extinct church of *Pumsaint*, "Five Saints," in Cao, is *pimpseint kaircaiau* in *B. Ll.*, 56, 62, 287. The juxtaposition of *Caer Gawc*, *Kaoc*, and *Kaircaiau* is very suggestive. Moreover, the father of the five saints is said to have been Cynyr, the authority for which is the *Cwrtmawr MS.* 44, written in the second half of the sixteenth century, called "A Kalendar of Welsh Saints," etc. (*Report on MSS. in Welsh*, ii. 936). The Festival of the five saints is made to coincide with All Saints' Day, and then we read, "they were brothers, who were born at the same time, at the same birth, to the same woman; and their father was called Cynyr Varvwyn, C. Whitebeard, from the parish of Cynwyl Gaeo in Carmarthenshire. Their names—*Gwynn*, *Gwnno*, *Gwnnoro*, *Kelnyn*, *Keitho*; and Keitho has a festival of his own" (*O's P.*, ii. 410-11).

bread and water. From this it is plain that Non joined her son and the other people "of the Aquatic Life" (see § 2); which is confirmed by the number of her churches in South Wales, the Devonian peninsula, and Brittany, often very near to churches of St. David. To those already enumerated add Bradstone in Devon, near the E. bank of the river Tamar; Pelynt in Cornwall, some three miles from the coast between Looe Bay and Fowey Harbour; Altarnun in Cornwall, some ten miles W. of Bradstone; and St. Non's Chapel in Grampound, also in Cornwall. She has a chapel at Dirinon, near Brest, in Finistère, and is also the patroness of Lagona-Laoulas in Quimper diocese. For these Cornish and Breton houses of Non I follow the authors of *L.B.S.*, iv. 23, 25.

level space. The two big stones, distant from each other the length of a human body, might have been a ruined cromlech. It would

appear to have been a different place from that of Dewi's birth mentioned in § 6 below.

§ 5. Geoffrey of Monmouth (vii. 3) refers to the incident contained in this section thus: "a preacher of Ireland shall be dumb on account of an infant growing in the womb." Geoffrey died in 1155. Caradog of Llancarvan, a contemporary (*H.R.B.*, xii. 20), in his Life of St. Gildas relates the same story, but his Latin is not *Rhygyvarch's*. He says the church was by the sea in Pebydiog (see Selections). An Irish version of the story is in the Life of St. Aelwyw with striking variations (see Selections).

a certain church. Caradog of Llancarvan, as we have just seen, describes this church as *maritima*, by the sea-shore, and as being "in the region of Pebydiog." Gerald (III. 381), some fifty years later, says it was "situated in the place called Kairmorva, that is *urbs maritima vel castrum*, maritime 'town' or fort." This has given rise to a widespread idea that there was a "town" by the sea at St. Davids, and much has been the anxiety to locate it. Jones and Freeman (38) thought this "town" was at Porthmawr or Whitesand Bay. They grounded their belief on the following evidence: (1) that on the Burrows there are some remains of uncertain date and use, bearing the popular name of "the Old Church"; (2) that Leland (64) writes: "And sum say that there hath beene a castel at or about Port Mawr, but the tokens be not very evidente"; (3) that Browne Willis (64), quoting from a lost MS. of George Owen (*d.* 1613), has, "In a House . . . call'd *Porth-mawr* from the Bay, there goes out of a Chamber a Passage under Ground that leads into the Sea; it is almost a quarter of a mile long. Why it was made is not known"; (4) also (*ib.*, 66), "There is said to have been a Town formerly near the Burrows, call'd *Caer-Leon*, which has its Name from old *Caer-Legion*, or *Caer-Len*, in Monmouthshire, from whence St. David remov'd the See to St. David's"; and (5) that John Ray, the naturalist, who was at St. Davids in June 1662, writes, "The town is now a poor place; not far hence on the sands stood old Menew." Moreover, Jones and Freeman (38, 239) inclined to the opinion "that there was a Roman station in the neighbourhood of St. David's." They said they were led "to fix it near Whitesand Bay, and probably on the Burrows," where possibly it is "buried beneath the sand." Whether it was called "Menapia" was not important for their purpose. On p. 243 they go so far as to maintain that Gerald's "Kairmorva" was "the town which stood on the shore of Whitesand Bay."

The answer to all this is, that "Kairmorva" or *Caer Vorva*, as it might be spelt to-day, simply means, "the fort at Morva." It no more refers to a "town" than *Caerbwdy*, or *Caervai*, or any other *caer* of the very many about St. Davids. What, therefore, has to be sought, is the particular "Morva" from which the *caer* took its name. There is no evidence that there was a "Morva" specially so called at Whitesand Bay. It is true, although Jones and Freeman do not mention it, that the Welsh Life (106) makes the man whom St. Patrick raised from the dead at Whitesand Bay to have been buried there *ar y morua*, on the shore, but it is evident that the word *morua* is

only used here in a general sense, being indeed simply the translation of Rhygyvarch's *iuxta litus*, by the shore.

Doubtless the "Morva" intended by Gerald is the well-known one which lies south of the Cathedral between Porthclais and St. Non's Bay. It is referred to several times in pre-Reformation portions of the *Liber Communis* of St. Davids, containing the Chapter accounts (J. and F., 375, 378, 381). In the 1838 Tithe Terrier of St. Davids it appears under Porthclais as "Morfa." And I found that the locality is familiar under this name to the people of St. Davids at the present time. Capel Non lies to the E. of it, but formerly may have been included in it. The *caer* seems to have disappeared, unless it is represented by the "Intrenchments" so marked on the six-inch Ordnance Survey map, on the eastern cliffs of Porthclais. It does seem as though Gerald, whether rightly or wrongly, would have all the incidents in this Life, relating to St. Non, to occur at or near Capel Non.

It is surprising that Jones and Freeman, who (39) find a close resemblance between the remains on the Burrows and those on St. David's Head, should have adhered to the notion that the former might prove the site of a "Roman station," for the latter are patently prehistoric; and had the Romans settled on the Burrows (for which so far there is not a scrap of evidence), their relics would not at all have resembled the rude remains on the headland.

Some six miles from Hen Vynyw up the Cardiganshire coast is Llan Non, the Church of Non, where there is said to be a persistent tradition that St. David was born. The "Church of Caer Vorva" is claimed to have been located there on Morva Esgob, "Bishop's Morva"; and David, it is said, in after years apportioned the Morva among the poor fishermen at the place. Moreover, as a child, he used to walk to school every day to Hen Vynyw (*L.B.S.*, iv. 22, n. 3). One might be tempted to consider this claim, were it not that Rhygyvarch certainly seems to imply (although he does not definitely say so) that St. David was born in Dyved (see note to Nonnita, § 4).

Gildas, son of *Caw*, born in "Arecluta" where his father reigned as king. "Arecluta," later Arglud, means "Clyde-side," as Arvon means "Mon-side," "on or opposite Anglesey." It was in modern Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire. According to the early Breton Life of St. Gildas (*C.M.*, 91 ff.), he had four brothers and one sister. The eldest brother, *Cuillus*, succeeded his father. The rest became saints. Maelog founded Llowes in Elvael, Radnorshire; *Egreas* and *Alleccus* founded Llan Eugrad and Llan Allgo respectively in the district of Twrcelyn, Anglesey; their sister, *Peteova*, had her oratory between the last two. In early youth Gildas was placed under St. Illtud, probably on the recommendation of St. Cadog, who seems to have been spiritual adviser to Caw, the father of Gildas (see next note). Illtud had been converted by St. Cadog (*C.B.S.*, 45-6). Under Illtud he is said to have had as fellow disciples St. Samson and St. Paul Aurelian, and even St. David (but little credence can be attached to the last). He studied also in Ireland. He corresponded with St. Bridget of Kildare, to whom he presented a bell, for he was a noted bell-wright. He worked for a time in Scotland, converting heathen Picts, from whom

he himself had sprung, to the faith. He was invited by *Ainmericus*, high king of Ireland, to that country "to restore church order." We know from the eighth century *Catalogue of Irish Saints* that like St. David and St. *Docus* he played a large part in the affairs of the Church in Ireland, in the period succeeding that of St. Patrick. He is best known, nowadays, from the Open Letter, the Epistle of Gildas, which he addressed to the princes and clergy of "Britannia." Five of the princes are named by him: Constantine of Devon, Aurelius Caninus [of Cornwall], Voteporix of Dyved, Cynlas [of Rhos], and Maelgwn [of Anglesey]. This Letter is now divided into 110 chapters, of which, however, chapters 2 to 26 constitute a much later work, dealing with the supposed loss of the island of Britain by the Welsh, which little book has not only tarnished the reputation of St. Gildas as a man of ordinary sense, but has also vitiated the history of Britain for some 1200 years (*Celtic Review*, 1913-1916; *Y C.*, xxvii., xxxi). Gildas died and was buried in Brittany at his own monastery at Ruys.

It is very remarkable that this great man, the most eminent of all the Welsh saints (except Patrick) and no mere local celebrity, does not appear to have left a single foundation in his native Britain. Not a *llan* or a well in Wales is called after his name. It may not be hard to account for this. For not only did he in his Open Letter make a frontal attack on the high-placed worldlings of his time, both in Church and State, but it is evident, from surviving fragments of his letters, that he set himself resolutely, as a faithful Churchman, against the excesses of the Watermen, and (if we may judge from such stories as the one in this section) against St. David himself, the head of the Watermen. Thus he would have had arrayed against him some of the most powerful influences in "Britannia." With no welcome in the royal courts of Cornwall, Devon, Dyved and Gwynedd, or in any of the monasteries which sided with the Watermen, Gildas may have thought well to migrate to Brittany, which we know he did, to the good of Lesser Britain, and (who can doubt it?) to the loss of Wales, for it meant the removal of his powerful check on the worldlings and the fanatics who crowded him out.

Caw, called in the Life of St. Cadog (*C.B.S.*, 58) *Cau cognomine Pritdin*, *Caw*, surnamed *Prydyn*, i.e. *Caw* of Piciland, and said to have reigned for many years *ultra montem Bannauc*, beyond *Mons Bannauc*. Skene and Phillimore see *Bannauc* in "Carmunnock," which gives its name to a parish in Lanarkshire, through which the Cathkin Hills partly run from west to east; hence they identify *Mons Bannauc* with these hills. If this is right, "beyond *Mons Bannauc*" cannot but mean Arglud, "Clyde-side," of which we know (see last note) that *Caw* was king (*Y C.*, xi. 75, n. 7), and my argument (*Y C.*, xxii. 140-2) may stand. But Cadog is made to meet *Caw* on this side of the mountain, and the mountain itself "is said to be situated in *medio Albanie*," in the middle of Scotland, which can hardly be said of the Cathkin Hills. *Caw*, whom Cadog had raised from the dead, is made to say, "I reigned formerly for many years beyond 'Mons Bannauc,' but it chanced that at the devil's instigation I came to these

coasts [i.e. *this side* of the mountain], with the full company of my plunderers, for the purpose of plundering and ravaging the same. The king, who at that time governed this region, pursued us with his troops, and, joining battle, slew me and my army." After this Caw assists Cadog in the construction of his new monastery, abides there till his death, and is allowed the rule over twenty-four vills by the kings of the *Albani*. The new monastery was doubtless at Cambuslang, the church of which is dedicated to St. Cadog, apparently the only church so dedicated in Scotland. Cambuslang church is actually in Arglud, "Clyde-side," not a mile south of the river, so that Caw would seem to have come to Arglud, this side of *Mons Bannauc*, from Pictland proper, beyond the Clyde. In other words, Caw, the father of Gildas, was a Pict.

Caw is also known in Welsh tradition as Caw o Dwrcelyn, C. of Twrcelyn, a region in the north of Anglesey, which was one of the six cymwds of the island. "It is not clear (says Phillimore) how Caw got the name of 'Caw of Twrcelyn' (in Anglesey), which is found in *Hanesyn Hen* [Cardiff MS. 25], pp 12-13, 46-7, where are also given the names of his seventeen or twenty-one children, some of them daughters, and many of them commemorated as saints in Anglesey" (*Y C.*, xi. 75, n. 7). We have seen in the last note that three of Caw's children had foundations in Twrcelyn according to the early Breton Life of St. Gildas. In Twrcelyn, too, in the very middle of the cymwd, not three miles from the foundations of Eugrad, Allgo, and *Peteova*, children of Caw, is a Llan Gadog, the only one in the whole of North Wales. One cannot ignore so striking a fact that there are monasteries of Cadog in Arglud and in Twrcelyn, with both of which districts tradition connects the name of Caw, the father of Gildas. It forces upon us the conclusion that Caw and St. Cadog were contemporaries and friends, and that probably St. Cadog was Caw's spiritual adviser.

It remains to be said that the pedigree of Caw appears to be unknown. No ancient or reliable document seems to give it. Only in late post-Reformation and very much doctored writings, contained in the *Iolo MSS.*, do we find a table of ancestry provided for him, which, however, is not that of a Pictish raider from beyond *Mons Bannauc*, but of a Devonian royal house, viz. the line of Geraint ab Lludd. Geraint had a son Cadwy (see note to § 32), with whose name that of Caw of Pictland has been confounded (*Y C.*, xi. 75, n. 7). It is in these same writings, in the *Iolo MSS.*, that we find the ridiculous identification of Gildas with "Aneurin," on the strength, no doubt, of the supposed connection between *Gild-as* and *An-eurin*. The latter should really be *Neirin* as in the *Historia Brittonum*, 62 (C.M., 205) said now to derive from Nigrinus.

used to preach. It is not very probable that Gildas was a man, when Dewi was about being born in the days of King *Triphunus*, seeing that Gildas addressed Voteporix, grandson of *Triphunus*, in Voteporix's old age. In the Epistle of Gildas, 31, Voteporix is described as grey-headed and approaching his end. "Consume not (says Gildas) the remnant of thy days in offending God" (C.M., 43). This is a most

important datum in determining the chronology of events in this period.

Triphunus. In 1895 at Castell Dwyran, some $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the N. of Llanddewi Velfrey, Pem., was found the tombstone of "Voteporix the Protector," whose name appears on it both in Latin and Irish. This man is the "Vortiporius," king of Dyved, attacked in the Epistle of St. Gildas (*C.M.* 43). He is also the grandson of the King Triphunus mentioned here. In one of the Irish tribal histories, originally written in the eighth century, and called "The Expulsion of the Dessi," Triphun is said to be "the son of Aed Brosca, son of Corath, son of Eochaid Allmuir," the latter so described because he *crossed the sea* from Ireland to Dyved, and became the ancestor of the kings of Dyved (*Y C.*, xiv. 112-3). The name of the Dessi survives in the barony of *Deece*, Co. Meath, and the two baronies of *Decies*, Co. Waterford. They had been driven from Meath, their ancient home, and had migrated southwards to the Waterford district. As Triphunus was an old man in 462, his great grandfather Eochaid Allmuir must have come to Dyved in the fourth century, and therefore his rule must have been allowed by the Roman government. This is the probable explanation of "Protector"; the Demetian kings ruled by Roman authority. In later lists (*Y C.*, ix. 171; viii. 86) they claim descent from the Roman emperors. That Voteporix's name should be in Irish as well as Latin on his monument shows that the Irish tongue was prevailing in Dyved as late as the third or fourth generation after Dewi's birth. The name Triphunus survives in Loch Twrffin, "Tryffin's lake," in Llan Rheithan parish, Pembrokeshire.

§ 6. *druids*. The Latin is *magi*, the common term for "druids" with Irish writers of Latin. "In the Irish MS. of the Pauline epistles at Würzburg, the gloss on Jannes and Jambres (2 Tim. iii. 8) is 'two Egyptian druids'" (*C.E.B.*, 51). Welsh writers, too, used the same word. "Among the oldest instances in Welsh poetry (see an obscure poem in the Book of Taliesin in Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. ii., p. 174) of the use of the word *derwyddon*, druids, is one where it is applied to the Magi or Wise Men, who came with presents to the infant Jesus [in the Scottish Gaelic version of the present-day New Testament *druidhean*]; and its Irish cognate *druí* was not only used in the same manner, but was usually rendered into Latin by *magus*, a magician" (Rhys' *Celtic Britain*, third ed., 70-1). Even "the Anglo-Saxon word for 'magic' was 'drycraeft,' and 'dry,' a wizard, was evidently 'druid'" (*Y C.*, xxiii. 83, n. 1). The word "druid" is now said to come from the same Aryan base (**dereu-* "fast, hard") as the English word "true" (Morris Jones' *Welsh Grammar*, 224).

a certain stone. It would be hard to believe that this stone was not one marked with ogam characters, which might well strike Rhygyvarch as resembling the print of fingers. Apparently it was broken, the portion bearing the characters being exposed, the other portion being under the altar of a church built on the spot. It would appear from § 4, above, that this was not the place of Dewi's conception, for though stones for head and feet are mentioned, there is no reference to the church, or to any marks on a stone.

§ 7. *Aelvyw*: the full Welsh form of the name of St. Ailbe, patron saint of Munster, and archbishop of the same at Emly in Co. Tipperary. Latinized forms are Albeus, Helueus, Helbeus, Elueus (*V.S.H.*, ii. 346). The Latin here reads, *ab Helue Meneuiensium episcopo*, by H. bishop of the Mynyw folk; but there is an interlineation, *uel Muminensium*, or of the Munster folk. This interlineation, being supported by old abridged copies of the Life of St. David such as C.C.C.C. 161, which so reads, D (*mumientium*), and N (*muminentium*), it may be that in the autograph of Rhygyvarch the Munster folk were the people intended. Gerald (III. 383-4) tries to account for the presence of the Bishop of Munster at Porthclais on this occasion by attributing it to a special act of divine providence—"by Aelveus, bishop of the *Munevenses*," who had arrived at that place and at that hour from Ireland by divine providence. It is remarkable, however, that St. Aelvyw, a contemporary of St. Patrick (*d.* 461), had a foundation in Pebydiog, now a ruined church, four miles E. of St. Davids, known as St. Elvis, in Welsh Llan Eilw, with which compare Vagwr Eilw, "Aelvyw's enclosure," some two miles N. of the same in Llan Hwel parish. Moreover, it is said in the Life of St. Aelvyw (see Selections) that the infant David was given by his father to Aelvyw for ever.

Geographically, St. Aelvyw belongs both by origin and work to Munster. He actually appears in one place as the patron saint of Munster. He is occasionally found, however, in Leinster, Connaught, and even Ulster (*V.S.H.*, i. xxx).

in that place. According to Gerald (III. 383) it was at Porthclais, which is the harbour or creek of St. Davids, facing south. It seems to mean "the creek of the (stream) cut." George Owen (*d.* 1613) writes, "*Porth-Clais*, there is St. David's Key. It is a little Mile from the Town. The Tide comes in here a good way; it is a very safe Harbour, by Reason of a Defence of Stone made cross it near the Haven's Mouth, with a Place only on one Side, for Boats to pass. Here no Doubt the Merchants did formerly load and unload, as they do still." And again, "near the Key stands *Capel-y-Pistyll*, which has its Name from a Spring that runs under it, into a Cistern at the East End, under the Pinion" (*Survey*, 55, 52). This is the supposed miraculous spring mentioned in the text.

a blind monk, reading *moni ceci*. The Latin, however, is *moui*, as too N, omitted in D; Gerald (III. 384) reads, a blind man called *moni*. I have treated *monus* as being the Greek *μόνος*. The Welsh Life (107) says he was *wynebclawr*, "'flat-faced' like a *clawr* or board = Ir. *clár-aineach*, 'table-face,' i.e. without nose or eyes" (*ib.*, 273). In the Life of St. Aeddan, § 16 (see Selections), this saint, when at St. Davids, is said to have cured "a man having *tabulatam faciem*, a flat face, void of eyes and nostrils. And Aeddan blessed his face, and God gave him eyes and nostrils." For the whole subject, see Phillimore's article "'Homo Planus' and Leprosy in Wales" (*Arch. Camb.*, 1920, pp. 224-250). I have mentioned the reading *moui*, as there was a well-known Irish saint, St. Mobhi, at Glasnevin, near Dublin, who was actually *claraineach*, and so called.

§ 8. In the Life of St. Ailbe (see Selections) it is said that David

was given by his father to St. Aelvyw to be brought up to God. As Aelvyw had a monastery at St. Elvis, and is remembered at Vagwr Eilw in Llan Hwel parish, this does not seem incredible. But a similar claim is made in the Life of St. Colman of Dromore on behalf of that saint. I translate the following from S. col. 832: "But when, returning thence, [Saint Colman] had arrived at the house of a king of Britannia, it happened that that night the queen brought forth a dead son, whom the blessed Colman in the power of God and of His holy apostles, whose relics he had with him, raised from the dead, nourished, and taught. He is David, a glorious bishop of Britannia." It is noteworthy that there are two churches in North Pembrokeshire commemorating St. Colman, viz. Llan Golman and Capel Colman. It is just possible that he was the original saint of Fishguard, whose name has long been forgotten, for among the ancient strips which run down "Ceven Abergwaun" or "Fishguard mountain" there is a Llan Golman, "Colman's strip." In Fishguard is a *Maen Dewi*, and formerly a "Dew Street" as in Haverfordwest, meaning "Dewi's Street" (cf. "Dewslan" for "Dewi's Land").

Vetus Rubus. This much is quite clear, that *Vetus Rubus* and Vallis Rosina were two different places. Vallis Rosina is the Valley where the Cathedral now stands. *Vetus Rubus* was elsewhere. The word *rubus* in classical Latin means "bramble-bush" and "blackberry"; in old Welsh-Latin it was used much like *llwyn*, grove, without any suggestion of brambles or berries. In the *B.Ll.*, 74, we have *ad rubum salicolum*, to the grove of willows; and the Welsh Life (107) translates *Vetus Rubus* into *Hen Llwyn*, Old Grove. Yet the Latin *rubus* seems to have generated a Welsh word *rhuv*, berry, *pl. rhuvion* (Bodvan Anwyl's *Welsh-English Dict.*, 1918, s. rhyf). Gerald (III. 384) explains *Vetus Rubus* as follows: "in Welsh *Hen Meneu*, in Latin *Vetus Menevia*, Old Mynyw. This place took the name from the Irish *muni*, which means *rubus*, grove. Wherefore to this day the Church of Menevia is called in Irish *Kilmuni*." If Gerald is right in thinking that by *Vetus Rubus* Rhygyvarch meant *Hen Vynyw*, Old Mynyw, then we must conclude, I suppose, that the name Mynyw was transferred to Vallis Rosina from some original Mynyw, wherever that may have been, for which reason the latter was styled *Hen Vynyw* to distinguish it from the new. For it is certain that the monastery in Vallis Rosina was called Mynyw, because in the tenth century Latin-Welsh Chronicle we have at [810] *Combustio Miniu*, the burning of Mynyw, and at [906] *Miniu fracta est*, Mynyw was destroyed. Curiously enough, however, in the two references to St. Davids in this Chronicle before the ninth century, we have at [645] *Percusio demetica regionis quando cenobium david incensum est*, the invasion of the land of Dyved, when the monastery of David was burnt; and at [601] *David episcopus moni iudeorum*, David, bishop m.i., which last words have never, as far as I know, been satisfactorily explained (*Y C.*, ix. 163, 167, 158, 156). When the cantref of Pebydiog was divided into cymwds about A.D. 1100 (Lloyd, 301), the cymwd in which St. Davids stands was called Mynyw, doubtless from the monastery in Vallis Rosina. To distinguish the monastery

from the cymwd, the Welsh called the former Ty Ddewi, lit. "Dewi's House," to this day. In Latin, Mynyw is retained in the form *Menevia*, from *Meneu*, treated as *Menev*, with the termination *-ia*. The question remains, Where was Hen Vynyw? No place of this name is now known in the neighbourhood of St. Davids, nor have I been able to come across any substantial evidence that there ever was. See notes to § 14.

§ 10. *Paulens* (or *Paulinus*). The bracketed words are interlineal. Paulinus being the preference of the old recensions, Gerald, and the Welsh Life, it was possibly in Rhygyvarch's lost autograph. Paulinus is the correct form. He was the founder of Llan Gors, Breconshire, where there is still a Llan Beulin, "the monastery of P." In Carmarthenshire is a Capel Peulin, with a Ffynnon Beulin, "P.'s well," near it. In the Life of St. Teilo (*B.Ll.*, 99), *Poulinus* instructs Teilo as well as Dewi. In Caoe parish, Carm., was found a stone, supposed to be P.'s tombstone. The epitaph is

*Servatur fidei, patrieque semper amator,
Hic Paulinus iacet, cultor piētissimus aequi.*

Preserver of the Faith, and ever a Lover of his Country,
Here Paulinus lies, most devout Fosterer of Righteousness.

The inscription is not earlier than the fifth and not later than the mid-sixth century.

Germanus, "born probably about A.D. 378, was a man of good family, who became one of the six 'dukes' or governors, of Gaul." His governorship included the land which was later called Brittany. "Amator, Bishop of Autissiodorum (Auxerre), the chief town of his province, forcibly ordained him in 418. In the same year Amator died after providing that Germanus should be elected his successor. In 429 Germanus, accompanied by Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, went to Britain on a mission to stamp out the Pelagian heresy, which was distressing the British Church." Lupus, who was consecrated the very year he came to Britain (429), was before that a monk in the island of Lerins. It has been thought in recent times that he was the saint of Llan Blethian in Glamorgan (called locally *Llan Ddiddan* and *Llan Liddan*) as though "Blethian" were Bleiddian (a diminutive of *blaid*, wolf), but "Lupus" would have entered the British language as *Lup*, and might to-day have been *Llub*. "According to Constantius, who wrote a Life of Germanus about A.D. 488, Germanus and Lupus were asked to come by a synod of British bishops. This is Bede's account too (i. 17). But Prosper of Aquitaine, a contemporary writer, says that Pope Celestine, 'at the suggestion of the deacon Palladius, sent Germanus as his representative into Britain.' The mission was completely successful. The enemies of the Church were crushed at a conference [there is no evidence that it was held at St. Albans], and the enemies of the State, the Picts and Saxons, were routed in the Alleluia Victory, A.D. 430, organized by the two bishops. In 447 Germanus visited Britain a second time and procured the expulsion of the Pelagians. He died in 448" (White's *St. Patrick*, 122).

a certain island. This "island" has not been identified. In other

MSS. of this Life, some of them older or as old as the unique one translated in this book, it is named, but in such forms that it is difficult to make out what they mean. The Bodleian Digby 112 (twelfth century) and the Bodleian 793 (thirteenth century) have *in insula in wincdi lantquendi*. The B.M. Cott. Nero E. i. (twelfth century) has *in insula in wincdilanguendi*. The C.C.C.C. 161 (twelfth century) has *in insula wincdiland*. The *Buhez Santez Nonn*, doubtless following some very early text, reads *enesenn languen vomendi* (*Rev. Celt.*, 1887, p. 424). Early attempts were made to explain these words, which seem to involve the Welsh *gwyn* or *gwen*, white, with the result that the "island" was identified with the Isle of Wight, as Gerald (III. 384), or with Whitland, as Bodl. 336, the Bodl. Rawlinson B. 485 and B. 505, which read *in insula Withlandi*. Other MS. readings are *in insula guit* (Bodl. 285, fourteenth century); *in insula Dilamgerbendi* (an Utrecht MS. printed in A.S., 1668, i. 42) with "gerb" for "qv" (O's *P.*, ii. 426); *gueithi* (Camb. Univ. Lib., Ff. 1, 27-28), so I am told; and *Guerthi* (Lambeth MS. 12, fourteenth century).

§ 13. This is truly a strange list, which cannot easily be accounted for. The number is suggestive, reminding one of the twelve sees which Pope Gregory the Great would have subject to London and York respectively (*H.E.*, i. 29). Note the country traversed by the saint, who proceeds in a north-easterly direction through Glastonbury and Bath right across England to Croyland, *i.e.* right across Mercia, whence he turns west to Repton, near Lichfield, then south-west to Colva and Glascwm in Elvael (within modern Radnorshire), then back to Leominster in Herefordshire, then south to Raglan in Gwent, after which he founds Llan Gyvelach in Gower, whilst two churches in Cedweli submit to him. One can hardly dissociate this journey, which proceeds from the Devonian peninsula (a portion of the ancient "Britannia") through and about Mercia, from Gerald's argument, a century later, that St. Davids formerly had twelve suffragans "within the area of Wales, as now is, and of five dioceses in England, to wit, Chester or Coventry, Hereford, Worcester, Bath, and Exeter, *even as is gathered from our histories*" (*Y C.*, xxx. 137, 163). It seems, therefore, that Rhygyvarch's list implies some such metropolitan claim for St. Davids long before Gerald's activities or even those of Bishop Bernard (1115-1147). In 1071 the Mercian sees were a subject of dispute between Lanfranc of Canterbury and Thomas of York in the presence of Pope Alexander II. In 787 Lichfield was made for a while independent of Canterbury, with the Mercian and East Anglian sees subject to it. It looks as though there was a remembrance of the old alliance between the Britons and Mercia in the seventh and eighth centuries (*Celtic Review*, 1916, pp. 324-5), and that St. Davids was asserting a claim to metropolitan rights over the Midlands. Note that Dewi's original starting-place is made to be Hen Vynyw in Ceredigion, to which he returns before the angel directs him to found his principal monastery in Vallis Rosina. None of the twelve monasteries, except the latter, is in Dyved. Two (Glascwm and Colva) are in Elvael, a district in ancient Powys. One (Raglan) is between the Wye and the

Usk in Gwent. Three (Llan Gyvelach and the two in Cedweli) are between the Tawe and the Towi in ancient Glywysing (though there is none between the Tawe and the Usk, the eastern and much greater portion of Glywysing); none in Brycheiniog, which, temporarily, as under Clydwyn ab Brychan, may have been reckoned as in Dyved; and none in North Wales. Erging, however, is brought in by the mention of the miraculous cure of its king, Peibio, by Dewi.

Glastonbury, Somerset. In Rhygyvarch's time, as the Domesday Survey shows, "the manors of Glastonbury practically formed one huge estate in the centre of the county, stretching from Mells in the north-east to the right bank of the Parrett in the south-west. It comprised an eighth of the whole land of the county and amounted to 442 hides, and a tenth of the population of Somerset was reckoned as belonging to it" (Victoria History, *Somerset*, ii. 85).

Bath, Somerset. In Rhygyvarch's time the bishopric of Wells was transferred to Bath (A.D. 1088). Ptolemy (c. 150) calls the place "Υδαρα Θερμά," "hot springs," and places it with Winchester in the territory of the Belgæ. The Antonine Itinerary (c. 300) refers to it as *Aquæ Sulis*, "the waters of Sul," a local deity (the "sun" god, cf. Welsh, *Dydd Sul*, "Sunday"), equated by the Romans with Minerva. The Saxon Chronicle calls it *Bathan ceaster*, whence the Welsh *Caer Vaddon*. It fell for a while in 577 into the hands of the West Saxons; afterwards the *Huiccii* held it (*H.B.*, 67). Romano-British Bath, when in ruins, is described in a Saxon poem of great beauty (*An Ancient Saxon Poem*, Bath, 1872), which reminds one very strongly of passages in the *De excidio Britanniae*, §§ 24, 26.

Croyland, in the extreme south of Lincolnshire in the fens, founded by St. Guthlac, who died in 714. In Rhygyvarch's time it enjoyed extensive possessions throughout many midland counties. In the Domesday Survey "the property was valued in money at £57 1s. 4d., and had increased by £3 2s. 4d. since the time of Edward the Confessor" (Victoria History, *Lincoln*, ii. 106).

Repton, in the south of Derbyshire. The monastery certainly existed in the seventh century, for St. Guthlac (d. 714) received the tonsure there. Ethelbald, king of Mercia, was buried there in 755. It was a double monastery, governed by an abbess. "It is noteworthy that the monastery of Repton is almost universally spoken of as 'famous'; for instance, when Cynehard, King Sigebert's brother, was killed in battle with Cynewulf, king of Wessex, in 786, it is recorded that he was buried at Repton, 'quod tunc nobile coenobium erat et famosum' [because it was at that time a noble and famous monastery]. And again, when St. Wystan had been killed, we are told that his body was laid in the sepulchre of his grandfather, King Wiglaf, in the monastery of Repton, 'tunc temporis famosissimum' [at that time most famous]. And a charter of 874 is said to have been written in *venerabili monasterio* [in the venerable monastery] at Repton; the charter is a grant to the Worcestershire Abbey of Bredon, by Berhtuulf, king of Mercia, at the instance of a certain 'Humberht princeps,' in whom we may probably see the 'Humbert dux,' to whom Cynewara, abbess of Repton, leased the lead mines of Wirksworth in 835"

(Victoria History, *Derby*, ii. 58). Repton "must have perished in 874, when [Derbyshire] was overrun by the Danes" (*ib.*, i). The later Austin priory at Repton, founded c. 1153, had no connection with the monastery referred to by Rhygyvarch (*ib.*).

Colva, Radnorshire, now a chapel of ease (St. David's) under Glascwm. Though made dependent on the latter ecclesiastically, it continued to remain independent in civil matters.

Glascwm, Radnorshire. The "Glas" seems to stand for "Clas," a monastic community (see note to § 20), the whole meaning "the 'valley clas.'" Lhwyt (*Parochialia*, ii. 34) writes, "A river running through y^e Klas or Glas Kwm." One of the two townships also, viz. Maenor Glas, seems to mean "the *clas* manor." One gathers from the value of Glascwm in the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas, A.D. 1291, that it was the most notable church in Elvael. It is, of course, dedicated to St. David. The manor of Glascwm appears as the property of the see of St. Davids in *B.B. St. D.*, 291, 331.

two-headed altar. This is apparently to be distinguished from the altar, which was kept at Llan Gyvelach, mentioned below. In the days of Gerald and the poet Gwynvardd, Glascwm was renowned for the holy bell, called "Bangu," which was kept there. The former (VI. 18) tells us "In Elvael at the Church of Glascwm is a portable Bell of very great virtue, which they call by a name of its own, *Bangu*, which also is said to have been St. David's" (see note to § 48). Gwynvardd also (*Y G.*, 82), praising "the two oxen of Dewi," who conveyed a gift to Glascwm, adds *Edewid Bangu gu gadwynawc*, Beloved *Bangu* was left chained.

Leominster, Herefordshire, on the river Lugg; the Welsh Life (108), erroneously placing it on the Severn, calls it Llan Lleni. Leland (42) says, "Limstre of sum is caullid in Walsche, Llinlini, of flex or hempe growing therabout." The earliest reference to Leominster appears to be in the Saxon Chronicle at 1046, where mention is made of "the Abbess of Leominster." J. E. Southall in 1893 says (*Wales and her Language*, 18), "The writer has heard an old Radnorshire woman, hailing from Abbey Cwmhir, near Rhayader, repeat the doggerel, which she had heard many years before:

'How many miles, how many
Is it from Leominster to Llanllieni?'

and he is assured that Leominster is still known by some Welsh people as Llanllieni."

Gwent, the country lying between the Usk and the Wye, deriving its name from the ancient Venta Silurum, i.e. Caerwent.

Raglan, Monmouthshire, in Upper Gwent. The church is now said to be St. Cadog's.

Llan Gyvelach, Glamorganshire. This place derives its name from an otherwise unknown Cyvelach. Llan Gyvelach must have been an important centre of David's activities, and continued to be a great establishment of the bishops of St. Davids in Rhygyvarch's time. In it was kept the miraculous altar, reputed to have been sent from heaven (really, so Rhygyvarch assures us, from the Patriarch of Jerusalem by

means of angels), which, covered with skins, had not been seen by mortal eye since Dewi's death (see § 48 below).

Gower, the land between the Llwchwr and the Tawe from the foot of the Black Mountains to the extremity of the peninsula, which stretches westward from Swansea or Aber Tawe.

Peibio, king of Erging, "called *clauorauc* in British, in Latin *spumousus*, spumy" (*B.L.L.*, 78), for he spumed at the mouth, was the father of Evrddyl, who was the mother of St. Dubricius. He endeavoured to destroy his pregnant daughter by water and by fire, but in vain. His messengers found her "holding in her bosom a son, whom she had brought forth, at a stone, which has been placed on the spot to witness the wonderful nativity of the boy. The place is commonly called *Matle* [*i.e.* Madley, in Herefordshire, south of the Wye and near it], because the blessed man was born there." The story goes on to say that the touch of the infant's hands healed King Peibio of his drivelling disorder, wherefore he granted the child that place, Madley, where he was born. He afterwards proved a generous benefactor to the Church. As St. David, who is here recorded to have cured him of blindness, was a contemporary of Peibio, he must also have been a contemporary of St. Dubricius. And as the latter ordained St. Samson of Dol, who signed the decrees of a Council of Paris, *c.* 555-8, we have here additional evidence that St. David flourished in the second half of the fifth century.

Erging, in English Archenfield, was the district bounded by the Wye, the Worm, and the Monnow. It is now included in Herefordshire. The name is said to derive from the old Romano-British Ariconium, the site of which is near Weston Penyard (*O's P.*, ii. 264-5).

Boducat and Maitrun. Among the sons of Brychan according to the Jesus Coll. MS. 20 is *Marcharairjun* (or *Marcharanhun*) *ygkeueilyawc*, M. in Cyveiliog, which name in the *Cognacio Brychan* is *Marthaerun apud Keueilauc* (*Y C.*, viii. 83, 91; xix. 29). Mr. Phillimore writes, "I have long thought that Marcharairjun was for Marthar Maitrun, that Cyveiliog was a mistake for Cedweli ('*ceueiliauc* for *cetueli*' or the like), and that the places meant were Meidrym and Ystrad Verthyr, both west of Llandyvaelog Church. I have also suspected that Mydrim parish (for older Meidrym, I think) *might* be for Maitrun made into Meidrym, and not meaning 'the middle ridge' or the like." It should be observed that in *D.S.B.*, this name does not appear. But that there is some omission in this earliest list of Brychan's sons is evident from the words *predictae Mannie*, of the aforesaid Mannia, which place, however, is here mentioned for the first time (*Y C.*, xix. 25-6).

Cedweli, the westernmost of three cymwds, the other two being Carnwyllion, "the land of Carnwyll," and Gower, between the Towi and the Llwchwr. These three with the country eastwards as far as the river Usk constituted the ancient realm of Glywysing, "the land of Glywys," St. Cadog's grandfather. Cedweli gave its name to the present town of Kidwelly.

§ 14. *Hen Vynyw*. The only place of this name now known in

Wales, and known too throughout the centuries, is in Ceredigion (see note § 2), which was a land of four cantrevs, divided into ten cymwds, as follows :

1. Cantrev Gwarthav, "the uppermost cantrev," also called Penweddig.
 - (a) Geneu'r Glyn, N. of the river Clarach.
 - (b) Pervedd, "middle" cymwd, between the Clarach and the Rheidol.
 - (c) Creuddyn, between the Rheidol and the Ystwyth.
2. Cantrev
 - (a) Mevenydd, along the S. bank of the Ystwyth.
 - (b) Anhuniog, S. of Mevenydd, along the coast, towards and beyond the river Aeron.
 - (c) Penardd, S.E. of Mevenydd, being the S.E. angle of Ceredigion, both sides of the river Teivi.
3. Cantrev
 - (a) Caerwedros, a coast region as far as Llangrannog.
 - (b) Mabwynion, inland, along the S. bank of the Aeron towards Lampeter.
4. Cantrev
 - (a) Iscoed, coastal to the Teivi, and along the latter to Llan Dyvriog.
 - (b) Gwynionydd, "land of Gwynion" along the Teivi till beyond the Cerdin.

It is noticeable that no foundation of Dewi or Non is found in the four northernmost cymwds. Not till we come to Anhuniog do the Dewi churches begin, a district so called from Anhun ab Ceredig, Dewi's uncle (*Y C.*, xix. 27). The name Anhuniog stands for original *Antoniad*-a, the land of *Antonius*, later Anhun. The cymwd of Anhuniog met that of Mevenydd in the parish of Llanrhystud, which parish contains two townships: (i) Anhuniog on the coast, through which runs the river Wyre and in which stands the parish church; and (ii) Mevenydd, which is inland. Anhuniog extends southwards beyond the river Aeron and includes Hen Vynyw. Formerly this must, I suppose, have been simply Mynyw, but afterwards, on the transference of the name to Vallis Rosina, was distinguished as *Hen Vynyw*, "the original Mynyw." I cannot but think that such a transference implies that Hen Vynyw was far more important in the career of St. David than is generally believed. That it was the scene of his childhood is expressly told us by Rhygyvarch, whose evidence, however, seems adverse to our believing that it was also the scene of his birth. The parish church of Hen Vynyw is now St. David's with a Ffynnon Ddewi, D.'s Well, close by, but the mention of Bishop Guistilianus as being a resident there, suggests that the foundation is older than Dewi. The bishop was *fratrueilis* to Dewi, and by him perhaps, or with him, Dewi received his early training. Anyhow not far down the coast is Llan Ina, a foundation of St. Ina, Dewi's aunt; still further down is Llan Grannog, the monastery of St. Carannog, Dewi's uncle, the friend of St. Patrick. From beyond the river Ystwyth to below the river Teivi

the country is dotted with well-known foundations of his cousins, Llan Avan, Nantcwnlle, Lampeter, St. Dogmael's, St. Dogwells, Llangeneu (in Clydai), being the churches of Avan, Gwynlle, Pedr, Dogvael, and Ceneu, all grandsons of Ceredig (*Y C.*, xix. 27). It is not hard to believe from all this, to which much more could be added, that Dewi's home was at Hen Vynyw. And since no other Hen Vynyw has ever been proved to exist or to have existed (the reputed one near St. Davids being due to a bungle by Gerald in his reading of Rhygyvarch, see note lower down), it must be concluded that Hen Vynyw by the river Aeron was the place where Dewi received his early training.

Guistilianus. In the twelfth century MSS., C.C.C.C., 161, N. and D., this name appears as *Guisdianus*; in Gerald (III. 386) as *Gistilianus*; and in the Welsh Life (108, 110) as *Goeslan*, *Gweslan* and *Gwestlan*. In the oldest Welsh Calendar (c. 1200) quoted by Baring Gould and Fisher (*L.B.S.*, i. 66), March 2 is given to *Gistlian*, and March 3, as in other Welsh calendars, to Non. In a fifteenth century MS., however, though in a later hand, which has added a few Welsh saints, giving March 3 to Non, March 4 is given to *Gistilian*, doubtless an error for March 2, for in "a Demetian calendar" of the next century March 2 is "Gwyl Wthwl" or "Wrthwl" (*ib.*, i. 67, 71; iii. 214), where Guistilianus is identified, or confounded, with Gwrthwl of Llan Wrthwl in Breconshire and Carmarthenshire. Doubtless, therefore, March 2 was the day of Guistilianus, as March 3 was certainly that of Non.

Now George Owen (d. 1613) is quoted as saying (*Survey*, 53) that March 2 was Non's day, and that the "next Day they keep also for *Lily Gwâs Dewy* (i.e. *Lily*, St. David's Man)." Browne Willis (36), doubtless having accepted this statement, attributed to George Owen, says, "Formerly three Holy-days were kept at that Time, *St. David's* Day, upon March 1; *St. Nun's* Day (who is said to have been *St. David's* Mother) upon March 2; and *St. Lily's* Day (who, we are told, was *St. David's* Servant) upon March 3. There is a Tradition still preserv'd among the old People of the Place, That within these hundred Years, or not much earlier, at least many Years after the Reformation, these two Saints, *St. Nun* and *St. Lily*, had as much Honour paid them by the Country People, as *St. David* himself; and if any of them had been known to work upon any of those Days, it would have been esteemed as a very heinous Offence. Now only *St. David's* Day is observ'd." To all this it may be said, (1) that March 2 as Non's Day contradicts all our other evidence; and (2) that such a saint as "*Lily Gwâs Dewy*" is nowhere else mentioned (*L.B.S.*, iii. 351). The whole statement attributed to George Owen seems to be a bungle. The writer has reversed the order of the festivals, which should have been March 2 "*Lily Gwâs Dewy*" and March 3, St. Non; whilst his "*Lily Gwâs Dewy*" is a misreading of our Guistilianus and the *Guisdianus* above. I conjecture that "*Gwâs Dewy*" has been manufactured from the latter, and that "*Lily*" is a misreading of "*tili*" placed interlineally above it. One need not doubt that formerly the three great holy days of David (March 1), Guistilianus (March 2), and Non (March 3) were observed at St. Davids. The

Welsh Life (110) mentions a *Ffynnwawn Gwestlan*, "G.'s Well," now unknown, at St. Davids, from which, as from the observance of his day in the city, we would gather that St. David, on shifting from Hen Vynyw to Vallis Rosina, took Bishop Guistilianus with him.

fratruelis means generally "father's brother's son." In *B.L.L.*, 135, however, *matruelis*, "mother's brother's son" is certainly treated as meaning "mother's brother." So there is something to be said for regarding *fratruelis* as meaning "father's brother," or "uncle," as in Gerald (III. 386), who here has *avunculus*, uncle. In the Welsh Life (108) it is *vrawt ffyd*, "brother in the faith," where the translator, not knowing the word, treats it as connected with *frater*, brother, and *fidelis*, faithful.

From the place where thou dost propose to serve. This place, where David had intended to build his chief monastery, is not mentioned. There is nothing in our text to indicate where it was. From early abridgments of the Life of St. David, such as N. and D. and C.C.C.C., 161, we gather that it was somewhere near Vallis Rosina, for the angel is made to say, "*Est autem alius prope locus*, But there is another place near," which means there is another place, viz. Vallis Rosina, near to the spot David had been thinking about. Possibly the word *prope*, near, occurred in Rhygyvarch's autograph.

Gerald, undoubtedly, had a text of the Life before him containing the words *Est autem alius prope locus*, But there is another place near. To understand how he dealt with them, it will be well to translate the whole passage as he gives it, which is as follows (III. 386): "These things being so done, the holy man, after a lengthy period of learning and teaching, returned home at last to the place from which he had started out, namely, *Menevia*. In that place there was then a bishop, his uncle, a venerable man, whose name was *Gistlianus*. To him, therefore, the nephew recounted angelic advice, which he had already received, after this manner, 'The place,' said the angel, 'in which thou proposest to serve God, is not acceptable to him, because from that spot he has foreseen little or no fruit for himself in the future. *Veruntamen est alius non procul hinc locus*, But there is another place not far from here,' pointing to Vallis Rosina, where to-day is a holy cemetery, 'far more suitable for religion and a sacred community.' From this place without doubt divine providence has chosen for itself very many treasures of faithful souls."

It will be noticed (1) that Gerald has, without any warrant, substituted *Menevia*, St. Davids, for *Vetus Rubus*, Hen Vynyw; and (2) that for *prope*, near, i.e. near to the unknown site which David had thought of, he has substituted *non procul hinc*, not far from here, which means, if anything, that the *Menevia* to which Gerald makes St. David to return, was not far from Vallis Rosina. But *Menevia* is Vallis Rosina. Gerald has made nonsense of his original.

The Welsh Life (108) says that David had meant to settle in *Vetus Rubus*, for the angel is made to say, not "From the place where thou dost propose to serve," but "*or lle hwnn*," from this place, i.e. *Vetus Rubus*.

These passages in Gerald and the Welsh Life form the sole ground

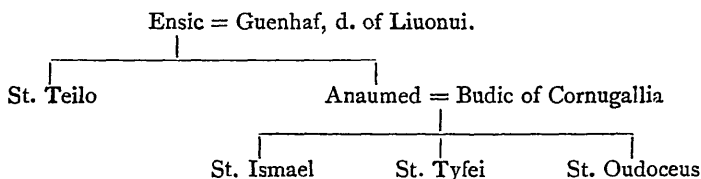
known to me for the attempts, made from time to time, to fix Hen Vynyw in the immediate neighbourhood of St. Davids.

buried in the cemetery. Dr. Plummer (*V.S.H.*, I. xciii.) reflects on an "unpleasant characteristic," which he finds in the Lives of Irish Saints, "in which spiritual blessings, including salvation itself, are made to depend on purely material conditions . . . such as burial in a certain cemetery. This is the commonest condition; and the superstition is probably responsible for the crowded condition of many Irish cemeteries to-day." This "unpleasant characteristic" is also found in the Lives of Welsh saints, as here, where an attempt is made to modify the grossness of the idea by the addition of the words *sana fide*, in sound faith, and in the Life of St. Cadog (*C.B.S.*, 44; see Selections).

§ 15 *Aeddan*, "who also in Irish is Madauc" (Gerald, III. 387), the patron saint of Llawhaden, Nolton, and Haroldston West, all in Pembrokeshire. He is clearly identified by Rhygyvarch (§§ 36-38, 42) with the celebrated St. Aeddan, founder and bishop of Ferns, County Wexford. So too in the various recensions of the Life of St. Aeddan is he made a contemporary and disciple of St. David. The earliest and best Life of the saint is the Latin one contained in the same British Museum codex as our present Life of St. David. It is translated from an earlier Irish Life. Its presence in this collection of Lives of saints chiefly British is accounted for by the reputed intimate connexion of St. Aeddan with St. Davids. By origin St. Aeddan of Ferns was a Connaught saint, but the chief sphere of his activity was in Southern Leinster (*V.S.H.*, I. lxxv.-lxxvii.). The name *Aidan* is a latinized form of Aedan, composed of *Aed*, one of the Irish words for "fire," and the diminutive suffix *an*. This makes in modern Welsh *Aeddan*. The *Aidus* and *Aiduns* of the Latin Life (*V.S.H.*, ii. 295-311; also, inaccurately, *C.B.S.*, 232-250) are formed from *Aid*, a latinizing of original Aed. The saint is equally well known by the hypocoristic form of his name, viz. *Maedoc*, which is reached by substituting the suffix *oc*, "young," for *an*, and prefixing the endearing syllable *mo*, "my." We thus get Mo-aed-oc, and the Welsh Maeddog, which last is to be carefully differentiated from the Welsh Madog ("Madoc's Haven," for example, near Nolton, in St. Bride's Bay, should be "Maedoc's Haven"). The name *Aeddan* survives at St. Davids in that of the farm Trev Aeddan, "Aeddan's homestead," locally called *Treveiddan*, between Clegyr Vwya and Porth Stinan; but whether after St. Aeddan does not appear. He is doubtless commemorated at Ffynnon Vaeddog, "Maeddog's Well," near Porth Mawr.

Eiludd, better known as Teilo (§ 44), which is the hypocoristic form of his name. Gerald (III. 387) has, "who also to-day is called *Telian*." The Life of St. Teilo (*B.Ll.*, 97-117), written by Geoffrey Stephen (*ib.*, 360, col. i.), brother of Bishop Urban (*d.* 1133) of Llandaff, in the supposed interest of the episcopal see of Llandaff, tells us (*ib.*, 116) that Penally, near Tenby, was the burying place of Teilo's ancestors, and that Teilo himself had hereditary right there; also, that Teilo lived and died at a place on the River Towi, which we learn elsewhere (*ib.*, 77, 135) to have been Llan Deilo Vawr. It may be said at once that there is no evidence whatever for the common opinion

that Teilo was "Bishop of Llandaff," or indeed that he ever was at Llandaff, the site of which was granted not to him, but to St. Oudoceus, his reputed successor (*ib.*, 159; O's *P.*, ii. 285). In the list of the Bishops of St. Davids, as given by Gerald (VI. 102), Teilo's name appears second or third, but one can hardly doubt from the evidence of Geoffrey Stephen, that Teilo lived and died at Llan Deilo Vawr. He was born at *Eccluis Gunniau* or *Guiniau* in the cymwd of Penvro (*B.Ll.*, 124, 255), possibly St. Twinnels. We gather from the Life of St. Oudoceus (*ib.*, 130-9), who is described as the son of the exile prince, Budic of Cornugallia, in Brittany, who had fled to Dyved with his fleet in the time of Aircol Lauhir, son of King Triphunus (§ 5), and who had there married Anaumed, daughter of Ensic and his wife Guenhaf, daughter of Liunui, that he was nephew to Teilo (*ib.*, 131). St. Teilo was his *matruelis* (*ib.*, 135), by which must be meant here "brother to his mother." Other and older sons of Budic and Anaumed were "Ismael and Tyfei the martyr, who lies in Pennalun" (*ib.*, 130). The connections may be tabulated thus—



In *B. y S.* (a), Teilo is affiliated to Ceredig, St. David's grandfather, through Ensych ab Hydun; in (b) through Eusyllt ab Hidwn dwn; in (c) through Enoc ab Etwin, where, however, for Teilo we have Tysiliaw, quite another person; in (d) through Enoc ab Hedun dun. The variations here seem to me too serious to allow room for confidence. In *P.K.*, Teilo does not appear at all, nor any such name as Hidwn or Etwin. The Eusyllt of *B. y S.* (b) above, said to derive from *Auxilius*, is clearly the saint of St. Issells, near Tenby.

Geoffrey Stephen (*B.Ll.*, 98) says that he had read that Teilo had been instructed as a boy by St. Dubricius, and that afterwards (*ib.*, 99), having heard of *Poulinus*, he went to him, finding St. David studying under that master. These two, Teilo and David, formed a strong attachment, and were living together at St. Davids, when Bwya, who is not named, first arrived at that place (see Selections). The story of the female slaves (§ 17 below) is told differently. Maeddog, too, is associated with Teilo at St. Davids. The story of the journey of Teilo, David, and Padarn to Jerusalem, is told to Teilo's greater glory. At the outbreak of the Yellow Plague, of which Maelgwn Gwynedd died, Teilo fled to Brittany, passing through Cornwall, where he met King *Gerennius*. In Brittany he was welcomed by St. Samson, "for they had sprung from the same district, and were men of one language, and were taught together by the blessed Dubricius, the archbishop, by the imposition of whose hand St. Samson was consecrated bishop." Budic of Cornugallia, his sister's husband, also welcomed him. After

seven years and seven months Teilo returned to Britain, where former disciples of Dubricius gathered about him; but three of those named, to wit, Ysrael, Tyvai, and Oudoceus, were his own nephews, of whom at least one, Ysrael, had been like himself a disciple of St. David. Geoffrey Stephen says that Teilo raised Ysrael to the episcopate as successor to St. David, who in the meantime had died. Geoffrey of Monmouth (xi. 3) says that David was followed by "Cynog, bishop of the Church of Llan Badarn," by whom he may have meant the bishop Cynog, whose death is recorded in the old Latin Welsh Chronicle at A.D. 606 (*Y C.*, ix. 156), of whom nothing else seems to be known. Gerald (VI. 102) makes David's successor to have been Teilo himself (at least after Cynog, whose name he probably got from Geoffrey of Monmouth), whilst Geoffrey (ix. 15) makes Teilo, "an illustrious presbyter of Llandaff," to have succeeded St. Samson at Dol in Brittany.

Ysrael, nephew of St. Teilo (see last note). "*Ysrael*" is the modern form of older *Ismael*, and still older *Osmail*, the former of which survives in Llan Ishmael, in the old cymwd of Cedweli (see note to § 13), *is* being regularly changed to *ish* in the dialects of S.W. Wales, as *isha* for *isa* (v), *pishtill* for *pistyll*, etc. The name, therefore, has nothing to do with the Biblical Ishmael. Nor is the older form *Osmail* to be confounded with the English *Oswald*. Nor again is Ysrael to be confounded with the saint of St. Issels, near Tenby, which stands for Usyllt, said to derive from *Auxilius*, who is identified with *Ensic*, the father of St. Teilo, in *B. y S.* (6). To Llan Ishmael, in Cedweli, add the following churches ascribed to St. Ysrael, all in Pembrokeshire: Camros, Rhosmarket, Haroldston East, Lambston, and St. Ishmaels, in the cantrev of Rhos; and Uzmaston in the cantrev of Dogleddu. There is some doubt about Haroldston East, whether the saint may not be Usyllt. "Llan Ismael" in Rhos was one of the seven "bishop-houses" of Dyved (*W.M.L.*, 121). It was also known as *Eglwys Ysmael* (*A.L.*, i. 558) and *Lan Yssan in Ros* (*ib.*, ii. 790; cf. *B.L.*, 56, 62, 124, 255, 287). In a ninth century Dyved charter, mention is made of *Cuhelin*, Abbot of *Llan isan* (*O's P.*, ii. 428). Ysan is an abbreviated form of Ysrael, as Cadog of Cadvael, etc.

Hodnant or Hoddnant. It is strange that Rhygyvarch nowhere calls St. Davids by any other name than Vallis Rosina. One would have expected to find Mynyw, or at least Rubus, seeing that he twice mentions Vetus Rubus or Hen Vynyw, but even *Meneuiensium*, "of the Mynyw folk" (§ 7), seems not to be Rhygyvarch's, but the work of a copyist c. 1200, who perhaps was conscious of the difficulty. It would appear, too, that neither Mynyw nor even Vallis Rosina was the popular name among the Welsh in Rhygyvarch's day, for he says, "Vallis Rosina, which the Britons commonly call Hodnant." The name, Hodnant, is found elsewhere in Wales, as in the Life of St. Illtud, where it is said to mean *vallis prospera*, favourable valley (*C.B.S.*, 163). Gwynvardd writes (*Y G.*, 83), *Yn amgant Hotnant ormant oreu*, Within Hodnant's bounds, overflowing, best; the Welsh Life (108), "Hodnant that place is called." It is nowadays completely forgotten, the Welsh name for St. Davids being Ty Ddewi, "Dewi's

House." I have thought that Vallis Rosina might represent the old Irish appellation.

§ 16. The Life of Teilo (*B.Ll.*, 99-101) gives a different account of Bwya (see Selections).

chieftain, for Latin *satrapa*, satrap, which in the Welsh Life (110) becomes the name of Bwya's wife!

druid, magus. See note to § 6.

Bwya. The Latin text has *Baia*; Gwynvardd (*Y G.*, 83) and Gerald (III. 387) call him, more rightly, Boia; the Welsh Life (108) Boya. This yields modern Bwya, surviving in the place name Castell Clegyr Vwya, "the castle at Bwya's Rock." As *vwya* is dialectical for *vwyav*, the mutated form of *mwya*, "biggest," Clegyr Vwya is often erroneously explained to mean "the biggest rock." "*Clegyr*" is apparently an old plural of *clag* (Gaelic *clach*, whence *clachan*, "a hamlet," like the Welsh *maenor* from *maen*), an obsolete word for a stone (O's *P.*, i. 409). Clegyr Vwya lies not a mile to the S.W. of Vallis Rosina, and is described as a prong of igneous rock, commanding the Alun Valley (*L.B.S.*, ii. 296). On Black Point in St. Bride's Bay and in the parish of Haroldston West, the church of which is Aeddan's, Dewi's disciple, are the remains of an ancient cliff castle, called in that locality "The Rath of Boia." "It covers about one and a half acres, and has an earth wall on the land side some two hundred yards long and quite forty feet high to-day." It is said locally that Bwya used this Rath or Fort in order to raid "the Slad Rath near Howelstone" in Talbenni parish, some four miles to the south. "The captives and booty secured could be lodged here until convenient to ship them to Porthclais" (*Guide to St. Bride's Bay*, 32).

an Irishman. So too the Welsh Life (108), *ac yscot oed*, and he was a Scot, *i.e.* an Irishman. Geoffrey Stephen (*B.Ll.*, 99-100) calls him a Pict, but no importance need be attached to this, as he is confessedly influenced by the *De excidio Britannia*, a work which has vitiated British history, since the time it was written and misunderstood in the early eighth century (see note to *Gildas*, § 5).

citadel, wrongly identified with Castell Clegyr Vwya, as by Jones and Freeman (244). Fenton (67) is right, who fixes the site at Castell Penlan, overlooking the Alun valley, not half a mile S.W. of Vallis Rosina. Castell Penlan was formerly known as Castell Caer Vwya, "the castle at Caer Vwya." The authority for this is Leland (64), who says, "The[re] remayne tokins of Caerboias Castel standing by Alen ryveret about a quarter of a myle lower then S. David on the same ryveret." This cannot be Castell Clegyr Vwya, which so far from being "by Alen ryveret" is some half a mile to the west of the Alun.

There are two forts at Castell Penlan, one a perfect circle, and the other an imperfect rectangle. "In form and construction they are wholly heterogeneous, and may be suspected to be of different dates" (J.F., 32). The circular camp is the more recent, as it cuts into the rectangle. The name "Caerboias Castel," which stands for the Welsh Castell Caer Vwya, proves that a later fortification was built at Caer Vwya "Bwya's Fort." This later fortification, the circular one, was

the *Castell*; the older fort, the rectangular one, was *Caer Vwya*, the citadel, whence Bwya beheld that ominous smoke of the Christians, which rose from Vallis Rosina.

The Latin word here translated "citadel" is *arx*, as also in § 19. The codex C.C.C.C., 161, has *arx* and *turris* respectively; so too Gerald (III. 387, 389). The Welsh Life (108, 110) has *creic uchel*, high rock (which shows that the translator understood the place to be Clegyr Vwya, "Bwya's Rock," for doubtless in his day Castell Penlan had already long replaced the older *Caer Vwya*), and *twr*, which shows he was translating here from a text containing *turris*.

§ 17. *female slaves*, Latin *ancilla*. The *ancilla* is the common Latin equivalent for the Irish *cumhal*, female slave. In Irish law "the female slave was the prominent customary unit of payment [for murder and insult], and doubtless a common object of commerce and trade." "The *cumhal* was equated with three cows, but the payment was reckoned and stated in *cumhals*" (Seebohm's *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, 97).

Alun, nowadays Alan. See next § for *vallis Alun*, the A. valley, and *profunditas vallis*, the bottom of the valley, where was the holy well of Merthyr Dunod, called in the Welsh Life (110) Ffynnon Ddunod, "D.'s Well." The whole of the winding stream, some six miles in length, is within the parish of St. Davids. It rises in the extreme N.E., not far S. of Aber Iddi Bay, and emerges into the open amid reeds and rushes through an extensive tract of moorland called Dowrog, whose unreclaimed portions are now distinguished as Treteo Common, Dowrog Common, etc., the haunts of the moorhen and other wild-fowl. The stream flows parallel, some mile or so to the S., with the northern coastline, till a little past Carn Pen Biri, "Kite's Head Rock," over 570 feet in height, when it begins to wind through the moor of Treleddid Vawr in a half-circle in the direction of Vallis Rosina and Virival. Here its course is through a comparatively deep ravine, until it disembogues at Porth Clais. The river Alun is crossed by several bridges, as "Pont y Gwrhyd," on what seems to have been the old road north-eastwards from St. Davids, which skirts the above-mentioned extensive moorland of Dowrog, doubtless to avoid it; "Pont Pen Arthur," the bridge at "Arthur's End," on a road which branches to Whitesand Bay from the Whitchurch-St. Davids road, and which lies below the highest hill in the parish, nearly 600 feet, Carn Lleity, "the Lleity Rock," so called from a farmhouse of that name on its southern slope, the *Laythte*, i.e. *llaethdy*, dairy, of *B.B. St. D.*, 62; "Pont y Penyd" on an old trackway that enters the close by the north or Boning's Gate, which trackway is called Meidr Dywyll, "dark lane," till where it touches the last-mentioned road, after which till the Waun Vawr it is called (so I was told) Meidr Saint, "saints' lane"; "Cloisters Bridge"; "College Bridge" on another road to Whitesand Bay; Pont y Virival, over which westwards one reaches Porth Stinan, "St. Justinan's Creek," on Ramsey Sound, passing Clegyr Vwya on the left; and lastly a foot-bridge, formed of a single slab, whereby one crosses westwards to the site of Capel y Pistyll, "the Spout Chapel," where Gerald says St. David was baptized.

Gerald (VI. 107, 109) describes the water of the Alun as "muddy and unproductive," which, however, in the time of Bishop David II. (1147-1176) flowed with wine. And perhaps, if the name "Merryvale" is old, this is what it means, "Anglo-Saxon *myre*, Middle English *müre*, mire," as elsewhere (*Trs. Bristol and Gloucester Arch. Soc.*, xxxix. 166). George Owen says the stream was famous for big trout of unnatural tameness (*O's P.*, i. 100).

§ 18. This and the following section are abridged as follows in the C.C.C.C., 161: "On the next day the same woman, having become mad, was no more found, her innocent step-daughter having first been slain, on the site of whose martyrdom a fountain, a restorer of health, sprang up. And the aforesaid man, struck by an unexpected enemy, perished. His *turris*, castle, burnt by fire sent from heaven, is overthrown. For it was meet that that destruction should overtake him, who was threatening the man of God with slaughter, and that he who was pitiless to the servants of God, should have pitiless vengeance fall on himself."

Gerald too (III. 389) compresses as follows: "The disciples, therefore, being calmed at the admonitions of the father, the woman shortly after, becoming mad, destroyed her innocent step-daughter. And so, struck by divine wrath, and rushing about in disordered fury, she shortly ceased to be. *Boia* also, slain by an enemy, whose name was *Leschi*, his *turris*, castle, being consumed by fire sent from heaven, did not escape divine vengeance."

cucumeri. In W. M. Lindsay's *The Corpus Glossary*, 1921, p. 50, *cucumis* is given the meaning of "poppy." Even if we assume that *cucumeri* is a mistake for *cucumeres*, this meaning gives no sense, for our *cucumeri* contain *nuces*, nuts.

Dunod. That this is a Christian name from the Latin *Donat-a*, points to the conclusion that her father, Bwya, was no stranger to the Church. According to the tradition, preserved by Geoffrey Stephen (see note to § 16), he was actually received into the Church, and all his house.

It is remarkable that the name *Dunod*, which may also derive from *Donat-us*, the masculine form, is applied by Gerald (III. 381) to the "old man called Criumther" of § 3 above, whom St. Patrick raised from the dead at Porth Mawr.

Merthyr Dunod, somewhere in the Alun valley; in the Welsh Life (110) *Ffynnon Ddunod*, "D.'s Well." Neither name is now known at St. Davids. *Merthyr Dunod* would seem to have meant originally, simply "saint Dunod." When this Irish signification of *merthyr* was being forgotten, stories of martyrdom were being imagined and invented to account for the name. This appears to have been done by the author of the *De excidio Britanniae*, § 10, who mentions the graves and passion sites of martyrs of both sexes, referring to the many *merthyr* place-names scattered throughout "Britannia," which had tended to disappear with the decay of the Irish language in Britain. The following are instances, which I have collected from *B.Ll.*, and elsewhere, which could easily be extended:

S.E. Wales: *Merthyr Buceil*, *Merthyr Dyvan*, *Merthyr Glywys*,

Merthyr Ilan, Merthyr Myvor, Merthyr Tydvil, Merthyr Onbrit (Glamorganshire); Merthyr Cynvall, Merthyr Dingad, Merthyr Gerein, Merthyr Iulius ac Aron, Merthyr Maches, Merthyr Tegvedd, Merthyr Tewdrig (Monmouthshire); Merthyr Clydog (Herefordshire); Merthyr Cynog, Merthyr Issiu (Breconshire).

S.W. Wales: Merthyr Celer, Merthyr Tydstl, Merthyr, Merthyr Cynog, Ystrad Verthyr (Carmarthenshire); Mathry, Merthyr Dunod, Merthyr Tyvai, Martletwy (Pembrokeshire).

N.W. Wales: Merthyr Caffo (Anglesey); Merthyr Meirion (Criccieth, Carnarvonshire); Merthyr (Llanddanwg, Merionethshire).

Some of these persons may have met with violent deaths in the cause of the Church, but the normal signification of the word *merthyr* in these and doubtless very many lost instances is simply "saint" (so Anwyl in *y Beirniad*, ii. 135; *Y C.*, xxvii. 50). It is to be observed that they are found in those parts of Wales where Irish influences are known to have prevailed. They are very rare, or quite absent, elsewhere. Like the post-Roman inscribed stones with rude Latin capitals, which were monuments characteristic of the Irish portions of Wales (Lloyd, 114-5), so the *merthyr* place-names are confined to those same portions.

The story of Dunod's martyrdom is perhaps due to the catholic interpretation of the word *merthyr*; and this is somewhat supported by Gerald, who gives what may be another version of the story, in which Dunod is not a martyred virgin, but the old man at Whitesand Bay, whom Patrick raised from the dead—unless there was a *Donatus* at Porth Mawr and a *Donata* in the Valley.

§ 19. *Lisci*, or *Leschi* as he is called by Gerald (III. 389), is remembered at Porth Lisci, "Lisci's Creek" on the coast, W. of Porthclais. Both Castell Clegyr Vwya and Castell Penlan (where was Caer Vwya, the scene of Bwya's death) lie between Porth Lisci and Vallis Rosina. There is some evidence that Lisci had a fort on Picton Point, where the Western and Eastern Cleddes meet, some four miles S.E. of Haverfordwest, called Caer Lisci. Rhys identified Lisci with *Lonsce*, a name that appears in an Irish tale (*O's P.*, i, 411).

§ 20. *the monastic community*. The Latin is *monastica classis*. From *classis*, doubtless, is derived the Welsh *clas*, a religious community, a very important word and institution in the old British Church. Indeed it may be said that it is the key to the understanding of the organization of the Church in Wales for many centuries of its life. In certain striking passages in the Laws of Howel the Good (*d.* 950), the nature of the *clas* is made quite clear. Thus we read: "Whosoever shall do wrong to a mother church, let him pay fourteen pounds, one half to the abbot, if he be an ecclesiastic acquainted with letters, and the other half between the priest and the *clas*" (*A.L.*, i. 78). In what appears to be a later recension of this passage, the word *kynnonwyr*, canons, is substituted for *clas*, and there is added, "in like manner everything is to be shared, which comes to the Saint as offering" (*ib.*, 432, 434; ii. 842). Other sections of the Laws inform us that, "when the abbot dies, the *clas* and the canons should have his chattels" (*ib.*, i. 10; *Y C.*, xvii. 135). Again, in a passage concerning the relics and

ornaments of a church, we are told that the *claswyr ar personeit*, the *clas*-men and the parsons, are the owners of the church ; or, as another version has it, *y clas ae phersonyeit*, the *clas* and its parsons (*A.L.*, ii. 66, 98). Such passages throw much light on the organization of the Church in Wales before the Norman French arrived with their later continental ideas and methods. The old "mother churches" up and down Wales were all of them under an abbot, who ought to be, although apparently it was sometimes not so, a more or less learned ecclesiastic. Each of these abbots had a *clas* to rule, and each *clas* was provided with at least one priest to celebrate the sacraments. The *clas* of Bangor and the *clas* of St. Beuno at Clynnog Vawr in Arvon are mentioned in the Law Book of Gwynedd (*ib.*, i. 106), and the *clas* of St. Davids in the History of Gruffudd ab Cynan (*d.* 1137), where we read that Gruffudd landed from Ireland at Porthclais near *archescopty Mynyw*, the "archbishop-house" of Mynyw, and was received there by Rhys ab Tewdwr (*d.* 1083), king of the "southern part" of Wales, also by the bishop, and his "teachers," and the whole *clas* of the Lord Dewi and of the Church of Mynyw (Jones' *Hist. of G. ap Cynan*, 124). Gerald also (III. 153) mentions the *glaswir* [more rightly *claswir*] of St. David's, whom Bishop Bernard (1115-1147) converted into "canons." He says that Bernard "found the Church of Menevia altogether rude and disorganized. For the *clerici*, clerics, of that place, who were called *Glaswir*, that is, ecclesiastical men, lived irregularly on the possessions of the Church, having barbaric customs, without order and rule. He first instituted canons," etc. The *clas* of Holyhead and that of Llanynys are also specifically mentioned (Lloyd, 205-6). Moreover, the word *clas* enters into place-names, proving that the institution was in working order at Glasbury, in Welsh *Y Clas ar Wy*, the *clas* on the river Wye ; at Vaenor Glas in Glascwm, which itself seems to contain the word ; at Clas Garmon in St. Harmons ; at Clas in Llangyvelach ; at Treclas in Llanarthney ; at Traean Glas in Llywel ; and at Glasgow, which in the Life of St. Kentigern is called *Glasgu* and interpreted *cara familia*, "the dear community" (Metcalf's revision of *Pinkerton's Lives of the Scottish SS.*, 1889, ii. 27). Numerous monastic churches are mentioned in the Book of Llan Dâv, such as Llancarvan, Llantwit Major, Llandough near Cardiff, Caerwent, Moccas, Garway, Welsh Bicknor, Llandogo, Dewchurch, Bishopston in Gower, and Penally, the heads of which are called abbots or "princes" as in Ireland, where *princeps* was used for the Irish *airchindech*, "erenagh," abbot (*V.S.H.*, ii. 385). The Latin Welsh Chronicle mentions a *princeps*, "prince" or abbot of Abergele (*Y C.*, ix. 165). Lloyd (206) discovers an abbot of Towyn in Meirionydd, and there was an abbot at Llandinam in the mid-twelfth century. *Prepositus*, "provost," is also used for abbot (*C.B.S.*, 92).

A remarkable passage in the Laws of Howel (*A.L.*, i. 556, 558 ; ii. 790, 869), upon which the foregoing remarks throw light, although it carries difficulties of its own, is the following, which I translate from the simplest form (*W.M.L.*, 121) : "There are seven bishop-houses in Dyved ; [Mynyw], and Mynyw is the chief in Wales, [and] Llan

Ismael, and Llan Degeman, and Llan Ussyllt, and Llan Teilaw, and Llan Teulydawc, and Llan Geneu. The abbots of Teilaw and Teulydawc and Ismael and Degeman should be ordained scholars. Twelve pounds is the heriot of every one of these, and to the Lord of Dyved it is paid, and those who succeed them, are to pay it. Free is Mynyw from every due. Llan Geneu and Llan Ussyllt are free from that due, because they have no land. Whosoever shall affront one of those abbots, let him pay seven pounds to him, and let there be a washer-woman from his kindred, as a reproach to the kindred and as a memorial of the vengeance." The seven monasteries seem to be (1) St. Davids, (2) St. Ishmaels, (3) Rhoscrowther, (4) St. Issels, (5) Llandeilo (near Maenclochog), (6) Llandeuldyddog (in Carmarthen), (7) Llangeneu (in Clydai). As they are all within the confines of the diminished Dyved of the ninth century, called Rheinwg, the arrangement does not appear to be earlier. What precisely is meant by "bishop-house" does not appear, but the monastic character of the system is clear.

In certain memoranda of a ninth-century Demetian charter, which perhaps confirmed or renewed donations to St. Davids two centuries previously (rescued by Leland, and annotated by Phillimore in *O's P.*, ii. 428-430), references are made to abbots of Carmarthen (the Llan Deuldyddog above), Penally, St. Ishmaels, and also *Llan Sanfrigt*, which is doubtless St. Brides in Roose, whence St. Bride's Bay is called. Gwynvardd (*Y G.*, 82), speaking of St. Davids, says:

Gweleisy glas, ac vrtas vrtedic haelon,

I saw a "clas," and a hierarchy of generous clerics.

§ 21. What now follows till § 31 is of the highest value in revealing the kind of life which monks of Britannia, or Wales, idealized in pre-Norman times. These sections are written whilst St. Davids was still being ruled by independent bishops of Welsh appointment, and whilst the old monastic life of the Church in Wales was still in force, for Rhygyvarch died in 1099, *i. e.* sixteen years before the see of St. Davids was occupied by the Norman French Bernard, whom the Norman French masters of England thrust upon the diocese.

Rhygyvarch impresses upon us that the cenobitical life at St. Davids was one of extreme rigour and austerity; and doubtless it was from St. Davids and similar Welsh monasteries, but especially from St. Davids, where dwelt the head of the Watermen, that such a life was adopted and copied in Ireland. Dom Butler says, that "in spite of all difficulties of climate, the Irish hermits successfully rivalled in their extraordinary penances and austerities and vigils the hermits of Egypt, and even those of Syria" (*Cambridge Medieval History*, i. 534). And here in § 31 of the Life of St. David (though Dom Butler does not mention it, ignoring all Welsh evidence) we have Rhygyvarch stating explicitly that St. David, "*imitating the monks of Egypt*, led a life similar to theirs." There were monasteries, however, less strict than St. Davids (Williams' *Gildas*, 264); and the Watermen's excess of asceticism did not pass unchallenged. "The Lord calls blessed those

who hunger and thirst, *not for water with scorn of others*, but for righteousness" (*ib.*, 260).

"for he who labours not." No monk could be an idler. They believed that present toil meant future rest; that they who could work were to do so in order to help those who could not, that is, the young, the old, and the sick; that they ought not to consume in idleness the fruits of other people's labours, for the Church also said, "Let none of you eat the bread of idleness." All these reasons for labouring are given here or in the Life of St. Cadog (*C.B.S.*, 35).

apathy, *accidie*. This was reckoned one of the seven deadly sins, which appears as *llesgedd* and *diogi* in one of the first books, printed in Welsh, *Yny lhyvyr hwnn*, 1546 (reprinted by Principal J. H. Davies, 1902).

§ 22. Here we have a clear picture of the rigour which was challenged by St. Gildas. The use of oxen for ploughing was abjured. The monks place the yoke on their own shoulders. Each is an ox to himself and his brethren. It sometimes happened that monks would forsake their own less strict monasteries for those where stricter discipline was imposed upon them, such as St. Davids. Gildas had no sympathy with such leanings. Let those indeed who have quitted monasteries governed by disreputable abbots be welcomed by other abbots. But not so if the suspected abbots were still received at Holy Communion and had not been excommunicated for infamy. Then Gildas proceeds, "How much more ought we not to receive monks who come from holy abbots, who are in no way suspect, *except that they possess cattle and vehicles*, either on account of the custom of their country or their own weakness—things which do less hurt to their owners, if they hold them with humility and patience, than to those, *who drag ploughs and dig mattocks into the ground* with presumption and arrogance" (Williams' *Gildas*, 262).

§ 24. It is clear from this section that at St. Davids the food was measured out to the monks, even bread, in accordance with their age and strength, "for too much, though it be of bread only, produces wantonness," and "one must not weigh out to all in equal measure." That this was done in the strictest monasteries is proved from Gildas, who inveighs against it (Williams' *Gildas*, 258, 260). He rebukes those monks who, owing to their austerities, despise others. "These men" (says he), "whilst eating bread by measure, glory for this beyond measure." "Better are those who do not abstain beyond measure from what God has created."

bread and herbs. In § 2 we have been told that David the Waterman lived on bread and water only. This was followed by all the bishops of St. Davids until Morgeneu (*d.* 999) broke the custom (Gerald, VI. 104). For five centuries, therefore, this excess continued at Vallis Rosina, until wiser counsels prevailed. Even then the change did not occur without protest, for the tragic death of Bishop Morgeneu at the hands of the Scandinavian pirates was attributed to his departure from the old rule. Doubtless the example of the early bishops was followed by their monks, who abstained from the use of flesh. This too is condemned by St. Gildas, who says that better are they who preserve a

clean heart "than those who eat no flesh," regarding themselves as superior to others (Williams' *Gildas*, 258).

§ 27. *sabbath*, that is, of course, Saturday. The monks of St. Davids did not confuse the sabbath with the Lord's Day. These devotions, therefore, incredible as it may sound, extended from Friday evening till dawn on Sunday with the exception of one hour after matins on Saturday. St. Gildas, as he demurs against the pride engendered by the customs of measuring out bread, restricting all drink to water, and all food to dry dishes, demurs also against the lengthening of vigils. "They give preference to fasting over love, to vigils over righteousness, to their own imagination over harmony, to the cell over the church, to severity over humility, in fine to man over God. They are bent not on what the Gospel, but on what their own will commands; not what the Apostle, but what pride teaches; without observing that the position of the stars in heaven is unequal, and that the offices of angels are unequal. These fast, which profits nothing, unless they follow after other virtues" (Williams' *Gildas*, 260-1).

§ 31. *the Egyptian monks*. Monachism, as a great movement in the Christian Church, began in Egypt at the commencement of the fourth century. Its leaders were St. Anthony and St. Pachomius. The former, born c. 250, "left the world" c. 270; in c. 285 he took up his abode in a deserted fort at Pispir on the eastern bank of the Nile. In 305 he came out of his seclusion to become the first organizer of Christian monachism. He is the father of the eremites, in Welsh *meudwyaid*, "servants of God." St. Pachomius, born a pagan c. 290, converted c. 310, founded his first monastery at Tabenissi, near Denderah, c. 315. This is reckoned the first monastery properly so called, where the ascetics lived together in one place. Such a monastery was known in Welsh later as *mynachdy* "monk's house," and *mynachlog* from the Latin *monachi locus*, "monk's place"; *ty* "house" and *llog* "place," were also used to signify the same thing. In Wales the more general name for a monastery was *llan*, "place," a translation of *locus*. The meaning of *llan* became so restricted in the sense of monastery that, whenever used to denote any other sort of place, a noun was prefixed to mark the special signification, as *ydlan*, "the place of corn," *coedllan* "the place of wood," etc. In process of time, as the *llan* became more of a church than a monastery, it came to bear its modern meaning of "church."

From Egypt monachism spread westwards. Before the end of the century it is found in Italy and Spain, but its chief strength in the West was in Gaul. St. Martin of Tours is the true founder of Gallic monachism. He practised the monastic life before being made bishop in 372. Nearly ten years previously he had established a monastery near Poitiers. Afterwards he founded another outside Tours, called in time Marmoutier. Here he gathered eighty monks and lived with them. Before his death on November 11, 395, the N.W. of Gaul was dotted with monasteries.

The earliest British monks known to me are Pelagius the heretic, Puplicius, son of the tyrant Maximus (killed 388), Nynias, and Constans, son of the tyrant Constantine (killed 411). St. Puplicius, or, as he is

now known in Welsh, St. Peblig, founded the monastery of Llan Beblig in the old deserted Roman fort of Segontium, near Carnarvon. Nynias is the well-known founder of Whithern in Galloway, who called his church after St. Martin.

In c. 410 there was a very fine outburst of monachism in S.E. Gaul under St. John Cassian and St. Honoratus near Marseilles and in the small island of Lerins, over against Cape Cannes. The work of these men profoundly influenced the British Church. At Lerins for a while lived the holy youth, who was afterwards to shine as St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland. In 433 a Briton, Faustus, became Abbot of Lerins, who was the son of the celebrated Vortigern (*H.B.*, 48).

§ 32. *Constantine, king of the Cornishmen.* This is clearly the man, who figures in *B. y S.* as Custennin Gorneu, i.e. C. the Cornishman. In *B. y S.* the saints are grouped according to their families, and so we find those of the Cornish stock, to which Constantine belonged. But here very evident marks of dislocation are seen. It looks as though there was here some difficulty even in the original draft of the document, which copyists could not overcome; and this explains the uncertainty which has hitherto attended the name of Constantine. It will be well, therefore, to give the briefs relating to the family as they appear in each of the four early copies. They are as follows:

- (a) Kyby m. Selyf m. Gereint m. Erbin m. Custennyn Gorneu m.
Yestin m. Gereint m. Erbin m. Custennyn Gorneu.

(Here follows Padric.)

- (b) Kybi m. Selyf m. Geraint m. Erbin m. Custenin Corneu.
(Here follows Padric.)

- (c) Kybi ap Selyv ap Gereint ap Erbin ap Custennin Goreu.
(Here follows Padric.)

Iystin ap Gereint brawt Kustennin.

- (d) Kybi mab Selyf m. Gereint m. Erbin m. Custennin Gorneu.
(Here follows Padric.)

The marks of uncertainty on the part of the copyists are shown, in (a) by the loose m. at the end of Kyby's brief; in (b) and (d) by the omission of Iestin; and in (c) by the hesitation of the copyist, who first passed over Iestin, whose brief he could not reconcile with that of Kybi, and then gave it as he found it. No doubt the intention of the original compiler of *B. y S.* was to give the three (or four) well-known saints of the family of "Geraint ab Erbin." These are Cybi, Constantine, Iestin (and Cyngar); and in truth the "Custennyn Gorneu m." of (a) is really the beginning of Constantine's brief, so that the original order must have been as follows:

Kyby m. Selyf m. Gereint m. Erbin.
Custennyn Gorneu m. [Gereint m. Erbin].
Yestin m. Gereint, brawt Custennyn.
[Cyngar . . .]

But even so the pedigrees are erroneous, for in the Life of St. Cybi (*C.B.S.*, 183; *L.B.S.*, iv. 379) the saint's pedigree is given as Cybi m. Selyv m. Erbin m. Geraint m. Lud. Welsh pedigrees of Cornishmen

are less likely to be original than Cornish ones; and as Geraint is called in the romances the son of *Lac*, there can be no doubt that the Life of St. Cybi, which makes him the son of *Lud*, records the genuine pre-Conquest Cornish-Breton tradition. The "Gereint ab Erbin," therefore, of Welsh writers is a twelfth-century mistake, a curious but not otherwise unknown one (O's *P.*, ii. 285) for *Erbin filius Gereint*, which was treated as meaning "Erbin's son, Geraint" instead of what it is, namely, Erbin son of Geraint. It follows from this that the pedigrees in *B. y S.* should read:

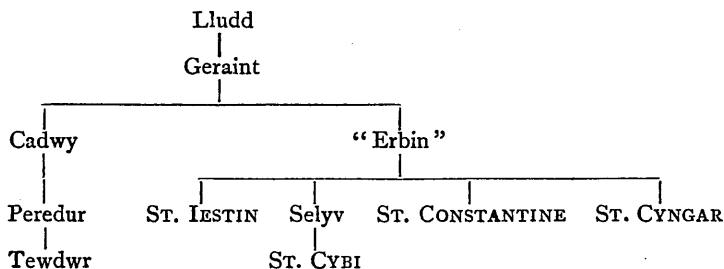
Kyby m. Selyv m. Erbin m. Gereint [m. Lud].
 Custennyn Gorneu m. Erbin m. Gereint [m. Lud].
 Yestin m. Erbin, brawt Custennyn
 [Cyngar . . .]

The same curious error caused Welsh writers to mistranslate *Constantinus filius Erbin* into "Constantine's son, Erbin," whence the erroneous *Erbin uab Custennyn*, E. son of C., of the mediæval romance (*White Book Mabinogion*, 205 ff.; *Red Book*, Guest's Trs., ed. by E. Rhys, 1906, pp. 236 ff.). The legendary *Goreu mab Custennin* (*ib.*, 221, etc.) is also doubtless deduced from our Custennin Gorneu, misread as *C. filius Goreu*, mistranslated "C.'s son, Goreu."

In addition to "Erbin," Geraint had a once famous son, Cadwy, from whom are named (so Phillimore thinks) the various Cadburys in the Devonian peninsula, which Cadwy had a son Peredur (*Y C.*, xi. 90), who again was father of *Teudur* (*ib.*, viii. 86), doubtless the "Theodoric, king of Cornwall," who figures in the Lives of St. Kea, St. Fingar, and St. Pedrog, and who lived at Gudern in the parish of Kea (*L.B.S.*, i. 31; ii. 224-6; iii. 27; iv. 98). Cadwy is described in the first Life of St. Carannog (*C.B.S.*, 99-100) as reigning with Arthur at *Dindraithou*, somewhere in the Devonian peninsula, to which fortress Arthur and Carannog, Dewi's uncle, brought the serpent of *Carrum* to show Cadwy. Afterwards Cadwy and Arthur found Carannog's altar at the mouth of the river Willet in Somerset, near which, at Carhampton, the saint built a monastery on land given to him by Cadwy. This is without doubt the historic Arthur. Now as Arthur fell in A.D. 492 according to the chronology, which Geoffrey of Monmouth *unwittingly* followed, and which therefore for us is more credible (*Y C.*, xxii. 129), Cadwy must have flourished in the fifth century, which indeed is otherwise clear in that Cadwy and Arthur were contemporaries of St. Carannog, who, as we have seen (note to § 3), followed Bishop Patrick to Ireland in 432.

In no early authority known to me is St. Cyngar given as son of Geraint. His name does not appear at all in the oldest copies of *B. y S.*, but only in late fifteenth and sixteenth century texts, such as the Peniarth MSS. 27, Part II. 127, and 74, where he is described as brother of "Selyv ab Geraint," who, as we have seen, should be Selyv ab Erbin. That he was the brother of Selyv, however, may perhaps be accepted on this evidence. In the Life of St. Cybi (*C.B.S.*, 183-4; *L.B.S.*, iv. 380-1) it is said that St. Cyngar was *consobrinus*, which here must mean "kinsman" to St. Cybi, and also, although an

old man, his disciple. In the Life of St. Cyngar (*N.L.A.*, i. 248 ff.) he is made to have been the son of "a Constantinople Emperor," which indicates that the author of this somewhat jejune stuff knew something of his connexion with Constantine the Cornishman. Cyngar, remembered in Congresbury, Somerset, was called *Doccuinus* among the Britons, which name survives in Llandough near Cardiff, and in another Llandough near Cowbridge. He is often identified with the *Docus* of the eighth century Catalogue of Irish Saints (s., cols. 161-4). In the Life of St. Pedrog (*N.L.A.*, ii. 317-320) the conversion of Constantine, who according to traditions preserved by Leland (*L.B.S.*, iv. 98) was reigning contemporaneously with *Theodorus*, i.e. Tewdwr ab Peredur ab Cadwy, and made with him grants of land to St. Pedrog, is attributed to the latter. The following scheme will assist us to place these several members of this important family :



far-off country. This need only be far from Dyved. On the river Wye in Erging is Llangustennin Garth Benni, now Welsh Bicknor, called after Constantine, the father-in-law of Peibio, Dubricius' grandfather (*B.Ll.*, 72, 275-6). In Carnarvonshire, W. of the river Conway, is Llan Gustennin. There were monasteries of St. Constantine in Cornwall, Constantine Church, W. of Padstow, and Constantine, S.W. of Falmouth; and in Devon, Milton Abbot, by the river Tamar, near Bradstone (St. Non) and Lezant (St. Sant).

§ 33. *at a place very near.* Gerald (III. 390) has, "the place of the cemetery." Jones and Freeman (232) identify it with "St. Mary's Well, which rises near the east end of the Cathedral, and of which the water runs through the crypt of the College Chapel; there can be no doubt that this was the spring which, in the days of Giraldus, was supposed to have risen to supply the use of the church, at the prayer of its patron saint, and to have been the scene of miracles even in that age," for Gerald (III. 390) says, "found indubitably in our day to distil milk on occasions." And in his *Itinerary* (VI. 109) he says, "This seems a notable thing to me, that in our time, namely, whilst David II. was presiding [1147-1176], this river flowed with wine; and the spring, which they call Pistyll Dewi, that is, the Pipe of David, because the spring flows off into the churchyard from the east as through a kind of pipe, distilled milk. It is agreed that on occasions it has been so found." In 1866 Sir Gilbert Scott and his employers

took it upon them to have this sacred fountain blocked up (Henry Evans' *Hist. and Guide to St Davids*, 58).

other sweet waters. Here the Welsh Life (110) has, "After that, Bishop *Gweslan*, brother in the faith to Dewi, and a disciple of Dewi, who was called *Eliud*, both fasted to obtain from God wells of fresh water, for there was not any water in the city; and owing to the drought of the time. And then they obtained from God two wells. And they are called to this day *Ffynnwawn Gwestlan* and *Ffynnwawn Eliud*. And the lame, and the blind, and the sick obtained deliverance in those two wells." The two saints are *Guistilianus* (§ 14) and *Eiludd* (or *Teilo*). The two wells are now unknown by these appellations.

On Quickwell Hill outside the Close is *Ffynnon y Cwecwll*, "the Cowl Well," from the cowl-like arched covering built over it, with which compare *Ffynnon Gapan*, "Cope Well," in Llan Llauer churchyard, above the river Gwaun. A "White Well" gave name to a chapel, a short distance S.E. of the Close. Near St. Non's Chapel is her Well. Near St. Justinan's Chapel on Ramsey Island is St. Justinan's Well. At Porth Mawr is *Ffynnon Vaeddog*, "St. Maeddog's Well." Geoffrey Stephen in his *Life of St. Teilo* (*B.L.L.*, 103), although he mentions the miraculous wells at St. Davids, and had even heard "from old inhabitants of that place" that they yielded wine of sweet flavour, does not associate any particular well with St. Teilo.

§ 34. *our land.* Gerald (III. 390) says this was at *Breudi*, where is "a church founded in honour of St. David." It is now called Brawdy, pronounced "Broady," in Welsh Breudeth, some seven miles to the west of the cathedral.

bachall, pastoral staff; in Welsh *bagl* or *bagal*, from Latin *baculum*. It was a simple staff with a crook. The bachalls of the saints were possessed of wonder-working powers. Like their bells, too, they were named. Thus in the Life of St. Padarn (*C.B.S.*, 190-1) we read, "At that time all magnify the Lord in his servant, Padarn, and all blessed him and said, 'May there always be to thee a sign of peace, whereby thy name may shine on earth in life and death,' which is fulfilled in the gift, Cyrwen, for such usefulness pertains to that bachall, that if two be in disagreement, they are pacified by their swearing together on it." This bachall is referred to by name in the codex C.C.C.C., 199 f. 11a., by Ieuan ab Sulien, Rhygyvarch's brother. From it also is named the church of Llan Gorwen, a daughter of Llanbadarn Vawr, near Aberystwyth. Gerald, in his *Itinerary*, I. 1, speaks of the once famous bachall of St. Cirig at St. Harmons, in Radnorshire. It "was prolonged a little on either side in its upper part in the form of a cross, and covered on all sides with gold and silver." The most famous bachall was that called *Bachall Isa*, believed to have been given to Patrick by Jesus himself. Bachalls were characteristic marks of Christian missionaries (*V.S.H.*, I. clxxiv-vi.).

a most clear fountain. The number of holy wells existing in Wales to this day shows how widely diffused was the cult of fountains. It is said that in Ireland there cannot be less than 3,000. It would not be

surprising if it was found that in Wales, too, the number ran into four figures. The primitive worship of wells, and well deities, was overthrown by the Church by the simple process of Christianizing them. Sometimes this was done by building a church over or near the well, as at Porthclais. But the commonest way was by ascribing the origin of the well to the miraculous intervention of a saint. He would start one by striking the ground with his bachall as here. Or the well would be produced by the saint's blood, as at Merthyr Dunod (§ 17), or by his prayers, as in the last section, or in other ways. Holy wells had various wonder-working qualities, especially healing properties (*V.S.H.*, I. cxlix.-clii.).

§ 35. *prior*. "On this officer, who appears under various names, even more than on the abbot, depended the daily lives of the monks. He seems to have assigned them their various tasks, and to have exercised his authority with no little harshness. Indeed the tyrannical *oconomus* is a standing type" (*V.S.H.*, I. cxvii.-cxviii.) in the Lives of Welsh and Irish saints. He is called *prior* as in the Life of St. Cadog (*C.B.S.*, 68, 88); *prepositus*, as here; *oconomus*, as in the Life of St. Cadog (*ib.*, 38), in the Life of St. David, § 38, and in the Life of St. Padarn (*ib.*, 190), where, however, he seems to be distinguished from the *prepositus*.

at a distance. Gerald (III. 391) says the wood was *in valle de Saleu-uach*, in the Solva valley. The river Solva and the river Alun are the principal streams, which flow through the plain of Dewslan. "The former, which drains the more inland portions of the peninsula, works its way through a picturesque little valley, to a creek in St. Bride's Bay about three miles west from Newgale, into which it falls beside the little town to which it has given its name" (*J.F.*, 4, 5). Solva in Welsh is *Solvach*. The little town is over three miles to the east of the Cathedral. It is a chapelry (St. Aeddan) under Whitchurch, in Welsh *Tregroves* (St. David).

As to the general treeless character of Dewslan, Jones and Freeman (5) write, "The whole of this district, from the dip of the country towards the west, and the want of hills to shelter it, is necessarily exposed to the extreme violence of the sea winds. These sweep over it at times with irresistible strength, and at all times the atmosphere is such as might be expected from its peninsular situation. Accordingly the absence of trees is all but universal; the few which exist, from their solitary position, their withered and blasted aspect, and their palpable abhorrence of the sea, serving only to give the country a wilder and more desolate appearance. Plantations have been formed in the more sheltered valleys, in that of the Solva with some degree of success, but in that of the Alan with very little."

into the sea. C.C.C.C., 161, condenses. Gerald (III., 391) differs, as follows: "And so, when he was returning with a full load along the steep sides of a hill, the oxen by chance were thrown over the cliff with waggon and full load. The holy man with uplifted hand brought back the vehicle, by the sign of the cross, in safety, the oxen, by a wondrous miracle, being unhurt." See, too, the Life of St. Aeddan, §§ 12, 14 (*C.B.S.*, 235-7). In Llan Hwel parish, not far from the river Solva, is a place called *Cerbyd*, which means "vehicle"; also *Cerbyd Moor*.

These are close to *Vagur Eilw* (see note to § 7). *Cerbyd* is a loan-word from Irish.

§ 36. *Ferns*, in Scarawalsh barony, Co. Wexford. It became the burial-place of the kings of Leinster. Gerald (III., 391), *apud Fernas*, at Ferns, "where he vowed to serve God, having gathered brethren together, in accordance with the form and rule, which he had learnt at Menevia from the pious father (David)."

§ 37. *Scutinus*, i. e. St. Scuthin of Slieve Margy, Queen's County, to the west of the town of Carlow. He was also known as *Scolanus*. C.C.C.C., 161, reads *Scuthinus*, whom Gerald (III. 392) identifies with *Swithunus* (see note to § 38); the Welsh Life (III), *Scuthyn*. Phillimore makes the very interesting suggestion, that the names *Scolton* in Spittal, and *Scollock* in Ambleston, may embody the name *Scolan*, and asks whether *Scotsborough*, near Tenby, may not derive from *Scutin*? All these places are in Pembrokeshire. The words "thy fellow-disciple" here, and "his former disciple" in § 38, indicate that St. Scuthin, like St. Aeddán, had been trained at St. Davids.

monster; Gerald (III., 392), "marine monster"; the Welsh Life (III), *anghenuil or mor*, a monster from the sea. "Once [St. Scuthin] met St. Barre (of Cork), he walking on the sea, and Barre in a vessel. 'What is the cause of thy walking on the sea?' says Barre. 'It is not sea at all, but a plain full of clover-blossom,' says Scuthin. And his hand touches a flower, and he throws it to Barre in the ship, and said, 'What is the cause of a vessel swimming on the plain?' At that word Barre stretches his hand into the sea, takes a salmon there-out, and flings it to Scuthin. So that from that flower (*scoth*) he is named Scuthin" (Stokes' *Martyrology of Oengus*, 41; cf. *V.S.H.*, I. xxxi.; *L.B.S.*, iii. 24).

Even more than for ocean exploits, St. Scuthin is noteworthy for his gift of continency, in which he outstripped St. Brendan, as the latter had reason to confess (*L.B.S.*, i. 259).

§ 38. *met him*. The Welsh Life (III) adds, "in the place which is called *Bed Yscolan*," i. e. Yscolan's grave. The spot would appear to have been in the Valley, for the refectory was one of the common buildings within the monastic enclosure.

cellarer and prior. The latter was second only to the abbot, being frequently appointed with the right of succeeding to the abbacy. The cellarer, or cook, was another important officer, "whose duty was to provide for the bodily wants of the brethren, the guests, and the poor" (*V.S.H.*, I. cxviii.).

Scutinus, otherwise called *Scolanus*. Gerald (III., 392) would seem to have heard (*ut perhibent*, as they say) that *Scutinus* or *Scuthinus*, which last was probably the form of the name before him, was none other than St. Swithun, Bishop of Winchester! St. Swithun died in 861 according to MS. F. of the Saxon Chronicle.

§ 39. *Barre*. This is St. Bairre, bishop, abbot, and founder of Cork. By descent he was a Connaught man, but his activity seems to be almost entirely limited to Munster. His name appears under many forms, such as *Barra*, *Barri*, *Barro*, *Barrus*, *Barrinus*, *Findbarr*, *Finbarrus* (*V.S.H.*, ii. 347). Gerald (III., 394) gives it as *Barrocius*.

His full name is Findbarr, or Barrfind, meaning "white crest" (*V.S.H.*, I. xxxi.); in Welsh these would be Gwynvar and Berwyn respectively. St. Baire's name possibly survives at St. Davids in *Tir Barr*, i. e. "Barr's land," the name of a tenement on the southern edge of the Burrows (J.F., 383). The following is translated from his Latin Life in the Bodleian MS., 485 (c. 1200-1250) as printed in *V.S.H.*, i. 69, n. 8. Plummer thinks it has been inserted into the Life from a different source. "At another time, after he had visited the threshold of the Apostles, he turned aside on his homeward journey to St. David that he might inherit his blessing. When Baire had remained for a time with that holy man, David, he began to fear lest danger might be threatening his disciples on account of his absence. He asked the holy bishop, David, for the horse whereon he was wont to ride, that he might complete his journey the sooner. This being granted him together with the blessing he had desired, he mounted the horse, and, when so mounted, entered the sea with confidence, and arrived in Ireland. He kept the said horse with him for the service of the brethren. But in memory of the miracle, his disciples made a brazen horse, which remains to this day in Cork." For the "brazen horse" see next section and note.

§ 40. *Brendan*, the celebrated navigator, and abbot of Clonfert in the barony of Longford, Co. Galway. Clonfert stands for *Chlain Ferta* (*Brenain*), the mead of the miracles (of Brendan).

painted image. Gerald (III., 395): "a horse of molten metal, small and portable, with a man sitting upon it, excellently adorned with gold and silver. To this day, at *Corcagia*, Cork, in the Church of St. Barocus, it is wont to be held with exceeding great reverence by the neighbouring people, renowned for signs and miracles."

§ 41. *Modomnoc*, the well-known Irish saint of Tibragny (*V.S.H.*, ii. 365) on the Suire, in Kilkenny county. Sir John Rhys finds the name as *Madomnu* on a stone at Llanllyr, Cardiganshire (*Y C.*, xviii. 54-5). The Irish name *Domnoc* is to be equated with Welsh *Dwynog* and with the *Dumnacus* of Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*, viii. 26 (*L.B.S.*, ii. 397). Gerald (III., 395) calls him *Mandabnaucus*. Mr. Phillimore points out to me that "here Gerald has given the Old-Welsh, whereas Rhygyvarch gives the Irish form of the first possessive pronoun, regularly prefixed by way of endearment to the names of Irish saints. The form *myn*, my, is also found in the pet name of St. Kentigern, '*Munghu*, quod Latine dicitur *carissimus amicus*,' which in Latin is *my very dear friend* (Forbes' *Vita Sanctorum Scotiae*, p. 169), now corrupted into *Mungo*. This in modern Welsh would be *Fy nghu* (for *fyn nghu*); the *n* of the Old-Welsh *myn*, spelt by Gerald *man*, is preserved in the South Welsh colloquial '*yn*, my.'"

§ 42. *almost a third part or fourth of Ireland*. Here we have a claim for Dewi's supremacy over a portion of Ireland, certainly over Laigin or southern Leinster, the chief saint of which was St. Aeddan, Dewi's disciple, at Ferns. Note that the Church of Naas, one of the chief abodes of the kings of Leinster, is dedicated to St. David; near it are the remains of an ancient structure called "the Castle of St. David," now converted into a rectory (*L.B.S.*, ii. 305). Other Irish

disciples of Dewi, St. Scuithin and St. Modomnoc, mentioned by Rhygyvarch, are Leinster saints. Ireland "was regarded as consisting of five provinces or 'fifths.' Connaught, Mumen, and 'Ultonia' corresponded, with some minor differences, to Connaught, Munster, and Ulster of the modern map; while Leinster represents the two remaining fifths, Laigin in the south and Meath in the north" (Bury, 70). Laigin, or the old kingdom of Leinster, was south of the Liffey (*ib.*, 55, n. 1). In this section, therefore, all Leinster is not claimed for Dewi, but somewhat more than Laigin, which was only a "fifth" of the island. What is claimed is "not a third," roughly a fourth—so I understand the words.

Whatever the passage exactly means, it reflects Menevian ambitions across Ireland, as we have detected similar Menevian ambitions across Mercia (§ 13). Curious as it may seem nowadays, there was a moment when St. Davids pictured itself as ecclesiastically supreme from the Wash to the Shannon. And we cannot doubt that in this Life of St. David, history has been bent, more or less unconsciously, to serve this notion. If St. David was the chief saint right across Britain and Ireland from the North Sea to the Atlantic Ocean, he was certainly the greatest saint in the British Isles; and that this was actually contemplated at St. Davids seems evident from § 15, where we are told that the smoke of Dewi's first fire in Vallis Rosina filled the whole of Britain, and Ireland as well; and from § 61 where an angel is made to announce the approaching end of Dewi "throughout the whole of Britain and Ireland," etc.

is subject to David the Waterman, i.e. seruit David Aquilento (see note to § 2, "of the Aquatic Life"). Lloyd (155) says that *aquilento* here means "marsh" and refers to Ferns, the seat of St. Aeddan's chief monastery in Ireland, called *Guernin* in § 36. The passage would then translate, "But almost a third part, or fourth, of Ireland is subject to David at Ferns, where Maeddog was." Phillimore (*O's P.*, I. 206, n. 4) does not treat the passage so, nor would Sir John Rhys, when I asked him in 1913, listen to it. I erred against Lloyd in saying that *gwern* "swamp" was modern (*Y C.*, xxiv. 57); Gwynvardd (*Y G.*, 83, col. i.) has:

A el ym medrawd mynwent Dewi

Nyd a yn vffern, bengwern boeni.

Who enters a grave in Dewi's churchyard

Enters not hell, that swamp of torment.

Maeddog. Lawlor (*Psalter and Martyrology of Ricemarch*, xvii. n. 2) points out that the story of Maeddog and his bell "is inserted between two paragraphs about Modomnoc, Aidan having been the subject of earlier sections, in which he is not called Maedoc." From this he supposes that Rhygyvarch confused *Maidoc* with *Modomnoc*. This is possible, but it was clearly only temporary confusion. Aeddan's name, written *Moedoc* (*V.S.H.*, ii. 346), may have misled him, but he straightway corrects himself, saying that *Maidoc* "from infancy is Aeddan."

bell. Gerald (VI. 203) says of the Welsh, "I notice that they

show devout reverence to churches and ecclesiastics, also to the relics of saints, to bachalls, portable bells, books of the gospel, and to the cross, paying far greater deference to all these than other nations." Several examples of bells survive (Newell's *Hist. of the Welsh Church*, 144-5).

"*Cruedin*." I am indebted to the late Kuno Meyer for the following: "As to *crue din* it should read *cruedin*. It is the Irish *cruaidín*, literally 'the little hard (or harsh) one.' *Cruedin* is a good phonetic rendering of the Irish word (*d*=Welsh *dd*). *Cruadln* actually occurs in Irish, as the name of Cuchulinn's sword (see *Mesce Ulad*, ed. Hennessy, p. 44)."

§ 43. *the whole multitude of bees*, i.e. all the bees in the monastery. Gerald (III., 396) says, "all the swarms of bees, which were at Menevia, or in the neighbourhood of the same." This is not what Rhygyvarch means, for lower down St. David is made to say, "Our *ciuitas* will be for ever deserted by you"; and Rhygyvarch states as a matter of experience, that bees brought into the *ciuitas* did not thrive. By *ciuitas* he means, not the city or parish of St. Davids (as Gerald would seem to have supposed), but the monastery only (*V.S.H.*, ii. 382, s "ciuitas"). Bury (*St. Patrick*, 378) conjectures that in Ireland the name *civitas* was originally applied only to "those religious settlements which were seats of bishops." "In Gaul, in Italy, in Roman Britain, the bishop's seat was in a true *civitas*; and we can understand that in a cityless land, *civitas* might have been used in the special ecclesiastical sense of the settlement in which the bishop lived." This same argument would apply to Wales, for Wales (though in Roman Britain) was, like Ireland, more "a cityless land" than not.

attended on the bees' quarters. "Modomnoc settled at Lan Bechaire, 'the Church of the Bee-Keeper,' now Bremore, near Balbuggan, in the county of Dublin. There are ruins of an early church there in a cemetery surrounded by a hawthorn fence" (*L.B.S.*, ii. 354). In the *Martyrology of Oengus*, ed. Stokes, p. 75, at February 13th we read, "My-Domnoc, i.e. the festival of Modomnoc's decease, i.e. in Tipra Fachtnai: from Tipra Fachtnai in the west of Ossory—the race of Ireland's bees." And again (113), "Fínán Camm brought wheat into Ireland, i.e. the full of his shoe he brought. Declán brought the rye, i.e. the full of his shoe. Modomnóc brought bees, i.e. the full of his bell: and in one ship they were brought." Gerald (V. 29) quotes a third century writer, Solinus, as saying there were no bees in Ireland, and that according to tradition they were first introduced by *Dominicus Ossiriensis*, i.e. our Modomnoc. A note in some of the Welsh law-books states, "The stock of bees is from Paradise, and for the sin of man they came from there. And God conferred His grace on them, and therefore it is impossible to sing mass without the wax" (*W.M.L.*, 81).

Never shall your offspring grow up in it. This curious story of the absence of bees in the monastery at Vallis Rosina one can hardly dissociate from the Waterman's hostility to the use of intoxicating beverages by his monks. Not that the bees would fail to thrive there more than elsewhere in St. Davids and Dyved, but that Dewi the

Waterman would not suffer them to be reared on account of the mead, which was made of bees' honey—this is a probable explanation. The Welsh word *meddw*, drunk, is from *medd*, mead.

§ 44. *whose life and miracles are contained in his history.* These words would seem to show that the Life of St. Padarn (*C.B.S.*, 188-197) was compiled before Rhygyvarch wrote the Life of St. David. As no mention is made of the Life of St. Teilo (*B.L.*, 97 ff.), we may surmise that this was written contemporaneously or after.

§ 47. *the power of the Jews.* This strange story of Dewi's ministry among the Jews cannot but remind one of the hitherto unexplained annal placed opposite Annus CLVII in the old Latin Welsh Chronicle (*Y C.*, ix. 156), namely, *Dauid episcopus moni iudeorum.*

§ 48. *four gifts.* According to the Life of St. Teilo (*B. L.*, 106), Dewi had one gift, an Altar; Padarn, two gifts, a Bachall and a Choral Cope; and Teilo, one gift, a Bell. According to the Life of St. Padarn (*C.B.S.*, 193), Padarn had two gifts, a Bachall and a Tunic. Observe that here Dewi is given an Altar; and a Bell (like Teilo); and a Bachall and Tunic (like Padarn). Doubtless Dewi's Bell is that called Bangu, "the dear, loud one," which in Gerald's time was kept at Glascwm. He tells us (VI. 18), "In Elvael at the church of Glascwm is a portable Bell of very great virtue, which they call by its proper name 'Bangu,' which also is said to have been St. David's. A certain woman, having secretly carried off this Bell, placed it on her husband, who was kept in chains in the castle of Rhaeadr Gwy by Gwarthrynion, which Rhys ab Gruffudd [*d.* 1197] had built in our days, that she might thereby free him. But since the keepers of the castle would not only not release the man on this account, but even took the Bell by force and kept it, that same night the whole town by divine vengeance was consumed in its own fire, except the one wall where the Bell was hanging."

§ 49. *the Pelagian heresy.* Pelagius, a Briton, taught that a man could be saved by his own efforts without the grace of God. This plausible doctrine finds at all times wide acceptance, but it is rightly condemned by the Church, for it makes a man not humble and charitable, but proud and scornful. It breeds, not saints, but prigs and snobs of all sorts. That Pelagianism burst out afresh in Britain after the two successful visits of St. Germanus in 429 and in *c.* 447 respectively, is not impossible. Nevertheless, had there been such an outburst followed by "a universal synod of all the bishops of Britannia" to refute it, doubtless other reference would have been found to so notable an event than this late solitary one in the Life of St. David. That the Synod had to do with Pelagianism does not receive the hearty assent of modern scholars. Bright (*Early Eng. Ch. Hist.*, 35) flatly denies it; Lloyd (157) is not enthusiastic, whilst Williams (388) maintains that "of Pelagianism proper there could be no question at this time," that the controversy at Brevi was "purely Gallic in origin, and connected with the so-called semi-Pelagianism, in which Faustus, successively Abbot of Lerins and Bishop of Riez, a man too of British origin, was the protagonist. Of this controversy there might be some lingering echoes at that time in Britain." Bevan (*St. David's*,

1888, p. 19) writes, "The true character of the proceedings at these synods has been recently revealed by the discovery in France of the acts of two synods, named respectively *Sinodus Aquilonalis Britannia* and *Altera Sinodus Luci Victoriae*, which may, from the coincidence of the word *Victoriae* occurring in the title of the second, be with great probability identified with the two synods of St. David's day. The object was, not the demolition of Pelagianism, as [Rhygyvarch] states in his biography of St. David, but the discipline of the clergy and laity."

a universal synod. According to the Life of St. Cadog (*C.B.S.*, 39-40) the Synod of Brevi was summoned by St. David at the direction of an angel. No mention is made of Pelagianism. In the Life of St. Cynnydd (*N.L.A.*, ii. 108) "a general synod" was announced by St. David (see Selections).

one hundred and eighteen bishops. Rhygyvarch could hardly have invented this number; he probably found it in the old writings before him. It may be stated for what it is worth that the 118th year from the Conversion of Constantine the Great is A.D. 429, when Germanus and Lupus visited Britain to confute Pelagianism.

Brevi, the name of a small stream in Cardiganshire, some five miles in length, which flows directly westwards into the river Teivi. It may be that this locality was chosen for the synod because it was the meeting-place of old Roman military roads, one from the north and two from the south. Here, near the right bank of the Teivi, at the farm now called Llanio isav, "lower Llanio," was a Roman fort. Some inscribed stones have been found, which indicate that Roman soldiers were active on the spot c. A.D. 100. The Roman name of the site is unknown, though sometimes supposed to be Luentinum, which Ptolemy places N.E. of Maridunum, or Carmarthen, in the land of the Demetæ. The northern road from Llanau passed by Pennal Church in Merionethshire, where too the Romans had a fort, and Tomen y Mur, to Caer Rhun on the river Conway, whereabouts it joined the Roman road across North Wales from Carnarvon to Chester. Of the two southern roads, which met at Llanio, one is supposed to have descended the Teivi valley past Lampeter and Llan y Byddair to the Roman site of Carmarthen; the other crossed the Teivi below Llanio, then over the Brevi, as far as Llanvair Clydogau, whence it struck south-eastwards over the mountains to Dolau Cothi and Llandovery, where perhaps was Luentinum, in the direction of the great fortress at Caerleon-on-Usk (*Trs. C.S.*, 1908-9, pp. 106-115). Doubtless, roads, military and otherwise, branched into these which met at Llanio, from all parts of Wales. The *northerly* position of Llanio, relative to most of South Wales, certainly seems to indicate that the invitation to the assembly had been extended to *North Wales* (see note to Daniel, § 50). In the Welsh Life (113) consciousness of this northerly position of Llanddewi Vrevi is revealed in the expression *sef yw honno Mynyw yn y deheu*, namely, Mynyw in the south.

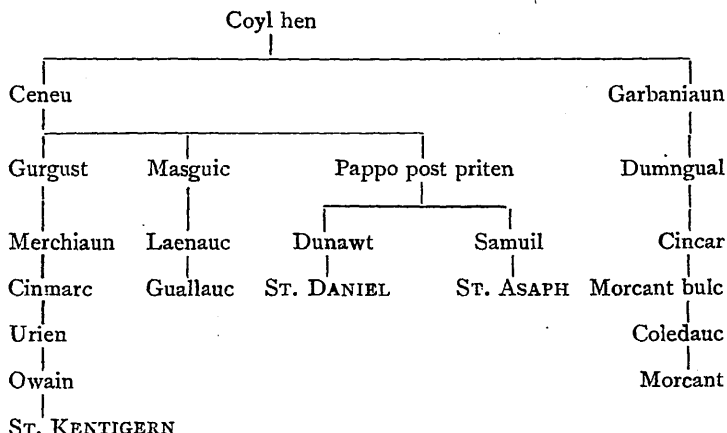
The name *Brevi* has for ages been confused, by such as would explain it, with *brevu*, "the act of lowing, bellowing, or bleating." This, doubtless, is the seed of the legend of Dewi's piercing voice

at the synod. One might ask whether it was at any time identified with the scene of the Alleluya victory in 429?

Paulinus. That the Synod of Brevi was called to refute the heresy of Pelagius is probably a mere "reverberation," as Bishop Basil Jones termed it, of the proceedings of St. Germanus in 429 and in *c.* 447 (Bright's *Chapters in Early Eng. Ch. Hist.*, 35 and *n.* 2). It is an echo of an event, not in the career of David, but in that of Paulinus, whose tombstone (if it be his, see § 10) tells us that he was *servatur fidei*, guardian of the Faith. I would suggest that Paulinus did actually stand up in a gathering of British orthodox Churchmen, and propose that one of greater influence than themselves should be called in to withstand the Pelagian poison, one whom he knew of old as a faithful exponent of orthodoxy, because he himself had been a disciple of his, to wit, St. Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre. Germanus had come twice, and on each occasion after an embassy from Britain had been sent to Gaul. In one of the assemblies, which sent these embassies, Paulinus was possibly a principal mover. We learn from the *De excidio Britanniae*, § 20 (*C.M.*, 36), that in *c.* 447, when Germanus was in Britain for the second time, the Britons drew up a letter to send to Aëtius, the chief minister of the empire under Valentinian III., begging the Imperial government for armed assistance against the Picts and the Scots. They address it "to Aëtius, thrice consul," *i.e.* 446. We learn also from Constantius, followed by Bede (*H.E.*, i. 21) that, when Germanus left Britain the second time, he went to Rāvenna to plead the cause of the Armoricans. Who then more likely to have carried the British appeal than he? And as Germanus worked for the peace of his Armorica, so Paulinus might have taken this excellent opportunity to work for the peace of his "Britannia," for, as the epitaph says, he was *patrieque semper amator*, at all times a lover of his country.

§ 50. *Daniel*, an eminent founder of monasteries, especially of the two Bangors of North Wales, the Bangor of Carnarvonshire, afterwards and now the episcopal see of the diocese of that name, of which he is regarded as the first bishop, and the Bangor on the Dee, Flintshire, terribly famous at one time throughout the Church in these islands for the slaughter of 1200 of its monks at the bloody Battle of Chester in A.D. 617 (see Bede's bitter apology in *H.E.*, ii. 2; and for the date *Arch. Camb.*, 1918, p. 86). Doubtless it is to these Bangors that our earliest tenth-century mention of Daniel (or Deiniol, as he is called in Welsh) refers, viz. *Dispositio Danielis Bancorum*, "the Burial of Daniel of the Bangors" (*Y C.*, ix. 155-6). According to *B. y S.*, St. Daniel of the Bangors was cousin to St. Asaph, after whom the second North Welsh episcopal see is named. As Daniel founded Bangor, so Asaph founded St. Asaph (or, as it is called in Welsh from the stream on which it stands, Llan Elwy). But since *c.* 1180, when Joscelyn of Furness wrote his Life of St. Kentigern for the then Bishop of Glasgow, and made his hero to have been the founder of St. Asaph or Llan Elwy, it has been generally accepted without further proof, that so it was. But the following pedigree, taken from the earliest and best lists, being the official ones of the

court of Howel Dda (*d.* 950) and of his son, Owen (*Y C.*, ix. 173-9), and from the saintly affiliations of *B. y S.*, disproves such a notion. It is indeed probable that St. Kentigern fled from the north to St. Asaph and other Welsh houses, and he may even for a while have acted as Abbot of St. Asaph, seeing he was of the founder's kin, but that he *founded* St. Asaph is not probable.



In *H.B.*, 62 (*C.M.*, 206), Urien, the grandfather of Kentigern, Guallauc and Morcant (all these names appear in the above pedigree), and Rhydderch Hen, are said to have fought against the Northumbrian king Hussa, son of Ida. Urien is also said to have fought against "Deoric" or "Deodric," another son of Ida, at which time "sometimes the enemy and now the citizens were being overcome." Urien was ultimately murdered at the instance of Morcant (doubtless the wicked "Morken" of the *Life of St. Kentigern*, cc. 21, 22), whose descendants persecuted the saint so that he had to fly. This is probably the occasion he came to Wales. Later, however, the above Rhydderch Hen, king of Alclyde (a descendant of that Coroticus, against whose abominable doings St. Patrick had written), came into power. Being a practising Churchman, he invited St. Kentigern back to Strath Clyde. All this fixes St. Kentigern's activities about and after A.D. 600, whereas St. Daniel and St. Asaph would have been flourishing some two generations earlier.

Dubricius, grandson of Peibio, king of Erging (see notes to § 13), a fifth-century bishop, who was a strong supporter of monachism and who died in the early sixth century. His period is partly determined by the fact that he consecrated Samson, afterwards Bishop of Dol in Brittany, who is known to have been a contemporary of Childebert, king of Paris, from 511 to 558, and to have been present at a council held in Paris c. 557, where he signs as "Samson peccator episcopus." *Dubricius*' obit at 612 in the old Latin Welsh Chronicle

(*Y C.*, ix. 156) is therefore hopelessly inaccurate. As his early legend connects him with Erging, and as his principal foundations are there, this district, doubtless, was the headquarters of his activities (*Lloyd*, 147-8).

fishes with bread and water. See §§ 2, 4, 24, with notes.

§ 51. *Magnus.* *Lewis* (*Glossary of Med. Welsh Law*, 1913, p. 212) suggests that Latin *magnus* may have yielded Welsh *maen*. If this is so, then doubtless the Carmarthenshire Llandyvaen (locally pronounced Llandyvân), under Llandeilo Vawr, means the *llan* of Tyvaen, *i. e.* the monastery of "thy Magnus," a saint to be identified with the Magnus mentioned here. In Gwynvardd's poem (*Y G.*, 83, col. i.) he is called "Magna":

*A Dewi ae goruc, gwr bieifyt,
Magna vab yn vyw ae varw deudyt.*

And it was Dewi who did it, the man will be his,
Making the boy Magna alive, who had been dead two days.

§ 52. *a church*, *i. e.* Llanddewi Vrevi, Cardiganshire, "David-Church of the Brevi" on the S. bank of the stream, some $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the S.E. of the Roman site at Llanio Isav, "situated on a gentle eminence, backed by high mountains."

§ 54. This and the following section demand close attention. The Synod of Brevi passed certain decrees, which resulted in a general quickening and steadying of the religious spirit. These decrees, written in Dewi's own hand, were only partly to be found at St. Davids. I understand Rhygyvarch to mean that they had been largely lost in the many hostile attacks, to which St. Davids had been exposed from Scandinavian pirates, because they had gone out of use and were well-nigh forgotten, having been superseded by the decrees of the Synod of Victory. This last synod, held some time after that of Brevi, revised the decrees of the latter and added to them. These also were written in Dewi's own hand. From these two synods all the churches of Wales received their rule. This passage shows Rhygyvarch's consciousness that distinctive peculiarities in ecclesiastical life and order existed within the ancient and original Church in Wales (*Williams*, 390).

decrees. "The Church, for purposes of discipline, had developed various modes of correction in the case of lapses into sin, as well as of reconciliation by absolution. As we approach the sixth century, we find a long development of very varying procedures along independent lines, and ending in the very reverse of agreement throughout the Churches of different countries. In one point, however, there seems to have been universal agreement, *viz.* that acts of contrition and confession, together with the reconciliation which followed, were purely ecclesiastical. Whilst, for the most part, such acts of penance were, in the West, not public but private, they certainly were subject to the judgment of the bishop; he, or the presbyter representing him, was always the ministrant. Yet in Britain and Ireland there had grown up a different system; *the disciplinary measures were conducted from the cloister.* Different sins began to be catalogued after the manner of penal enactments, with the corresponding penance to be

undergone before reconciliation. In the opening words of the Penitential of Columbanus 'there must be a *mensura paenitentiae*' [a measure of penance] calculated according to the magnitude of the sins committed. What this missionary did not quite find in Gaul, according to the words of his biographer Jonas, viz. *paenitentia medicamenta et mortificationis amor* [medicines of penance and love of mortification], he brought to that country from his Irish home. People from all parts soon flocked to his monastery at Luxeuil to partake of the benefit of the 'medicine of penance' (*Vita Col.*, 2). Books containing such rules, by which sins and the appointed penances were thus arranged in order, were called PENITENTIALS (*Libri Penitentiales*). They seem to have had their origin in Britain and Ireland, but, after the seventh century, they are found both in the English Church and in Churches far and wide over the Continent" (Williams' *Gildas*, 272). Penitentials survive ascribed to Gildas, Finnian of Clonard, Columbanus of Luxeuil, and Cummean, whilst in the English Church we have penitentials attributed to Archbishop Theodore, Bede, and Archbishop Egbert of York.

There survive also some excerpts from a "Book of David," which are penitential canons of the same character as those just mentioned. The decrees of the Synods of "Northern Britannia" and the "Wood of Victory" are also of the same nature. They will all be found printed by Dr. Williams in his *Gildas*, 286-288.

§ 55. *two synods.* The express statement of Rhygyvarch that from certain two synods "all the churches of our country take their standard and rule" cannot lightly be set aside. That they were (1) a synod of Brevi and (2) a synod "of Victory" must be accepted till the contrary is proved. And the fact that there exist several lists of Penitential Canons, emanating from the Church in Britain and Ireland, of which one is called "the Synod of Northern Britannia," and a second "the Synod of the Wood of Victory," followed by "Some Excerpts from the Book of David," serves to stiffen our confidence (Williams' *Gildas*, 286-288). It can hardly be doubted that Rhygyvarch's Synod "of Victory" is identical with "the Synod of the Wood of Victory"; and if one could be sure that a note of Leland's, viz. "In Synodo breui," was extracted from the same ninth-century source as other adjoining notes of his, carrying the name of Sadyrnvyw, Bishop of St. Davids, who died in A.D. 831, the occurrence of a Synod of Brevi would be doubly proved (*O's P.*, ii. 428). One would like to be able to identify the above-mentioned Synod of "Northern Britannia" with that of Brevi. "Northern Britannia" might mean North Britain, and also, equally as well, North Wales. Brevi is nowadays reckoned to be in South Wales, but that a synod should have assembled there in the early sixth century, by the old military road of the Romans, where it would be convenient for delegates to arrive from the north, and also that St. Daniel of the Bangors is said to have been present, helps to support the idea that the synod had what might be called a "northern" character. Llanddewi Vrevi is certainly *north* relative to most of South Wales.

Gerald's paraphrase and additions (III. 401-2) are interesting and valuable. "The decrees of these two synods, which Bishop David

had promulgated by word of mouth, he also committed to writing with his own sacred hand, and commended to be kept for his own church and several others throughout Wales [Rhygyvarch says 'all the churches of our country']. But like very many other excellent treasures of his noble library, they have disappeared owing to age and negligence, and also the frequent attacks of pirates, who, arriving in summer-time in ships of war from the Orkney islands, had been wont to waste the maritime provinces of Wales." In the old Latin Welsh Chronicle a destruction of Mynyw is given as having occurred in 810 (it had been burnt before in 645), and again in 906 (*Y C.*, ix. 158, 163, 167). In the continuations of the Chronicle we read that Mynyw was destroyed very many times subsequently, as in 999, when Bishop Morgeneu was slain "by the Gentiles," and in 1080, when Bishop Abraham met with like fate at their hands.

§ 57. This section in the Welsh Life (115-6) reads, "And that day there was given to Dewi his rights of sanctuary, and protection to every such person as did evil and should fly to Dewi's sanctuary. This is Dewi's right of sanctuary to all who may be in the city of *Rubus*, Mynyw, in the refuge of Dewi and under his protection, if he be in need. There is permission to him to proceed from Towi [reading *dyui*, *C.B.S.*, 113, for *dyfi*] as far as Teivi [between Towi and Teivi was the original Dyved, see note to § 3]. And if he be in need to go further, let him proceed forward before every saint and king and person in this island. Dewi's right of sanctuary is, wherever there may be land consecrated to Dewi Sant; and let no king or prince or bishop or saint presume to grant refuge to him before Dewi, because he received refuge before all, and none received before him, for him God and men placed chief of all the island. And then those saints with the consent of the kings excommunicated any who should violate Dewi Sant's right of sanctuary."

right of sanctuary. In 1081 Rhys ab Tewdwr, king of the "south" of Wales, was forced to take refuge in Dewi's sanctuary at Vallis Rosina, where Gruffudd ab Cynan, king of the "north" of Wales, found him. They joined forces, and fought and won the important battle of Mynydd Carn (Jones' *Hist. of G. ap Cynan*, 124 ff.; *Y C.*, xxii. 57). Gerald, in his *Description of Wales*, i. 18, informs us that the churches of the Welsh "enjoy far greater tranquillity than elsewhere. For not only is protection assured for animals to pasture in churchyards, but also far beyond, along boundaries and ditches removed some distance away, which have been imposed and confirmed by bishops for the sake of peace. But the greater churches, to which antiquity has tendered greater respect, provide security as far as cattle can go forth in the morning and return in the evening. For which reason, too, a man who shall have incurred the mortal enmity of a prince will enjoy similar security for himself and his following, if he seeks the protection of the Church. The result is that many abuse this privilege, which far exceeds the indulgence of the canons, for these only provide safety to body and limbs. Owing to this impunity, those who seek sanctuary increase in audacity and hostility, and from these places of refuge seriously disturb the whole country on every side as well as the prince by their onsets."

§ 58. If St. David had really lived 147 years (which nobody now believes), he would have died in 609, counting from 462 (thirty years after Bishop Patrick's arrival in Ireland). As his death is given in the old Latin Welsh Chronicle (*Y C.*, ix. 156) in 601, I have long thought that Rhygyvarch had this Chronicle (which was a Menevian one) before him. The entry is opposite Annus CLVII., and reads "*Dauid episcopus moni iudeorum.*" It is synchronized with the death of Pope Gregory the Great, between which and the notice of David Phillimore supposes that the conjunction *et*, and, has dropped out, so that the passage would have originally meant "Gregory died in Christ, [and] David, Bishop of m.i.," whatever the last two words may mean. The notice has certainly been regarded from of old as referring to the death of Dewi Sant. The 147 years given by Rhygyvarch to the saint seems to be a bungling attempt to bridge the interval between this entry and the saint's birth, which occurred thirty years after Patrick's arrival in Ireland as bishop. I have tried to explain it thus. As Pope Gregory died according to Bede (*H.E.*, ii. 1) in 605, the event was placed opposite Annus CLVII., counting not from 445, which is the Annus I. of the Chronicle, but from 449, the well-known Bedan date of the Saxon Advent, thus, 449 *plus* 156 = 605. This occurs elsewhere in the Chronicle, as *e.g.* the death of Patrick (461) at Annus XIII., and the Battle of Chester (617) at Annus CLXIX., which are correct if counted from 449. The death of David, therefore, being synchronized with that of Gregory, may have been treated as occurring in 605. If we suppose that the birth of David was also calculated from 449, it would have equated with Annus XIV. Inserted in a copy of this Chronicle (as indeed we find it in MSS. B. and C.) it would have yielded not 449 *plus* 13 = 462, but 445 *plus* 13 = 458. Now the difference between 458 and 605 is 147, which is the number of years allotted to Dewi by Rhygyvarch.

It is more difficult to explain why the death of St. David was placed at so late a date as 601, in which year, be it noted, March 1 was not a Tuesday. Lower down, at 612, is given the obit of St. Dubricius, which, as we have seen, is hopelessly wrong (see note to § 50). These two, being contemporaries, equally famous as saints, one in S.E. Wales and the other in the S.W., one may surmise that their obits were extracted from some common source, and the calculations misunderstood.

§ 65. *buried in his own monastery.* In the Life of St. Caradog, "extracted perhaps from a life by Giraldus" (*N.L.A.*, i. 174), it is said that formerly, owing to attacks of pirates from the Orkney Islands (cf. Gerald III., 402), St. Davids was left almost without inhabitant for seven years, so that a certain priest, after clearing away thorns and briars, "hardly reached the tomb of the confessor, St. David, on the seventh day." This is doubtless an exaggeration, out of which capital was made by Glastonbury monks on behalf of their preposterous claims. In 1088 Dewi's coffin was stripped of its precious metal by robbers, but the relics would seem to have been left intact. John of Tynemouth (*c.* 1290-1350), who visited St. Davids, says that St. David rests in his cathedral church (*N.L.A.*, i. 254). William of Worcester, at the end

of the fifteenth century, says that St. Justinan "lies in a chapel in the church of St. David *sub ejus tumba*, under, or below, his tomb" (J.F., 103, n. m). In the Life of St. Justinan, copied and condensed by John of Tynemouth at St. Davids (*N.L.A.*, ii. 93-5), although Justinan is said to have been buried in the church of St. Davids "in a new sarcophagus," nothing is said of his lying in or near St. David's own resting-place. But it is evident that at the end of the fifteenth century, the two bodies rested either one on the other, or one at the foot of the other; anyhow, near one another. In 1326, when an extent of the lands and rents of the Bishop of St. Davids was drawn up, the shrine and relics of St. David were wont to be carried about both in time of war and peace, as to Carmarthen and to Carn Twrne in the parish of St. Dogwells or Nant y Dewi, where the three cantreys of Pebydiog, Cemes, and Dougledde met (*B.B. St. D.*, 36, 50, 66, 80, 88, 94, 110, 122, 124, 152, 160).

§ 67. *Rhygyvarch*. This is the correct modern equivalent of Rice-march-us, for Ricemarch (three syllables with accent on the second), written in present-day Welsh "Rhygyfarch." All forms save these are to be avoided, especially the familiar bastard form "Rhyddmarch." "The fairly correct form *Rychmarch* of the older texts (transliterated from some such older form as *Richemarch*, the first *h* of which is merely orthographical) is altered into the scribe's gibberish *Rythmarch*, whence springs the ridiculous *Rhyddmarch* of your modern Welsh antiquary; of course the Old-Welsh *Ricemarch* would now be written and pronounced Rhygyfarch" (thus Phillimore in *Y C.*, xi. 174).

It is also a long-standing error to suppose that Rhygyvarch (1057-1099) was ever Bishop of St. Davids. This idea is due to a slip of the copyist of MS. c of the Latin Welsh Chronicle, who in the notice *Rikewarth. f. Sulien episcopi moritur*, Rhygyvarch son of Bishop Sulien dies, wrote *episcopus* for *episcopi*, which would mean "Rhygyvarch ab Sulien, bishop, dies" (Lloyd, 452, n. 208). The succession of bishops of St. Davids at this time was as follows:

1072 (or 1073)-8.	Sulien.
1078-80.	Abraham (murdered by Norse pirates).
1080-85.	Sulien (the second time). He died Jan. 1, 1091, aged eighty.
1085-1115.	Wilfrid, "the last of the independent line of bishops."

1115-1147. Bernard, a Norman-Frenchman, the first alien nominee.

§ 68. In an older form (*Y C.*, ix. 170, 174) this pedigree goes back to Beli the Great, whose wife was Anna, "whom they say was *consobrina*, cousin or kinswoman, to Mary the Virgin, the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ." This Beli the Great was the father of Aballac, who had a son Eudelen, whence the stock of Coyl, whose name is said to survive in "Kyle," Ayrshire, who also was ancestor to St. Daniel, St. Asaph, and St. Kentigern; and a son Eugene, after whom comes

Brithguein, Dubun, Oumun, and Amguerit (as here) till Doeil, who should be followed by Guorcein, Cein, and Tacit (Tacitus), who was father of Patern Pesrud (wrongly divided here into two persons), *i.e.* Paternus of the Red Tunic. Rhys thought the "Red Tunic" had reference to the purple of office (*Celtic Britain*, 3rd ed., 118). His grandson Cunedda is styled *Gwledig*, "Ruler," supposed to represent some "legitimate" position in the Roman Empire. He is associated in a sixth-century poem of Taliesin with Carlisle and a place called "Kaer Weir" (Evans' *Book of Taliessin*, 69; *Y.C.*, xxviii. 209-11). This Cunedda with many sons, of whom Ceredig, Dewi's grandfather, was one, entered North Wales from Manaw Gododdin, "on the southern side of the Firth of Forth" (Rhys' *Celtic Britain*, 3rd ed., 112), and drove the Irish out of their homes in those parts (*C.M.*, 205-6). We find them occupying Wales from the Dee to the Teivi and to the Gwaun (*Y.C.*, ix. 183; *C.B.S.*, 101).

NOTES TO LIFE OF ST. AEDDAN

§ 11. *Albus*, *i.e.* Aed Finn, chief of Ui Bruin, Connacht, a district in N. of Co. Roscommon (*V.S.H.*, ii. 342, 356).

new tonsure. Plummer thinks that "the so-called Celtic tonsure was possibly druidic in origin." This passage, which seems to speak of the tonsuring of a secular chief, he does not wholly understand (*V.S.H.*, I. cxxiii).

§ 12. *prior*, "equonomus," the "monasterii prepositus" of the Life of St. David, § 35. He was second only to the abbot, and oftentimes his successor.

huili ar in feni, "i.e. the crook (lit. elbow) for the waggon; perhaps the peg or bolt, which fastened the body of the cart to the frame" (*V.S.H.*, ii. 298, note).

the shore. About 500 yards from the beach of Whitesand Bay is a well called Ffynnon Vaeddog, "the Well of St. Maeddog," *i.e.* Aeddan.

§ 13. *Gladius*: doubtless the river Cleddy (for "Cleddyv," sword). On the right bank of the Eastern Cleddy is Llawhaden, an ancient foundation of St. Aeddan; and over four miles to the S.E. is an ancient foundation of St. David, namely, Llanddewi Velfrey. With these two places the authors of *L.B.S.*, i. 118-9 connect this incident.

It is not. In M (*V.S.H.*, ii. 141-163) this passage translates as follows: "'Father, upbraid him not, because God will upbraid him enough for us, and he will soon die. And no one will know his sepulchre.' And so it all happened to that envious prior according to the prophecy of St. *Moedhog*, the man of God."

§ 16. *flat face.* See note to Life of St. David, § 7.

§ 19. *Fothart campi Itha*, *i.e.* Fothart of Magh Ithe, in Leinster. The name survives in the bar. Forth, Co. Wexford (*V.S.H.*, ii. 328, 331).

§ 20. *amicus anime*, the Irish *anmchara*. "soul-friend" (*V.S.H.*, ii. 381). The Rev. Canon Dr. John Fisher equates the Irish *anmchara* with the Welsh *periglor*. "Practically the received opinion among scholars to-day is that *periglor* is derived from the 'Periculosa oratio,' the name given to the Consecration Prayer in the Irish treatise in the Stowe Missal, of the early ninth century, the earliest surviving Missal of the Irish Church. . . . In the early Scottish Communion Service on the margin opposite the Consecration Prayer was written in bold characters the word 'Peril,' and a priest who made any mistake in the Prayer was severely punished, fifty lashes for his first offence, and imprisonment on bread and water for his third offence. However, it seems to me that we need not go so far afield as that in search of a derivation. *Periglor* is found in numerous passages in mediæval Welsh associated with *penyd*, penance, and *periglo*, to administer extreme unction; so that it would appear that his special office was that of confessor, who heard confession, and imposed penance; but above all as the priest who administered extreme unction 'in periculo mortis.' He represented the *anmchara*, literally 'soul-friend,' that is, confessor, of the early Irish Church; and to him especially no doubt was applied the old saying, 'Goreu meddyg meddyg enaid,' the best physician is the physician of the soul. To give but one reference; in the Laws of Hywel Dda the bishop is called the King's *periglor*, i. e., his confessor" (*Y Llan*, March 11, 1921). That Dr. Fisher is right, there can be no doubt; see *W.M.L.*, 101, where the *periglawr*, the priest privately approached, is distinguished from the *offeirad*, the priest approached publicly; also p. 129, where the *periglawr* is clearly the woman's *anmchara*, soul-friend, or confessor.

Ard Ladrand, "in Ui Cennselaig, perhaps Ardamine, bar. Ballaghkeen, Co. Wexford" (*V.S.H.*, ii. 315).

IRISH LIFE OF FINDIAN

2527. *Dairinis*; see *Trs. C.S.*, 1895-6, p. 65.

Cathmael, the Irish form of Cadvael, i. e. Cadog.

2540. *Lann Gabran*, apparently Llancarvan, Glamorganshire, otherwise Nantcarvan. Cf. *Nont* in the Latin Life of this saint, § 5.

LIFE OF ST. JUSTINAN

Justinan, not Justinian; hence Porth Stinan on Ramsey Sound, and Llan Stinan, near Fishguard.

Limeneia: Ramsey Island, called by Ptolemy in his *Geography*, ii. 2, *Μυρον ἑρημος* (O's *P.*, i. 112). George Owen in one place says there were two decayed chapels on the island, one called after St. David and another after St. *Devanok* (*ib.*). Hence the island was

called in Welsh *Ynys Tyvanog*, or *Dyvanog*. In another place he says, "There are two Chapels in this Island, one at the South End, call'd *Capel-Stinans*; the other to the North, call'd *Capel-Dyvanog*. Each of these Chapels has a fine Spring of pure Water running by it" (*Survey*, 59). These two Chapels must be those, whose sites are marked on the six-inch O. S. map, both on the eastern shore. The south chapel is opposite the Bitches; the north chapel is some 660 yards further up; but they are not at the ends of the island, being rather midway. George Owen clearly took the south chapel to be *Capel Stinan*, and the other *Capel Dyvanog*. Fenton, however, (69), reversed the order, the place shown to him for the site of *Dyvanog's* Chapel being "a little hollow to the west of the house, having a little ripple of water passing near it." He quotes a Welsh couplet, which confirms the association of the two saints:

Stinan a Devanog, Justinan and Dyvanog,
Dau arwyl gymydog. Two dear neighbours.

At the south extremity of Ramsey Island are two places marked *Trwyn Mynachdy* and *Ogov Mynachdy*, the Nose (or Point), and the Cave, of the monastery, which may indicate the existence at one time of a religious foundation close by.

the Rock of the Lepers. This is commonly taken to be the isolated sea rock, locally called *Gwaingárreg*, or *Waingárreg*, which lies between Whitesand Bay and Ramsey Island, treated as "Gwahan-garreg" (J.F., 226). There is a *Dwr Cleivion*, "Lepers' Water," also called *Rhydy Cleivion*, "the Lepers' Ford," on the Whitchurch to St. Davids road, "where it crosses the Clegyr brook" (*ib.*; 42). Perhaps this "clegyr" was the "rock."

creek. Porth Stinan, where is now St. Davids' Lifeboat Station.
church. Capel Stinan, above Porth Stinan.

In another codex is a Collect: "God, who didst feed thy blessed martyr, Justinan, with heavenly food, carried by a pigeon, grant, we beseech thee, that by his intercessions we may be meet to come to the joys of eternal bliss, through," etc. This refers to some incident, omitted in the Life as we have it.

LIFE OF ST. MOLUA.

Moedhog. s, col. 278, has, "Saint Aeddan, abbot of *Ferna Mara*, Great Ferns."

David. s has "David of the Church of *Muini*; that he might become his *amicus anime*, 'soul-friend,' *Ir.*, *anmchara*, *Welsh*, *periglor*."

Molua. s, "Lugaid mac Coche." In the *Martyrology of Oengus*, H.B.S., 183, "Now 'tis Molua that was soul friend to David of Cell Muine, and to Cóemóc, and to Máedóc, and to Comgall, *ut quidam dixit*:"

Molua was soul-friend to David over the slow . . . sea,
and to Cóemóc and to Máedóc and to Comgall."

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