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Name:— John Williams James.

A HISTORY OF THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT

of the CELTIC CHURCH IN WALES

between the years 450 A.D. and 630 A.D.

being a thesis to be submitted for the DEGREE of
DOCTOR OF DIVINITY of the UNIVERSITY of DURHAM.

A Set of Maps & Sketches

to illustrate a Thesis on

'A History of the Origin & Development of the Celtic Church
in Wales. between 450 to 630 AD

'submitted by John Williams James

Contents

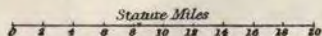
- 1) map illustrating Wales previous to reign of Maglocunus
- 2) Sketch illustrating N.E. Cornwall immediately before the Emigration of S. Cyfr. S Padarn. & the clan of Caradog Freichfras. 530-540
- 3 map illustrating development of the Church in Wales during the reign of Maglocunus
- 4) Sketch illustrating the settlement of Welsh refugees in Brittany 548-555 AD
- 5) map illustrating the development of the Church in Wales between the death of Maglocunus (547), & the first appearance of the Saxons in the Severn Valley (584)
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 - a. in the North. after the departure of Beuno from the Severn Valley in 613 especially after the Battle of Chester. in 613
 - b. in the South - after the death of Teilo & the loss of his Western Churches - the reorganisation of the Eastern Churches under Dudoceus

(NB The maps are numbered I II III & IV .

The sketches are not numbered

The Tribal Divisions in the maps are taken from the map at the end of Lloyd's History of Wales. Vol II

[1] - Previous to reign of Magnus.



- Black dotted line. line of Roman Road from Kenchester.
via Caerleon on Usk into Glamorgan.
- Red dotted line. line of Strategic advance from Hereford
via Usk & Towy Valleys to Llanvannor & Pembroke.



II. Reign of Maglocamus

WALES

Statute Miles
Development of N. West

- Barons underlined Red
Gildas's clan " Green
Cornel " brown
Canadaprechpas " Cobalt blue
Seithenn " purple
Dennol's clan " black
Cunedda's clan " orange
Cadog of Glanawon & South. W. underlined



WALE S

Statute Miles

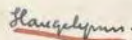
A horizontal number line with tick marks at intervals of 2, labeled 0, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20. A bracket is drawn above the line from 0 to 10, with the text "10 miles" written above it.

7) Development of S.E. after severance from S.W.

Colour scheme as before with the exception that the
Clan of Help up flannoy is underlined in red ink
in the N.

Purple line indicates the sphere of influence

Numbers relate to Sections in
the Chapter of the Lib: Landanensis
recording Grants to Oculoceros



Conquered by Cuneo's descendants
from Cartegans
c 730 AD

Completed by Brylflow 1570-588

Yucca Erodil.
Conquered by huasteco
: C 650

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ERRATA.

P.40. L.20	For Lamps	read Camps.	
51. " 2.	" Mountes	" Montis.	
61. " 17-20.	(" Dubricius	" Dubricius) s.e. insert between names vertical lines denoting descent.
	(Ebrdil	1 Ebrdil	
	(Pepiau = d of	1 P.=d of C.G.)	
	(Cons. G.		
67. " last.	For Hern	read Hen.	
89. " 10.	" Willes Bund.	" Willis Bund.	
101. " 22.	" Llandndyrnin.	" Llansadyrnin.	
111. " 3.	" Dyffnig.	" Dyfnig.	
112. " 27.	" Monk's	" Monks'.	
117. " last.	" Erida	" Enda.	dag
132. " 12.	" Worvester	" Worcester.	ter
146. " 9.	" depositim	" depositum.	es
" " 19.	" p. 145-9	" p. 415-9.	
147. " 18.	" Winedi	" Wincdi.	
148. " 1.	" vanant reading	" variant.	
" " 29.	" Dolby by	" Dol by.	
156. " 4 from last.	" proposed victorius	" proved victorious.	
159. " 3 from last.	" Finbarreof of	" Finbarre of.	lish
160. " 6 from last.	" G Ussyllt	" Ussyllt.	
163. " 20.	" Llanddewi Velfrey	" Llanddewi Velfrey.	
" " last.	" Deuri	" Dewi.	
169. " 1.	" Plwyl Teifo	" Plwyf Teilo.	
176. " 1.	" from	" for.	Fawr.
" " 2 from last.	" Excedio	" Excidio.	
177. " 2 & 17	" "	" "	work.
180. " bottom.	" "	" "	
181. " 23.	" "	" "	
" " last.	" gitur	" igitur.	
183. " 4.	" subsequence	" subsequent.	
184. " 12.	" editor's	" editors' determination.	
	(determinations.		
193. " 20.	" Deimol	" Deiniol.	
197. " 6.	" Yarroe	" Yarrow.	
" " 9.	" Eleti	" Eleri.	part 1
200. " 1 from last.	" Deinoil	" Deiniol.	
208. " 1.	" a Howel	" or Howel.	
221. " 15.	" eveneunt	" evenerunt.	
223. " 19.	" Congregatione.	" Congregationes.	
226. " 7.	" suzerainty	" suzerainty.	
245. " 2.	" dicipulus	" discipulus.	
248. " 5 from last.	" invernire	" invenire.	
250. " 3 from last.	" Brittainniae	" Britanniae.	

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A HISTORY OF THE CELTIC CHURCH IN WALES from 450 - 630+

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	MS Rawlinson 485.
	MS 285
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Cambridge, University Library	Ff 1.27.
" Corpus Christi College Library) MS 161.

INTRODUCTION.

The object of this study is to consider the origins and development of the Celtic Church in Wales between 450 A.D. and 630 A.D. Both dates are only approximate and are intended to cover the period during which the Wales as we know it emerged from the confusion consequent upon the Roman withdrawal. The later date marks the time when Oswald's victory at Heavenfield settled beyond dispute the supremacy of the English race.

One great difficulty to be faced is the almost total absence of the most valuable kind of evidence, what we may call primary or more or less contemporary evidence. This makes necessary a considerable use of secondary material - ecclesiastical traditions, legends of saints and the genealogical tables of the principal families. These exist in great quantities and are of very unequal value. Their individual value will be discussed when they are cited in support of any fact or theory: but as a general principle it may be stated that these sources of information will be used to serve only the purpose of chronological or territorial crossbearings and not merely to enhance the reputation of any individual church or saint. Comparisons and preferences will undoubtedly emerge but they will not rest upon a mere legend, but will be based upon an examination of all the evidence at hand. An attempt will be made to extract from the midst of legend the historical or geographical fact which supplied the kernel to the later growth; and then to fit this fact into its proper setting.

It is assumed at the outset that the nature of Celtic dedications is known i.e. that a Celtic Church bore the name of its founder and not that of a canonised

Saint of the Church. This fact is of great importance as it helps to determine the geographical distribution of the dedications, which in turn enables us to discover the districts occupied by the great leaders of the British Church. In the case of Teilo, Beuno, Deiniol such evidence is of paramount importance. When the genealogical tables are examined and they can be trusted with any degree of confidence, this evidence and that of the dedications help us to fix the great currents of religious movements and their approximate relationships in time. This is particularly valuable in the case of North Wales - where the pedigrees of the clans of Caradog Freichfras and Seithenin indicate in the various generations the first stage of Church Life west of the Conway; a migration eastwards to the Clwyd and what is now known as the English border and a still later migration westwards to the regions beyond the Conway. In South Wales the pedigree of the sons of Dingad ap Nudd Hael - one of the exiles of 550 A.D. enables us to fix approximately a date for the great period of religious revival in the lower Teivy Valley.

But all this evidence would lose weight were it not for the political background afforded by the Works of Oman - History of England before the Norman Conquest and J.E. Lloyd History of Wales. Oman's great contribution to this study may be described as his interpretation of Gildas in terms of Alfred's Wars against the Grand Army of the Danes. It vindicates the irascible Briton as a competent recorder of his Country's agonies. His work is a tantalisingly terse summary which was contemptuously dismissed as unhistorical - until Oman showed how exactly it corresponded with the later Danish Wars of

Alfred the Great. Of Lloyd's History it will suffice to say that no study of Religion or Early Wales was possible without it. Williams published his Christianity in Early Britain about the same time as Lloyd - but it is a study of the Church from within and not in its relation to the nation. No history of the Church of England could be written without a knowledge of Ethelbert of Kent, Edwin, Oswald and Oswiu of Northumbria, Penda and Wulfhere of Mercia. But this is precisely what has been attempted in Wales. The monumental work of Baring Gould & Fisher - The Lives of the British Saints - suffers from this defect. The learned editors seek to reconcile legend with legend. There is no attempt to reconcile the legends with the facts of secular and political history, with the result that the work contains many anachronisms. The criticisms rendered inevitable by the examination of so much legendary matter, has been attempted with this object in view, i.e. the fitting of the Church History into its proper place in the National Story. When anything has been rejected with apparently little or no justification, it has this sole reason for excuse. The numerous articles by the Reverend A.W. Wade-Evans in the Archaeologia Cambreusis Celtic Review (Edinburgh) Y Cymmrodor have been read and considered but they have been rejected in favour of the traditional chronology as advocated by Mommsen, E.W.B. Nicholson, Oman, Lloyd and Hugh Williams. The views of the last named as to the unity of the De Excidio have also been adopted: likewise the assigning to Gildas of the traditional date i.e. c 500 - 570.

WESTERN BRITAIN IN THE FIFTH CENTURY A.D.

Wales, in no less a degree than England, owes its origin to the catastrophes of the fifth Century A.D. Its earliest traditions know nothing of an unbroken continuity of national existence dating from the days of the Roman Empire, but find their source in an inter-racial warfare extending from the Irish Sea to the Bristol Channel, and from Chester to the shores of Cardigan Bay. Its invaders were not Teutons, pressing forward to a share in the spoils of a disintegrating civilisation. Still less were they, as has been so commonly held, the dispossessed refugees from the more Romanised parts of Britain. Tradition knows them only as members of a tribe holding lands near the eastern end of Antonine's Wall in the Western Lothians of Southern Scotland. Their activities were directed, not against the remnants of the old subjects of Rome, (what had been left of Ordovices, Deceangli, Demetae and Silures) as much as against the oppressors of those peoples, tribes of Irish Scots who had settled in Wales, in some cases as early as the end of the third Century A.D. but in greater measure after the withdrawal of the Western garrisons by Magnus Maximus in 383. Their success was recorded by the founding of a series of minor states extending from the Clwyd to Cardigan and bearing almost invariably the name of the first Conqueror and under their auspices a new language made its appearance and gradually replaced the ancient common tongue of aboriginal native and Irish conqueror; a new language, which was the parent of the Modern Welsh. The contact with North Britain, thus made, was retained for Centuries; and it is remarkable that, whilst the

heroes of the Wars against the Angles of Northumbria are commemorated in Genealogy, legend and song, we have nothing but the vague generalisations of Gildas and the stray hints of the Historia Brittonum upon which to fall back for a description of the struggles in Mid and Southern England and of the exploits of Ambrosius Aurelius and Arthur.

This incursion into Wales synchronised more or less with a successful revolution in the regions between Chester and Shrewsbury; with a Civil War between the Severn and the Wye; and with another incursion into South Wales, resulting in the Conquest of Modern Glamorgan and Monmouth west of the Usk. The peace of the Upper Usk Valley in Brecknock was secured only by submission and surrender of hostages; whilst the regions of the South West (the modern Counties of Pembroke and Carmarthen) owed their being unmolested to the force of the invasion having been already spent.

These Northern Conquerors - their Celtic speech and tribal organisation notwithstanding - yet called themselves "Britanni". Their most powerful leaders were known as "Gwledig", a title which strangely recalls the more august "Patricius" and which may have found its origin in a derivation of "Patricius" from Patria" as "Gwledig" derived from "Gwlad" (the Welsh equivalent of Patria). The educated among them called themselves "Cives" and they undoubtedly regarded themselves as the heirs not only of the Christianity, but also of the civilisation and traditions of the dying empire: but any reader of Gildas will realise how little of the ancient world had survived the vortex of destruction, into which the departure of the legions had hurled it.

Before examining the evidence for such an invasion of Wales and its associated convulsions, the question of any possible continuity of life must first be considered. Despite the absence of definite corroborative proof and the conclusions of scholars to the contrary (such as Dr. R.E.M. Wheeler, *Prehistoric and Roman Wales* p.254 ff who would limit it in area and type to a very inferior village community life in the ancient Venta Silurum and its immediate surroundings) tradition has apparently clung very tenaciously to certain fixed ideas involving an ecclesiastical continuity even where a social continuity was impossible. Such fixed ideas would include :

- (1) The survival of a See of Caerleon on Usk from Roman times until the mid-sixth Century.
- (2) The association of St. Patrick's birthplace Bannaventa with the Counties of Glamorgan or Monmouth.
- (3) The survival at Llantwit Major of an old Monastic College (identified with one of the ancient Romano-British cities) over which St. Illtutus (Illtyd) had been placed by St. Germanus of Auxerre
- (4) The associations of St. Germanus himself with the Welsh districts bordering upon Chester and Shrewsbury
- (5) The continuous existence of Glastonbury from its founding by St. Joseph of Arimathea.

As this study has to do with survivals rather than with "origins" at this particular part, we need no more than briefly touch upon two theories which have had some influence in the past, attributing the origin of Christianity to a certain "Caradog ap Bran the Blessed" who has been identified with the Caratacus of the Roman

Conquest of Britain: or to the King Lucius mentioned in Bede's Ecclesiastical History I 4. Unfortunately for the supporters of such fanciful legends the "Caradog ap Bran the Blessed" is a mythological character of the fourth Story in the Mabinogion and is not an historical person at all. Whilst the King Lucius who corresponded with Pope Eleutherius has been identified by Harnack with Lucius Abgar IX of Britio at or near Edessa (Williams Christianity in Early Britain pp 60-66 discusses the matter in great detail. Harnack - Expansion of Christianity II p.410 refers to his identification of Lucius). Lucius has however been identified with a Lleufer Mawr or Lleurwg - a reputed founder of the Parish Church of St. Mellon's near Cardiff. This identification is the work of The Third Series of Welsh Historical Triads (Gee's Edition of the Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales p.404) but this Third Series has been pronounced vastly inferior to the other two - to be the product of an imaginative school of bards and antiquaries of the Sixteenth Century and to almost wholly useless for Historical purposes. (J.E.Lloyd History of Wales I p.123) These legends can therefore be dismissed from our survey.

To return to the consideration of the fixed ideas -
(1) The Survival of a See of Caerleon-on-Usk.

The entire conception of a See of Caerleon on Usk began with Geoffrey of Monmouth "Historia Regum" in 1139. The "Liber Landavensis" compiled at Llandaff c.1150 knows nothing of such a see (although Rees's Edition p.622 contains an Appendix referring to a great assembly of Kings, prelates and nobles under the presidency of Arthur. This Appendix is admittedly taken from a MS written in 1439). The wide credence given to this story

makes a detailed examination necessary.

It rests first upon a faulty identification of Caerleon with the Colonia Londinensium of the signatories to the decrees of the Council of Arles. It is argued that Londinensium is a corruption of Legionensium. Bright (Early English Church History p.9 & 10) rightly remarks that Lindensium is a much more plausible conjectural emendation and that Lindum certainly was a Colonia - whereas there is no evidence that Caerleon was ever known otherwise than as Isca or that it was anything but a military headquarters.

Caerleon was at one time regarded as the Capital of a Roman province of Britannia Secunda and therefore it must have been the seat of a Bishop. But Scholars have failed to discover anything connected with the boundaries of the various provinces of the diocese of Britain - they only know by one inscription that Cirencester was in Britannia Prima. Prof. Haverfield (Roman Occupation of Britain 1924 Edition p. 149 ff.) excludes Caerleon altogether from the Civil provinces - the "domi", and places it in the "militial" which would effectively prevent its becoming a cathedral city.

What Welsh traditions centre round Caerleon connect it with St. Cadoc - whose father Gwynllyw ruled the lands between the Rhymney and the Usk. In point of time Cadoc would flourish somewhere between 520 and 570. Ecclesiastically Caerleon is still called "Llangattock juxta Caerleon" (the "juxta" is a misnomer as St. Cadoc's Church stands on the site of the Principia of the old legionary fortress. Cadoc's father is represented as a heathen marauder, who, as a recompense for his raids, surrenders his son to an Irish Missionary to be baptised

and educated and who is himself converted by his said son only in old age. The fortress is apparently given to the son as a settlement. These facts, which would seem to dispose of any See at Caerleon and any continuity of corporate ecclesiastical life are quite compatible with the martyrdom of Julius and Aaron. Although the Roman Army particularly in the West was officially pagan to the end, yet it supplied Martyrs to the Church in an unceasing stream. Two Martyrs in a legionary fortress do not constitute it the seat of a bishop: and up to the present the evidence of Roman and Celtic periods is decisive against the existence and the continued existence of such a See.

(2) The Association of St. Patrick's Birth-place
Bannaventa with the Counties of Glamorgan and
Monmouth.

J.B. Bury (Life of St. Patrick pp.203, 290, 291) makes St. Patrick a British speaking Celt. Rhys (Celtic Britain) and J.E. Lloyd (History of Wales p.121) make Glamorgan and Monmouth an Irish speaking district, and the old language to last until at least the sixth Century. This would place the Saint's birthplace outside the area indicated.

His father is described as a decurion (Bury op cit. p.17) the member of a Municipal Council of a Roman town. It is true that we have such a town in Venta Silurum but Venta cannot be Bannaventa.

Bury (op cit Introduction p.X) refers to his conviction that the Saint's birthplace must be sought for near the Bristol Channel and that there are three places in Glamorgan called BANWEN - But BANWEN as a derivative of BANNAVENTA is philologically impossible. The WEN is

an adjective (Singular Feminine) and is derived from British VINDA VINDOS as in VINDOLANDA Chesterholm on Hadrian's Wall, Haverfield op cit p.152 note. Sir J. Morris Jones Welsh Grammar 1907. Had the Glamorganshire name been BANWENT philology would have been satisfied, but as it is, the omission of the final letter T is decisive.

A site in neither Gloucestershire or Somerset, would satisfy the linguistic and the social conditions and also those of locality. The Rev. A. Maginn of Little Stretton, Church Stretton has suggested BANWELL near ~~Western~~-super-Mare. The hill behind the village is called the "Wint Hill". The suggestion has many considerations in its favour, but its discussion is outside the scope of this study. Enough has been stated to exclude any hope of continuity from "Patrician" associations in S.E. Wales.

- (3) The Survival at Llantwit Major of an old Monastic College identified with an ancient Romano-British City - over which St. Iltutus (Illtyd) had been placed by St. Germanus of Auxerre.

This city is supposed to have been CAERWORGORN or possible BOVIUM (Baring Gould & Fisher Vol. III p. 308 quoting Iolo MSS - a most unreliable source). The name CAERWORGORN does not appear in the list of Civitates in Nennius's Historia Brittonum (see also appendix to Haverfield op. cit). The list contains CAER GUIRAGON (of Modern Welsh Caer-wrangan - Worcester) and also CAER GURICON which certainly recalls UIRICONIUM Wroxeter, but there is nothing else that remotely resembles CAERWORGORN. When Roman remains were excavated in Llantwit Major in 1888 it was felt that here was ample corroboration. Dr. R.E.M. Wheeler however (prehistoric and Roman Wales p.256) proves

that the building was a Court yard dwelling destroyed about 300 A.D. when Irish tribes, expelled from Meath, were seeking new homes in South Wales. The same period would probably witness the end of any civil Roman Settlement west of the Caerleon-line in S. Wales. Any associations of Germanus or Illtyd with Wales and Llantwit Major will be discussed at the proper time but there is nothing to prove a civilised settlement in Glamorgan in the fifth Century. They had all been destroyed 150 years previous.

- (4) The Associations of St. Germanus himself with the Welsh districts bordering upon Chester and Shrewsbury and also South Wales.

The ultimate source of these legends is the life of the Saint by Constantius. The Glamorgan claims are based upon the identification of Lupus of Troyes (Germanus's Companion in his first journey) with Bleiddian. The founder of Llan-fleiddian near Cowbridge and St. Lythans near Llandaff - both in the County of Glamorgan. In justification of the identification we are told that Lupus is the Latin equivalent of Blaidd in Welsh. But had Lupus founded a Church in the late sixth Century Celtic Style it would have been called Llan-lub and not Llan-fleiddian even if the Saint could have anticipated the course of events and the custom of the subsequent Century. The Liber Landavensis (Ree's Edition) calls St. Lythans Ecclesia Elidon in copies of three bulls from Rome (i.e. 16 Oct. 1119 Pope Calixtus p.558, 9th April 1128 Honorius II p.570. 5th April 1129 Honorius II p.583).

If Bleiddian could have been corrupted from Elidon in the one case there is every presumption of its having been so done in the other.

But the Life of Constantius limits the Saint's activity to the more settled parts of the island. We are introduced to men of tribunician rank, bishops, multitudes of people, with never a word indicating a journey into the remoter parts of the island.

The Hallelujah Victory has for several centuries been placed near Mold in Flintshire - presumably on the ground that a neighbouring Church LLANARMON is dedicated to and was presumably founded by St. Germanus.

Bede (Eccles. Hist. I. 20) records the Victory but gives no indications as to its site. Gildas is silent, so is Nennius, although bringing the Saint to that very district. Welsh traditions know nothing of the battle and all Welsh authorities are equally reticent. (Newell Ancient British Church p.28. Baring Gould & Fisher Vol.III p.57.

Apparently the first to mention it is Ussher, who identifies the battlefield with Maes Garmon near Mold. He is followed by Fuller. Church History I p.83 (Oxford 1845) (quoted by Pryce. Ancient British Church p.122 Note) Rees (Welsh Saints p.125) accepts the identification and he is followed by Bright (Early English Church History pp.19 & 20) (Also quoted by Williams Christianity in Early Britain p.227).

There is therefore no evidence before the 17th Century for associating the Hallelujah Victory with North Wales. It may have been the presence of Churches dedicated to a GARMON which led to the identification by Ussher: and also to the legend incorporated in the Vita Germani which found its way into Nennius (32 - 49). The "Garmon" Churches in North Wales are as follows :

(There will be paid, with the help of the kinsmen of Germanus, the four hundred and four years. The quotation and translation are quoted from Wade Evans, op cit) According to Prof. Williams, the kinsmen of Germanus are the MOGARMAN the Irish. It is only fair to state that Wade Evans sees in the poem a reference to the Saint, but Prof. Williams is a recognised authority on Celtic Studies and Wade Evans is not. According to the former the poem is a blood-thirsty anticipation of the downfall of the English Kingdoms; and Scandinavian, Irish and all the Welsh Kingdoms are summoned to the slaughter. Thus the theme of the poem would support Rhys's etymological conclusion.

If we bear in mind the Irish affinities of the name GARMON, an examination of Parishes situate near the Garmon Churches yields interesting results.

1. LLANARMON - has near it LLANGYBI Cybi was a Cornishman who came to North Wales from Ireland after a stay of some years there.
2. BETTWS GARMON - No results.
3. CAPEL GARMON - has DOLWYDDELAN as its next neighbour to the West and some miles down the Conway we have LLANSANTFFRAID
4. LLANARMON-YN-IAL - near Mold. A near neighbour is LLANSANTFFRAID-GLYN-DYFRDWY.
5. LLANARMON-DYFFRYN-CEIRIOG } Both have as a near
- and } neighbour LLANSANTFFRAID
6. LLANARMON-MYNYDD-MAWR } GLYN- CEIRIOG.
7. LLANFECHAIN - has LLANSANTFFRAID-YM- MECHAIN.
8. Castle Caereinion - is near 7 and also is quite close at hand to the Churches founded by Saint Beuno, who had Irish disciples and who was himself educated at Caerwent - an Irish Missionary Centre.
9. ST. HARMONUS - is near LLANSANTFFRAID-CWM-DEUDDWR.

The SANT FFRAID mentioned in connection with 3, 4,

5, 6, 7, 9 (and possibly 8) is St. Bridget of Kildare. Her dedications are remarkably distributed in Wales, particularly on the Eastern border, where they appear generally in the proportion of one to each Cantref - or tribal division, thus apparently indicating a calculated generosity on the part of a ruler rather than a spontaneous outburst of devotion.

2 has apparently no Irish foundation near, but 1 is closely associated with a foundation having Irish connections. So that out of 9 Garmon dedications. 8 have as near neighbours Churches associated with Irishmen (DOLWYDDELAN near 3 has as its patron Saint a "LITTLE IRISHMAN" see Baring Gould & Fisher iii 218, 378-80 There is also a Llan-wyddelan the Church of the little Irishman near Caereinion No. 8 in the above list).

Baring Gould & Fisher (iii 52-81 especially 57-79) have assumed, rightly, the impossibility of the Saint of Auxerre being connected with these Churches and have also assumed the existence of a "Germanus the Armorican" to whom they assign the dedications. But they give away their case on page 79 when they say "M. Loth in Annales de Bretagne 1905 has disputed the thesis that there was an Armorican Germanus distinct from the Saint of Auxerre. We quite admit that the authority of the Iolo MSS is of little value, & that the Irish traditions relative to the family of St. Patrick are not of much higher. But we venture to think, that it is possible to conciliate, by the assumption we make, the Welsh & Irish traditions with Nennius & St. Brioc".

Under the circumstances it is hard to resist the

conclusion that we have, commemorated in the Garmon Churches, neither the Saint of Auxerre nor his assumed namesake of Armorica, but an otherwise unknown Irish Saint. There are several Irish dedications in North Wales to Saints, whose records have utterly perished, and the lost "Garmon" can easily be included in their number.

There is no possibility, under the circumstances of an unbroken continuity of Corporate life from the Roman days until the great days of the Celtic Saints.

- (5) The continuous existence of the Church Glastonbury from its founding by St. Joseph of Armathea.

The claims of Glastonbury are too well known to any recapitulating. Strictly speaking, they are outside the scope of this study and it would be a lengthy undertaking to refute them in detail. Two or three vital objections must suffice.

- (1) The Legend of St. Joseph first appears in the works of William of Malmesbury d.1142 (Williams - Christianity in Early Britain pp.57 & 58. It was apparently unknown to the Glastonbury of Dunstan & Athelstan & Edgar. This alone is sufficient to throw grave doubt upon the authenticity of the legends.

- (2) The Irish have laid claim to the founding of Glastonbury. Willis Bund "Celtic Church in Wales" (p.202) quoting "De Monasteriis Hiberniis inter extras Gentes (Proceedings of Irish Academy VI) writes "Although the Irish claim to have founded Glastonbury & Malmesbury ..."

Their claim to Malmesbury has been abundantly vindicated (Bright Early English Church History p.268) The Glastonbury legends all mention an arrival in boats from the Western Sea. There were several Irish Monastic Settlements of an early date on the Welsh Coasts. Zimmer Nennius Vindictus § 126. quoting Cormac the Antiquary & fighting Abbot Bishop of Cashel (who was killed C900 A.D.) reviews the Great Irish Settlements in S.W.Britain & states "There is also the known Glasimpere on the Brue - which he identifies with Glastonbury - which actually stands on the little river Brue".

Glastonbury is thus famous in Irish Annals even before its revival under Dunstan. To say the least, the Irish can certainly make out a case for the first founding of Glastonbury.

In any case - the evidence gathered in the Victoria County History of Somerset points to a complete destruction of everything Roman in the first years of the Fifth Century & Glastonbury requires earlier & more reliable proof than that afforded by William of Malmesbury before its claims to an unbroken continuity can be admitted.

The five "fixed ideas" have been examined and have been rejected. We can revert to the main theme, that there is not sufficient evidence to prove that there was not a complete break in the continuity of corporate life in Western Britain at some time or other in the fifth Century A.D.

THE NORTH BRITISH INVASION OF WALES.

It has already been stated, that for the earliest traditions of a distinctive national life in Wales, we are referred to the invasion of a Chieftain called Cunedda (to give the name its modern Welsh form) and his Sons. This tradition finds its first literary expression in Nennius - *Historia Brittonum* § 62 - where we read as follows :-

"Mailcunus magnus rex apud Brittones regnabat in regione Guenedotae, quia atavus illius, id est Cunedag cum filiis suis, quorum numerus octo erat, venerat prius de parte sinistrali, id est de regione quae vocatur Manau Guotodin, CXLVI annis autegum Mailcun regnaret, et Scottos cum ingentissima clade expulerunt ab istis regionibus et nusquam reverse sunt iterum ad habitandum".

At this point it will suffice merely to identify the persons and places mentioned in the above extract and a fuller consideration will come later. Mailcunus Magnus and Mailcun are both one and the same person - who is also the Maglocunus of Gildas's *De Excidio* and who is referred to as perishing in the great plague (the *Pestis Flava*) of 547. He is mentioned in this section as being contemporary with Ida - the Flame bearer who laid the foundations of the greatness of Bernicia and Northumbria.

Guenedota - is Gwynedd - the Snowdon district of Carnarvonshire.

Cunedag is the oldest form extant of the name which appears in modern Welsh as Cunedda. (See above).

"Atavus" is generally taken to represent great

grandfather. It is as such that he appears in the genealogies of the Harleian MS. 3859.

Manau Guotodin. The Guotodin is generally understood as referring to the "Otadeni" a British tribe whom Ptolemy the Geographer places between the Tyne and the Forth - in the region of the two Roman Walls. (Zimmer Nennius Vindicatus § 127). The name Manau is found today in this very region in the form Sla-Mannan - near Falkirk in Stirlingshire.

The 146 years before Mailoun's reign takes us back to 385-400 A.D. and will be the subject of a detailed discussion farther on, whilst the final expulsion of the Scots gives us the first appearance in written form of the tradition in question.

Before proceeding further with the tradition itself we must examine the document in which it appears, so as, if possible, to determine its worth and authenticity on literary grounds. This Section of the Historia Brittonum - Chapters 57-65 has since the beginning of the 9th Century been called the "Saxon Genealogies" although as a matter of fact - the Genealogies are all of them of Anglian and Jutish Kings - the Saxon Kingdoms proper not being once mentioned. It is found in four Manuscripts only and these four are a minority in their own recension (Zimmer's Harleian Recension - Nennius Vindicatus 47) but they are four "which we must count among the best" i.e. Stevenson's A (Harleian 3859) B (British Museum Cottonian Vespasian D.21) C (B.M. Cott. Vespasian B.25) and F (B.M. Vitellius A. 13).

But another group of Manuscripts which Zimmer designates by the Name - Nennius. Group i.e. Stevenson's G (Burney MS. 310) K. (Corpus Christi Cambridge MS. 139)

and L (Cambridge Univ.Lib. Ff. 1.27.2.) instead of this section have an abbreviated form which contains the following explanation. "Sed. cum inutiles magistro meo - id est Beulauo presbytero, visae sunt genealogiae Saxonum et aliarum genealogiae gentium, nolui eas scribere". This same abridgement is also found in the oldest Irish text of the Historia Britonum the Lebor na Huidre (Zimmer's L.U. which was written in Clonmacnoise shortly before 1106) and in the four other Irish Manuscripts of the Historia. (In all these MSS. the abridgement appears at the end of § 56 - i.e. in the very place where the Harleian Recension MSS. have the Genealogiae Saxonum).

Zimmer argues that the Irish MSS. and those of the Cambridge Recension represent in many points an earlier edition of the Text of Nennius than the other recensions, the Harleian and the Vatican. It presents a more intelligible order in § 10-31. If they then, witness as above to the presence of the Genealogiae Saxonum in the MS. from which the archetype of both Cambridge and Irish MSS. were taken, we are thus taken back to the time when Nennius had completed his final redaction i.e. C.796 A.D. On this date Zimmer (Nennius Vindicatus) and Duchesne (Nennius Re-tractatus. Revue Celtique tome XV. pp. 174-197) are in substantial agreement. Zimmer postulating two redactors a Nennius and an Anonymous - whereas Duchesne - favours one redactor) who edited his own work and brought out a "revised edition" to please his Master. But although incorporated in a document of the date of 796 the "Genealogiae Saxonum" is at least a century older. There is a distinct break in the Genealogiae with the generation of the various kings reigning about 670-685,

and the monarchs of the eighth century are mentioned apart. Both Zimmer (Nennius Vindictus Chapter XI. 111-128 and J.E. Lloyd History of Wales I. p.118 hold that it is a Northumbrian or Cumbrian tract of the date of 685.

We are therefore taken back to the end of the seventh century by our written sources and the tradition first appears in the neighbourhood (more or less near) of the region from which the expedition set forth some centuries previously.

The evidence of the Genealogiae Saxonum is supplemented by the genealogies of the Welsh Princes in the Harleian MS. 3859 which has been already referred to. This MS. in all contains - the Historia Brittonum (§§ 4-66) the Annales Cambriae (the MS. A of the Rolls Edition) the Genealogiae Hoeli (referred to above) together with the Civitates and the Mirabilia - which are sometimes associated with the Historia. J.E. Lloyd (History of Wales Vol. 1 p.159) discusses the MS. and states that the parent MS. (of the Harleian 3859) may be confidently assigned to the end of the tenth century - the annals come to an end in the reign of the Welsh King Owain who died in 988. "This conclusion is also supported by the spelling of the Welsh names, which are uniformly in the old Welsh form". The edition of the Genealogies quoted here is Phillimore's in the "Cymmrodor IX. pp. 152-183. At the end of the Genealogies we find the following statement "Haec sunt nomina filiorum Cunedda, quorum numerus erat IX. Typipaun primo-genitus qui mortuus in regione quae vocatur manau Guotodin, et non venit huc cum patre suo et cum fratribus suis. Meriaun filius eius divisit

possessiones inter fratres suos 2, Osmail, 3, Rumaun
4, Dunaut, 5, Ceretic, 6, Abloyc, 7, Enniaun Girt, 8,
Docmail, 9, Etern. Hic est terminus eorum a flumine
quod vocatur Dubrduiu usque ad aliud flumen Tebi et
tenerunt plurimas regiones in occidentali plaga
Britanniae" (p.182).

In this extract the "flumen quod vocatur
Dubrduiu" is the river Dee - and it bears this very
name in the modern Welsh of today, the Dyfrdwy. The
aliud flumen Tebi is the Teify in South West Wales which
for a considerable portion of its lower course separates
the modern County of Cardigan from its neighbours
Carmarthen and Pembroke. We are informed by our 10th
Century Authority that all Wales, West and North of a
line from the Dee to the Teify passed into the
possession of the Sons of Cunedda. It is significant
that within these borders, with two exceptions - One
omission and one non-identification, the "regiones" of
these descendants of Cunedda bore their names and
could easily be located. It will facilitate matters if
we begin from the N.E. border nearest England,

- (1) The region of the tale of Clwyd (the Cantref of
Dyffryn Clwyd) was known as Dogfeiling (the land
of Docmail - the eighth son.
- (2) The hill country between the Clwyd and the Conway
in S.W. Denbighshire was called Rhufoniog (the
land of Rumaun the third son.
- (3) South of these two districts - the upper Dee
Valley from Corwen to Bala was called Edeyrnion (the
land of Etern - the ninth son).
- (4) South west of the Dee Valley the lands between the
Barmouth Estuary and the Dovey Estuary formed the

region of Meirionydd - whence Merioneth (the land of Meriaun the grandson of Cunedda - the son of the Typipaun who had died in Manau Guotodin before the invasion.

(5) From the Dovey to the Teify extended the Southern most of the Conquests called Ceredigion (Cardigan) the land of Ceretic the fifth son.

(6) The N.E. Angle of Cardigan Bay - comprising the sea coats from Barmouth to Pwllheli and the hinterland as well bore the name of Dunoding - from Dunaut - in the fourth Son.

(7) The rocky promontory of Lleyn in Carnarvonshire extending from the Mountains of Snowdon to Bardsey isle contained a district called Aflogion - after Abloyc the sixth son. (It lay between St.

Tudwal's Islands and the river Erch Lloyd p.237.)

The land of the second son Osmael has not been identified and apparently the seventh son Enniaun Girt had yet to win his share of the spoils. Tradition associates his descendants with the conquest of the only region not included in the list of conquests. His own name is not mentioned but the Conquest of Anglesey is traditionally ascribed to his son Cadwallon the Long Handed; and his Grandson (and Cadwallon's son) is no other than the Maglocunus of Gildas - the insularis draco of the Excidium, and the Mailcunus Magnus - rex guenedotae of the genealogiae Saxonum - ruling in Anglesey and in Snowdonia. J.E. Lloyd in summing up a very full discussion (History of Wales I. pages 117-120) says: Such names as Ceredigion (Cereticiana) Rhufoniog (Romaniaca) Meironydd (Mariania) require a Ceretic a Rumaun, a Meriaun to make them intelligible and the Cunedda legend supplies the simplest and the most

reasonable explanation of their origin. Moreover the legend in its oldest form establishes the Sons of Cunedda in the precise parts of Wales where history is prepared to find them. None are assigned to the Isle of Anglesey or to the opposite coast of Carnarvonshire This harmonises with the tradition that it was in a later age, that the Goidels were overcome in these their latest strongholds. On the other hand none are alleged to have made any conquests in Powys which is thoroughly consistent with the view that the men of this region were already Brythons and not likely therefore to have had anything to do with Cunedda's enterprise save as allies (op. cit p.119)

Here we must leave the direct evidence. Our written records go back to 988 A.D. and 685 A.D. many centuries after the events which they relate and too late to serve as primary evidence of value. But they witness in a striking manner to a very ancient oral tradition - enshrined in the names of the conquests of that by-gone age; and they inspire a certain degree of confidence in it.

THE "CUNEDDA" TRADITION in the "HISTORIA BRITONUM".

The "Historia" Britonum in its original form was practically a legend of St. Germanus of Auxerre (Duchesne, *Revue Celtique*, XV.pp.174-197 XVII.pp.1-6 J.B. Bury *Life of St. Patrick* pp.277 & 278 and note) The Chartres MS of the *Historia* (the earliest extant text and probably a pre-Nennian edition) is actually entitled INCIPIUNT EXBERTA (Thurneysen Conjectures EXCERPTA) FII URBAOEN (read FILI URBAGEN) DE LIBRO SANCTI GERMANI INVENTA (Duchesne R.C.XV p.175. Germanus is found as the real hero of the story from Chapter 32-50 and his name serves as an introduction to the Chapters dealing with St. Patrick (Nennius H.B. C51). (Duchesne R.C. XV pp.1861 and 187 makes the original *Historia Britonum* contain only chapters 7.8.9. end of 11.17 19.20 (first part only) first sentence of 30 and 31-49 the Germanus Chapters).

In these chapters there are three outstanding scenes or episodes.

- (1) cc.32-35 Germanus and the tyrant Benlli.
- (2) cc.39-42. Vortigern flees from Germanus to the Snowdon Mountains.
- (3) C.47. Vortigern flees pursued by Germanus first to his own realm of Guorthigirniaun (N.W.Radnor) and finally to a stronghold near the Teivy where he is destroyed.

Before examining these chapters it will be well to bear in mind the tradition incorporated in the *Genealogiae Saxonum* and the *Genealogiae Hoeli* (Harleian MS 3859) of the conquest of Wales in two stages - that Snowdonia and Anglesey survived the first wave of Conquest and fell at least one generation later.

1. Chapters 32-35. Germanus and the Tyrant Benlli.

The Saint visits the obdurate ruler, who refuses him admission into his city, punishes with immediate death a servant who has been baptised; but is himself destroyed with his stronghold, to be succeeded as King by another servant who had befriended Germanus. There are no indications of locality, but the fortunate servant is identified with Catell Durnluc whose descendants were still ruling in Powys (-upper Severn and Lower Dee Valleys of N.E.Wales) in 820 A.D. in accord with the terms of the blessing. We can therefore safely assume that Powys formed part of the realm of Benlli.

Baring Gould & Fisher (Lives of British Saints Vol.III p. 71 and note) mark three remarkable coincidences between these chapters and certain local traditions in North Wales.

- (1) The Tyrant Benlli is commemorated in Moel Fenlli, a hill near the middle of the Clwydian Range (between the Clwyd and the Alyn) slightly N.E. of the town of Ruthyn and actually surmounted by an ancient fortified camp.
- (2) A certain "Beli ab Benlli Gawr" (Beli son of Giant Benlli) is recorded by tradition as having been buried on the Nerquis Mountain (across the Alyn Valley Eastwards from Moel Benlli facing it. The Stones marking the grave existed until 1600.
- (3) Beli is mentioned as having been slain by Meirion - that grandson of Cunedda who obtained (as his own and his dead father's portion of the spoils of Conquest) that region known after him as Meirionydd (i.e. Merioneth south of the Barmouth estuary)
- (4) Another Coincidence yet more remarkable and not noted by Baring Gould & Fisher is the assigning of nine sons to Catell (Hist.Brit.C.34) The Genealogiae Saxonum states that Cunedda with eight sons entered Wales (c.62) The

Harleian Genealogies (y Cymmrodor Vol.1X p.182) gives him nine sons of whom one had died prior to the invasion. Welsh Hagiological Traditions (Baring Gould & Fisher Vol.1.p.95) always generous to Welsh Royal Families, give Catell only three sons, whilst Cunedda's nine are increased to eleven and a daughter (Baring Gould & Fisher op.cit I 93) The Harleian Genealogies give Cunedda nine sons and Catell one son only. Thus the tradition has really accredited Catell with Cunedda's sons and is only another evidence of the association of the incident with Cunedda's invasion

These coincidences are too marked to be the result of an accident and the local traditions would point to Benlli's downfall as being due to the Northern invaders and as being the first incident in the warfare which led to the Conquest of Wales. The supposed site of the Hallelujah Victory (Maes Garmon, near Mold) is in line with all the evidence - but until Usher's identification of the site, there was no tradition of such a battle. This must therefore be left out of consideration. The locality of these incidents is admirably situated for such an alliance as J.E.Lloyd describes (History of Wales Vol.I pp.117-120) between Cunedda and the Ordovices. The Ancient Arx of Catell Durnluc's successors - Dinas Bran overlooking the modern town of Llangollen lay too far south and really one would hesitate to identify it with Benlli's 'Arx' and to say that it had not been occupied since the fifth century. Again, the line of the Roman Road from Basingwerk to St.Asaph was too far north and possibly too obvious, whereas a direct approach on the line Mold - Ruthyn, would avoid the obvious and also be sufficiently near to secure the co-operation of Catell. This group of Chapters indicates a state of siege of Benlli's Arx culminating in a sudden destruction by fire, pointing to an unexpected invasion and an end by storming. Catell and his sons

are on the outside of the Arx, and are represented as having been the Saint's hosts.

There is nothing incompatible in the legend with Catell having been Benlli's servant or vassal, and that after his Lord's death he became an independent sovereign.

Everything would seem to point to this narrative having been combined from two distinct traditions, the tradition of Cunedda's invasion, and that of Catell's, successful accession to power, the fusion being accomplished by ascribing to the miraculous intervention of the Saint, what had been really the result of Cunedda's armed co-operation. The latter not only lost all credit for his achievements but has also suffered the loss of his family, which has been likewise transferred to Catell.

In the second group of Chapters 39-42, Vortigern and Germanus are associated for the first time. C.31 dealt with Vortigern, c.c. 32-35 with Germanus, c.c.36-38 with Vortigern, but this section contains one very significant reference in c.38 (*bellatores enim viri sunt ut dimicent contra Scottos, et da illis regiones quae sunt Aquilone iuxta murum qui vocatur Guaul*). Ch. 23 *Historia Britonum* refers to the wall of Severus as being called in the British Language "GWAL" In c.39 the *Historia* connects the two. Vortigern flees from a synod of British notables, at which his discomfiture has been accomplished by the miraculous penetration of the Saint, and he flees for refuge to a remote region "*quae vocatur Guined*" which is none other than the Welsh GWYNEDD - the region of Snowdonia - & there, "*in Montibus Heriri*" (the Welsh Eryri, the Snowdon proper group of peaks between Llanberis on the East and the direct route from Beddgelert to Carnavon on

the West) he finds a place "in quo aptum erat arcem condere". Mysterious forces prevent him building his fortress and his magicians advise a human sacrifice - a child without a father, with no kin to avenge him and thus add to Vortigern's difficulties. The child proves to be Ambrosius, who rebukes the king, exposes the incompetence of the wizards and finally claims the spot. The section ends with the words "Et arcem dedit illi cum omnibus regnis occidentalis plagae Brittanniae".

(All the quotations are from Mommsen's Edition of the *Historia Britonum. Chronica Minora Vol.iii*).

In this section (with which we propose to include C.38 for the sake of the quotation referring to the Wall called Guaul we have

- (1) Vortigern sending (or approving of the sending by Hengist, who acts as his military adviser) the sons of Hengist to the region of the Northern Wall, which is given them by him. This was the very region from which Cunedda and his sons had come. Manau of the Guotodin, if it can be identified with Slamannan in Stirlingshire was within a few miles of the eastern end of the chain of forts which marked the course of Antonine's Wall. If this section of chapters is to be taken as strictly subsequent in point of time to cc. 32-35 and if we are correct in seeing in those chapters an account (much disguised by the introduction of Germanus to the exclusion of Cunedda) of the North British invasion of Wales, then the enemies of Hengist are not Picts and Scots, but men of the British race themselves. The Saxons are called in, not to deliver from foreign foes,

but to take part in civil war:- an account amply vindicated by the first portion of Gildas (cc.1-26); and c.31 of the Historia Britonum, from that point of view describes Octa and Eborac as sailing North to take possession of the new lands granted them by Vortigern in order to create a diversion in his favour.

- (2) The introduction, without warning, of Ambrosius in this section (where we find him mentioned as a boy without a father, playing in "Campus Ellet1" in the region of GLEGUISSING (which we shall discuss immediately), whereas in c.31 he was mentioned as one already capable of striking terror into the heart of Vortigern (Guorthigirrus regnavit in Britannia et dum ipse regnabat, urguebatur a metu Pictorum Scottorumque et a Romano impetu, nec non et a timore Ambrosii) brings us into the world of civil war as well as of legend; and suggests (especially if we remember the adult Ambrosius of C.31) that an Ambrosius Myth has been introduced here, as a Germanus Myth in cc.32-35 to the ousting of Cuneda. Just as the local traditions of East Denbighshire make Cuneda the antagonist of Benlli, so in this connection the association of the sons of Hengist with regions near the Roman wall, would point to his being the antagonist here also; and the whole episode of C.42 with the abandonment of the "Arx in Montibus Heriri" (which is identified with Dinas Emrys near Beddgelert in S. Carnarvonshire) strongly suggests the struggle which ended in the final expulsion of the Irish from N.Wales. Possibly the mention of a diversion in Vortigern's favour in the region of the Forth, may account for the

delay of a whole generation in the Conquest of Snowdonia.

Vortigern is also commemorated in Caer-Wrtheyrn, an almost impregnable hill fortress near Nevin in Carnarvonshire (which guards the Western approach to Snowdonia as Dinas Emrys does the Southern) and the identification of Vortigern in this section appears to be complete. On his discomfiture he makes for the North - just as the Irish of Snowdonia would retreat North into Anglesey for their final stand.

The sentence expressing Vortigern's surrender of these districts to Ambrose contains a striking parallel to one in the appendix to the Harleian MS 3859 Genealogies, where the Sons of Cunedda are named. (Y Cymmrodor IX p.182).

H.B. c 4 2 et dedit arcem illi cum omnibus regnis OCCIDENTALIS
PLAGAE BRITTANNIAE

Harl. MS 3859 referring to Cunedda's sons, reads "et
tenuerunt plurimas regiones in OCCIDENTALI PLAGA BRITTANNIAE

It is quite possible that the latter may have been copied from the former, for Harleian MS 3859 contains the Historia Britonum as well. But in view of the other significant coincidences between the Cunedda tradition and the Historia, it is, to say the least, remarkable to find the identical expression used of the locality of Vortigern's surrendered territories and of the explicit conquests of Cunedda's sons.

(3) Chapter 41 (Historia) relates of Ambrose's finding when playing as a boy with other boys in "CAMPUS ELLFTI in regione quae vocatur GLEGUISSING". This latter name is especially interesting in view of what will be said of wars and conquests between the Usk and Carmarthen. It is the first appearance of the name given to that

entire district - known later as Glywyssing and so called because its conqueror Glywys, grandson of Catell Durnluc established himself as its first ruler. Glywyssing later gained a wide significance (J.E.Lloyd 1 & C.1 p.273 and note 254).

When we bear in mind

- (1) That Cunedda and his sons came from the neighbourhood of the Eastern end of Antonine's Wall.
- (2) That Snowdonia was the last refuge of the Irish on the mainland of N. Wales.
- (3) That Vortigern is always associated with the enemies of the Britons and that he and Ambrosius meet if not in conflict, yet in spiritual antagonism.
- (4) That Vortigern retreats and leaves him in possession of lands in "Occidentali plaga Brittanniae

It is very difficult to resist the conclusion that Ambrose plays the role of Germanus in ousting Cunedda from his proper place in the History of the Britons.

(c) Section III Chapter 47 & 48. Chapter 47 introduces us once more to Germanus and Vortigern who this time escapes to his own province of Guorthigirniaun (N. & N.W. Radnorshire). He is pursued by the Saint and again escapes to "Arcem Guorthigirni quae est in regione Demetorum juxta flumen Teibi". The Saint again follows him and after praying "against" him for three days and three nights accomplishes his miraculous destruction by fire from heaven - although C.48 admits doubts and mentions other versions of his death.

The "Arx juxta flumen Teibi in regione Demetarum has been identified with Caer Wrtheyrn near Pencader Junction on

the Carmarthen Aberystwyth branch of the G.W.R. It is an insulated rounded hill - 500 feet high on the South bank of Teivy (BG & F. iii p.74).

Such a site would prove a haven of refuge for anyone hounded out of Cardigan, but for a flight from the N.E. there were many other places of refuge; and this fact coupled with those derived from the previous sections, only strengthens the inference that here again we are face to face with the North British Invasion in another guise. But why is "Guorthigirniaur" mentioned in this connection? There is only one suggestion available, and that is , that it was through Guorthigirniaur that the N. Britons invaded Cardigan. The examination of dedications of Churches, which will follow later, will point to the line of the present Aberystwyth Rhayader road as the way by which St. Padarn would pass from Llanbadarn Aberystwyth to his Radnorshire Churches. The Northern gap, via the Dovey Valley proved for centuries an impassable barrier. Near Rhayader to the East of the pass under Plynlimmon, there is the one "Germanus" foundation outside N. Wales - St. Harmons, and it is situated on the road from the Upper Severn Valley to the Rheidol Valley in Cardiganshire via the Upper Wye. The "Corbalengi Ordous" Stone discovered at Penybryn in South Cardiganshire may well be believed to have been the tomb stone of an Ordovician Settler who came into Cardigan with Cunedda's son (Lloyd Hist. Wales p. 119) The territory of the Ordovices extended to within a few miles of St. Harmons and it would be the obvious route to take, enabling the invaders to avoid the formidable hills of the Northern portion and to take the defenders in the rear. If the final flight of Vortigern south of the Teivy and the

end of his resistance means anything it would seem to point to the expulsion of the Irish from Cardigan, and the end of the inter-racial warfare in South Wales, whilst Vortigern's flight via Guorthigirniaun would serve to indicate the route followed by Ceretic - Cunedda's fifth son, and his allies of Powys. As in the first section, so here also Germanus is the representative of the British forces and Vortigern personifies the enemies of Britain. In the Historia the more civilised Britons do nothing but hold Councils and talk. Vortigern himself is helpless. The Cunedda tradition does not mention any outside help. Germanus takes the initiative in two sections and Ambrosius in the other. The coincidences between the localities described and the events, would make it very difficult to resist the conclusion that Chapters 32-48 of the Historia are at bottom, nothing but a Nennian version of the Conquest of N. & W. Wales by Cunedda. If we remember that it was written first in S.E. Wales about 679 (Duchesne *Revue Celtique* XV 197 XVII 1-5) we can account for both the absence of any reference to Cunedda and for the mention of Germanus, and also for the dependence on Gildas for his history proper.

In his enumeration of the sources of the Primitive Historia Brittonum Duchesne gives three (1) Gildas (2) The Frankish Genealogy (3) The Legend of St. Germanus. It is with the third that we have to do. In seeking for the sources of the Legend, we can undoubtedly find the influence of Gildas, for the mention of Ambrosius in C.42 - *Unus et pater meus de consulibus Romanicae Gentis* - is only an echo of Gildas C.26 "*duce Ambrosio Aureliano qui solus forte Romanae Gentis, occisis parentibus purpura nimirum indutis, superfuerat*". His other sources appear to have been floating legends. As a Native of South Wales (and possibly of Archenfield) where there were Churches founded by

descendants of Catell Durnluc and Churches also in connection with Ireland (Cadoc would satisfy both conditions) he would be in a position to hear of the English Conquest, of Vortigern, of Cadell, and of Germanus. Bury Life of St. Patrick p.266 assures us that up to 660 there was a considerable vernacular literature of St. Patrick in Ireland and the names of Germanus must have appeared in it. He must have been aware of the Llanarmon near the "Arx Benlli" of cc.32-35 and also of the "St. Harmons" in Guorthigirniaun; and in the absence of any records of foundation he associated them with St. Germanus of Auxerre whom he assumed must have founded Churches in the approved Celtic fashion of sixth Century Wales. Floating legends of inter-racial warfare and the rise and fall of Kings provided him with a background. Already the taste of the pious public has demanded "miraculous legends in a historical setting" (Bury Life of St. Patrick p.267) and he, the unknown, proceeded to provide Wales with its own account of St. Germanus in the setting of the collapse of British resistance and coming of the English. Germanus appropriates the credit for all the meritorious deeds of the British. Vortigern becomes the subject of all unnatural vices, as if to call in Saxon aid to further civil war was not enough. His family survives in "Guorthigirniaun and Buelit" possibly because his sons had repudiated their father's actions; and the result of all is the Legend of St. Germanus upon which the Eighth Century Nennius built his super-structure. We claim that, in its turn, this Legendary Life of St. Germanus was erected upon the traditions of the invasion of Wales in the fifth Century by Cunedda of Manau Guotodin and his sons. The coincidences are so marked that no other conclusion is possible, and thus we have seventh century evidence (if Duchesne is right) corroborating independently the evidence of the Saxon Genealogies and the Genealogies of the Welsh Princes in the Harleian MS 3859.

THE DATE of this NORTH BRITISH INVASION.

After examining the evidence for the authenticity of a tradition of a North British invasion of Wales as recorded in documents, as supported by the names of ancient territorial division, and as unconsciously attested in the Vita Germani, incorporated in Chapters 32-49 of the Historia Britonum, a consideration of the alleged or supposed date at which such an event occurred is imperative. Chapter 62 of the Historia - which we have seen, is really part of an ancient North-Country tract, & in its origin quite distinct from the document into which it has been incorporated, reads as follows :-

"Mailcunus magnus ... regnabat ... in regione Guenedotae, quia atavus illius ... Cunedag ... venerat ... de regione quae vocatur Manau Guotodin centum quadraginta sex annis antequam Mailcun regnaret, et Scottos cum ingentissima clada expulerunt ab istis regionibus, et nusquam reversi sunt iterum ad habitandum."

Three points have to be noted.

- (1) Cunedag venerat 146 annis antequam Mailcun regnaret
- (2) Scottos cum ingentissima clade expulerunt
- (3) Nusquam reversi sunt iterum ad habitandum.

Mailcunus (Mailcun or Maglocunus) died in 547. The Text of the Annales Cambriae (as found in the Harleian MS 3859 & published in the Cymmrodor Vol IX) under the year 547, records "Mortalitas Magna in qua pausat Mailcun rex Guenedotae." Zimmer (Nennius Vindicatus § 128) accepts the date as a matter of course. J.E. Lloyd (Hist.Wales Vol.I p.131) whilst demurring to so precise a date, admits that it cannot be far wrong. We can safely use it as the basis of a general chronological argument. Cunedag's (or Cunedda's)

invasion is assigned to 146 years before Mailcun's reign - not before his death. Gildas's Statements in Chapters 33 & 34 of his De Excidio suggests that his reign must have lasted for some considerable time, three distinct periods being noted. It will not therefore strain the argument unduly if we fix provisionally upon 530 A.D. as a year in which Mailcun was reigning (A.O. Vaughan "The 'Matter' of Wales" assigns Mailcun's father's death of 517 A.D. but no evidence for the surmise is adduced & moreover Gildas (CC. 33 & 34) describes Maglocunus as dispossessing "the King", his Uncle. The date 530 is general enough for our argument) 146 years previous to a reign of from 530-547, gives us the years 384-401 A.D. and we are asked to accept the statement, that during these years 384-401 A.D. Cunedag expelled the Scots from N. & W. Wales never to return.

Before examining the Irish evidence we need only say that J.E. Lloyd (History of Wales P.117) accepts the statement with the very cryptic comment "a chronological indication, which is at once precise and vague, but which taken in conjunction with the statement that Cunedda (Cunedag) was Maelgwyn's (Mailcun's) great grandfather, may be regarded as assigning him to the beginning of the fifth century and the earliest years of the period of British independence". Zimmer (Nennius Vindicatus § 128) accepts the statement. "Our anonymous then had a source - the North British Work of 685 from which he learned that 146 years before Mailcun (d 547) i.e. just before 400 A.D. a Briton named Cunedag with his sons & the rest of his tribe left his home in the Otadeni district in the North of what was afterwards called Bernicia, probably on account of the devastations of the Irish & Picts (whom Stilicho once more had driven back about 400 A.D.) settled in Venedotia. North Wales & drove out the Irish who were living there". Oman

(England before the Norman Conquest p.171) accepts the same date and fixes the "Reconquest of Wales" "somewhere about 385-401", & sees in his invasion, the possibility of the Roman defence of Britain about the year 400, as having as one of its essential factors the Maintenance of the West by British chiefs, heading native bands which formed no part of the imperial army".

These three views are incompatible, Lloyd considers them as Colonists; Zimmer, as fugitives from one body of Scots, who are yet finally victorious over another body of Scots, who are in open communication by Sea with Ireland; whilst Oman regards them as native auxiliaries of the defence force. Zimmer's case is weakened by a quotation from Cormac of Cashel d.c.900 (Nennius Vindictus ^s 126 referring to the possessions of the Irish outside Ireland "And not less than in Scotland the Irish had settled Eastward over the Sea (i.e. from Ireland) and their dwellings & King's Castles were built there..... So each tribe had a share in it (this land), for his possessions on this side (i.e. in Ireland) was equally large, & they (the Irish) had this power till long after the coming of Patrick".

Lloyd and Oman scout the idea of their being fugitives but they could not be auxiliaries guarding the Northern Wall, & Colonisers in Wales at the same time.

We are compelled to ask the question. Is this date C.384-401 A.D. correct? The Irish evidence will be first examined.

(a) Evidence as to the State & Military Prowess of
Ireland during this Period.

So signally successful an expedition & so prolonged (in the case of Snowdonia) demands an apathetic or a weakened Ireland. It also implies an era when invasions had ceased. We are asked to believe that the Irish were finally expelled from Wales by c. 385-401, Bury (Life of St. Patrick pp. 325-331 & p. 354) enumerating the warlike High Kings of Ireland who may have been implicated in "Scotic invasions of Britain from the middle of the fourth Century to the year 427. gives the following four.

Eochaidh	A.D. 358-366
Crimthann	A.D. 366-379
Niall	A.D. 379-405
Dathi	A.D. 405-428.

Of these Niall is represented as having met his death in the English Channel, while he was invading Britain in 405. His successor Dathi was killed by lightning while besieging a town of a King, whose name strongly suggests the Faramund King of the Franks who is mentioned in the Merovingian genealogy. Bury would see in Dathi a barbarian chief hired by Aetius the Roman General; and Prosper's Chronicle records in 428 a Franco-Roman War near the Lower Rhine. (Bury op cit. p. 354).

Another consideration relevant to the discussion is that of Patrick's captivity, which Bury places in the year 405 A.D. (Life of St. Patrick pp. 25 & 26 also 331 ff) He argues (p. 328 op. cit) that Stilicho's relief & reorganisation of Britain after the death of Magnus Maximus must be dated 388-391 A.D. & that until the legio praetenta Britannis" of Claudian was recalled for the relief of Italy in 402 Britain was left in peace. The captivity of Patrick is placed in the same year

as the death of Niall, & his place of Captivity (Western Connaught, whose King was a near relative of the Irish High King) suggests that the band which took him captive formed part of Niall's invading army.

The presence in Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Gloucester (Lydney Park) Monmouth (Caerwent) & Cheshire (Stockport). (all on the Western borders) of coins dating to the reigns of Arcadius & Honorius, would point to the existence of a Roman Civilisation, which fell only in these years i.e. C.405 (Journal of Roman Studies Vol 12 p.97. Vol.18 p.205) Had an Irish host devastated these regions immediately after the departure of Maximus. We should have found no coins of the Theodosian Emperors, whereas Honorian Coins "run..... certainly into many hundreds". "The Coleraine treasure goes down to Honorius" (J.R.S.XII p.98). Sir Arthur Evans & Dr. R.C. Collingwood both agree that they represent the fruit of a Scotie raid on Britain.

Had Cunedda been a guardian of the Roman Wall who restored the Roman power in Wales - we should seemingly have expected to find Honorian Coins in the fortified lamps in Wales, but we do not, although they are found in Cumberland at Carlisle and Maryport.

The evidence of the Roman Coins - points to the great overthrow of Roman Civilisation in the West, as having taken place about 405. Sir Wm. Ridgway (Journal of Roman Studies XIV 123-136) attributes it to the Irish High King Niall and that it was during this great attack that Patrick was captured, but he dates both to 395 & not to 405. He reads Claudian's verses (p.131 J.R.S. XIV) as referring to actual hostilities whereas Bury in referring them to 395-399 would have them allude to Stilicho's protective measures during these years. Sir William Ridgeway relies on Irish documents which give Patrick's birth in 373, whereas Bury

uses only the oldest evidence in dating it to 389 & the captivity to 405.

The conclusion preferred in this study is Bury's - that Stilicho's relief measures occupied the years 388-391 & that until 402 when the legion was withdrawn Britain had peace. The raids broke out again in 405. The Western coasts were completely devastated. The Eastern portion seems to have escaped for some years - possibly because the Irish raiders had been taken into the Service of the Empire as Mercenaries. But until 428 A.D. the Irish High Kings were in a position to aid their Countrymen in North Wales and any date between 385 & 428 for Cunedda's invasion is improbable. (See also Baring Gould & Fisher op cit. I. pp.290-295 for impossibility of Cuneddan Conquest before Dathi's death in 428 A.D.).

From 428 until 462 the High King was Loegaire. Until 453 his reign was one of unusual peace. These were the years of St. Patrick's Mission and in his "Confessions" we find no echo of any wars between British & Irish. "Loegaire seems to have used it (his Authority) in the interests of peace his reign was a period of peace..... Apart from this fatal feud (with Leinster) we do not hear of wars & we do not hear that he ventured upon expeditions over sea, or took advantage of the difficulties of Britain, engaged then in the struggle with the Invaders who were to conquer her" (Bury op.cit pp. 96 & 97).

It is therefore, most improbable that Cunedda should have attacked N. Wales before 453 at least, when the great feud between the High King & Leinster broke out. There would have been a reference to it and undoubtedly an appeal would have been made to Ireland for help which would have been speedily forthcoming.

In 453 the feud with Leinster commences and three battles are recorded - a victory in 453..... a defeat in 458 at Ath Dara, in which he (Loegaire) is captured; and lastly the engagement in which he met his death in 462. (Bury Life of St. Patrick p.353). Between these two later battles i.e. in 459 - Bury places the Epistle to Coroticos. (p.303). An invasion of N. Ireland has taken place a baptism has been rudely interrupted and some of the Neophytes slain, Coroticos King of Strathclyde bears the odium of the attack - but the actual Massacre was the work of Apostate Picts & Heathen Scots. The importance of the event lies in the fact, that for the first recorded time, a British King is able to command the services of Scots & Picts & is able with impunity to embark on an invasion of Ireland. The reason is obvious. In the previous year 458 the prestige of the High King had suffered grievously from his defeat & capture by the King of Leinster & Ireland was weaker than she had been for over a Century. We contend that despite the explicit statement of the Saxon Genealogies the invasion of Cunedda could not have taken place before 453-458. A date previous to 405 is impossible

- (1) The fiercest raid of all is recorded for that year
- (2) St. Patrick was captured in 405.
- (3) The number of Honorian Coins found in the West

Postulates a survival of Civilisation in those Districts until approximately that year.

- (4) The succession of warlike Irish Kings who would speedily have avenged the onslaught of Cunedda continued until 428.
- (5) The peaceful reign of Loegaire maintained the prestige of the High Kings until his defeat in 458.
- (6) In 459 we first read of any British King being strong enough to attack Ireland.

The Irish evidence is overwhelmingly against any date before C.458.

(b) The Evidence of the Welsh Genealogies.

(1) The Genealogies of the House of Cunedda.

When Cunedag (Cunedda) is described in Hist: Brit.C.62 as Mailcun's "Atavus" he is generally considered to have been Mailcun's great-grandfather, so Harleian MS 3859 Genealogies (published in Y Cymmrodor Vol IX). The stages in the pedigree are there given as follows :-

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      |
      v
Cunedag
      |
      v
Enniaun Girt
      |
      v
Catguolaun Lauhir
      |
      v
Mailcun
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Enniaun Girt was the seventh son. But the same Authority assures us that the eldest son Typipaun had died in Manau Guotodin before the invasion, and that his son Meriaun had divided the spoils with his father's brothers. We are therefore asked to believe that 146 years elapsed between Meriaun's sharing the spoils & Mailcun's (i.e. first cousin's son to Meriaun) reigning in Guenedota which is manifestly impossible. It is this impossibility which makes Prof. J.E. Lloyd cling to the 146 years & discard the pedigree. Zimmer does not discuss it. But it is evident that we cannot have both, but in view of the explicitness of the "146 years", many have expressed doubts as to the pedigree. In view, however, of the definite nature of the Irish evidence, the date has been shewn to be doubtful and it may be, that the pedigree is correct. At this stage of the argument, we will merely assume that it is correct in order to test it by comparison with two other pedigrees.

(2) Comparison of Cunedda's Genealogy with those of
Coroticos of Strath Clyde and Catell Durnluc of Powys.

Coroticos appears as a contemporary of St. Patrick - possibly a younger one & the Saint's letter was written to him at the end of the former's life, presumably 459.

Coroticos's descendant Rhydderch was King of Strathclyde & is mentioned by Adamnan as having been contemporary with St. Columba; & by the Saxon Genealogies as having fought against Husa son of Ida 585-592 (Historia Brittonum). This genealogy also appears in Harleian MS 3859 & is quoted by Bury (Life of St. Patrick p.314). The steps in the Pedigree are as follows :-

(1) Coroticos (2) Cinuit (son of Coroticos) (3) Dumnual (son) (4) Clinoch (son) (5) Tutagual (son) (6) Riderch or Rodericus - floruit 585-592

Catell Durnluc - contemporary of St. Germanus & Vortigern is also mentioned in the Harleian Genealogies & his pedigree runs as follows:-

(1) Catell Durnluc (2) Cattegin (3) Pascent (4) Maucan (5) Cincen (6) Brocmail (7) Cinan (8) Selim Killed at the Battle of Chester 613.

For the purposes of comparison we will continue Cunedda's pedigree a few stages until we reach the year 613.

(1) Cunedag (2) Enniaun Girt (3) Catguolaun Iauhir (4) Mailoun (d.547) (5) Run (6) Beli (7) Jacob whose "dormitatio" is given under 613 A.D.

The Annales Cambrae (Harl.MSS 3859) include Selim descendant of Catell Durnluc and Jacob, Cunedag's descendant in the same year, as follows:-

"613 Gueith Cair Legion (Battle of Chester) et ibi cecidit Selim filii Cinan,et Jacob filii Beli dormitatio

J.E. Lloyd (p.181) argues that "dormitatio" is almost always used of the death of an ecclesiastic & suggests that "Jago" if at any time King of Gwynedd had by this time resigned that office & withdrawn to the quiet of a Monastery". It would appear that Jago was in extreme old age & Selim in the prime of life.

To arrange the three pedigrees side by side beginning with the descendants & ascending to the Ancestor :-

(1) N. Wales (2) Powys (3) Strathclyde

7. Jacob (dormitatio 613) 8. Selim. Cecidit 613

6. Beli	7. Cinan	6. Riderch (floruit 585-92)
5. Rhun	6. Brocmail	5. Tutagual
4. Mailcun	5. Cincen	4. Clinoch
3. Catguolaun Lauhir	4. Maucan	3. Dumngual
2. Enniaun Girt	4. Pascent	2. Cinuit
1. Cunedag.	2. Cattegirn	1. Coroticos.
	1. Catell Durnlac	

If Jacob (or Jago as J.E. Lloyd p.181 calls him) of N.Wales had retired into a Monastery leaving his son to reign in his stead & Selim of Powys were young enough to fall at the battle of Chester - then the former would be the contemporary in age of the latter's father & both would correspond to Riderch of Strathclyde in point of time & age. The six stages of Riderch's genealogy take us back to Coroticos of Strathclyde who flourished towards the end of St. Patrick's life (i.e. 459 - accepting J.B. Bury's Patrician Chronology i.e. 389-461). The eight stages of Selim's genealogy takes us back to the Catell Durnluc of the Historia Britonum, the contemporary of St. Germanus, Vortigern & Ambrosius. If we allow Selim to be a generation younger than Riderch (the latter flourished 585-592 & the former C.613) then Catell Durnluc must have been a contemporary

of Coroticos. Again, the seven stages of Jacob's pedigree takes us back to Cunedag (or Cunedda) & we are once more brought back to the same period - that of Catell Durnluc & Coroticos i.e. to the vicinity of the year 459. If this comparison of pedigrees proves anything it is that Cunedag must have flourished about 459 & not 385-401. The authority for all three pedigrees is the same Harleian MS 3859 & if the N. Wales pedigree is to be rejected we must reject all three. But royal pedigrees were generally carefully kept. Those of the Saints require careful consideration; for it was undoubtedly tempting to link up all the eminent men of religion with the ruling families. Further the chronological relation of Mailcun to Meriaun (who was an older cousin of his father) is much more compatible with a Cunedag who flourished in the latter year 459.

Just as the Irish evidence would exclude any date for such an attack on Irish peoples within such easy reach of Ireland before 453-462, so a study of the Cunedag genealogy & a comparison of it with these of Powys & Strathclyde (whose authority is of equal weight) would make a date prior to 459 impossible.

We must then reject the 146 years of the Saxon Genealogies.

(3) Evidence derived from the dates of the English Invasion.

If the contention that in the Vita Germani of Nennius (i.e. CC 32-49 of the Historia Britonum) we have a South Wales version of Cunedag's invasion is correct, then this invasion synchronised with the coming of the English. But this date is itself vague & uncertain.

Constantius's Life of St. Germanus introduces us during his first visit in 429. to a community not yet seriously disturbed by calamities. The Hallelujah Victory appears as a raid & the bloodless triumph does not indicate any great spirit in the raiders. But in 442 a Gallic Chronicle (quoted by Bury in "Journal of Roman Studies Vol X p.153 & Williams, Christianity in Early Britain p.227 refers to Britain as "In dicionem Saxonum rediguntur" Bury quotes this as indicating that Britain was under the Imperial rule until 442 & his opinion has been challenged. Our contention is only, that in 442, the Saxons obtained the upper hand in Britain over whatever Authority existed. St. Germanus apparently visits Britain again in 447 & dies soon after in Ravenna. The Historia in Ch.50 merely refers to the Saint as returning home soon after Vortigern's death, so that the association with Vortigern may be placed about 447 A.D. In addition, the above mentioned Gallic Chronicle under 452 A.D. still refers to Britain, - "Britanniae Saxonum incursione devastatae" (Williams Christianity in Early Britain p.227). Such a state of affairs as is described in the Historia cc. 32-49 was possible only from 442 onwards - if the evidence of the Gallic Chronicle is to be believed.

(4) Evidence from the presence of Britons on the Continent.

If we may anticipate a few years & consider N.W.Gaul in 461 - we find at a Council of Tours (Nov.11th 461) present amongst others a Mansuetus episcopus Brittanorum" Williams (Christianity in early Brittain p.282) states "It appears natural to regard these Britanni & their Bishop as then settled somewhere within or near the Province of Tours i.e. Armorica". On the same page (p.282) he

describes the charges of treason brought against Arvandus in 469: that he had urged the Visigothic King to attack "the Britanni who were settled upon the Loire Britannos super Ligerim situs impugnare oportere"

On page 283 (op cit) he quotes Jordan's History of the Gothic war in his account of the Alliance between the Emperor Anthemius (467-472) & Riotimus - King of the Britons who was advancing to his aid with 12000 men. These Britons are thus described as a well-known nation & as settling on the sea coast of Brittany near the mouth of the Loire. Taylor (Life of St. Samson of Dol S.P.C.K. XXVI) quotes Loth's L' Emigration Bretonne P.93 respecting an astonishingly rapid & complete transformation of Armorica. "In the middle of the Sixth Century, name, language, customs, everything is changed. The Country is called Brittany: a Celtic language is heard in it. It is not a slow infiltration of strangers it is an inundation". "The exodus from Britain to Armorica commenced during the first half of the fifth century & continued for upwards of a century & a half". In the face of this evidence it is difficult to see how Taylor (on p. XXX) can describe "Mansuetus episcopus Britannorum" as probably an Irish emigrant. William's suggestion that he was the Bishop who had accompanied his flock from Britain is much more credible.

This Continental evidence points to the emigration of considerable bodies of Britons to N.W. Gaul before 469 A.D. It is quite in keeping with the evidence of the two entries in the Gallic Chronicle that Britain fell into the hands of the Saxons in 442 & that there was a great devastation in 452.

Evidence of the Historia Britonum & Gildas

De Excidio.

Chapters 31 & 41 & 42 all connect the vita Germani with the days of Ambrosius Aurelianus. In the beginning of the legend he is able to strike terror into Vortigern: in Chapter 42 he is able to expel him from Snowdonia: in Chapter 48 Pascent Vortigern's third son succeeds to his father's Provinces of Buelit & Guorthigirniaun by the permission of Ambrosius "who was the Great King among the Kings of Britain". To bring out the evidence of the Historia we must examine that of Gildas's De Excidio. Chapter 23 describes the inviting of the Saxons: Chapter 24, the great attack - the fire of vengeance spread from sea to sea, & did not cease until destroying the neighbouring towns & lands it reached the other side of the island & dipped its red & savage tongue in the Western Ocean. Chapter 25 "When these most cruel robbers had returned home, the poor remnants of our nation take arms under the conduct of Ambrosius Aurelianus, challenge the enemy to battle and win a victory. Chapter 26 describes varying fortunes until Mount Badon brought with it peace.

Oman (History of England before the Norman Conquest Ch XII pp. 213-214) compares Gildas's account of the English Invasion with that of the Danes in the eighth century. The early raids are followed by systematic settlements; & these, by a sustained attack of a "Great Army", which, after Alfred has been driven into Athelney, breaks up. Alfred surprises the remnant & there follows a series of battles until by about 890 England is left in peace. Gildas's account is a terse abbreviated generalised account, correct in its broad main lines. Two events stand out in it - the first victory under Ambrosius and the

final victory under Arthur at Mount Badon. The great difficulty lies in the opening statement of Ch.26 Ex eo tempore (Ambrosius's Victory) nunc cives nunc hostes. vincebant usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici Montis novissimae-que ferme de furciferis non minimae stragis, quiquae quadragesimae quartus ut novi orditur annus mense iam uno emenso, qui est meae nativitatis est.

Both Oman (op cit. p.200 note) & Baring Gould & Fisher (Vol iii - pp.99-103) in their summaries of evidence, note three different interpretations of this sentence -

- (1) The 44 years are to be dated backwards from about 544 A.D. when Gildas himself wrote the Excidios. His birth & the Obsessio are thus placed about 500 A.D. & the Annales Cambrae date for it - 516 A.D. is abandoned. Ussher Mommsen & Oman support this view.
- (2) Bede counts the 44 years onwards from the coming of the Saxons which is placed in 449. The obsessio thus falls in 493.
- (3) Oman reports a conjecture of E.W.B. Nicholson with which Baring Gould & Fisher agree that the 44 years represent the period between the Victory of Ambrosius & that of Arthur. This preserves the Annales Cambrae date for Mount Badon - 516 - & would provide a date 473 for Ambrosius. In favour of this view Ch.25 alludes to Ambrosius's descendants as follows "And now, his progeny in these our days. Although shamefully degenerated from the worthiness of their ancestors". Note- Their Ancestors & not their father so that some time must have elapsed since the days of Ambrosius.

We have not to decide the actual year in which the *obsessio Mountes Badonici* took place, but only to fix upon some outside dates for the period of Ambrosius. Gildas distinguishes most clearly between his Victory & that of Arthur, & described the condition between, as one of the fluctuating fortunes. The "*terminus ad quem*" is apparently fixed by Nicholson & Baring Gould & Fisher i.e. 44 years from 516 i.e. C.473. In connection with this date, it is interesting to note that a British Monk & Bishop named Riocatus is mentioned by Sidonius Apollinaris as visiting him in Auvergne on his way back to Britain laden with books from Faustus of Riez (Williams - *Christianity in Early Britain* p.239-441 315 & 316). The date of this his second visit was between 473 & 475. His previous visit fell therefore slightly earlier. Such a visit at this time to Britain of eminence on the Continent, & a return with books, immediately suggests the work of Alfred the Great in trying to make good the ravages of the Great Army of 871-877. They indicate that by those years, the great stress of the conflict had passed & indirectly support the date of C.472 for the Victory of Ambrosius. The earlier date - the *terminus a quo* is 442. But the language of Gildas in regarding the Victory of Ambrosius as belonging to a stage of the conflict later than the break up of the "Grand Army", would make it subsequent to 452. Possibly then 452-472 would cover the years of Ambrosius's triumphal career. If we are correct in seeing in the *Historia Brittonum* a Nennian Version of the North British Conquest of Wales, and if we can assume that in CC.39-42 Ambrosius has displaced Cunedda - then the invasion could be assigned to those years, and once more we are thrown back to the same period, the third quarter of the fifth century. If the Irish

evidence makes impossible a date previous to 459 A.D. the Welsh evidence based on the Genealogies of Cunedag of Catell Durnlac & of Coroticos likewise supports this date. The Gallic Chronicle particularly in its entry of 452 & the presence of Britons on the Loire with Kings & Bishops about 461-469, all point to some catastrophe in Britain in the fifties of that same Century.

Gildas's Analysis of the conquest & mention of Ambrosius, together with Sidonius's reference to Bishop Riocatus's return to Britain with books C.473-475 also forces that date upon us &, in combination with the previous evidence, the following conclusion that if the Historia is a Nennian account of the Cuneddan Conquest, we must look for it between 452 (or even 459) & 475.

Note. Since writing the above my attention has been drawn to E.K.Chambers "Arthur of Britain" (Sedgwick & Jackson. London 1927). He identifies the Victory of Ambrosius with the "Guoloppum id est Catguoloph" of the Computus in Historia Brittonum C.66 (Harleian MS 3859 - which is also regarded as a kind of introduction to the Annales Cambriae, & is printed as such in "Y. Cymmrodor. of 1888 Vol IX. In fact in the Harleian MS 3859, this Computus is inserted between the Historia Brittonum proper (i.e. up to Chapter 65) & the Annales Cambriae. See also Zimmer Nennius Vindicatus chapter 2). By methods and calculations of his own Chambers is able to assign the Victory to the year 474 "a date which does no violence to Gildas, nor to the Annales Cambriae" (Chambers op cit. 174. See altogether pages 171-174: 197-203: & 240).

A REASON for the SAXON GENEALOGIES' "146 years
before MAILCUN'S REIGN".

In the previous sections, many arguments have been adduced at considerable length, to prove that the North British Invasion in all probability occurred between 452 & 473. There still remains, however the categorical statement of the Historia Brittonum - "CXLVI annis antequam Mailcun regnaret" Even if such a statement is incorrect there must have been some justification for its assertion & association with the invasions of Cunedda - it could not be altogether pure invention.

Mailcun's reign can be assigned to the neighbourhood of the years 530-547 and 146 years previous would bring us to the years 385-401 A.D. Was there any event during those years 385-401 & preferably nearer the earlier date, 385 A.D. which might possibly have been identified with the invasion of Cunedda - or the departure of an Army from North Britain (the earlier date is imperative for the H.B. records "antequam... regnaret" & not "before his death")

In or about the year 383. Magnus Maximus one of the higher officers of the Roman Army in Britain rebelled against the Western Emperor, Gratian & invaded Gaul where he won over the officers of Roman Armies & brought about the flight & death of Gratian. The depletion of the British Garrisons to enable Maximus's invasion of the Continent is regarded by British tradition as marking the end of the Roman power in Britain. (Gildas C.12. Historia Britonum CC 27 & 31. Nennius Vindictus (Zimmer CC XV especially sections 230, 231, 237) & Oman (England before the Norman Conquest p.166). We cannot know exactly the extent to which the provinces were denuded of its forces, but Collingwood (Journal of Roman Studies XII pp.87 & 88) believes, on the

evidence of the Coins. that he took all, or practically all the garrison of the Roman Wall, & whatever troops were left in Wales. The departure of the Northern Garrisons under Maximus in the year 383 provides us with an event exactly similar to that under Cuneda & happening about 146 years "Antequam Mailcun regnaret". In each case an Army left the North & never returned; & our conclusion is that the Author of the Statement in the Genealogical Saxonum (H.B. 62) confused the departure of Maximus with that of Cuneda. If Gildas expresses such mistaken ideas of the State of Britain after the departure of Maximus (CC 12 & following) & can lead astray Bede and the Author of the Historia, we cannot possibly expect the North British tract writer - who wrote nearly 150 years later than Gildas, to have an accurate knowledge of Roman History. The whole story of Nennius's Vita Germani is a confusing of right history with wrong individuals. Cuneda has had to give way to Germanus, Ambrosius & Catell Durnluc & in Ch. 62 the date of his invasion has been swallowed up by that of Magnus Maximus's expedition to the Continent.

This same tradition unexpectedly turns up in North Wales where Maximus appears as MACSEN WLEDIG. One of the tales in Guest's translation of the Mabinogion (pp. 81-89. Dent's Series) is entitled the "Dream of MACSEN WLEDIG". In his search for the bride of his dream he comes to Britain with an army, defeats the King of Britain, & then presses forward with his army until he comes to Carnarvon where his search is rewarded. In Welsh hagiological legend he is credited with being the Ancestor of one of the great groups of British Saints (Baring Gould & Fisher. Lives of British Saints Vol. 1. p. 34) & the Parish Church of Carnarvon (LLANBEHLIG), situated within the walls of the Ancient Segontium, derives its name from one of his sons, The

Cunedda traditions undoubtedly make his (Cunedda's) descendants come into Snowdonia with a conquering army & as we shall see later, the earliest Christian inscribed stone in Wales (the Penmachno stone with the Chi-Rho Monogram) was found in Snowdonia - affording evidence that Christianity came with him thither. So that here again we have evidence of the same confusion, - Maximus having displaced Cunedda.

If, as Oman suggests, the defensive duties of the North and West gradually devolved more & more upon native chiefs (England before the Norman Conquest pp 171 & 189) the confusion between the Auxiliaries of Maximus & the tribesmen of Cunedda - could be accounted for, especially if Cunedda's title of GWLEDIG could be considered a Celtic equivalent of Patricius, (GWLEDIG-GWLAD; PATRICIUS-PATRIA; a possible barbarian etymology even if indefensible from a classical standpoint). Once the confusion is admitted, & the date assigned to Cunedda's departure from the North is seen to accord exactly in point of time with that of Maximus's Northern Garrisons the whole issue is simplified. There must be an element of truth to serve as the kernel of all good fiction & legend, & the kernel in this instance is, that in the year 383 A.D. about 146 years before MAILCUN'S reign an Army undoubtedly left the region of the OTADENI i.e. North of the Tyne - never to return - only, it was the Army of Maximus & not that of Cunedda. This legendary matter is a curious inversion of that deriving from Wales. In the latter stories far from Cunedda's original home - Cunedda has been every where supplanted; but in the former, deriving from the region of the Roman Walls, - he obtains credit for the March of Maximus, an exploit which was not his, whilst the date of his own Expedition has disappeared entirely into oblivion.

BRYCHAN OF BRECKNOCK.

The conclusions to which we have attained are :

- (1) A North British Invasion of Wales occurred, & is attested by the Saxon Genealogies, the Genealogies of the Welsh Princes in Harleian M.S.3859, by local traditions, & by the Historia Britonum Chapters 32-49.
- (2) That this invasion took place between 452 (or even 459) and 473.
- (3) That the date given by the Saxon Genealogies - 385-401 is really that of the withdrawal of the British legions by Maximus, which has here been confused with the March of Cunedda.

The Historia Britonum associates with this invasion, two other movements of political significance in the Welsh borders.

- a. The rise to power of a new dynasty in Powys (SE Denbighshire & Montgomeryshire) which retained its position for 400 years.
- b. The settlement of Vortigern's (Guorthigirn's) son in the districts of Buelth & Guorthigirnian (Brecknock N of the Irfon. & all N. & W. Radnorshire).

The entire Northern half of the Welsh Borders from the Modern town of Builth up to the N.Wales Coast would seem to have been ablaze with war, civil and racial during these years.

There are echoes of the struggle farther South. The upper Valley of the Usk from the Black Mountains to its source & from Builth to the Brecknock Beacons, has in Welsh borne the name BRYCHEINIOG the land of Brychan,

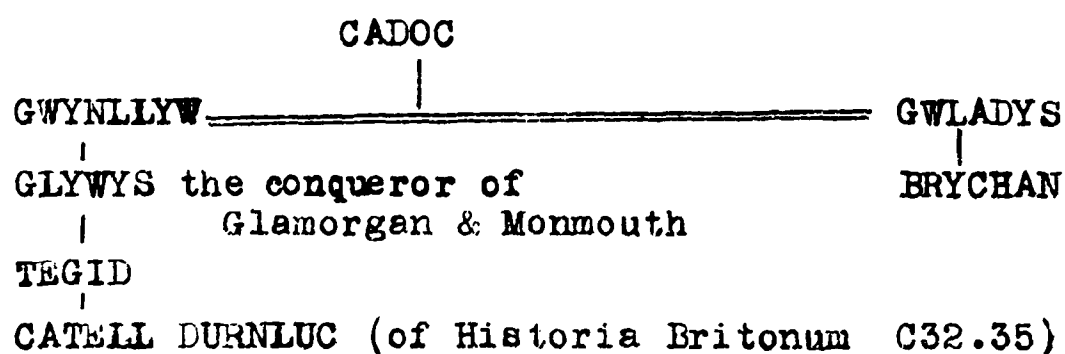
the most shadowy & illusive of all the Welsh heroes of the past. Tradition and Legend have credited him with an innumerable progeny, which have performed feats of the most amazing chronological agility, his daughters having married men belonging to five separate generations and borne children to all. It is a sheer impossibility to harmonise the different lists. All we can hope to do is to recover the main framework of the legend.

The King of this region sent his daughter to Ireland via St. David's (Porthmawr, Whitesand Bay) to be married to Anlach son of Coronac, a King's son. They remain in Ireland until a son is born, whose name is called BRYCHAN. They return to the upper Usk Valley and the son is handed over to a foster father for seven years. He is then sent as a hostage to Powys & finally returns to rule in Brecknock (Baring Gould & Fisher op cit I pp. 303-309)

Of recent years the legend has been subjected to relentless criticism (Mr. G. Peredur Jones in the *Archaeologia Cambreusis* & others) principally on the score of the Ancestors which later genealogists have assigned to Brychan, who appear to have Norse Names. Anlach the son of Coronac or Cormac has been identified with Anlaf Cuaran, King of Dublin 945-982 A.D. Unfortunately the legend does not exist in a form sufficiently early to enable us to see what it was prior to the Danish invasions. Its sole authority is a 13th Century MS the *Cognatio de Brychan* of which there are two versions both published by Wade Evans in *Y. Cymmrodor* XIX pp. 29-37 the whole rather referring back to an original of the 11th or the 12th Century.

In favour of the legend, there is the fact that the name BRYCHAN is Irish. At Endellion in Cornwall, there is an inscription to a BREOCAN & in the West of Ireland there is a Tribe called the Hy BRACHAIN (Baring Gould & Fisher Vol.I p.31) ANLACH - the name of BRYCHAN'S father may be a generic name & has been identified with the HUA-LAGH a family in Leinster (Baring Gould & Fisher Vol.I p.303) The remoter ancestors may easily be dismissed as either fictions or misplaced links of later hagiologists.

Before we can test the main facts of the simple legend, we must first ascertain the period of his life. He is considered by the earliest Welsh Legends to have been the paternal grandfather of St. Cadoc of Llancarvan who was more or less a contemporary of St. David. According to the legend of Cadoc, his father Gwynllyw was a marauding chieftain, who obtained, as the price of peace, the hand of Gwladys the daughter of Brychan. Gwynllyw's father, GLYWYS was a grandson of CATELL DURNLUC who earned for himself by conquest a domain in the modern counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth. St. Cadoc's pedigree through father & mother would appear to run as follows: (N.B. the pedigree is inverted.



[See Baring Gould & Fisher. Lives of British Saints I 210
II 14 III 131 230.

II 14 calls Gwladys, daughter, or more probably grand-daughter of Brychan. No arguments are given in favour of the preference. All the evidence points to her being the daughter.)

If Cadell Durnluc was a contemporary of Cunedda, & the latter had a grandson Meriaun, old enough to take part in the Campaign, & to share in the spoils, then the youth of GLYWYS and BRYCHAN would both correspond with the period of conquest i.e., to C459-472. This period also corresponds with the legend. Brychan's childhood would apparently belong to the years of peace, his youth to the years of Cunedda's invasion, when he would be sent as a hostage to Powys. The Historia C.48 refers to the Settlement of Euel & Guorthigirniaun by the power of Ambrosius. The Ordovices had helped in the Conquest of Ceredigion & nothing would be more natural than for them to secure their position in the Usk Valley in a peaceful manner if possible.

The predominance of dedications belonging to Brychan's daughters and grandsons in the lands between the Towy the Wye and the Black Mountains & the Monnow speak of a widespread influence, an influence, not merely of an ancient dynasty, one also of marriage alliances with other ruling families. It is hard to see that such legends could have attached themselves to men of the 10th Century, whereas there was every reason for the growth of a legend in the earlier period. Another objection is that the name BRYCHEINIOWG is too late, it belongs to the age of RHEINWOG, SEISYLLWOG, MORGANWOG i.e. to the seventh, if not to the eighth century. But the fifth century was the century of RHUFONIOWG, MEIRIONYDD, EDEYRNION, CEREDIGION & all the other domains of the house of CUNEDDA and even of GUORTHIGIRNIAUN. Vortigern's own province. There is every reason why BRYCHEINIOWG should have obtained its name in the fifth Century. The main facts of the legend are true to the main facts of the history of the period, and the steps in the

descent of Brychan's grandson place BRYCHAN in the very years, in which we should expect to find him - a young man in his teens, at some time between 459 & 473.

THE CONQUEST OF GLEWISSING.

This region, spelt variously GLEWISSING, GLYWYSSING, GLWYSING or oldest of all GLEGUISSING is the district extending from the Usk in Monmouthshire to the TAFE or the LOUGHOR in Glamorganshire or even to the TOWY in Carmarthenshire. According to the legends of Saints belonging to its ruling family - Beuno, Cadoc, Gwynllyw, Glywys. (see Baring Gould & Fisher, Lives of British Saints I 210, II 214, III 131, 230) it derived its name from that of its Conqueror a scion of the race of Catell Durnluc i.e. GLYWYS son of TEGID son of CATELL himself. Although the legends in their present form belonging to the eleventh or twelfth centuries, the name GLEGUISSING is found in the Historia Brittonum Chapter 41 (Mommsen's Edition) proving that the tradition was represented as early as C.679 if this date be a correct one for the first Historia. We know nothing of GLYWYS. At his death his possessions were divided amongst his sons & we find GWYNLLYW ruling in the East on the banks of the Usk, a POULENS or POULENTIUS in PENYCHEN. (East Glamorgan) & a MERCHGUIN ap GLIVIS ruling in Gower (Liber. Landavensis (Rees Edition) p.73 & p.320 Chapter II section 9) also an Etelig in Edeligion near Usk (Baring Gould & Fisher Vol.II Article Cybi). As Catell Durnluc's Grandson he would be a contemporary of Meriaun, grandson of Cunedda & Brychan of Brecknock and his conquest would correspond with that of the sons of Cunedda, more probably in their later stages

i.e. C.470. We have no information of the Conquest & very few indications of allies. The line of March must have been the Roman Road via Kenchester & Abergavenny. It was the only available route, lying between the Black Mountains & the hills of North East Monmouth. In this gap is the little Church of LLANVIHANGEL CRUCORNEY (i.e. LLANVIHANGEL CRUG CORNEU) (i.e. CRUG - MOUND, CORNEU - of the CORNOVII) (Morris Jones, Welsh Grammar pp. 107, 114 for relation of CORNEU to CORNOVII)

In the Moors between Newport and Cardiff we have a COED-KERNEW (The Wood of the CORNOVII). The invaders must have forced their way through the Gap in the hills and merely followed the Roman Road down the Usk Valley and Westward through Glamorgan.

The Pedigree of Dubricius (Baring Gould & Fisher Vol.II p.375) give us one or two further interesting sidelights on this same period. If we invert the steps it will help us: Dubricius - first known Bishop in S. Wales died C. 546

|
Ebrdil - his mother

epiau King in
rchenfield

|
===== daughter of CYSTENNIN CORNEU
i.e. Constantine the Cornovian

Dubricius was an older contemporary of Maglocunus. His great-grandfather Constantine the Cornovian was a contemporary of Cunedag. Catell Durnluc, Ambrosius and all the heroes and villains of the Historia Britonum. The Cornovii are commemorated in Archenfield in a lost LLANGERNIU a Church of the Cornovii - Liber Landavensis pp. 69 & 315. Only the Wye separated Archenfield from the lands of the Cornovii & it is quite possible that they were implicated in this invasion, as they were also in the invasion of Anglesey, where they are commemorated in LLANFAIR YNG NGHYNORNWY. Sancta Maria in Cornoviis. To say the least, Archenfield, proved an admirable base for the invasion of the South.

Constantine the Cornovian is an interesting study from another point of view. In addition to being a contemporary of the protagonists of the Warfare in Wales & the Borders, he appears as the ancestor of the dynasty of Princes ruling in Devon & Cornwall, if not Somerset & Dorset. He, like his contemporary Cunedda, has suffered from identification with Roman usurpers & his personality has been merged in that of the last Constantine who finally abandoned Britain & met his death in 411. His pedigree in Baring Gould & Fisher Vol.L p.94 is further complicated by the inclusion in it of the clan of Gildas in flat contradiction of all that is known of the latter in his earliest biographies.

Yet another complicating factor is the existence of a second Constantine, the Constantine of Danmonia so scathingly and mercilessly rebuked by Gildas (De Excidio cc 28 & 29), & who is probably the King Constantine of the *Annales Cambriae* (589 *Conversio Constantini ad dominum*) & also of the Life of St. David C.32 (abandons his kingdom & retires to St. David's).

Wade Evans (*Life of St. David, Notes* pp 98 & 99) proceeds to identify this latter with the former, or rather the reverse, to identify the former with the latter & to reverse the order of the pedigree i.e., instead of a Geraint son of Erbin son of Constantine, he reads Constantine son or Erbin son of Geraint, son of a 'Lud' or 'Lac' His authorities are the Lives of St. Cybi of Holyhead & the Romances of Cornwall including Chretien de Troyes (Wade Evans op cit pp 98 & 99) To this we can reply -

- (1) All the Arthurian Romances derive from Geoffrey of Monmouth & the mention of Lud undoubtedly suggests the Mythological founder of London.
- (2) Wade Evans finds in the Lives a pre-conquest-Cornish version but Baring Gould & Fisher (II pp 202 & 203)

state that they are taken from a Common Welsh source & are extant in a MS of c. 1200 A.D. (Vespasian A XIV) (British Museum Cottonian Collection).

- (3) Wade Evans assumes that there was a mistake on the part of the 12th Century copyist. There can be equally a mistake on the part of a 12th Century hagiologist.

All the Welsh Saintly pedigrees differentiate between the two Constantines the contemporary of Gildas and his great-great-grandfather. According to them the pedigree runs - Constantine King of Damnonia, son of Cador (the contemporary of Arthur ("Vita Carantoci") son of Geraint, son of Erbin, son of Constantine the Cornovian, who has been most tragically identified with Constantine the Usurper of 408-411. If the earlier Constantine is given his proper Chronological place as a contemporary of Cunedda, Coroticos Catell Durnluc and Ambrosius, all the other stages fall into line and the complications disappear. In addition we receive further insight into the conditions of Britain into the fifth Century.

The Northern Coast of Brittany from Dol to Brest (the River Quouesnon to the Elorn) was long known as Dumnonee because it had been colonised from Dumnonia (the opposite coast of Britain, i.e. Cornwall, Devon and West Somerset). This emigration began about the middle of the 5th Century and continued for a hundred years (Baring Gould & Fisher op. cit. I p41 & Taylor "Life of Samson of Dol" pxxvi & Celtic Christianity in Cornwall p.41) The S.W. corner of Brittany is called Cornubia or Cornugallia. Taylor (Life of St. Samson of Dol p.xxvi) & derives its names from Cornovian Settlers

It must have been colonised later than Dumnonee for the simple reason that it was further away from the home-land. We may safely assume that for some reason or other these Dumnonians had fled C.450-500 A.D. It may be that the Irish were pressing up from Cornwall, or that the Saxons, anticipating the Strategy of the Danes, were attacking on the West as well as the East.

Baring Gould & Fisher, (Vol.I pp. 32.34) give a summary of civil wars in Leinster & conclude that c.460-480 dispossessed tribes from Ireland crossed over to Cornwall & settled there. The presence of Irish immigrants attacking the rear, whilst the Saxons were invading the Eastern side would make things intolerable for the defenders & moreover this Irish colonisation was taking place at the very time when the invasion of Cunedda was sweeping over N. Wales. It may be that amongst the settlers in Cornwall there were also the fugitives from Wales.

It has always been a mystery why Cornwall should have been so named & that the old name of Dumnonia should have been restricted to the region East of the Tamar. But this become intelligible if we see in it a name derived from Cornovian Conquerors: & if this took place about the year 480 (i.e. the Cornovian Conquest of Cornwall) it also provides CYSTENNIN GORNEU (Constantine the Cornovian) with his proper place in Chronology & also in the political history of the age. At the very time, when Ambrosius was rallying his followers against the Saxons and Cunedda, Catell, and their allies were reducing the Irish to subjection and impotence in Wales, Constantine was securing the rear in the Devonian Peninsula.

May we also see in the invasion of Ireland by Coroticos

of Strathclyde the first stage in the War? His attack was a feint, to test the strength of Ireland and also to draw the attention of the Irish from the main attack, which was to be delivered on the Irish in Wales. The presence of place names, bearing the name of Ordovices, Cornovii & possibly Selgovae (Llanfihangel din Sylwy) in Snowdonia & Anglesey, point to a combination of forces. The association of the name of Ambrosius with the expulsion of Vortigern from Snowdonia (Hist: Brit: 39.42) may also point to his aid in the effort. The Cornovii are associated with the invasion of Monmouth & possibly Glamorgan (the place names) & the Royal Cornish genealogies (in forms which would appear to have escaped the influence of the Arthurian Romances) trace the Conquest of the S.W. & the subjection of the Irish in those regions to the Cornovii & their leader a certain Constantine.

This theory would seem to be supported by the fact that all the GWLEDIGS of Welsh history and legend are associated with such a combined movement. Coroticos of Strathclyde, the invader of Ireland in 459, is known as CERETIC WLEDIG (he must not be confused with the son of Cunedda who gave his name to Ceredigion or Cardigan): CUNEDDA the invader of Wales, is known as CUNEDDA WLEDIG; Ambrosius, the expeller of Vortigern, is definitely identified in the Hist. Brit. 42 with EMRYS WLEDIG; & Maximus who conquered Britain to win him a wife in Carnarvon (Guest's Mabinogion 81-92) is also known as MAXEN WLEDIG. If GWLEDIG is a vernacular equivalent of PATRICIUS then the three historical characters would seem to be, after a kind, successors of Roman Officials. Coroticos defended the Western end of Antonine's Wall. Cunedda the Eastern, & both would be responsible for warding off the

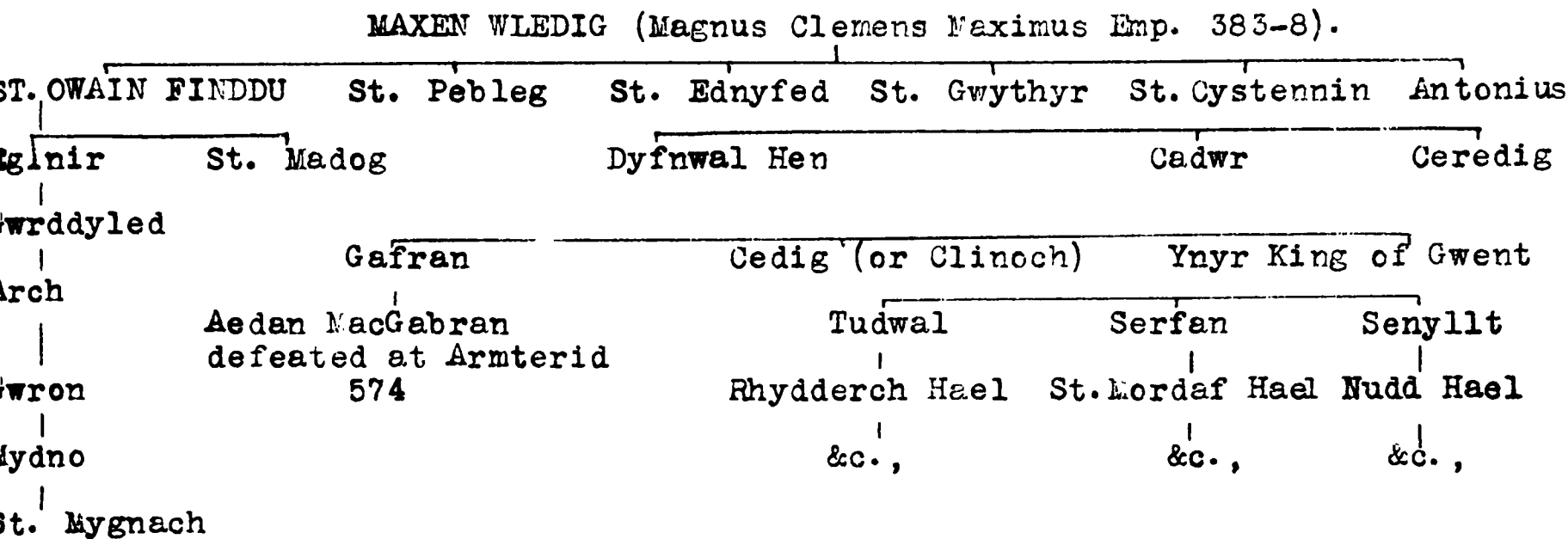
attacks of Picts & Scots. Ambrosius would deal with the Saxon invaders. Vortigern appears therefore as the enemy of all these leaders, the puppet in the hands of his Country's devastators, one to whom the most unnatural vices could most naturally be ascribed.

It is with such a scene for a background that we consider the origins & development of the Celtic Church in Wales: it is in terms of the stages in the pedigrees derived from the protagonists in the struggle that we can estimate the years of the heroes of that church & the steps in its development; & just as, from an examination of the evidence - (more circumstantial than direct), we have been compelled to conclude that such a scene - such an invasion of Wales took place between 439 & 473, so, accepting this conclusion & starting from it, we shall find that the history of that Church will in its turn be the more intelligible.

NOTE: In the previous section frequent reference have been made to the place in Welsh legend, occupied by usurpers Magnus Maximus & Constantine III to the dire confusion of British history secular and sacred. Nowhere is this confusion more apparent than in the pages of Baring Gould & Fisher's Lives of the British Saints, which resembles a quarry rather than a finished edifice. The motive of the editors appears to have been, to include all that had been written above the British Saints, with the result, that we have the metal and the dross inextricably associated, if not combined, as in the virgin ore. For their Welsh material they have relied upon the evidence of the Iolo MSS the worthlessness of which will be assumed here and be explained in a subsequent Note. The genealogical tables in the beginning of the work Vol.1 pages 89-99 have been compiled

from the matter contained in the Lives & are of an equal value. Those of Maximus & Constantine III will be examined here.

Maximus or Maxen Wledig Baring Gould & Fisher op. cit Vol.1 p.90.



The existence of St. Owain Finddu and all his descendants, St. Ednyfed, & St. Gwythyr, depends upon the unsupported evidence of the Iolo MSS, an evidence which no competent Welsh scholar would accept alone. (vide Owain Finddu B.G.& F. IV p.36 St.Madog do. III 395, Mygnach III 508 Ednyfed II 411 Gwythyr III 251. The last was probably inserted as Gwythur is the Welsh equivalent of Victor & Maximus had a son of that name). St. Peblig is better authenticated. He is the only member of the family to be associated with a Church but his connection with the family of Maximus rests on the fact, that Legend connected the latter with Carnarvon, & the ancient Parish Church of Carnarvon was dedicated to him. Cystennin is not so much as named in Baring Gould & Fisher, nor Ceredig the son of Ednyfed. Cadwr, Ednyfed's second son is found only in the Iolo MSS (v.B.G. & F. 11 p47) but with Dyfnwal Hern, the remaining son of Ednyfed we enter the

region of history, which unfortunately confutes the evidence of the Iolo MSS & the above pedigree.

Dyfnwal Hen according to B.G. & F. II p.398 is associated with the family of Maxen only in the Iolo MSS, whilst the older evidence of Penarth MS 45 gives him as the ancestor of the Kings of North Britain. Bearing in mind his second son Cedig or Clinoch and the latter's son and Grandson - Tudwal & Rhydderch Hael we turn to the descent of the King of Strathclyde as recorded in Harleian MS 3859; Zimmer, Celtic Church, p.54: Bury, Life of St. Patrick 314, & we find the following -

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Ceretic Guletic
|
Cinuit
|
Dumngual
|
Clinoch
|
Tutagual
|
Riderch
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The Iolo MSS have taken the four later steps in the descent and have grafted them on to the genealogy of Maxen, through a fictitious son - Edynfed. We can therefore limit the descendants of the Pseudo-Maximus to his sons and to the descendants of his eldest son - Owain. All his other descendants are (according to the pedigree) those of Coroticos of Strathclyde. But the pedigree is incorrect in this respect. Aeddan MacGabran is the King of Scottish Dalriada who was elected by Columba's influence, & whose defeat by Ethelfrith of Northumbria in 603 at Dawston laid the foundation of Northumbria's greatness (Oman op.cit 250 & 251. His pedigree according to Skene

In the section dealing with Constantine the Cornovian it was pointed out that the Welsh Corneu was derived from the Latin CORNOVII (J. Morris Jones, Welsh Grammar pp.107-114) also that Cystennin (or Constantine the Cornovian) could not possibly be Constantine III the Usurper, As the Great Grandfather of St. Dubricius, his connection with the latter demanded a date corresponding to that of Coroticos, Ambrosius Cunedag & Catell Durnluc; The latter identification i.e. with one of the British leaders of c459-473 is feasible and true to the history of the time, whilst the identification of the old legends and the above pedigree is impossible on all grounds. It follows that with Constantine III Constantine Augustus disappears also.

Constantine's two sons Erbin & Digaini are as well attested as most British Saints, but the pedigree's identification of Erbin with Erb the father of King Pepiau is entirely unsupported. Moreover, it makes the latter marry his father's sister. The Liber Landavensis (Rees's Edition pp 69 & 314, 72 & 318, 72 & 319) make Erb a king of Ergyng (Archenfield) and Pepiau his son have a King Constantine for his father in law. One may add that there is no evidence quoted for the identification of Erbin with Erb, & it may justly be characterised as a gratuitous insertion & Pepiau's only connection with Constantine remains a marriage connection.

Eloan & Ysgin, Geraint's sons appear from B.G. & F. II 449 & IV 367 as very substantial and contradictory figures, so that Geraint emerges as the only reliable link in the chain. In considering his sons, the appearance of Caw

the father of Gildas is, to say the least surprising, Williams "Gildas" pp 322 & 3 & pp 394 & 5 (the two biographies of Gildas, the 9th Century "Life" from Rhuy's and the 13th Century by Caradoc of Llancarban) makes Caw to derive from Scotia & Arecluta, the land on the S. Bank of the Clyde, opposite Dumbarton. Baring Gould & Fisher (Vol. II p.12 gave a clue to his inclusion in this pedigree "The Iolo MSS genealogies identify him with Caw Lord of Cwm Cawlwyd. The two were confounded at an early period". The one identified with Caw is his supposed brother Cado or Cador, the father of the Constantine of Dumnonia of Gildas's Excidio. Thus we are thrown back to the same source of confusion as in the pedigrees deriving from the Usurper Maximus. Since all the other descendants of Constantine on p.94 (B.G. & F. vol.1) trace their connection through Caw there is no need of further elaboration. If we have to choose between the Lives of Gildas and the Iolo MSS we unhesitatingly choose the former. The confusion lies not only in mistaking one for the other, but also in assuming that a British King of North Britain was the son of a King of Dumnonia. Possibly, this confusion originated in the fact that one of Gildas's brothers Caffo appears as a monk under St. Cybi (see the above pedigree) in Anglesey (B.G. & F. Vol.II p.208).

The above name indicates a collection of Manuscripts published in Llandoverly in 1848 and reprinted by I. Foulkes, Liverpool 1888. They were edited for the Welsh Manuscript Society by Taliesin Williams the son of Edward Williams, who had collected the original Manuscripts or had made Transcripts of them. Edward Williams's nom de plume was Iolo Morganwg and, these Manuscripts were named the Iolo Manuscripts from him. They were intended as a supplement to the Manuscripts published under the name of the "Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales" in 1801 and 1807, and purported to be copies of originals discovered by him in Glamorganshire subsequent to 1807. They have had of late years a very mixed reception at the hands of Scholars, who hesitate to quote them as an unsupported authority. (Vide J.E. Lloyd. History of Wales p.192 - Bangor. p.193 last paragraph - p.282 - last two paragraphs).

Baring Gould and Fisher make extensive use of the Iolo Manuscripts but notwithstanding this, they repeatedly express doubt as to the value of the evidence they quote. In view of the adverse comments directed on them in the previous note, a few extracts from the "Lives of the British Saints" will explain the caution necessary and will also arouse a feeling of astonishment that evidence of such a doubtful quality was ever adduced by the learned editors of that monumental work of reference.

I.p.222. But it must be remembered that the hagiological documents printed in the Iolo Manuscripts are late being the compilations of Glamorgan antiquaries of the 16th and 17th Centuries; and they have been "edited" by Iolo Morganwg but to what extent it is now

impossible to say as the originals from which he made his transcripts have practically all disappeared. Statements they contain must be accepted with caution.

- I. 301. The refounding of Caerworgorn depends on the questionable authority of the Iolo Manuscripts.
302. His title to Saintship rests on very doubtful authority --- His name is included but once as a saint in the Iolo Manuscripts Genealogies etc., but the statement is inaccurate.
- II. 9. The Iolo Manuscripts are not a very trustworthy authority --- Such a statement is clearly apocryphal.
13. The statements made in the Iolo Manuscripts are not of much value, they are late.
240. One of the late and often faked documents printed in the Iolo Manuscripts.
- 371.N.2. Iolo Manuscripts - but no reliance can be placed on these documents.
394. His (Dyfan's) history (principally in the Iolo Manuscripts) is from beginning to end a pure fabrication.
- II.417. All this story is pure fiction (found only in the Iolo Manuscripts). Indeed the Bran Lucius Christianisation legend forms altogether what is perhaps (next to Geoffrey of Monmouth's performance) the most impudent forgery in Welsh literature.
- III.19. In the Iolo Manuscripts occurs the following evolved and wholly inaccurate notice (Fflewyn).
- III.207. As these documents (Iolo Manuscripts) are of late compilation and as there is no evidence to support this his inclusion is extremely doubtful.

- III.228. "Gwyn ap Nudd is given in one entry in the Iolo Manuscripts as a Welsh Saint, but he is a well known figure in Welsh Mythology, the King of Annwn -- the Welsh Underworld.
- III.263. The Iolo Manuscripts on the same page make him (Llyr) the son of Enion Yrth and the son of Meirchion.
- III.436. The impossible Chronology of two Marchells.
- III.501. & 502. Mordaf is included among Welsh Saints in two late documents printed in the Iolo Manuscripts, but without any authority whatever.
- IV. 60. We have late a bad authority for this Patrick - the Iolo Manuscripts.
61. The Iolo Manuscripts speaking generally are an untrustworthy authority, as we cannot tell always whence many of these documents and notices came originally; or their real date.
73. The 16th and 17th Glamorgan antiquaries of the Iolo Manuscripts who next to Geoffrey of Monmouth have done more than anyone to pollute the well undefiled of Welsh history etc.

The above extracts are but a few from many and explain the attitude taken in this study towards the authority and reliability of the Iolo Manuscripts in the pedigrees contained in the preceding note.

"CUNEDDAN and PRE-CUNEDDAN CHRISTIANITY in WALES".

The above expression merely defines the period embraced by the North British invasion of Wales. We can expect no traces of a Christianity belonging to the Irish invaders of North Wales nor on the other hand can we deny its existence. North Leinster & Meath - the parts of Ireland nearest North Wales had been converted by St. Patrick - and it is possible that intercourse between the two countries had led to the conversion of the Irish in North Wales - but nothing can be asserted or denied.


It is exceedingly probable that Cunedda and his sons were Christians - His Grandfather's name was Paternus - a son was called Donatus and a grandson Marianus (Dunaut - Meriaun) - Such names were distinctly Christian (J.E. Lloyd, History of Wales. I.p.119).

Furthermore, the land between the two Roman Walls had been evangelised before the close of the fourth century by St. Ninian of Whithern. In addition to Whithern he is credited with having established Christian centres in Ayrshire, Glasgow, Stirling and other places along the Eastern Coast of Scotland. (A.E. Scott "Ninian, Apostle of Britons & Picts. Nutt. 1916.) His labours were so far successful, that St. Patrick in his Epistle to Coroticus is able to refer to the Strathclyde Britons as being Christians and their Pictish allies as being Apostates. This fact, coupled with the previous, renders it almost certain that Cunedda and his family were Christians.

From the heart of their conquests in North Wales, comes further corroborative evidence. At Penmachno a few miles south of Bettws-y-Coed and in the Upper Conway Valley, stands

the only inscribed stone, bearing the Chi-Rho Monogram in Wales. The Monogram is found only in Galloway, (two stones at Kirk Madrine in Wigtonshire) Cornwall (four stones Phillach St. Just etc.) and here alone in Wales. Ireland, with its wealth of inscribed stones, does not show a single example. Romilly Allen (Celtic Art argues, that this is to be accounted for by the early date of these Monuments. The Galloway Stones can be assigned to the first years of the fifth Century and if the Christianity of the invaders of North Wales was derived from Galloway - the Penmachno stone could be assigned to the first wave of Conquest. The place, where the stone is found, is most suggestive. Penmachno stands near the great trunk road from the Dee Valley to the Conway (Telford's Coach Road from London to Holyhead in fact) Comparatively easy access is afforded S.W. to the Coast of Cardigan Bay, at Portmadoc, also S.E. to the upper Dee Valley near Bala, and it would prove an admirable base for an attack on the heart of Snowdonia. It may well have been the headquarters of the Cunedda family between the first and second stages of the Conquest.

The inscription runs as follows:-


 Carausius
 Hic iacit
 in hoc Con-
 - geries la-
 - pidum.

(Hughes and North. Old Churches of Snowdonia p.118). "It may be as early as the end of the fifth Century", For the Galloway inscriptions see Haverfield "Early Northumbrian Christianity - Archaeologia Acliana 3rd Series Vol. XV - 1918) and Dowden "Celtic Church in Scotland pp.16 & 17).

We have no such evidence for any other part of Wales except the extreme South West i.e. Pembrokeshire & Carmarthen. The Historia Britonum makes Christianity come into Powys with the visit of Germanus, but his appearance seems to be altogether legendary. A house in the extreme N.E. insule in Venta Silurum suggests a Christian Church - but as the "Church" portion is only part of a larger whole and not a distinct and separate building like the Silchester Church (see plan in Haverfield's Article "Early British Christianity Eng.Hist. Review.July 1896) some doubt has been thrown upon the suggested identification; and the continuous ecclesiastical history of Venta Silurum (Caerwent) begins with the visit of the Irish Missionary Tathan or Tethiu . It is remarkable that Caerwent, although so much smaller than Silchester boasts a larger temple. (Haverfield. Roman occupation of Britain p.219) and also that the Roman Temple at Lydney Park (some 10 miles East) was restored in 364 and appears to have been in constant use, until the great Irish raids of the early fifth Century destroyed all vestiges of civilisation. (Journal of Roman Studies Vol. XVIII p.205. Vol. XIX 202 & 3.)

We have no means of discovering whether the Conquerors of Glamorgan were Christians. A "Merthyr Glywys" situated somewhere near the mouth of the Ogmere may mark the resting place of its Eponymous Conqueror (Liber Landavensis Rees's Edition pp. 215 & 483) his sons appear in the various hagiological legends - Merchguin as a liberal patron of the Saints in Gower and Paul in East Glamorgan. Whilst Gwynllyw in the legend of Tathan is explicitly described as being no better than a heathen marauder. Presumably they and their father were Christians but their religion may have sat very lightly upon them.

It is when we come to the more Irish parts of Wales that we have evidence for an early Christianity, Brychan of Brycheiniog (Brecknock) who would appear to have been born shortly before the invasion is sent at the age of four, to a foster father, whose language is undoubtedly Christian (Wade - Evans. De Situ Brecheniauc-y-Cymmrodor- XIX-XX pp.25 & 32).

The Legend of St. Brioc (Baring Gould & Fisher Vol.I p.p. 288-301) makes him the son of Cerp - a princeling of Coritica- which is here (op-cit) equated with Ceredigion or Cardiganshire in S.W.Wales. The parents of Brioc were heathen -- but the child was entrusted to a S. Germanus, to be educated as a Christian. He returns home at the age of 25 and proceeds to convert his parents and clansmen. He erects a church at Landa-Magna - Llanfaur - presumably Llandyfriog near the Teivy - - but finally decides to emigrate to Brittany where but for a short visit to Wales he spent the remainder of his life. The reason given for his proceeding to Britanny with a number of followers is the invasion of Cardiganshire by Ceretic son of Cunedda. St. Brioc's father - Cerp - is described as an Irish-man and the name Brioc has Irish affinities. The Bridell again in N. Pembrokeshire reads (Monumentum) Nettasagrus filii generis Breci - Brec or Brioc was apparently a clan name (op cit Vol. I p.290 & 291) The Rickardston Hall stone in Brawdy (W. Pembrokeshire) - not far from St. David's has "Briac fil"... These two inscriptions would apparently indicate that Brioc in some form or another was a name of frequent occurrence, wherever people of Irish descent had settled and would afford a prima facie corroboration to the background of the legend.

The Lordship of Kemes, constituting the whole of North Pembrokeshire from Cardigan Bay to the borders of Carmarthenshire

preserves the memory of a St. Brynach Wyddel - Brynach the Irishman - who leaves Ireland with Brychan of Brecknock and finally marries his daughter and settles down in this corner of Pembrokeshire (Baring Gould and Fisher Vol. I. pp. 321 & 327) He apparently endures much persecution from his wife and her followers (op.cit p. 322) who are anxious to conciliate the North British invaders of Cardigan by prosecuting all Irishmen. His piety finally wins respect and peace and he is allowed to settle and found churches whersoever he chooses. It is difficult to decide how much of the legend as given above (op cit) is due to the original and how much to the conclusions of the editors. Brynach is made the Companion of Brychan from Ireland, but the De Situ Brecheniauc (Cymmrodor XIX-XX p. 24 & 31) makes Brychan to be less than four years old on his return from Ireland, and the Cognacio Brychan (Cym. XIX-XX p. 28 & 36) gives his age as two and there is no mention of Brynach unless by chance he is to be identified with the Fernach of the De Situ Brecheniauc (op cit. XIX-XX p. 24 & 32) If the identification is correct, then his becoming a Son-in-law of his infant prince - would involve a very lengthy period of waiting. The whole legend and especially that part of it connecting him with the family of Brychan is palpably a late invention. But there is nothing improbable in his having been an Irish missionary in N. Pembrokeshire before or even during the Conquest of Cardigan.

Both Bury (Life of St. Patrick pp. 51-58) and Stokes and Lawlor (Ireland and the Celtic Church pp. 23 & 4, p.52) admit the existence of Christian Communities in Ireland before Patrick or Palladius. Both also admit that Patrick evangelised, directly or through disciples, the Kingdoms of Cashel

Ossory, and the land of the Hy. Ceinselaich (B. pp. 162 & 166. S & L. pp. 93 & 94). This evangelisation must have taken place, prior to 460. Between 460 & 480 a tremendous civil war broke out in Munster between the King of Cashel (Angus MacNatfraich) and the Ossorians which resulted in the expulsion of the latter from Ireland. Presumably they would have been Christians, and possibly some of them might have crossed over to Pembrokeshire. At least nothing seems to militate against a belief that an intercourse between Pembrokeshire and Ireland from c. 430 onwards, must have led to the conversion of both regions, and it is more probable that Pembroke was converted from Ireland than vice versa. If Pembroke was Irish speaking then it would derive its culture from Ireland, and also its religion, rather than from Britain. In this connection, it is also interesting to note that even in the days of St. David Pembrokeshire looked towards Ireland rather than Eastwards. St. David's Irish disciples monopolise a number of Chapters in the "Life of St. David" whilst his Welsh disciples are no more than named (St. Aiden of Ferns occupies Chapters 35, 36, 37, & 42 of Ricemarchus's Life; Scutinus, Chapters 37 & 38, St. Barre 39 & 40 Modomnoc 41 & 43) and there is much to be said in favour of the view that St. David's episcopal labours concerned Ireland much more than Wales but this question will be dealt with more fully in its proper place. But the statement that Pembroke should have received its Christianity from Ireland rather than vice versa, demands proof.

- (1) J.E. Lloyd (History of Wales Ch. IV pp. 110. Brythonic Conquest of Wales) makes S.W. Wales an Irish Colony Zimmer Nennius Vindicatus XI 123. establishes the same conclusion and even quotes Irish evidence, tracing the descent of the rulers of Demetia c.750 A.D.

- from Eochaidh Almuir a chieftain of the Dessi who, with a section of the tribe crossed over from Ireland to Pembrokeshire in the third century (124 and note,
- (2) Their language remained Irish until at least the sixth Century if not later. They were not conquered, but gradually absorbed and their independence only ceased with the marriage of the last descendant. - a daughter - to Hywel Dda in the early 10th Century. (Lloyd op cit: Zimmer Nennius Vindicatus see above)
 - (3) Zimmer (Celtic Church in Britain & Ireland) is at pains to prove a British origin for Irish Christianity and he adduces in support, a number of old Irish ecclesiastical terms, which have been borrowed from the Latin indirectly, and by way of the old British Tongue.
 - (4) In this case, with the Irish language still predominant in S.W. Wales - the missionaries in Ireland must have come from the British-speaking and not the Irish speaking portions of the country.
 - (5) If either district influenced the other, the homeland would be more likely to influence the Colony, than vice versa, and the Brynach, Brioc and Brychan legends all appear to refer to a Christian Ireland and a dominant heathenism in Pembrokeshire and S. Cardiganshire at the time of the Cuneddan invasion (a further significance of this will be discussed in connection with St. Illtyd). In conclusion, the only direct evidence of a Cuneddan and Pre-Cuneddan Christianity in Wales is the Penmachno Stone and the Christian names of certain members of Cunedda's family in the north, and the presence of an Irish Christianity in the S. & W. as illustrated in the legends of Brychan of Brecknock Brioc of Cardiganshire and Brynach of Kemys in N.W. Pembrokeshire.

P A R T T W O.

WELSH CHRISTIANITY until the GREAT PLAGUE of 547 A. D.

The Beginnings of a Consecutive Tradition.

The concluding section of the first part discussed the evidence for the existence of Christianity in Wales during or prior to, the period of the North British Invasion; and apart from legendary associations with St. Germanus, on the Eastern Borders, these evidences were limited to two regions, the North West, where an inscribed stone in S. E. Carnarvonshire bore the Chi-Rho Monogram and the Conquerors had come from a district converted by St. Ninian, and also the South West, which had in all probability derived its religion from Ireland. It is only in the latter area that legends speak of an unbroken religious continuity. In the North we have only the one inscription, but the warfare which had only recently terminated, would have made religious development impossible in any district affected by it. Religious organisation always follows the line of the political, and if the latter is incomplete or chaotic the former is no less so. It was only when the various territories in Wales had settled down to more or less peaceable and settled conditions that an organised Church could appear, and it was precisely at this time, and in the regions where they could be most suitably expected, that the pioneers of a consecutive religious tradition arise in Wales. It is hardly too much to say that hitherto, Christianity was the religion only of North British invaders or Irish Colonists, more in touch with their homeland than their adopted country of Britain. Of an

organised British Church there is no trace until the names of Dubricius and Illtyd (Iltutus) are reached. These two Saints stand out pre-eminent as the pioneers of organised Welsh Christianity, and from them the tradition descends in an unbroken line until today. They, and their followers and successors fused into one the various strands which existed or may have existed previously, and left behind them a church which was national in expression, if unsystematically organised. Dubricius appears as the first Bishop directly connected with Wales and it is hard to resist the conclusion that it was by him that the contact was established between the church of the Roman Province of Britain (the Church of the Signatories of the decrees of Arles and of the impecunious bishops of Ariminum) and the new tribal nationalities of Wales. He is found in the districts most favourable to such a supposition, the plains of the Middle-Wye after it has left behind the mountain glens of Brecknock and Radnor and before it plunges into the gorge between the Forest of Dean and the hills of Archenfield and Monmouth. The neighbourhood of Ross-on-Wye was an industrial area. Traces of iron smelting operations are found in a number of parishes on both sides of the river; and about one mile East of Ross lay the capital of this district, viz: Ariconium - a name suggesting a connection with the English Archenfield and the Welsh Eging, and prompting the question as to the survival of the name of the capital in that of the surrounding district.

Illtyd has come down as the founder and pioneer of the monasticism which so profoundly modified the episcopacy of Dubricius. The earliest biographies of his most celebrated disciples, Gildas, Samson of Dol, and Paul Aurelian

celebrate Illtyd more for his learning and teaching ability. If Dubricius handed on the ancient episcopacy of the West, Illtyd passed on likewise the torch of classical learning, and proved himself a worthy predecessor of the more celebrated Celtic Schools of subsequent ages. If Dubricius transferred to Teilo of Llandaff his influence and traditions, Illtyd transferred to his followers the Christian tradition which so speedily entrenched itself in N. Wales. Maglocunus (Gildas's *Insularis Draco*) filled up the intervening space between a wild youth and a depraved manhood in Illtyd's monastery, and Gildas and twits him with having no excuse on the score of ignorance, as he had had as Master, the most elegant tutor in almost all Britain (Gildas De Excidio c. 36 - Williams's Edition p.83 and note 1.) The rapid growth of Christian settlements in Anglesey and Carnarvon would have been impossible apart from Maglocunus's favour, and even Gildas can find nothing to blame in him on the score of lack of support for religious institutions. This royal favour was extended to fresh arrivals from Cornwall and Brittany, and after his death was continued by his successors and emulated by his neighbours of Powys, the members of whose royal family followed with more constancy and perseverance his own short stay in the Monastic life.

This brief anticipatory sketch is necessary, as serving to indicate the precise position occupied in Welsh ecclesiastical tradition by the two pioneers. It is a position not clearly perceived by any writer of British Church History. Too frequently, they are only names amongst other names - but if early Welsh Church History is to be interpreted as an organic whole their position must be adequately recognised and their influence appraised

In the subsequent sections, they will be dealt with more fully. Dubricius first, because his disciples were less eminent and his influence more confined; Illtyd afterwards as demanding a more extensive treatment.

DUBRICIUS.

The legends of St. Dubricius are recorded in (1) Liber Landavensis (Rees's Edition pp.75, 83 & 323 - 331) (2) Baring Gould & Fisher, Lives of the British Saints. Vol. II pp.359 - 382 and Williams - Christianity in Early Britain pp.309-316.

The circumstances of his birth, as thus recorded suggest illegitimacy, his father's name is not given, but his mother appears as Ebrdil, daughter of Pepian, King of Archenfield, and she has apparently given her name to "Ynys Ebrdil", the district between the Dore and the Wye and to the East of the Roman Road from Abergavenny to Hereford, Her father's wrath led him to attempt her death by drowning and burning, but in each case the attempt was miraculously frustrated. The child is born and cures the grandfather's malady by another miracle. This account can be paralleled from the legends of St. Kentigern and St. Cenydd of Gower and more remotely from that of St. David's birth. Indeed, one may find an interesting parallel in the Classical myth of Danae and the birth of Perseus. Dubricius's parentage and descent may be quite correctly given, even if the old hagiologer felt impelled to rate his hero above those of antiquity. In fact, it is almost impossible to explain his predominance in Archenfield save on the grounds of connection with the "royal" family, and it is also more than possible that his appearance as "Bishop" is due to the same consideration; that the influence of his family connections would supplement that of his personal character and ecclesiastical office.

The legends omit all accounts of his education and

ordinations, and he first appears as Bishop with his headquarters at Hentland near Ross-on-Wye. Dubricius's subsequent life will be considered in two phases -- phase I being that of his associations with Hentland and phase II that of his association with Moccas or Mochros, to which he apparently transferred his headquarters at a later period. To each of these periods belong stages of church organisation, and names of disciples and due consideration will be given to them.

Dubricius - phase I. The "Hentland" period.

In the preceding part (that dealing with the North British Invasion of Wales and the Saxon Invasion of England) attention has been drawn to the similar strategy employed by both Danes & Saxons (vide Gildas De Excidio cc. 20 - 26) - a sequence of coastal descents, raids inland, invasions of a Grand Army and finally settlements; and a parallel has been drawn between the journey of Bishop Riocatus in Gaul and his return with books from Faustus of Riez, and the work of Alfred the Great in restoring learning and religion in Wessex. Another parallel can be noted here. When Alfred sought for scholars to found schools in Wessex after 878 he is compelled to admit that there are only very few South of the Humber and not more North of it; and South of the Thames not one, who could translate from Latin into Anglo-Saxon and vice versa. Wessex had become illiterate in the course of one generation. The only four English Scholars whom Alfred could secure were all Mercians and at their head was Werfrith - Bishop of Worcester. Worcester, alone seems to have preserved its tradition of learning and for nearly a century produces men who play no small part in the advancement of English Life and Learning (Oman - England before the Norman Conquest pp.476 & 477)

When we consider the circumstances of the Saxon Conquest, the counterpart of Worcester must be also sought for. The neighbourhood of Uriconium was exposed to raids from Chester and Ireland and the Bristol Channel was similarly exposed. But the district around Ross was much more favourably situated. The Severn was bridged at Gloucester and only a few miles farther West the wild Country of the Forest of Dean provided a haven of refuge. The Northern Shores of the Bristol Channel displayed no products of a luxurious civilisation to tempt any plunderers; with the result that the region would be left in comparative security.

Further, the district around Ross was itself, in Roman times, an iron smelting district, and its capital was the small town of ARICONIUM situate near Bollitree in the Parish of Weston-under-Penyard, a mile or two East of Ross. Iron scoriae and clinkers have been found in the parishes of Walford and Weston under Penyard on the East Bank of the Wye; and in the parishes of Ganarew, Whitchurch, Goodrich, Llangarren, St. Weonards, Tretire, Hentland, Peterstow and Bridstow, on the West bank (G.H. Jack - Ariconium - 1923 - printed Hereford). The Liber Landavensis (pp. 151-166 & pp. 405-422) gives a list of supplementary bishops. (Ubeluui Episcopus Ubeluui, Aidan, Elgistus Episcopi; Lunapeius Episcopus, Comeregius Episcopus, Arguistil Episcopus, Gutuan Episcopus, Guodlou Episcopus, Edilbui Episcopus, Grecielis Episcopus) Attempts have been made to assign them specific sees; others have found in them a chor-episcopate; others a non-authoritative episcopate of the Irish type. There are objections to all three and one objection germane to all. The Liber Landavensis and

Ricemarchus's Life of St. David were both products of an age of intense rivalry between Llandaff and St. David's for territory and prestige. Each diocese claimed independence for Wales and primacy for itself, and this formidable list of bishops was not invented but so interpreted as to give Dubricius the desired Status. There is no question of dependent sees. Such were only found in areas of city settlements, such as Asia Minor or Proconsular Africa (Harnack - Expansion of Christianity Vol.II pp.98 - 101) and there is no evidence at all of such a social development in Britain. If the episcopate in its development followed any precedent it would be that of Gaul, where the Capitals of the tribes became episcopal sees and the provincial capitals archiepiscopal. (Hatch Organization of the Early Christian Church 202 note) The development of Episcopacy followed the lines of civil development, which was tribal and cantonal rather than municipal; and by the time that the Church had sufficiently progressed in the West to need a complete hierarchy - the current had set very rapidly against the chor-episcopate. A number of Councils in the 4th Century passed Canons limiting the power of the Chor-episcopoi, with the result that by the time of Sozomen they were to be found only in isolated regions and among heretics (Harnack Op.cit pp.100 and 101 Note) The only instance we have of a chor-episcopate in the West is a revival in Gaul in the 8th Century A.D. but this revival was very shortlived (Hatch op.cit p.198 note) Possibly a theory of an eastern origin for the ancient British Church (via. Lyons, Marseilles, and the associations of Irenaeus with Lyons) may have led some to believe that a chor-episcopate on

the Asiatic Model may have been introduced into Britain. But whatever may have been the origin of the British Church, its development proceeded on Western and tribal and not on Eastern and municipal lines. There can therefore be no question of a chor-episcopate under Dubricius.

The suggestion that they were the Conventional Celtic type of Bishop performing episcopal functions, but enjoying no jurisdiction is due to the supposition that all Celtic Churches followed a uniform type of organisation (i.e. the Irish, Willes Bund's Celtic Church in Wales is avowedly written from this point of view). But such a generalisation is far too sweeping. Ireland possessed a Constitution in the Senchus Mor, and the relations of the High King to the Provincial Kings and the sub-reguli, and each to the others were very carefully delineated. Moreover the cultural life of Ireland, and particularly its artistic life had run in the same undisturbed channels for centuries. Ireland thus affords a distinct type of civilisation and culture, and when it applies itself to the ancient classical learning, it does so with all the manifold resources of a well stored intellectual tradition. All that it has to do, is to assimilate the objective facts of the new learning. Its native subjective life unbroken unarrested in its growth, enables it to make the best use of it, with the result, that until the coming of the Vikings, Ireland holds a position quite unchallenged in the West.

It is far otherwise with Wales. The influence of the Roman civilisation undermined that of the native culture, and the downfall of the former left the Britons with only reflections of the glories of the past. The Civil Wars of the Fifth Century resulted in the partition of the land between North British invaders, Irish Colonists, and border-land dwellers who had been in contact with the what

had been left of the ancient Romano - British mode of life. Not only was there no possibility of homogeneity, but there were three distinct types of civilisation - varying from the sub-Roman of Ariconium to the non-Roman of the Demetian Irish. Dubricius belonged by tradition and by geographical situation to the former. In addition, St. Patrick undoubtedly intended a territorial diocesan episcopate. By the time of Columba (c.550 A.D.) this had vanished and a monastic episcopate was the result. But we are not told how far this development had progressed so as to influence Archenfield by 500 A.D. Owing to lack of information, we can never fully estimate the extent of Episcopal jurisdiction in Wales and the position of Llandaff, the inheritor of the traditions of Dubricius, is doubly difficult as this area remained outside the influence of the remainder of Wales until the final conquest by England. It is therefore, impossible to decide with certainty what was the status of the disciples of Dubricius who are styled Bishops by the Liber Landavensis. All a priori considerations derived from various aspects of the episcopate fail to satisfy, and it would appear that their episcopate is only the natural result of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Archi-episcopate of Dubricius. The latter's very early date - C.500 A.D. and his geographical position within the limits of the civil provinces of Britain, together with the industrial character of the region surrounding Ross strongly suggest that these disciples were priests (and not bishops) - ministering to settled congregations corresponding to and anticipating the later parochial type.

One of his disciples - "Cinmarch" appears in connection with a church Llancinmarch near the modern town of Chepstow. (Liber Landavensis p.157 & 411). This Church was apparently

built near the Roman Road from Gloucester to Venta Silurum (Bradney - History of Monmouthshire, Caldicot Hundred Vol.IV part I page 1 & 2) Dubricius's own settlement near Ross commanded the approaches from Gloucester north of the Forest of Dean and this Church commanded the Southern Road and provided for an advance westward along the shores of the Severn. But this was the sole settlement associated with Dubricius. The Capital of the district - Venta Silurum (5 miles West) had been won over by an Irish missionary Tathiu or Tathan the master of St. Cadoc, and Dubricius had apparently withdrawn from Gwent Iscoed, leaving him in possession.

DUBRICIUS - PHASE II. - MOCCAS or MOCHROS.

After seven years Dubricius, whilst apparently continuing his work in South Herefordshire transfers his headquarters to Mochros near Kenchester. We are given no reasons for the preference. He may have been induced by family considerations. This was his native region and bore his mother's name. He may have succeeded to a share in the ancestral inheritance, but there were also sound strategical reasons for the change of base. If Dubricius was a pioneer missionary bishop (and the placing of Cinmarch on the Roman Road at Chepstow can be best understood only on such grounds whilst the prolonged occupation of the temple at Lydney Park would point to a survival of paganism well into the Fifth Century), Mochros was much to be preferred to Hentland. The Roman Road from Uiriconium to Isca ran close by affording direct communication with the South. A little to the West - around the N. end of the Black Mountains and past Langorse Lake and

Brecon lay the route to the extreme West of Wales. Hereford has always been the entrance gateway to South Wales, and Hereford is only a few miles from Mochros. Northward, over the Wye - extended the Great Road - affording yet another means of communication. The liberal support given to him in the Ross district appears to have been continued in this area. (*Liber Landavensis* 69-72. 314-320)., but the Saxon Conquest of the land between the Wye, Dore and Worm, has swept away everything but the names, and there are no means of identifying most of the settlements named. But as at Hentland, so here, Mochros was only a base. Legend may wax lyrical over the number of monks at his various monasteries, but place names associated with his disciples tell us of missionary journeys and the occupation of strategic points from Hereford to the neighbourhood of Tenby in Pembrokeshire. Llywel and Llandilo'r Fan in the Upper Valley of the Usk, owe their foundation to his disciples; Another Teulyddawc, was long commemorated at Carmarthen, his Church occupying part of the old Roman fort of Maridunum; and other grants speak of Dubricius's foundations near Tenby and in the Gower peninsula. Lloyd (*History of Wales Vol.I. p.148*) sees in him primarily a bishop who supported Monasticism, but a careful consideration of his churches and those of his disciples, suggest a man with the burning missionary zeal and also the eye for strategy of a St. Paul.

Possibly the earliest references to Dubricius are to be found in the *Life of Samson of Dol*, which claims to be a work of the seventh Century and to be based upon oral traditions contemporary with the life of the Saint vide, Taylor. *Life of St. Samson of Dol*. (S.P.C.K. Translation of Christian Literature.) It is also significant that the

Liber Landavensis prefaces its Life of St. Dubricius with an abbreviated Life of St. Samson; and it is still more significant, that both lives are left intact - without any special editing. The Liber Landavensis may be an instance of special pleading, but this is conducted with such artlessness that all its artifices can be immediately detected and without difficulty. Chapters 13 and 15 narrate Samson's ordination to the diaconate and the priesthood by Dubricius (Chapters 20 & 21), Samson's quitting the Monastery of Eltut (or Illtyd) for that of Piro (Chapters 33-36) Samson's succession to Piro as Abbot, on the latter's death, with the approval of Dubricius, who apparently was the Superior of the Monastery. The question of the site of Piro's Monastery is a very important one, to be more fully discussed when dealing with St. Illtyd.; but the following consideration is necessary here. The Life of St. Samson Ch.20 (Taylor op. cit p.26) reads "Now there was not far from this monastery a certain island recently inhabited by one, an eminent man and holy priest, Piro by name". The Welsh name for Caldey Island off Tenby in Pembrokeshire is Ynys Pyr - Pyr's Island. On the Main land, near by is Manor-bier - in Welsh Maenor Pyr - Pyr's Manor - still more celebrated as the home of Giraldus Cambrensis. There is no other island so named near the Welsh Coasts. In addition, Dubricius is also mentioned in the Liber Landavensis as possessing Penally to the North of Tenby (Lib-Land 73 & 321). It is true that in the grant Dubricius is described as Archbishop and the King mentioned is Noe ab Arthur - a seventh Century Monarch, but these anachronisms need not militate against the truth of tradition that Dubricius had a settlement at Penally (at Penn Alun, as it is there spelt.) One might as well doubt the truth of the Scriptural Scenes depicted by the Italian

artists of the 14th 15th and 16th Centuries A.D. because the Apostles and others are depicted in clothes, dresses and other circumstances of that era. (vide. also Baring Gould and Fisher op. cit. Vol. II pp 370 & 371) We have then records of a chain of Settlements by Dubricius and his admitted disciples from Southern Herefordshire by way of the Usk and Towy Valleys to Caldey (Lib. Land p.351 & note; the last three names are obviously impossible - but the others appear genuine).

One other name demands detailed treatment - that of Paulinus, St. David's master in the "Insula Winndi Lantguendi" of the better manuscripts. His dedications are found in Llangors near Brecon, and a chapelry at Rhandirmwyn - in the Towy Valley, above Llandovery. A few miles West of the same town (Llandovery) and in the Cothi Valley, an old inscribed stone bearing the name of Paulinus was found. The inscription read as follows - Servator fidei patrieque semper Amator - Hic Paulinus iacit - Cultor pientissimus aequi.

The field in which the stone was found, was called Pant-y-polion, which could easily have been corrupted from Pant-Polin or Peulin - Paulinus's Hollow (vide. Baring Gould & Fisher op. cit II. 72-75). Ricemarchus's Life of St. David C.10. calls Paulinus a disciple of St. Germanus, which is very improbable. The old hagiologists simply could not keep Germanus out of their legends. Probably for the reason that St. Patrick could boast of a connection with him, every other Saint must perforce be linked up. Nennius associated him with North Wales. Illtyd is a disciple, so is Dubricius in some legends, and here Paulinus. But a case can be made out for Paulinus's being

associated with Dubricius. Llangors lay on the easiest route from Mochros to Caldey; and just as Gurmaet was settled at Llandilo'r Fân and Llywel at Llywel, both in the Upper Valley of the Usk, so Paulinus could have been stationed at Llangors. This apparently was his earliest settlement for the Legend of St. David finds him an old man in the regions West of the Towy. His chapelry above Llandovery and his tombstone at Caio, place him in the most important strategic point in West Wales. The latter position was the Seat of the Gold mining operations in S. Wales in Roman times, and in Norman times, whoever held Llandovery held the mastery in S. Wales. From it extended the roads to Carmarthen and the South, to Brecon and the East, to the Teivy Valley and the N. West. A few miles South lay Dinevor (to give it its English spelling) the capital of the Welsh Kingdom of the South. Paulinus's association with this district again indicates a master mind, alive to the strategic considerations of the day; and when we remember that Llywel is only about 15 miles east, and Carmarthen about a similar distance south, and that both contained churches or settlements of Dubricius's disciples, it is hard to resist the conclusion that here again in the case of Paulinus - we have yet another instance of the bishop's vision and jurisdiction.

No discussion of Dubricius would be complete without considering the question of his connections with Brecknock. Two disciples were settled in the upper Usk Valley: If we are to regard Paulinus as a disciple his church near Llangors Lake makes a third. Had he any further relations with the district ? The Brychan legends are so vague and confused that Brychan is either given too early a date or summarily

dismissed as being altogether mythical. But a comparison of pedigrees (the descent of his grandson Cadoc from Brychan and also from Catell Durnluc) would place Brychan's youth C.470 & 480, and this date would accord with his being sent as a hostage to Powy's, during the wars of Cunedda's invasion. It is noticeable that Brychan himself has no dedications even in Brecknock whilst his son Cynog and his grandsons Cadoc, Cynidr are largely represented. So that there is a decided gap between the youth of Brychan and what we may call the "organisation of religion" in Brecknock. Cadoc was education-by Irish missionaries and in Ireland, he does not enter into the question, but the others do. Cynog is represented at an extinct Llangunnock - in the Parish of Llangarren in Southern Archenfield, Cynidr is also represented in Kenderchurch, at the confluence of the Worn and the Dore in the same district, and also at Winforton on the North Bank of the Wye, near Clifford, and not far from Dubricius's late headquarters at Mochres (or Moccas). This association of Cynog and Cynidr with Archenfield where the influence of Dubricius was supreme, most distinctly suggests that the family of Brychan owed its religious fame entirely to the bishop and not to their Ancestor. If he were already in possession of Churches in their land and were supreme on their Eastern border, then his attraction for the young scions of the dominant family become quite intelligible. How better could he win the region for the faith than by influencing them? There is no documentary proof in favour of such a connection, but the perusal of a map of Herefordshire and Breconshire will reveal, as nothing else could possibly reveal, the significance of the nearness of the Churches dedicated to the various Saints. Cynog's churches are as follows :- Merthyr Cynog (between Builth and Brecon)

where he is buried. Devynock in the Usk Valley, Fenderin in the Neath Valley; Ystradgynlais near Swansea; Battle & Llangynog, near Brecon; Boughrood in Radnor. Llangynog in Montgomery. Llangunnoch (extinct) in Archenfield and another in Monmouthshire (see Baring Gould & Fisher II. 264-271). Cynidr is the Patron Saint of Kenderchurch in Archenfield; a hermitage on the Wye at Winforton; Glasbury on the Wye (under the Norther Spur of the Black Mountains) where he is buried); Llangynidr near Crickhowell; Aberyscir; (the site of the Roman fort, two miles above Brecon); Cantreff near Brecon and Llanywern near Llangors Lake (See Baring Gould & Fisher II. 258-261) Other descendants of Brychan are found among the dedications of this district, but Cynog, Cynidr and Cadoc are the most important, and the association of the two first named with Archenfield strongly suggests Dubricius as the first religious influence in the Upper Usk Valley, it would appear that the Usk Valley acknowledged his jurisdiction as well as Herefordshire and the West.

Much labour and time have been expended in denying any connection of Dubricius with Llandaff. There is no need to dwell on the question. If we may anticipate a subsequent discussion - this connection is due to the idea that the Llantwit Major in Glamorgan in the settlement of Illtyd mentioned in the lives of Samson, Gildas and Paul Aurelian, Dubricius had a monastery near this Monastery. If Illtyd was settled at Llantwit, therefore Dubricius must be placed at Llandaff. The difficulty is felt by those who would repudiate any connection of Dubricius with Llandaff Lloyd (History of Wales I. p.144. Note 100. -- Piro's Monastery "Non longe" from Llantwit Major - if non longe

were taken loosely as a traveller's casual estimate")
Dubricius's legends place him and his disciples no nearer Llandaff than Chepstow on the East and Gower on the West. He is found exactly where we should expect to find him, on the borders of the Romanised portion of Britain, pushing into Wales, in the only part of the borders where there was no warfare. As has been already observed, only in the Usk Valley was there peace, only in the extreme South West - in Pembrokeshire, do the legends discover a flourishing Christianity in Wales at such an early date - flourishing principally because here alone there was no inter-racial warfare. Dubricius appears as Bishop of no specific see, only as the Bishop, as the pioneer Bishop linking up the Irish Christianity of Demetia, with the British Christianity of Ariconium. We have no record of any dates in connection with his life. He is reported to have resigned from the Bishopric, which can be taken to imply, that he retired from the oversight of the Christianity of Mid and Western South Wales; that he no longer performed any episcopal functions, and he spent his last years in Bardsey, which is generally regarded as the island in the West to which he retired. In view of the discoveries of Dr. Hugh Williams (Christianity in Earlier Britain - and Gildas) it seems strange that this island should not have been Caldey or a neighbouring island off the Coast of Pembrokeshire. His retirement is generally considered to have taken place in 546 - principally because Teilo (who is regarded as having succeeded to his influence and episcopal position) is stated to have fled to Brittany from the Great Plague, soon after his consecration.

Further considerations of the disciples of Dubricius will appear when we discuss Teilo. Meanwhile, Illtyd and his followers call for discussion.

ST. ILLTYD.

For the particulars of St. Illtyd's life see Baring Gould & Fisher Vol. III. pp. 303 - 317. The best life extant is a combination of the oral tradition with excerpts from the life of St. Samson of Dol and St. Cadoc of Llancarfan and it was probably compiled about 1107. Illtyd is portrayed as a Breton Knight who served first under Arthur and next under Poulens, the King of Penychan (East Glamorgan). A chance meeting with St. Cadoc led to his retiring from the world, and he finally took up his abode at Llantwit Major. All the various theories at work in the growth of the Welsh Legends are seen in the narrative of the Life of Illtyd. Some documents make St. Germanus of Auxerre settle him in his Monastery. Baring Gould & Fisher bring in "Germanus the Armorican", to evade the Anachronisms involved by the inclusion of the Saint of Auxerre. The Liber Landavensis makes Dubricius his superior. The Life of Cadoc makes Cadoc the inspiration of Illtyd's resolve to quit the world. But all these with one accord assume that Illtyd's first settlement was in Glamorgan and even so acute a scholar as J.E. Lloyd (History of Wales) follows them. It is on this supposition that the Life of St. Cadoc makes its claim. Cadoc was a nephew of all the ruling chieftains who divided Glamorgan among them and his influence would have told with his kinsmen. But, most unfortunately for the above sources, others, older by centuries, all agree in placing St. Illtyd in a different part of the Country.

Dr. Hugh Williams in his Christianity in Early Britain pp. 316 - 331 and in his Edition of Gildas (including De Excidio and the two lives of Gildas together with other fragments ascribed to him) pp. 317-321 (Introduction to the

Life of Gildas by the Monk of Ruys) and the Notes on pp.326 and 7 and pp.332 - 4., has proved conclusively that the first monastery of Illtyd must be sought for near Tenby if not on the isle of Caldey. The four lives of the Breton Tradition i.e. the lives of Samson of Dol (written in the middle of the 7th Century), of Paul Aurelian of Leon (written C.884), of Maclovius (written C.870) and of Gildas (possibly written C.884 from the similarity of its style to that of Paul Aurelian), all mention Illtyd, inasmuch as the subjects of the Lives were all educated by him. The Life of St, Paul of Leon describes it "erat autem quaedam insula Purus nomine Demetiarum patriae in finibus sita" quoted in Williams, Christianity in Early Britain p.323. The Life of Samson. Chapter XX (Taylor ed. SPCK p.26)"Not far from this monastery a certain island recently inhabited by one Piro by name". The fact that the Breton Evidence (for the above four lives were all written in Brittany) is at least two Centuries earlier than the Welsh and that it is in substantial agreement, is in itself a weighty consideration. The Life of St.Samson gives Dubricius a settlement near at hand. The Liber Landavensis agrees in placing him at Penally, while the Life of Samson actually places him on Caldey itself. It was the necessity for placing Dubricius near Illtyd, that led the hagiologists to identify him with Llandaff, or even with Caerleon. But the Breton testimony is by far the simpler and more conclusive. If Illtyd and Dubricius and Piro are all settled near Tenby, all the objections vanish. If Illtyd had been a "Knight" as his Welsh title implies - A warrior and desired to flee the world and find peace, it was only in Pembrokeshire he could find it. There, the land had been left undisturbed,

and if the legends of Brynach and Erioc can be trusted, the Christian religion flourished. Gildas furnishes yet further corroborative evidence. The third of the Kings mentioned by him is Vortepor - tyrant of the Demetae (De Excidio C.31 Williams's Edition pp.72 & 73) and he is thus described "Canescente iam capite boni regis nequam filii". The note to page 72 gives his father's name as Aircol (the pedigree is included in the Harleian Manuscript 3859 and published along with the others in Y Cymmrodor IX 171). Gildas, writing in 544 A.D. described Vortipor as already growing old ("canescente iam capite ne consumas dierum quod reliquum est") and describes his father as "boni regis". The King who must have been the supporter of Dubricius and Iltyd could suitably have been described as "boni regis". The contrast between father and son could have been so forcibly brought out, only by one who must have known both, and Gildas must have spent his early days in Demetia - as he would have done with Iltyd's monastery having been placed at Caldey. In addition, there is the problem of the Breton dedications - Llanwnda (Gwyndaf) near Fishguard, Llanhowell near St. David's, Llangan near Whitland, Llandndyrnin, near Langharne; they all demand a great settlement near at hand. The fact of Teilo's birth in the neighbourhood and that so many dedications of his clan are to be found in South Eastern Pembrokeshire, can be satisfactorily explained only on the grounds of there having been such a religious centre as Iltyd's. The more the matter is considered, the more conclusive does Dr. Hugh Williams's evidence and reasoning appear, that the first Llantwit Major - the first school and Monastery of Iltyd - must have been established in Pembrokeshire, at or near Caldey, and not as has been hitherto supposed in

Glamorganshire. We have no records to prove the origin of Illtyd's settlement, nor the name of his ecclesiastical superior. He and Dubricius appear in the Life of St. Samson as more or less, collateral powers, and Dubricius is called in whenever ordinations are necessary. There is no suggestion of a subsequent Irish custom - an abbot having in his monastery bishops to ordain at his pleasure. The Breton lives also emphasise the educational side of the monastic life. Dr. Williams rightly states (p.325) "From this small island of Caldy or Ynys Pyr, during a period that might comprise about ten years before and after A.D.520, power and light as from a British Lerins went forth. We need not regard Illtyd as the first Abbot or teacher, yet his significance is marked by the fact that a new epoch certainly begins with him and the monks who came from his monastery." His associations with Dubricius are illustrated by neighbouring foundations in Gower, where Ilston (Illtyd's foundation) is found in close proximity to Pennard (an old foundation which the Liber Landavensis ascribes to Dubricius); and also in Breconshire where Llanilltyd and Llanhamlach occur between Brecon and Crickhowell. Baring Gould and Fisher II.p.317 give 527-537 as the approximate period of his death.

His most celebrated disciples all emigrated to Brittany. Taylor (Life of St. Samson p.XI) gives 486 as the date of St.Samson's birth. 491 as the date of his being brought to Illtyd and 521 as the date of his consecration (because he was consecrated on the Feast of the Chair of St.Peter (Feb.22nd) on a Sunday early in Lent) and these three coincided only in 521) and soon after his consecration he sailed for Brittany.

St. Paul Aurelian (Baring Gould & Fisher IV 75-86) apparently belonged to the Romano-British element, some would connect him with the family of the great Ambrosius Aurelius. He also found his way to Illtyd's monastery and also to Brittany..

Gildas - the son of a chief in Strathclyde - in modern Renfrew but who is also associated with Anglesey - likewise was educated under Illtyd, and, like his fellow pupils, emigrated to Brittany. Baring Gould & Fisher (III p.125 & 6) and also Williams, both reject the statement of his biographer, that he went to Brittany in his thirtieth year, the former places his birth in 476 and his journey to Rhuis in 534. Williams follows Mommsen - in giving 500 as his birth, but he fixes his emigration some time after 544. The De Excidio was written in Britain (Gildas p.347 Note). It would thus appear that Illtyd's work was all in vain, so far as Wales was concerned, if his favourite disciples all forsook Wales for Brittany ... The next section however, will seek to prove that his work achieves its purpose and that the principal instrument of its success was none other than that most unpromising of disciples, the renegade monk - Maglocunus himself.

NOTE. Mention has been made of Vortipor and his father, the bonus rex and nequam filius of Gildas - in support of the contention that Samson's education must have been received in Pembrokeshire and not in Glamorganshire. This argument can be elaborated here Gildas mentions five Kings for castigation. Constantine of Damnonia, Aurelius Caninus (possibly a descendant of the great Ambrosius and if so, King of the regions beyond the Severn - Gloucester & Wilts) Vortipor of Demetia - Cuneglasus of the regions between the Conway and the Clwyd, and Maglocunus himself.

It seems strange - that if Illtyd's monastery had been settled in Glamorgan that the uncles of Cadoc should not have been mentioned, for the late biographies of Illtyd and Cadoc all describe them as being typical of their age. The fact that they are omitted and that Vortipor of Demetia is included, in terms indicating such a contrast between him and his father both of whom were apparently known to the writer, constitutes a very strong argument in support of Dr. Williams's case in favour of a Pembrokeshire "Llantwit Major" (See Gildas De Excidio 28.37 Williams "Christianity in Early Britain 344-6. Lloyd History of Wales I.128 - 133.

MAGLOCUNUS KING of VINEDOTIA or Maelgwn Gwynedd.

If Illtyd marks the first stage in the ecclesiastical expansion of Wales in one aspect, as Dubricius does in the other, then the reign of Maglocunus must be admitted as marking the second stage. Maglocunus himself in all probability had been educated under Illtyd (De Excidio Chapter 36 p.82 & 83. Sed Monita tibi profecto non desunt, tum habueres praeceptorem paene totius Britanniae magistrum elegantem. note p.83. "This teacher is generally regarded to be Illtyd; who is not named owing to his pre-eminence and from the feeling of reverence on the part of the writer." Williams 'Gildas' p.83). The Monk of Rhuis in his life of Gildas states: In the school of the above mentioned teacher Hildutus a great number of the sons of the Nobles were taught. (In schola igitur supra dicti doctoris Hilduti erudiebantur plurimi nobilium filii. Williams 'Gildas' p.328 & 9). It by no means follows that even most of these became Monks. Maglocunus became a monk, much later in life. He first established himself in power, at the expense of an uncle, over whom he gained a victory quite unexpected by his contemporaries. He also married & then in a fit of remorse at the results of his conquests sought the monastic life. (Spernuntur namque primae post monachi votum inritum illicitae licet tamen propriae coniugis praesumptivae nuptiae ... For contempt is thrown upon thy first marriage though after thy violated vow as a monk it was illicit. De Excidio c.35 Williams Gildas pp.80 & 81. De deifico..popularis aurae cognitioni proferens monachum sine ullo infidelitatis.... perpetuo vovisti. - Bringing (them) forward to the knowledge of open publicity, didst thou not vow thyself for

ever a monk? Without any thought of unfaithfulness.....

De Excidio c.34 Williams Edition p.78 & 79). We are not told how long he remained a monk; nor whose community he joined. Only that he left it to return to his former mode of life (O quanta ecclesiae matri laetitia se non te cunctorum mortalium hostis de sinu quodammodo eius lugubriter abstraxisset foret O quantam exultationem pio omnium Patri Deo sanctorum tua salus praestanda servaret, si non te cunctorum perditorum infaustus pater.... daemon, infelici filiorum suorum agmini contra ius fasque rapuisset (De Excidio c.34)...sensus... fervidus ac si pullus, amoens quaeque imperagrate putans per extensos scelerum campos irrevocabili furore raptatur augendo priscis nova periculis. (De Excidio C.35) (What gladness would there have been for thy mother the Church if the enemy of all mankind had not disastrously dragged thee off in a way from her bosom What joy thy salvation, if secured, had furnished the Gracious God and Father of all the Saints had not the wretched father of all the lost the devil, I mean, against every right, snatched thee away, to the unhappy troop of his children....., they mind.. impetuous like a young colt, which imagining every pleasant place as not traversed, rushes along with unbridled fury, over wide fields of crimes, heaping new sins upon old. Williams Gildas pp.78-81)

These passages were written in 544 & Maglocunus's reign terminated with his death during the Great Plague of 547. We have no evidence as to the duration of his reign. If the Computation in the Historia Brittonum c.62 is correct, that the Invasion of Cuneda took place 146 years before Maglocunus's reign - & if this invasion is to be regarded as either approximately contemporaneous with the departure of the Northern Garrisons under Maximus, or as to be

identified with it, then Maglocunus may be regarded as reigning in 529; or even before that year. It is evident that he had an appalling career of sin, upon which to reflect. But if he was profusior in peccato, he was also largior in dando(c.31) and we may safely assume that this lavish generosity was displayed with all the force of his tempestuous personality. If the Sinners were now the recipients, there had been a time when the Saints had participated; and there are evidences in the Counties of Anglesey, Carnarvon, and Merioneth that for a time at least the royal bounty had been most extensively employed in the interests of religion.

Maglocunus' life can very roughly be divided into four divisions of unascertainable length. Education under Illtyd - first reigning period and marriage - monastic life - and final reigning period and death. It will not strain the argument unduly if we regard the third period (and possibly part of the second and of the fourth) as that during which the Church gained its influential position in Venedotia. There are only three dedications linking Maglocunus with the South. At the head of the Barmouth Estuary in Merioneth there is a Church dedicated to Illtyd. At the Western entrance to the Menai Straits, in Carnarvonshire there is a Church dedicated to Gwyndaf, Illtyd's brother. It is called Llanwnda -- the other Llanwnda is near Goodwick in Pembrokeshire. (see Baring Gould & Fisher III 228). Another brother of Illtyd - Sadwrn - is Commemorated near Llandovery and also in Anglesey near Beaumaris - the Church in each case being called Llansadwrn.

But the most noteworthy feature of Maglocunus's reign lies in the arrival of the second wave of Breton

immigrants - headed by Cadfan of Towyn in Merioneth and Bardsey Island. The three solitary foundations of Illtyd and his two brothers would suggest some attempt at a Settlement from the Southern Llanilltyd and the fact that they are so evenly distributed in Maglocunus's territories would support that idea; but, the accounts given of Illtyd's monastery in the Breton lives give no indication of a colony of sufficient size to undertake such an expansion. The Breton migration of Cadfan, especially as he appears to have been some connection of Illtyd, would please Maglocunus and at the same time release Illtyd from the responsibilities of a too great development. The heads of the emigrants are given as Cadfan - Tydecho his nephew, Padarn and a fourth called variously Hetinlau & Tinlatu, identified by some with Cunllo - who shares with Padarn the ecclesiastical predominance in N.E. Radnor, and who is also found in South Cardiganshire. (Baring Gould & Fisher vol. II 1-9 & IV 39-51.)

It would materially assist our study if a date could be fixed for this migration - but it is practically impossible to do so. A conjecture found in Baring Gould & Fisher IV pp.46 & 47 may render some assistance - but it is based on an interpretation of an obscure passage in the Second Life of St. Samson of Dol to which this work possibly pays an undue attention (Baring Gould & Fisher IV pp.131-136). The life of St. Padarn (op cit IV p.42) mentions a summons by Samson of Dol, acting as Metropolitan of Brittany to Padarn who responded so promptly - (half clothed and half shod) that as a reward his foundations were excused the dues to which they were liable. There are several anachronisms here .. notably the Suzerain position of Dol, and the suffragan position of Padarn

to him. The whole story may well have arisen in the attempt of Vannes to with-stand the growing pretensions of Dol. Baring Gould & Fisher interpret the incident thus .. Samson on his journey from Pembrokeshire to Brittany after his consecration, passes through Cornwall and comes to the district of Callington on the West bank of the Tamar. Padarn had already left Brittany and was settled at Petherwyn when he heard of Samson's arrival; he hastened to meet him in the condition described. A footnote to page 47 refers to a similar haste on the part of St. David when St. Aedan of Ferns was supposed to be in danger.

According to Samson's "vita prima" he proceeded directly through Cornwall to Brittany; but according to the "vita secunda" (Baring Gould & Fisher IV p.159) he tarried in Cornwall founding Churches until he heard of St. Illtyd's death which took place at any time between 527 and 537 when he finally set sail for Brittany. If the first life is correct, then Padarn's journey to Britain took place some time after 521 (the date given by Taylor Life of St. Samson p.XI). If the second is correct then it may be prolonged until 537. The first date suits the incident better, just as the first life would be less open to the charge of re-editing. Such a welcome as was given to Padarn's Companions in Maglocunus's domains could only have been given before the latter's quarrel with the monks. An approximate date between 521 and 530 would suit the incident much better (B.G. & F. IV 48 places the incident between 525 and 545).

If Samson's Vita Secunda is correct in its statement of Samson's stay in Eastern Cornwall, (and it affords an explanation of the numerous Samson dedications in that

region), and if also the conjecture of Baring Gould & Fisher (IV p.47) as to the meeting of Samson & Padarn in this district is correct - (and this in turn explains the connection of Padarn with Petherwyn) - then another conjecture of Baring Gould & Fisher (Vol.II p.4) gains in credibility as to the expulsion of the clan of Illtyd from Brittany during a period of Civil Wars. But the chronology of Baring Gould & Fisher cannot always be accepted. The Padarn legends (IV pp.40 & 88) state that Padarn's father Pedrwn had left Brittany soon after his son's birth, and that the son went in search for his father. It is certainly significant that the district in Cornwall associated with Padarn is called Petherwyn, and the resemblance between this and Pedrwn is suggestive. The placing of the incident near Plymouth would point to the existence of a Breton Colony in that district.

The Legends of St. Cybi and those of the family of Caradog Freichfras (for him see also Lloyd History of Wales last eight lines on p.90) also speak of an emigration from this district. Cybi was born here (between Lynher and Tamar) and was first cousin to the Constantine of Dammonia of Gildas's invective (De Excidio c.28). The account given of Constantine's murders and perjury make it abundantly clear why any near relative of his would choose exile. Cybi apparently travels via Somerset, Monmouth (where he founds Churches near the modern town of Usk) and Cardiganshire to Ireland. He remains with Enda on the Isle of Arran for four years and returns to North Wales by way of Meath and North Leinster. After settling first in Llangybi near Portmadoc in Carnarvonshire he is finally given the old Irish fortress on Holy Island off Anglesey (above Holyhead) where he spends his remaining years.

Caradog Freichfras is described in Baring Gould & Elsher IV p.47 as "Lord of Celliwig, a principality in Cornwall between the Lynher and the Tamar of which the town of Callington and the Manor of Kelliland are the modern shrunken representatives but which formerly probably extended over the Bodmin Moors". It seems strange that he should have been described as the Lord of Celliwig and that Cybi a near relation of the Kings of Dammonia should have been born there, but there is no incompatibility involved. According to Celtic Tribal Custom, the King had his own Manor in every Lordship, or tribal division, and the custom of fosterage may have been in existence even at this early period. The astonishing thing is that the clan of Caradog Freichfras appears in Wales and his four sons are given Churches in the neighbourhood of foundations of Cadfan and Cybi. Cadfarch appears at Penegoes in the Dovey Valley in a region where churches of Cadfan and his nephew Tydecho predominate; two other sons appear in Llangoed near Beaumaris with Breton and Cornish (Iestyn, Cybi's uncle) foundations as the neighbouring churches; and the fourth son Maethlu-is found in N.W. Anglesey, opposite Cybi's Settlement of Holyhead.

We need not swallow all the contents of the legends, but from the associations of Padarn, Cybi, Cadfan and his Comrades and the clan of Caradog Freichfras, the evidence seems irresistible that the ambitions of Constantine of Dammonia and prompted a considerable emigration from Eastern Cornwall about 530 A.D. and the fact that they were welcomed in N. Wales points to the third period of the reign of Maglocunus.

Towyn (in Merioneth) appears as their first headquarters and from there they made their way in various directions. Cadfan is commemorated in Towyn and

Llangadfan in Montgomeryshire: Tydecho in Mallwyd and Llanymawddwy in the Upper Dovey Valley and in Gathbeibio in Montgomeryshire; Ust and Dyffnig at Llanwrin near Machynlleth in the Dovey Valley. Llonio at Llandinam in the Upper Severn Valley. Padarn seems to have departed to the neighbouring region of Cardigan and from his settlement at Llanbadarn Fawr near Aberystwyth to have pushed into N.Radnorshire, where numerous foundations bear to his name. Llangurig at the head of the Upper Wye possibly commemorates another Breton (the dedication has certainly Breton associations) and if Cynllo is to be identified with the Hetinlau or Tinlatu, then the other Churches in N.Radnor would point to further Breton influence (The article on Cynllo in B.G. & F. III 263 refers to the uncertainty as to Cynllo's family connections, while B.G. & F. IV 44 suggests a possibility that Cynllo and Hetinlau and Tinlatu are the same person).

Some time after the founding of Towyn in Merioneth Cadfan was given the Isle of Bardsey by Einion Frenin, a brother of the Cuneglasus of Gildas's De Excidio c.32 (B.G. & F. II p. 422 & 3) and a regulus in Lleyn (the peninsula in W. Carnarvon). The fact that he founded the Church of Llanengan, would point to his having embraced the Monastic Life; another brother was Seiriol of Penmon whose settlement in Eastern Anglesey and on Puffin Island was one of the most prominent in N. Wales. Yet another brother, Meirion of Criccieth appears among the Celtic Saints of the time. Just as the Bretons had pushed from Towyn over the great Watershed into the Upper Valleys of the rivers of the Severn and Wye Basins, so from Bardsey they pushed forward along the coasts of N. Wales into the regions held by Maglocunus himself, Anglesey and Carnarvon and the promontory of the Great Orme. Wade Evans (Archaeologia, Cambrensis 1918 pages 80.88)

draws attention to a remarkable fact that the regions of Rhuvonlog and Duffryn Clwyd (i.e. the Basin of the Clwyd and its tributaries in N. Denbighshire) contain no religious foundations of this period. Their ruler probably was Gildas's antagonist, the redoubtable Cuneglasus "The despiser of God and trampler down of his clergy".

Padarn not only penetrated Eastward but Southward. He has left his name in Llanbadarn Odwyn a few miles N. of Lampeter and in Llanbadarn Trefeglwys near Aberayron on the Coast; and disciples have left their names in Llanrhystyd on the coast 9 miles S. of Aberystwyth and in Llanwnnws near Strata Florida.

Thus the reign of Maglocunus is significant and important for the expansion of what may be rightly termed the Breton Mission. His sympathy, his influence, his own liberality (largior in dando) must have been in active evidence, during the third period of his life; for such a development would have been impossible without Court favour. The fact that three of his cousins played an important part would almost suggest a royal example such as we have recorded in the pages of Gildas

The glories of the reign are not confined to Breton and Cornish visitors - two of the clans of Anglesey provide dedications - one of them the two most important foundations in N. Wales. The clan of Gildas and that of Deiniol who founded the two Bangors. Bangor in Caernarvonshire and the Bangor Iscoed near Chester, whose monk's massacre during the Battle of Chester is so graphically described by Bede and sung by Sir Walter Scott.

The exact position of the clan of Gildas is one of great obscurity. His father Caw (wrongly attached to the family of Constantine of Cornwall in B.G. & F. I 94) is mentioned in the Life of Gildas by the Monk of Rhuis

(Williams, Gildas 322-389) as being a chief of Areoluta the Southern shore of the Clyde Estuary. As the father is not mentioned it is quite possible that the conjecture in B.G. & F. II p. 23 is correct that Caw - Gildas's father had died in the North. Again, it is also possible that part of the clan had assisted in the conquest of Anglesey by Maglocunus's father and had settled there. One of the brothers - Maelog, had apparently attached himself to Cybi of Holyhead, his Church, Llanfaelog, is in close proximity; but the other foundations, are in the Eastern half of Anglesey and with one exception in the North East. Gildas, although the best known of the Celtic ecclesiastics contributed directly nothing to the development of the Celtic Church in Wales. His influence was more felt in Anglesey and even in Ireland. His brothers and sister are all comparatively obscure, and as this study is concerned with the development of the Celtic Church, and not with the fortunes of individual saints, any further consideration of them is unnecessary.

It is otherwise with the clan of Deiniol. His father Pabo is commemorated in Llanbabo in Anglesey, he himself founded the Episcopal Bangor in Carnarvon and Bangor Iscoed - near Chester - and a cousin Asaph is commemorated in the other Episcopal see in North Wales. Very little is known of the Life of Deiniol and B.G. & F. II pp. 325-331 contains all the matter respecting him. But the chronology is absolutely impossible.

1. His Mother's name is Dwywae daughter of Lleenog.

Her brother Gwallog is reckoned among the Heroes of North Britain in Nennius c. 62 (see also Lloyd, History of Wales p. 164). He would according to this reckoning flourish about 584-592, and his nephew Deiniol would be a generation later.

- (2) His grandfather Pabo is mentioned as having lost all in North Britain and having been welcomed in Wales by Cyngen ap Catell Durnluc (the son of C.D.) whose son Brochwel is said to have married Arddun - Pabo's daughter and Deiniol's Aunt.

Cyngen is not Catell's son according to the Genealogies in Harleian MSS.3859 but his great-great-grandson; Moreover, this article overlooks the Conquest of Anglesey by Cadwallon - Maglocunus's father, which could easily have been accomplished with the help of allies, dispossessed and otherwise from North Britain. This association with Brochwel would bring Deiniol down to the extreme end of the Sixth Century. The North British flight of 550 has been confused with the emigration of three generations previous.

- (3) He is made to found Bangor Iscoed first and then the other Bangor - this will be dealt with later.
- (4) The associations of Deiniol mentioned in the Liber Landavensis may be summarily dismissed as 12th Century fictions.

In opposition to the above mentioned Chronology

- (1) The Annales Cambriae (Harleian MS. 3859 printed in Cymmador IV 1888) mentions under the year corresponding to 584 A.D. Dispositio Danielis Bancorum.
- (2) The Irish Bangor (in County Down) was founded in 558 (note on p.207 of Huyshe's edition of Adamnan's Life of Columba). J.E.Lloyd (History of Wales p.193) accepts the view that the original Bangor was the Carnarvonshire Bangor and that the other Bangors were named after it, including the Irish

Bangor which is here also set down as having been founded in 558. The Annals of Ulster record - under 631 (634) the burning of "The Bennchor Moer in Britannia". The Carnarvonshire Bangor is always known amongst Welshmen as "Bangor Fawr yr Arfon". If J.E. Lloyd is correct then the "Great Bangor" on the Menai Straits, must have been founded before 558 and the Bangor near Chester must have been founded later. The view that this last Bangor was founded by Deiniol's father - a Dunawd (Donatus) is strenuously combatted by Lloyd (loc.cit) and Williams Christianity in Early Britain p.272. Lloyd indeed maintains that Dunawd was a mighty warrior and no saint. A further argument for the founding of the Carnarvonshire Bangor before the Chester will be discussed under the consideration of a new orientation of British policy after 550 A.D. and will be illustrated by the later general eastward trend of the dedications. If the above observations are correct, that the Carnarvonshire Bangor is the earliest of all and was founded before 558, then the most likely date of all is somewhere in the reign of Maglocunus and not distant from the time when Bardsey was founded, and Holyhead and Penmon. Bearing in mind the proximity of the royal vill of Aber, it may well be that Maglocunus himself founded it and set Deiniol over it. We have no evidence for or against such a theory and it must always remain, no more than a conjecture, but its early predominance lends an attractiveness to the theory, which it otherwise would not have gained. Respecting the foundation of Bangor iscoed, the mere fact that Deiniol is called in the Annales Cambriae Danielis Bancorum (plural) suggests him as the founder of both. Lloyd (p.193 and B.G. & F.II p.329 both admit that Marchwiel and Worthenbury, ancient chapelries of Bangor iscoed, are dedicted to Deiniol which is further contributory evidence.

We have no evidence as to Deiniol's education. The only really unmistakable dedication in S. Wales is Llanddeiniol in Cardiganshire near Aberystwyth in the heart of Padarn's Country. But it would not be safe to build anything on this foundation. Again bearing in mind, the words of Gildas to Maglocunus that he had had as his Master the most refined teacher of all Britain it might be possible to deduce that Deiniol had been Maglocunus's fellow pupil at Illtyd's Monastery and that he had an influence over him which Gildas lacked. Any such theory would lack corroborative evidence. The farthest we can go is, to the extent of admitting that the reign of Maglocunus was a vitally important one for the development of the Church. It was during his reign that Illtyd and his Breton compatriots were allowed to enter N. Wales and to found their settlements with royal sympathy and support; Cybi expelled from Ireland likewise found a resting place; and Seiriol of the Royal tribe and Deiniol were able also to have their own Monasteries. The work which Illtyd had begun in the most insignificant way in an obscure corner of Pembrokeshire was bidding fair to assume the largest proportions possible to it in Wales.

THE DEVELOPMENT in the SOUTH EAST.

Reference has been made in dealing with Dubricius's work from Hentland near Ross as a centre, to his having settled a disciple named Cinmarch at Llanccinmarch near Chepstow; and that for some reason, no other settlements were made in this part of South Wales - probably because the principal City in this region, Caerwent, had been gained by an Irish Missionary Tathiu or Tathan.

His legend as given in B.G. & F. IV 211-214, only records his coming from Ireland with eight disciples and crossing over to Britain, landing on the coast of Gwent. The King of Upper and Lower Gwent - Caradog - came to him in person and besought him to found a Monastic School in his capital the ancient Venta Silurum - Caerwent, and on his consenting gave him a plot of land extending from the Roman Road at the East gate to the Neddern River, south of the City. The present Vicarage with its Glebe (at any rate until the disendowment of the Welsh Church in 1920) correspond exactly with the delimitation of lands in the Vita and in the orchard were found a number of graves, one of them being of a person buried in a stone coffin. On the supposition that this was the body of St. Tathan - it was reburied in the aisle of the Parish Church and a stone with a Latin inscription placed over it.

Some time afterwards King Caradog abandoned the City and presented it to the Saint for a "perpetual inheritance". The Saint's best known pupils were the children of the Chief of the neighbouring district (- to the west of the Usk), Gwynllyw - whose province lay between the Usk and the Rhymney. His raids across the Usk into Gwent proper brought him into contact with Tathan, who remonstrated strongly with him, and eventually took away with him Gwynllyw's son, Cadoc to be educated. Late MSS. also include a sister of Cadoc - named Machuta or Maches who is commemorated at Llanvaches near Caerwent.

St. Cadoc is one of the greatest of the Welsh Saints and represents the Irish influence on the early Welsh Church in its farthest degree. He was educated in an Irish settlement and spent some years in Ireland. The only other prominent Welsh Saint to visit an Irish Monastery was St. Cybi of Holyhead, who was with Erida at Arran

for four years - but he was a Cornishman and had spent his earliest years in a district where Breton influence predominated. It is hard to find traces of any influences other than Irish in Cadoc's life (B.G. & F. II 14-42). Cadoc on leaving Caerwent, returned home to Gwynllyw his father - but soon fled from home to his father's brother - Paul, who offered him some land on which to settle. This settlement eventually became the celebrated Monastery of Mant-Carvan the Carbani-vallis of the Liber Landavensis - the Llancarvarn of to-day.

Cadoc after a time left his Monastery and went to Ireland to a "Carthagh"

The Vita mentions Carthagh of Lismore but this is impossible as Lismore was not founded until 620. There were two Carthags in Ireland the other being Carthagh of Saighir in Munster, who succeeded Ciaran in 490. After a three years' stay in Ireland Cadoc returned to Llanspyddid near Brecon, where a settlement was given him by his maternal grandfather - the celebrated Brychan. He next appears at Llangadock in the Towy Valley in Carmarthenshire and he finally returns to Llancarfan, his first Monastery. His father's death occurs at this point. A friendship with Gildas is the next point of interest and Cadoc is reported to have visited Gildas's home in Strathclyde and on his return to have accompanied Gildas to Rhuis. During his absence in Brittany the Synod of Brevi was held greatly to Cadoc's indignation. Another visit to Brittany followed in which he founded several churches; and a visit to Ireland. Legends gave a strange ending to his life. He is reported to have been consecrated Bishop, and to have departed to Beneventum, where he was martyred. This is an altogether incomprehensible statement; Cadoc's remains were still at Llancarfan at the time of the Danish Invasions and were

carried up to the hills to escape desecration. But Cadoc's life was written by Caradoc of Llancarfan, the friend of Geoffrey of Monmouth and William of Malmesbury, whose patron was the Great Robert Earl of Gloucester and Lord of Glamorgan, the patron of the Benedictine Abbeys of Tewkesbury, Gloucester and Bristol; which had acquired so much of the property of the old Celtic foundations of Glamorgan. The Beneventum incident may have been included to please Earl Robert and to establish the connection between the present holders of the Monastic property of Llancarfan and Cadoc's visit to the cradle of Benedictinism. Cadoc's Churches are to be found in all regions associated with Brychan's family. In Glamorgan he holds Llancarfan and thw two Cadoxtons (Neath & Barry) besides other Churches in the Vale of Glamorgan.

In Monmouth Caerleon (which derives its reliable traditions only from him) three Llangattocks in Upper Gwent, Raglan and an extinct Church in Monmouth. He has no dedication in Wentloog (Gwynllwg) his father's domains, but the chapelries of Bassaleg are dedicated to his disciples. He has Llanspyddid and Llangattock in the Usk Valley below Brecon, and Llangadock in Carmarthen.

When the legend of St. Cadoc (B.G.& F.II 24) gives Cadoc a priority of foundation over Illtyd in Glamorgan it may be incorrect in terms of the lives of the individual in question, but it is true to the facts of their Monastic foundations. It will be the object of a future section to attempt to prove that Illtyd and Teilo came into Glamorgan only after the ruling dynasty to which Cadoc belonged, had disappeared, to be replaced by another. Cadoc obtained his predominant position owing to his social and political influence. There came a time when a Pharaoh arose who knew not Joseph and the

clan of Cadoc disappeared from South Wales, many of them to emerge in N. Devon and Cornwall.

Despite the attempts of the legends to bring Cadoc into prominent contact with the other great Welsh Saints of the times and with the prominent rulers, it is doubtful whether he had anything to do with Illtyd, David, Teilo, and Maglocunus. These hagiological inventions were the natural outcome of the identification of Illtyd's first Monastery with Llantwit Major in Glamorgan. But if we accept Dr. Hugh William's arguments in favour of Caldey then these and all the other anomalies likewise disappear. Gildas's invective has led all the writers of Acta Sanctorum to pillory the unfortunate Monarch, who enters into the legends of Cybi, Padarn, Cadoc, Brynach to mention no more. It is doubtful whether Maglocunus had anything to do with any ruler beyond his kinsmen of the house of Cunedda; and, as his own domains were the most remotely situated of all, they would afford his energies, all the scope and exercise of which even they would be capable.

The death of Maglocunus in 547 and the generally accepted date for the resignation of Dubricius i.e. 546 close an era, which began with the association of Illtyd and Dubricius. The lifetime and work of those two remarkable men witnessed the carrying out of an idea, which began, in the one instance with the School of Illtyd where the sons of all the Welsh Notabilities were educated, not only for work in Wales, but also in Brittany and which ever had its contacts with Ireland (Vita Samsonis). The work extended into N.Wales under the favour of Maglocunus and by the influence of Cadfan, Cybi and Deiniol and in Mid-Wales by Padarn for Maglocunus would seem to have welcomed all comers into this domains. Dubricius on the other hand seems to have started from

S. Herefordshire, and to have penetrated via the Upper Usk and Towy Valleys to join hands with Illtyd; to have planted men at the strategic points and to have influenced the family of Brychan whose very renown seems to have been due to the Bishop and not to himself. Between them (Illtyd and Dubricius - and Maglocunus and the others) they seem to have influenced, directly or indirectly, all Wales, except the North Eastern Portion (Flint, Denbigh Montgomery) and the South Eastern. But the latter area had its own development under Cadoc. The year of the Great Plague and the preceding year introduced new circumstances, and the next sections will shew how new men had to meet the new circumstances as best they could.

THE CONSTITUTION of the CHURCH in WALES at this time.

Before we take leave of Britain and its Church at this particular point, a short reference to its constitution and government is absolutely necessary. Mention has been already made of Willis Bund's "Celtic Church in Wales" as having been written to prove (if even the assumption was not made at the outset), that there was apparently only one Celtic Church - which was in all Celtic Countries of the same homogeneous type - and excessively tribal in its organisation.

Exception was taken to this view - inasmuch as Ireland alone affords an instance of any definitely formulated political constitution. Its "Senchus Mor" regulated all relationships in the state including even those of the Druids - into whose position the Irish Church eventually stepped, and to whose duties - not omitting those of commination - the clerics succeeded. We have no non-Scottish evidence from Scotland. Iona was Irish, and the Pictish Church has left no constitutional remains. When we

consider Wales, there was certainly no homogeneity. There were Irish Colonists; North British Invaders and on the Eastern border the remnants of the old Romano-British civilisation; and it was from this last quarter that Wales derived her earliest recorded Bishop - Dubricius. The evidence afforded in connection with his life and work, whilst throwing no light on his having been the first bishop in Archenfield, strongly suggests his having been the first in the interior. His strategy is eminently that of the pioneer, and his time coincides with the lull in the storm after the victories of Ambrosius and Arthur. The type of ecclesiastical organisation emanating from him would most probably be that of the ancient Romano British variety. The life of St. Samson of Dol c. 43 (Taylor's Edition S.P. C.K. p. 44) mentions other Bishops co-operating with him, and we are reminded that it is quite probable that the entire Severn Basin and all the regions West of the Wiltshire Downs and Salisbury Plain was as yet in British hands; and it is more than probable that the principal communities had Bishops over them. Wade Evans (Life of St. David p, 80 Note on § 13) refers to a statement of Giraldus Cambrensis in De Invectionibus II 4 (Rolls Edition III p. 54) that St. David's formerly had 12 suffragan sees, 7 in Wales and 5 in England, the last named being, Exeter, Bath, Worcester, Hereford and Chester or Coventry (better known as Lichfield). These five sees correspond to the regions in the possession of the Britons, outside the boundaries of Wales, at this time, before the Battles of Deorham and Chester had split up the British domains into three separate divisions. (In all probability Giraldus derived his twelve sees from a combination of these five and a supposed seven inside

Wales. This figure (seven) probably came from Geoffrey of Monmouth's History, Book XI Chapter 12 (Giles Translation p.275 (Bell's Library) - "But when Augustine came he found in their province seven bishoprics and an Archbishopric" It is also found in two Welsh MSS of the 12th Century, whose relation to Geoffrey's History has not been worked out, the Brut of Gruffydd ab Arthur, and the Brut of Tyssilio. (Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales pp.548 and 471). Bede appears to have been the originator of the number, for in his ecclesiastical History Book II Chapter II he states that seven British Bishops together with other ecclesiastics came to meet Augustine of Canterbury.)

We are therefore still dealing with a time when the Romano-British civilisation held sway over the minds of men, and their ideas of ecclesiastical Government must have been different from those of Ireland where the civilisation and culture were still traditionally Irish.

Gildas in his De Excidio Chapters 26, 65-68 and elsewhere amply bears this out and his evidence is so unmistakable that Scholars such as J.E.Lloyd - History of Wales - pp.137 & 138 and Dr.Hugh Williams Gildas pp.151-156 conclude that in the year 540 the Church in Britain i.e. in Wales also, was not Monastic or specifically "Celtic" in its mode of Government, but Episcopal. The Monks were very few "exceptis paucis et valde paucis, qui ob amissionem tantae multitudinis, quae cotidie prona ruit ad tartara, tam brevis numerus habetur, ut eos quodammodo venerabitur mater ecclesia in sinu recumbentes non videat, quos solos veros filios habet (I make exception of a few - a very few, who owing to the loss of the vast multitude that rushes daily to hell, are counted as so small a number that our venerable Mother the Church, in a manner, does not observe them as they rest in her bosom (De Excidio c.26 pp.64 & 65) From Chapter 65 to the end we have constant references to

Bishops, priests and deacons. The position of the bishops is described in language approaching that of Cyprian. They sit in the chair of Peter (Chapter 67). They are successors of the Apostles (c.108). It is said to the true priest "Thou art Peter and upon this rock will I build my Church" and to Peter and his successors our Lord saith "And I will give thee the Kingdom of Heaven" (c.109).

There is no suggestion of any distinctions of authority among the bishops, so that there was no provincial organisation under a Metropolitan nor is there any indication of any Council or Synod having been held.

Williams also argues that the number of Bishops inferred in the work implies that every separate Community or a very small group of Churches had its own bishop and that consequently what he calls a 'diocesan' Bishop did not exist. What he means by 'Diocesan Bishop' is a Bishop ruling from a Cathedral city over a definitely delineated area. He admits that the development of Episcopacy in Britain had lagged behind that of its prototype in Gaul, but the evidence for such a small unit as the nucleus of a Bishop's see is very scanty. Notwithstanding one or two minor points - Williams has conclusively proved that the Irish Celtic type of organisation if it ever did predominate in Wales, was certainly later than the publishing of Gildas's work. There is a possibility that the date of these conditions may be pushed forward from 540 to 546. Within a few years Dubricius died, and with him possibly may have departed the ideal of Monarchic Episcopacy. In 547 Maglocunus died, and the Great Plague the "Mortalitas magna" of the Annals, swept over Britain. In a few years the Saxon invasions were resumed and the face of the country was changed, But at the time in which he wrote, the circumstances in Church and State were practically what they had been about a century previous. The organisation although feebler was on the same lines. Britain was still Britannia - its Church was still the Ancient British Church, episcopally governed. The question as to whether it became a Celtic Church after the Irish Model is one which will arise subsequently.

PART III. FROM THE GREAT PLAGUE TO THE ARRIVAL OF
THE ENGLISH ON THE BORDERS.

THE GREAT PLAGUE of 547 and 548.

The Age of Maglocunus, Dubricius and Illtyd was terminated by the arrival in Britain of the Great Plague of 547. Gibbon (Decline & Fall, Bury's Edition IV 436-440) states that it first appeared in Egypt in 541, and that after passing through Syria and Asia Minor, attacked Constantinople virulently in 542. It was carried to Africa and in the course of the next few years its ravages were felt from India and Persia in the East to France in the West. In 547 it reappears in Wales. The Annales Cambriae (Harleian MS 3859 - published in Y Cymmroder IX 152-169 and also quoted in Williams Christianity in Early Britain pp.404-416) refer to it as follows :-

"C.III Annus. Mortalitas Magna in qua pausat Mailcun
rex Guenedotae.

The Liber Landavensis (Rees's Edition pp.101 & 102 and pp.343 & 344) - refers to it as happening soon after Teilo's becoming Bishop. It calls it "Pestis Flava" and associates it with the death of Maglocunus. "Traxit enim Mailconum regem Guenedociae, delevit et patriam suam".

It appears also in the Irish Annals.

548 Mortalitas Magna. Annals of Ulster.

550 Mortalitas Magna. i.e. qui dicebatur Crom Conaill
vel Flava Scabies (Tigernach)
(quoted in Pryce Ancient British
Church p.163 Note).

(Bury. Life of St.Patrick pp.279-281) considers the Annals of Ulster much the most reliable chronologically of all the Irish Annals).

Baring Gould & Fisher III pp.35 & 36 mention, among the Irish Victims of the Plague Finnian of Clonard, Ciaran

of Clonmacnois and Columba of Tir-da-Glas; and on III p.97 Columba of Tir-da-Glas; and on III p.97 we read "Thus the Four Masters give under 548, when its worst ravages were felt in Ireland: "The death of Ciaran of Clonmacnois of Tighernach of Clones, of Mactail, of S.Colum son of Crimthan of Finan of Clonard, Tutor of the Saints of Ireland. All died on the Plague of Cron-Chonaille. This was the first Buite Chonaille. All the saints died of it, but Ciaran and Tighernech". Eochaidh son of Connlo, King of Ulster also died then.

The Llandaff tradition (Lib. Land p.102) records that this plague "patriam pene reddidit desertam" and a flight took place, "quorum quidam perrexerunt in Hiberniam, plures vero in Franciam". It is only in the Llandaff traditions (outside the one entry in the Annales Cambrae) that we meet with the plague in Welsh Ecclesiastical legend, and it fits in so well with the other notices of it, that it is most credible. The Liber Landavensis makes Teilo (afterwards Bishop in Llandaff) himself head the flight - eo ducente and to remain in Brittany - which is the "Francia" until the plague had disappeared. The legends of David. Cadoc & Illtyd do not mention the Great Plague or the flight to Brittany, but Churches of all three are found in Brittany. Teilo's foundations are found in the valley of the Aulne in Finisterre, at Chateauneuf, Landelieu to the N.E.E. and Lennon to the S.W; and also near Quimper and Ploermel in Morbihan; David's Churches near Landerneau (near Brest). His mother Non is buried at Dirinon near at hand, and he also is found near Quimper. A Lanildut - a Church of Illtyd, is found in Finisterre - N.W.of Brest and also on the Jaudy near Treguier and at Guéméné in Morbihan, A certain YNYR (whom Baring Gould & Fisher identify with YNYR King of Gwent, son of the CARADOC who welcomed TATHAN to Caerwent, and father of the IDDON, who appears afterwards and grants Teilo his foundations in Upper Gwent (between Monmouth and Abergavenny) appears in three foundations Plouneour - Trez in N.Finisterre; Plouneour Menez on Monts

d'Arrets - and Plouneour Lanverne, S.W. of Quimper. Cadoc appears farther E. near Belz. between Hennebont & Vannes. It is true that the Teilo traditions in the Liber Landavensis take him principally to the region of Dol, but the presence of his other dedications is important, and the presence of all the other dedications situated in the same areas is still more significant. It points to such an emigration as is described in the Liber Landavensis pp. 101-2, 343-4. Legend further states that Teilo was closely connected with the ruling family in Cornubia, S. Finisterre, and that this had as much to do with his flight to Brittany as his friendship for Samson of Dol.

Baring Gould & Fisher III 312. describe Illtyd's voyages to Brittany as being ostensibly to supply corn during a famine but having as their real object the founding of daughter houses to Llantwit.

The total oblivion which has surrounded the existence of the first Llantwit Major suggests another reason, that the Community of Illtyd were among those who fled to Brittany with Teilo ; and that on their return to Wales they abandoned the old site and accompanied Teilo into Glamorgan : and that when he settled in Llandaff they settled at the present Llantwit Major.

The life of St. David furnishes us with an actual instance of such an abandoning. Chapters 12 & 13 describe his leaving home under the influence of a divine mission and travelling through England and founding the most impossible Abbeys (Glastonbury, Bath, Repton, Croyland &c.)

In Chapter 14 he returns and in Chapter 15 he goes to the site of the present Cathedral, much to the discomfort of a neighbouring Chieftain whose objections are supernaturally overcome by a divine interposition. David was

born nearby : his clan still lived there, and yet this solitary Scot expresses surprise and a total absence of recognition at David's return. If, instead of Chapter 13 we could read the flight to Brittany and in Chapters 14 & 15, the return of the whole clan to their ancestral home - the entire story would appear most natural. It was only in the nature of events that Boia the Scot should settle down in a deserted country, and express resentment at the arrival of others. Further, a sojourn in Brittany and the tomb of his Mother in Dirinon, would explain the total absence of any further references to her in his legend. It would also explain the growth of a Breton legend of St. Non as we have in the old mystery play "Vie de Sainte Nonne" (Celtic Revue Tome VIII pp.230-301 & pp.405-489).

There are, therefore, very strong indications that the clan of David and the Community of Illtyd both accompanied Teilo to Brittany and returned. Baring Gould & Fisher (II pp.303 & 4.) make David return in 551, whereas Teilo returns in 555 or 6 ; But they equate this flight to Brittany not with the journey across England as above, but with the pilgrimage to Jerusalem chapters pp. 44 - 48, Teilo is said to have been bishop only a very short time before the plague broke out (Lib. Land pp. 101-2, 343-4). Prof. J.E. Lloyd gives David's dates as 520 - 589 and the view of the Liber Landavensis that the two were fellow disciples is incompatible with the adoption of these dates. Presumably the grounds for the adoption of these dates are as follows :-

- (1) Birth @ 520. David's birth is given by Ricemarchus as occurring 30 years after the "departure of Patrick"

(Chapters I, III & IV) The death of Patrick in the Annales Cambriae is chronicled as "Sanctus Patricius ad dominum Migratur". This is the only death so described. We have "Quies", "Pausat", "Moritur", "Obiit", "Dormitatio", & "Dispositio", and all these words are used in two or more instances; The verb Migrari is used only of Patrick - (the very first entry) and Elbodugus of Bangor 809 (where the active voice and not the passive is found).

Ricemarchus has bungled repeatedly in his life of St. David. ((a) Patricius Romanis eruditus disciplinis c. III. cf for his illiteracy (Bury Life of St. Patrick 199. 206. & 318.) (b) His founding of Glastonbury, Bath Repton & Croyland (c) The visit to the Patriarch of Jerusalem (d) C.LV. Ex his duabus Synodis (Brefi & Lucus Victoriae) omnes nostrae patriae ecclesiae modum et regulam Romana auctoritate acceperunt): and it is quite possible that he misunderstood the migratur and applied it to the departure from Britain. During the Lifetime of Ricemarchus 1057-1099 (Wade Evans Life of St. David S.P.C.K. p. XIV) the generally received date for Patrick's death was 493 (see Bury Life of Patrick pp. 382 - 384) If the Migratur ad Dominum of St. Patrick was recorded under 493 and confused with his departure from Britain - thirty years afterwards would give the date 523. This is sufficiently near Prof. J.E. Lloyd's date 520; but his qualifying remark - "When King Tryffin and his sons ruled over Dyfed" is inadmissible for two reasons. The language used by Gildas (Chapter 31) of Vortipor (Canescente iam capite - ne consumas dierum quod reliquum est) in the year 544 makes it improbable that the latter's grandfather was reigning in 520 - 523. The very reference quoted by Lloyd - i.e. to King Triphunus and his sons (c V.) is to be found only in one manuscript - and oddly enough in the Ms. Vespasian A. XIV published by Wade Evans in Cymmrodor vol. XXIV

1 - 73, (The Life Published by the S.P.C.K. is a translation). The other British Museum Ms. Nero El. and one in Cardiff, two in Cambridge and six in the Bodleian, all omit the reference. So that there is but scanty warrant for J.E. Lloyd's qualifying reference to King Tryffin or Triphunus. The date of David's death is given in the Annales Cambrae under 601. Gregory the Great's death is also wrongly given under the same year. The suggestion has been advanced that this year was fixed so that David should have been declared present at the Synodus Urbis Legionis at which the British Church decided on its opposition to Augustine of Canterbury. The date favoured by Ussher and William of Malmesbury 544. 546. depends upon an incorrect date of birth; i.e. 462 - 30 years after Patrick's departure for Ireland, it is much too early. When we consider the prominence given to Irish disciples in the Life of St. David and also the Irish estimate of his influence on the Second Order of the Irish Saints, - any Irish Evidence as to the date of his death becomes exceedingly valuable. The Annals of Innisfallen give 589, the Chronicon Scottorum 588, the Annals of Tighenach 587. The day of his death was a Tuesday March 1st, and this coincides with 589. (Baring Gould and Fisher II 305, 306, Lloyd History of Wales p. 157 & 158 and notes. Williams Christianity in Early Britain p. 391).

David's age is given as 147 years at his death (Life of St. David c 58) one explanation of this impossible age is that Ricemarchus's source gave his death as occurring in Anno 147 of some Chronicle, and the biographer read it in the sense of in Anno 147 of his age. If this Chronicle were the parent M.S. or source of the Annales Cambriae of Harleian M.S. 3859 - which is known to have been written

at St. David's from 809 onwards., then the Chronicle would have commenced in 444. (Williams op cit 406 & 410) Annus 147., would then be 590 - 591. - which is sufficiently near the Irish dates to corroborate then and to substantiate it.

There is therefore a strong presumption in favour of J.E. Lloyd's dates (c.520 - 589). If we accept these dates. David would have been a comparatively young man in 547. Teilo would have been older - having been already consecrated bishop - and any story of the two having been fellow disciples, would be most improbable.

To return to the identification by Baring Gould and Fisher (op. cit. II 303. and 304) of the flight to Brittany with the supposed journey to Jerusalem, the learned editors have to recognise that one of the three did not journey to Brittany. Padarn (who with Teilo accompanied David) must have remained behind in Cornwall. But it has been previously shown that Padarn was in Cornwall, in all probability, before his going to Wales in the company of Cadfan and his associates, and the clan of Caradog Freichfras. In addition we have no evidence at all, of any flight - southwards from North or Mid. Wales. The movement of the Saints in that religion is eastwards towards Chester, and this may account for the subsequent association of Padarn the Breton and the saints of the Severn Valley with South West Wales. The language of Lib: Land p.108 "Ad quem (Teilo) convenerant discipuli qui (fuerant beati Dubricii)" - would indicate that Archenfield knew nothing of the flight or

at least took no part in it. But both these journeys recorded in Ricemarchus's Life are apocryphal, and both are dictated by the motive. That of the Jerusalem episode is an attempt to secure for the Welsh Bishops a jurisdiction outside that of the Western Patriarchate of Rome; and that of the founding of monasteries in England by St. David is to secure for David the primacy over these regions outside Wales which were known to have been in British hands before the West Saxon advance in 577 A.D. The "Life" claimed Supremacy over Wales, and Giraldus Cambrensis (De Invectionibus II 4-6) claims in addition the dioceses of Chester (Coventry Lichfield) Hereford, Worcester, Bath, and Exeter, only identifying the lands where some of the Abbeys were situated). Over against these mythical journeys, we have traces of a stay in Brittany, where David's mother is reported to have died; and where her tomb is still shown. We have in Ch. 14 & 15 evidences of a home-coming to a home which knows him not. We have every reason for bringing him and Teilo together, and a very good explanation why Padarn did not accompany them. His associates had not migrated South from Carnarvonshire and Chester. There is ample evidence for the Great Plague; and the flight to Brittany and the return are borne out by a study of place names. Changed circumstances in Britain are evidenced by a disappearance of tradition, and the growth of new centres, and of a new tradition. The Wales of David and Teilo is not that of Illtyd and Dubricius.

DAVID AND TEILO

The relationship between these two saints provides the great Crux of Welsh Church History. According to Ricemarchus's Life of St. David - Teilo was his disciple (chapters 15 & 44). If we believe the Liber Landavensis they were fellow disciples of Paulinus (Lib. Land 94, 100. 334-340) but this portion of the Liber Landavensis is manifestly dependent upon the Life of St. David - only it does not at this stage subordinate either of the two to the other. From the middle of the eleventh century to that of the twelfth i.e. from c. 1050 to c. 1150 there was a furious struggle for pre-eminence between the two dioceses. When the Deheubarth (the kingdom of the S.W. Wales, corresponding to all S. Wales except Glamorgan) lay under the heel of the N. Wales King Grifffith ab Llewelyn (1039-1063) the S.W. chieftains called in the assistance of the ruler of Glamorgan, Monmouth and Archenfield; and he ruled as paramount in S. Wales until about 1055. During this period the Bishop of Llandaff, Herwald (Bp. 1056 - 1104) exercised jurisdiction over all S. Wales east of the Towy in Carmarthenshire. On his death St. David's recovered possession and claimed part of Archenfield also, and the diocese of Hereford claimed the remainder of Archenfield. The Liber Landavensis was compiled to substantiate the claims of Llandaff to these regions. The compilation includes a Life of Elgar, the Hermit of Bardsey, (to whose visions men were indebted for the discovery of the body of St. Dubricius, which was translated to Llandaff c.1120); a Life of St. Samson of Dol (abbreviated from the "Vita Prima" Baring Gould & Fisher IV.136); Lives of Dubricius Teilo and Oudoceus; copies of Charters of the possessions of Llandaff; and records of Consecrations of Churches, ordinations of Clergy by

Bishop Herwald; and lastly copies of Papal Bulls issued by the Popes to whom appeals were made in the course of the Controversy. Gwenogvryn Evan's introduction to his edition of the Liber Landavensis states the position fairly "The writer was a divine who took an ecclesiastical not to say a Landavian view of history. It is not without a purpose that Dubricius, Teilo and Oudoceus are styled Archibishops". Yet "if none of the documents of the Liber Landavensis in their present form claim an earlier date than the 10th or possibly in some cases the 9th century, still the 'bare facts' alleged by them may probably be admitted upon their evidence and are likely in themselves. But apart from probability and internal evidence, the marginal and other entries in the Book of St. Chad, prove beyond possibility of doubt that some sort of record was kept at Llandaff as early as the 9th century; it also proves that there was a Bishop Nobis at Llan-Dav. and thus establishes in a very satisfactory manner that, when documents had been taken away or lost our compiler did not invent, but was content, as in the case of Elvocus. Nobis. Marchluid, with merely registering the bishops' names." The honesty of the Compiler comes out in other instances. His record of the gifts to Dubricius omits Llandaff. Teilo is admitted to have died in Llandilo Vawr in Carmarthen, and when he does invent, the fabrications are so obvious that they expose themselves. The editor is a compiler pure and simple and no inventor. His work was probably completed c. 1150 Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans ascribes it to Geoffrey of Monmouth, but this is improbable as Geoffrey's faculty of invention would have effectively prevented his being content with the lowly role of a compiler His 'De

Gestibus Regum Britannie gives us some idea of what a history of the Church of Llandaff would have become in his capable hands.

The Liber Landavensis does not demand any very detailed treatment. There is only one text. The Ancient MS is still extant, and the edition by Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans is a very careful and correct edition. Rees's Edition has been used in this study because it was more accessible. Although in the Life of Teilo the Liber Landavensis depends to a certain extent upon the Life of St. David for the Paulinus and the Jerusalem episodes, yet it records an independent tradition and bears out the Life of St. Samson. Teilo is born near a settlement of Dubricius; he is a fellow disciple of Samson (this fact would make impossible a similar association with David); he escapes to Brittany from the Great Plague, and returns; and apparently only towards the end of his life does he found Llandaff. All these events belong to an independent tradition. There are other evidences which appear incorrect because they are dictated by a motive - i.e. to make Teilo have the authority to choose and consecrate David's successors. These points will be discussed in their proper place. We need here say no more than this, that the Liber Landavensis does not afford any complicated problems of textual or other criticism. It is far otherwise with the Life of St. David.

RICEMARCHUS'S LIFE OF ST. DAVID.

This is the earliest Life of St. David and the source of all subsequent lives. The Author - Ricemarchus (Welsh (correctly) Rhygyfarch) was the Son of a Sulien who was Bishop of St. David's from 1072-1078 and from 1080-1085. Sulien was a

native of Llanbadarn near Aberystwyth who completed his Welsh education by studying in Scotland for five years and in Ireland for thirteen years. Ricemarchus lived from 1057-1099 and has left us in addition to this life of St. David - the "Ricemarch Psalter" a MS of Jerome's Hebrew Psalter with a text practically identical with that of the Codex Amiatinus; (see Harden's *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos Hieronymi*. SPCK 1922 p. X11 and X111) now at Trinity College Dublin (MS A.4.20.) His Life of St. David exists in a number of MSS and in various versions. Baring Gould & Fisher II p.285 (published 1908) records two in the British Museum; two in the Bodleian at Oxford, and one in the Corpus Christi Library at Cambridge. Wade Evans in 1913 (in his text published in *Y Cymmroder* Vol XXIV) refers only to the two British Museum MSS and he calls the Nero E.1. an "Early but abbreviated copy of the Vita (as found in the *Vespasian A XIV*). In his published translation of Ricemarchus's Life (S.P.C.K. Translation of Christian Literature - Life of St. David 1923) the number of MS of this Life has increased to the following

<u>British Museum.</u>	2.	a.	Vespasian	A. XIV
		b.	Nero	E.1.
Cambridge	2.	a.	Corpus Christi College	161
		b.	University Library	ff.1.27.28.
Oxford	6.		Bodleian Digby	112.
			Bodleian	793
			Bodleian B.	485
			Bodleian B.	505
			Bodleian	285
			Bodleian	336

Thus by 1923, 10 Manuscripts were known; and in 1927 yet one other MS appeared in the Cardiff Public Libraries, written probably in the 12th century.

When we consider versions there are at least three

- (1) Giraldus Cambrensis Rolls Edition Vol.III pp.377-404.

There are numerous Manuscripts of this Version.

- (2) The Welsh Version. found in the Jesus Coll. Oxford MS. 2. written in 1346 and published in the Eleucidarium Oxford by J. Morris Jones and John Rhys.

- (3) The Breton Version. as found in the "Buhez Santez Nonn - Vie de Sainte Nonne - published with French translation in the Revue Celtique VIII 1887 pp.230-301 and 405-491.

With the exception of the Cardiff MS and the Breton Version they are all mentioned in the Introduction to Wade Evans's Life of St. David 1923. SPCK. pp. XI - XIV. The other two are mentioned in the Cardiff Public Libraries' Catalogue relating to St. David i.e. 1927 pp.V and VI pp. 3-5.

in 1853 W.J. Rees of Cascob in Radnorshire printed the Brit. Mus. Vespasian A.XIV text in the Lives of the Cambro.

British Saints; and in 1913 Wade Evans reprinted it more correctly in Y Cymmroder Vol. XXIV with a few notes of

variant readings from the Nero E.1. Although Wade Evans (S.P.C.K. edition 1923) p.XII states "and certainly all

these Anonymous recensions and other which are said to exist have never been collated", he yet in 1913 considered Nero

E.1. an "abbreviated copy"; and in 1923, all MSS of this life

but the Vespasian A XIV, as anonymous "Norman-French" recensions; although in the same paragraph, in the same sentence, admitting that some are as old if not older than the Cottonian MS Vespasian A. XIV.

For the purpose of this study. I have myself collated the Cardiff MS (which will be designed C.) with Wade Evans's published text in Y Cymmrodor Vol.XXIV) and Miss E.G. Parker was asked by the Bodleian Authorities to Collate all the Oxford and Cambridge MSS for me.

The relation of the Cardiff text to the two British Museum texts is expressed in the Cardiff Printed Catalogue pp. V and VI and 3 and 4. The main object of the Collation has been to find the types of text. In addition the three versions have been compared so that the eleven MSS of Ricemarchus's Life and the three Versions are here reviewed together for the first time.

It was recognised that there were many points of difference between the Vespasian and the Nero MSS. Wade Evans calls the former "the best copy. the fullest, quite unique". The last two epithets are quite justified. It represents a longer text, which is quite unsupported by any of the other MSS The Nero text is dismissed as an earlier but abbreviated copy (Wade Evans in Y Cymmrodor Vol XXIV p.4.)

The Nero text (Cardiff Catalogue p.V) is described as follows : "Textually this MS and the Cardiff MS closely agree, but both differ very considerably from Vespasian A XIV. It is possible that Nero E.1. and the Cardiff MS. represent the original recension; and the Vespasian MS a later expansion. A close comparison of the text of the Cardiff MS with the Vespasian text as printed in the Cymmrodor rather bears out this conclusion.

The earlier portion of the life is shorter and differs considerably from the Vespasian text. The text of the middle portion containing the rule of St. David does not differ materially. The text of the later portion is also shorter and also differs from the Vespasian text". The differences will be noted in due order.

The variants which Wade Evans has Noted in N. (the Nero text)

ie. Expoliatis p.5. (3) ab Elve Munimentium p.8.

in Insula in Vinodilanquendi p.9. (4) Ante Collegii praesentiam p.11.

(5) Appretians p.15.

(6) sed et ipse virtutibus claret and inclusion of et. p. 21.

7 Cui barbara imperitia Megnum nomen dederet p. 23.

are all found (except 5 appretians) in the Cardiff text and in the case of appretians the Cardiff text differs from both Vespasian and Nero.

The evidence respecting the relation of the Cardiff text to the Nero text has been supplied to the Cardiff Authorities by the Deputy Keeper of Manuscripts, British Museum, and the evidence in the case of the variants quoted by Wade Evans bears it out.

We are therefore justified in assuming on the authority of the Cardiff Catalogue page V and VI that the Cardiff and Nero MSS represent one type of text, which we shall designate the N.C. (Nero Cardiff). Wade Evans's text shall be defined as V (Vespasian). The other MSS will be designated as follows Oxford Digby 112 - Dig.

Bodleian 793 B. 793

Rawlinson B.485, B.485 (as B.505 is a copy it will not be quoted)

Bodleian 285 B. 285

Bodleian 336 B. 336

Cambridge Corpus Christi 161 C. 161

Univ. Library H. 1.27.78 C. U. 27

1. c. 11 V reads and N. C. omits "iuxta ammem Theibi" after tria
ibi munera repperies, all the MSS (5 Oxford & 2
Cambridge) agree with N. C. in omitting.
2. c. 11 V reads N. C. omits "in arbore depositum in loco qui
vocatur Linhenlannu, after examen; all the MSS agree
with N. C. in omitting.
3. c. 111 V includes and N. C. omits. Patrick's reply to the
Angel's notifying him that he would not be allowed to
settled in "Demetica rura. N. C. merely states. Stupens
volutat deliberans et corde dicens".
All the MSS agree with N. C. in omitting (C. 161. even
omits N. C.'s variant)
4. c. 111 V includes and N. C. omits a long passage referring to
the Angel's coming the second time, and the Angel's
words are reported. This passage in V contains the
significant words "ut ostendam tibi totam Hiberniam
insulam de sede que est in Rosina Valle" que modo
Sedes Patricii nominatur.
N. C. Merely states "Haec autem secum cogitavit talibus
blandicis ab angeli verba consolationis accepit. Non
its stet tibi, hiberniensium insulae principem
constituit te dominus.
All MSS but C. 161 follow N-C.
5. c. 111 V omits and N-C reads between "Subiugabis" and "sit tibi
hoc in signum" the words "Ego ero tecum"
All but R. 485 follow N-C
6. c. 111 In last sentence V includes and N. C. omits place of
embarkation name of man resurrected, and statement
that he took him to Ireland with him where he became

a bishop

All but R.485 follow N-C.

7. c.IV V ascribes the Coming of the King to Demetia to Divina Virtus N.C. omits; they all follow N-C
8. c.V V mentions Gildas son of Caw preaching in the time of King Triphunus and his sons & Non coming to the Church N-C omits. All follow N.C. but F.336 has name of Gildas in the margin but not in the text.
9. c.VIII V & N-C quite different. V explains Moni in terms of Movi and mentions his gratitude. N-C is less than half the length of V. All follow N-C.
10. c.VIII V describes his education and church services in detail describes the dove as 'cum rostro aureo' N.C. has "eruditus, ecclesiasticum didicit servitium and omits the reference to the bird's beak. All follow N-C.
11. c.IX V. describes Paulinus as "Paulentem scribam discipulum Sancti Germani episcopi qui in insula quadam" N-C reads "Paulinum Germani discipulum atque doctorem, qui in insula winedi lant quendi" All follow N-C in naming the island although they differ in the name.
12. c.XII V calls him agius David N-C Dewi 4 MSS omit name altogether B.336 and CU 27 have Dewi alone i.e. follow N-C C.161 has David alone without agius
13. c.XIII V (1) places Llangyfelach in Gower; mentions the name of the blind King of Erging and the two saints of Kidwelly N.C. omits all three B.285 and CU 27 mention the name of the blind king but in other respects all MS evidence supports N-C.

14. c.XIV V makes David return from his English tour to Vetus Rubus. N-C omits these words (id est ad vaterem Rubum)
All MSS follow N-C in omitting
15. c.XV V reads and N-C omits - id est, Rosinam Vallem quam vulgare nomine Hodnant Brittones vocitant -
All MSS. follow N-C in omitting.
16. c.XVI Incident of Boia and his wife, V & N-C are widely different. With the exception of one variant all MSS follow N-C
17. c.XVII V includes and N-C omits "ad flumen quod dicitur Alun"
V reads "in conspectu sanctorum" N-C "ante Collegii praesentiam."
V reads "Cuncti vero discipuli malignantium"
N C reads "deserere monachi locum conantur"
All MSS follow N-C in the three readings.
18. c.XVIII and XIX Instead of these two chapters N-C has a short form - describing very tersely - the step-daughter's murder, the wife's disappearance, Boia's death, and the destruction of his citadel
All MSS follow N-C.
19. From Chapters 32 to the end. Wherever V has the name David N-C either omit or read Dewi
C.161 sometime reads David
C.U. 27 sometime inserts Dewi - where N-C omit
The other MSS (here only Dig. B.793 and B.285) almost invariably follow N-C.
20. Inc.43. in four variants all MSS. follow N-C.
21. Inc.51. (1) V includes and N-C omits iuxta amnem Theibi.
(2) V reads boy's name as "que Magnus vocabatur"
N-C reads 'Cui barbara imperitia Magnum nomen dederat'
All MSS follow N-C.

(3) V gives the Miracle in great detail. N-C omits this (seven lines)

All MSS follow N-C: and also in omitting the last sentence.

22. c.52 V includes the Sudarium and N-C omits.

C.161 follows N-C, the other four merely mention the Sudarium "rogat autem solum sibi sudarium supponere" thus differing from N-C in including it, and from V, in ignoring all the details.

23. c.60 V include and N-C omits the word "unanimis" and the sentence between "finem perducite" and "ab illa ergo hora"
All MSS follow N-C.

24. c.61 V and N-C are widely different
All the MSS follow N-C.

25. c.62. V includes and N-C omits six lines from "Autem Proficiscor" to "A nocte vero".
All the MSS follow N-C.

26. c.65 V includes and N-C omits the second paragraph of this chapter
All the MSS follow N-C.

27. Omissions of whole chapters.

- | | | |
|-----|----------|--|
| (1) | C.42 | David's supremacy over S. Ireland |
| (2) | C.57 | David's primacy and monarchy over Britain. |
| (3) | C.64 | The Universal mourning |
| (4) | Cc.68-71 | The Genealogy and the Mass |

All the MSS follow N-C

The practically unanimous agreement thus evidenced amongst the other MSS in favour of the N.C. readings as against the Vespasian text, is certainly startling, but it simplifies the issue. There would appear to be therefore two distinct types of text, or recensions, - the longer one found in the Vespasian MSA.XIV alone, and the other in all the other MSS. The difference between these two types of text are as follows.

(1) David's name. V always renders it David. The N.C. group frequently omit the same, and generally render it Dewi. The Biblical form is found only in a very few instances.

(2) Local identifications of places and people - found in V, omitted in all the others.

- (a) places -
1. River Teivy, and Linhenlannu C.2
 2. Seat in Valles Rosina now named the Seat of Patrick C.3
 3. Preparing a ship in Porthmawr C.4
 4. (Llangyvelach) in the region of Gower C.13
 5. Returns to Vetus Rubus C.14
 6. That is Vallis Rosina which the Britons call Hodnant C.15
 7. To the River called Alun C.17
 8. River Teivy C.51
- (b) people -
- (1) The old man at Porthmawr named Criumther C.3
 - (2) Gildas son of Caw and King Triphunus and his sons C.5
 - (3) (Pebiau King of Ergug.
(Two Saints of Kidwelly Bodcat

	and Maitrun	C.13
	(4) Predictus Modomnoc.	C.43
	(5) Frequent identifications of David by inserting name when other MSS omit it.	
	(6) Mention of Patriarch	C.47
(3) <u>Expansions</u>	(1) Elaborated conversation between Patrick and Angel	C.3
	(2) Elaborated description of Patrick's departure	C.3
	(3) Sant's journey from Ceretica to Demetica.	C.4
	(4) David's Baptism. Definition of <u>MOUI</u> (face without features)	C.7
	(5) David's education, secular and sacred.	C.8
	(6) The Boia incident with subsequent fate of the family	CC 16-19
	(7) The miracle of Brevi before the Synod.	C.51
	(8) The handkerchief episode	C.52
(4) <u>Additions</u>	(1) C 42 St.David's primacy over S.Ireland	
	(2) C 57 St.David's primacy over Wales- and precedence over Britain	
	(3) C 64 Universal Mourning	
	(4) <u>C 68-9 Genealogy and Mass.</u>	

The three versions. - Welsh, Breton and Giraldus.

The Welsh version - written in 1346. In Llanddewi Brefi in Cardiganshire (the Brevi of the Synod) follows the Vespasian text. It mentions the Henllan of Chapter II Patrick's anger in C 3 . (stupens iratusque dixit), Gildas (C 5), Peibiau King of Erging, the two Saints of Kidwelly, (C 13) and Dunawd's Well (C 18) are all included ; and the cursing of the three brethen (C 38 - which N.C. omits).

The evidence is irresistible that the Welsh Life - abbreviated though it may be is closely related to the Vespasian MS.

The Breton Text (Revue Celtique VIII 230 ff).

This text presents a complex problem. It apparently knows both types of text.

I agreement with the Vespasian.

- | | | | |
|----------|---|---|-----|
| <u>a</u> | Groupees Contre un arbre - p237 | in arbore depositim | C.2 |
| <u>b</u> | Runiter - p245 | Criumther | C.3 |
| <u>c</u> | Vous voici en Hiberne dans l'ile qu'on Appelle - p249
Rosina | totam Hiberni insulam de sede que est in Rosina Valle | C.3 |
| <u>d</u> | Gildas and King Triphunus and Sons (<u>roi Tresin</u>) p273 | Gildas and Triphunus & Sons | C.5 |
| <u>e</u> | movi ceci - que mon visage plot est difigure <u>p145-9</u> | Sanctus cecus qui sine nare et oculis natus est
(omitted in N.C.) | C.7 |
| <u>f</u> | the titles to David's speeches are all headed <u>Davidagius</u> - | Concepit filium summ Davit agium
(omitted in N.C.)
also <u>c.7</u> et David agium in die illa
also <u>C 8</u> ll. (4times)
16 twice 17. 19
38 (5 times) 39,
40, 43, 46, from
46 to end.
<u>Sanctus David.</u> | C.4 |

II Agreement with the N.C. text.

- (a) No identification of places. - although Rosina is mentioned.
- (b) Paulinus's School is mentioned as "en enesenn languen unmendi.
(N.C. in insula in Winodi lantquendi).
- (c) In the text as apart from the headings, David is always called Devy cf Dewi.

Giraldus's Version.

This version like the Breton agrees with both texts.

(1) Agreement with the Vespasian.

- (a) It keeps the name of David throughout.
- (b) Gildas is mentioned.
- (c) Llangyvelach is described as being in Gower.
- (d) The name of the King of Erging is given as Proprius (Pepiau)

(II) Agreements with the N.C. text.

- (a) Almost all place names and persons omitted.
- (b) Handkerchief omitted from the Synod of Brevi.
- (c) The two Saints of Kidwelly are not mentioned.
- (d) The shortened form of chapters 3,7,8,10,11,17 - 19 is followed.
- (e) The sign of the Cross is mentioned in the Baptism
- (f) Paulinus's Monastery is mentioned as being in insula vecta. (corrupted from Winedi - the mere fact that it is named is an indication of agreement).

Giraldus's version is a very useful starting point for a discussion of origins. He apparently agrees with both versions - therefore he can be considered as being half way between the two. Both he and the Breton life are more prone to identify persons than places. In the case of Giraldus, this omission is significant. He was a native of Pembrokeshire. His uncle had been Bishop of St. David's from 1147-1176. He himself inserts two names of places that neither V nor N.C. uses. The Church in which Gildas preached was at Kanmorva, and David was baptised at Portclais. The fact that Giraldus is reduced to such conjectures proves that he was either unacquainted with the text of V (which is unlikely if it had been preserved at St. David's) or that the peculiar text of V had not yet

come into existence. One variant reading Common to V and Giraldus, which has been reserved for consideration here, would almost support this conjecture. On page 380 (Giraldus Rolls Edition Vol.III) we read "Hanc tibi sedem o Patrici non providit Deus Ibi proficere debes ibi sedes a Domino tibi parata". In the expanded version of Chapter II we found the word sedes repeatedly used and identified with sedes Patricii "Que est in Rosina Valle. Earlier in the Chapter the word used is "locus" - 'Tibi inquit' non istum locum Deus disposuit"! Had the text of V existed in Giraldus's time he must have known of it and used it.. for his whole life was a struggle for the honour of St.David's. Also the fact that N.C. prefer the form Dewi to David, predisposes in its favour. Dewi is the Welsh form, and is found in an archaic spelling - Decgui - in Asser's Life of Alfred the Great. If the type of text which prefers the Welsh form of the name lacks the place identifications;- whereas that which prefers the Biblical form contains them; the latter would certainly appear to be later than the other.

When Ricemarchus wrote, before 1099. - the condition of South Wales would allow of no pilgrimages. Baring Gould & Fisher (II p.310) give the reign of Calixtus II as the period of his Canonisation (i.e. 1119-1124). Gwenogvryn Evans (Introduction to his Edition of the Liber Landavensis pXXIV and XXV.) quotes Giraldus as stating that the Chapter of St.David's earnestly entreated Honorius II (1124-1130) to restore to St.David's the Metropolitan Authority which had been transferred to Dolby by St.Samson; and he also refers to Henry of Huntingdon's statement that in 1135 the Bishop of St.David's had received a pallium from the Pope (tempore nostro). Apparently nothing more was done until Giraldus's attempts to become Bishop of St.

Davids from 1176 onwards.

In 1171 Giraldus's kinsmen assisted the Earl of Pembroke in the conquest of Ireland and the Fitzgeralds and Fitzmaurices secured ample domains in the S. Presumably we find the echoes of this struggle in Chapter 42, which claims primacy for St. David's over one third of Ireland: just as (in C. 57 of the Life of St. David) the History of Geoffrey of Monmouth and the struggle of Bernard of St. David's and Urban of Llandaff are reproduced.

There was a motive for their inclusion and one for their omission; since David's Canonisation, pilgrims streamed to St. David's and it was in the interest of the Community to identify the Saint with the Alun. 'Sedes Patricii, and Porthmawr (Whitesand Bay), with Boia's destruction and Leschi's surprise attack. To repeat a previous paragraph a MS such as the Cardiff, which exhibits such a marked preference for the Welsh form of the name Dewi would not possibly have omitted the identifications had they existed. It is very unlikely that Giraldus would have omitted them, had they existed; and the only conclusion possible is that the text of Vespasian A XIV is later than Giraldus's Life: and that the Nero E1 and the Cardiff MS. are earlier.

It is also curious and significant that the Welsh version (the Llanddewi - Brefi) which has most affinities with the Vespasian is not only the last in point of time - but is also the one most intimately connected with "Welsh" Wales. It would suggest that the Vespasian A XIV was an exclusive St. David's version - elaborated for the glories of the Cathedral community, after the other had been given to the world.

The overwhelming nature of the MSS evidence is a case in point. They all belong to a type of text which is simpler than the Vespasian, and several of these MSS exhibit a tendency on their part to develop their own text. A reference to Gildas creeps into the margin of one.. two give the name of the blind king of Erging; another qualifies the situation of Llangyvelach; the "Handkerchief incident" creeps into the account of the Synod of Brevi in a few, but merely in a simple mention of it as a request on the part of the Saint. All these additions are found in different MSS.. giving in practically each instance an enormous preponderance of evidence in favour of the N.C. type - until without warning we have them all reproduced with many other peculiar variations of readings in the Vespasian A XIV.

One other consideration will conclude this discussion. It is the characteristic of mediaeval hagiologists to add to the Saints' lives rather than to abbreviate. The Second Life of Samson is much more detailed than the first. Aelred's Life of Ninian is much fuller than Bede's account. Many other instances could be given. Elaboration and expansion are always evidence of a later date. The same consideration holds good in these cases. The instances of elaboration given in the Vespasian text are mainly diffuse explanations of what is tersely written in the N.C. text. No new facts are given and on this ground also the conclusion is inevitable that N.C. represents the earlier type - and Vespasian a later, in all probability later even than Giraldus Cambrensis's Life.

An examination of the N.C. recension of the Life of St. David reveals that fact that the Life has been built up according to a specific plan.

- (1) Chapter 3 Patrick is "warned off" at St. David's on his account.
- (2) Chapter 5 A "quidam Doctor" (Gildas in V) cannot preach owing to his being present in an unborn state.
- (3) Chapter 7 Bishop Ailbe of Munster - baptizes him
- (4) Chapters 10 & 11 Paulinus, Germanus's disciple - educates him.
- (5) Chapter 15 The most celebrated English monasteries owe their existence to him.
- (6) Chapters 14 & 19 He returns to St. David's and by supernatural aid selects the site and overcomes opposition.
- (7) Chapters 35- The most eminent Saints of Ireland are David's disciples, Aidan of Ferns, 43 Finbarre of Cork, and others.
- (8) Chapters 44- His superiority over Teilo and Padarn. 48
- (9) Chapters 49- Dubricius and Daniel come personally to entreat his presence at the Synod at Brefi. 54
- Chapters 58-65 Find their fitting climax in his death and the universal mourning.

Such a treatment is obviously not a historic treatment. David is constantly brought into favourable comparison with all the eminent men of the time, who are introduced only to serve as foils to his greatness. One cannot help wondering if the mention of Ailbe of Munster, is not an echo of the contest in Ireland on the part of the Kings of Munster, to escape the primacy of Armagh. But Ricemarchus is equal to the occasion, and he brings both Ailbe and Patrick into his biography. If he thus borrows from Irish sources, he borrows from Welsh sources. The King of Erging (named Pepiau in the Vespasian MS. and some others)

is cured of his disorder by Dubricius in the Vita in the Liber Landavensis (Ree's Edition pp. 76 and 324). This disorder is differently termed in the lives of the two Saints: but Ricemarchus appears to regard blindness as the affliction calling forth the miraculous powers of the Saint. The monk who is healed at his baptism is a blind monk (moni ceci, according to N.C.; the Corrector in V reads movi caeci and Movi is the name of an Irish Saint who had no features - This accounts for the expansion of the Chapter in the V text) Paulinus is cured of an eye affliction; and likewise the King of Erging - although the Liber Landavensis gives a differing account of it. Historical accuracy was not expected of mediaeval Legenda but the edifying of the hearers and devotees. If a comparative treatment is to be made at all possible between St. Teilo of Llandaff and St. David of Minevia. The only method is that of a priori considerations, based on what is known of mediaeval Wales.

The only indications of the comparative dates of birth are those which have been already mentioned viz : the statement of the Life of Teilo in the Liber Landavensis that he had been consecrated Bishop only a short time before the Yellow Plague and the flight to Brittany; also that he and Samson of Dol were friends and fellow disciples. The latter may have been borrowed from the Life of Samson, as despite the statement that Teilo arrived at Dol when Samson was engaged on the orchards, there is no church dedicated to Teilo near Dol, nor any other evidence of a prolonged stay (BG & F. IV p.234). The one indication is quite sufficient, i.e. his episcopal status prior to the flight.

If Ricemarchus is to be trusted that David was born 30 years after St. Patrick's departure; and if also by departure we mean the "migratur ad Dominum" of the Annales Cambrae (Harl MS.3859) i.e., his death; and if, in the third place, the date, generally accepted in the 11th Century, be taken i.e. 493; then David's birth really occurred c523. He would be young and comparatively insignificant in 547, when, if the place names are any guide, he and his mother and possibly the entire clan, fled to Brittany, to a region in Finisterre, where the ruling family was connected with Teilo.

Another consideration must influence the comparison. The royal areas par excellence in S.W.Wales are the valley of the Western Taf - near Whitland and Narberth; and the Towy Valley near Llandilo-vawr i.e. some twelve miles N.E. of Carmarthen. Whitland was the royal residence where King Hywel the Good revised the Welsh Laws in 920-950 A.D. Narbeth figures largely in the Mabinogion as the principle royal seat in Demetia; and in Castellldwyran Church halfway between Whitland and Narbeth formerly stood the tombstone of Gildas's old opponent of the De-Excidio. Vortiporius King of Demetia.

The other royal residence is known as Dynevor, which is recognised in some editions of the Welsh Mediaeval Laws as the royal capital of South Wales.

Royal favour was always manifested in the form of grants of land; and a comparison of dedications in these two areas is decidedly enlightening.

The Whitland - Narbeth district.

- (1) St. David Llanddewi Velfrey. Heullan Amgoed -
Meidrim - Three all told. (BG&F II 316)

- (2) St. Teilo Castellldwyran (where Vortiporius's tombstone originally stood) Crinow, Crunwear, an extinct Llandeilo, and another Henllan in Llanddewi Velfrey. Three extant and three extinct - in the royal area. Around Tenby there are many dedications to Teilo and his family and in the lower valley of the Taf there are two important foundations Llanddowror and Llandeilo-Abercowyn. To the north west there was an extinct Llandeilo in the Parish of Maenclochog. It is not too much to say that Teilo's foundations in this area are much more numerous and important than those of David (BG & FIV 238)

(3) In the Dynevor Area. The Towy Valley

- (1) David Abergwilli - Abergorlech - Llanarthney Llangadoc. Llanycrwys and his two extinct chapels in Llandeilo Fawr (BG & FII 316-7)

N.B. There is not a single Llanddewi amongst the seven (unless Llanycrwys be admitted) Llanarthney and Llangadoc were previously dedicated to others.

- (2) Teilo The Dynevor region is called Manordeilo - Teilo's manor, and Dynevor itself is in the Parish of Llandeilo Fawr. There are also Brechfa..and extinct foundations at Llandeilo and nant Serw, Llandeilo Gathdefir (In Talley) Capel Pumsaint (in Caio) Llandeilo Rwnws in Llanegwad.

It is most significant that the memory of Teilo should persist in these regions which passed later under the sway of David. The Liber Landavensis makes Llandeilo Fawr the Saint's headquarters, where he lived and died. The strife for the Saints body lay between Penally where he was born - Llandeilo Fawr where he lived and died - and Llandaff, his most important foundations.

If it be objected that Teilo's foundations were more numerous and important because he succeeded David, then the whole tone of David's life is false. He could not have been the personality his biographer claimed, if a successor could so excel him. On the other hand, if Teilo were the

older man, this would allow him his predominance in these regions and also explain why David's work lay more in the direction of Ireland (vide Chapters given to Irish and also references to David's death in Irish Chronicles quoted previously).

It is perfectly true that there are anachronisms in the Liber Landavensis. Such Kings as Noe ab Arthur, and Maredudd ap Rhain appear among the benefactors of Dubricius and Tello. But an explanation is possible. Under Welsh tribal law, no alienation of land was allowed...consequently Saints could found monasteries only amongst their own tribe - and the tribe became part and parcel of the Monastic Community. Cadoc's great foundation lay in his Kinsmen's property. David's also: It would not be at all surprising if Deiniol of Bangor's lands lay around his monastery. There are exceptions.. but it is astonishing how often, islands figure in these exceptions, - Caldey, Bardsey, & Holyhead. One does not know the relation of such islands to the mainland in Welsh Mediaeval Law. They may have been regarded as the King's waste land, and as such outside the scope of the usual legislation. But another interesting fact emerges.. the frequency with which monasteries are called 'Islands'. Can this be due to a legal fiction, by which a certain amount of tribe land was removed from the latter category and regarded as an "island" was generally regarded - in order that it might be handed over to a religious community.

The tribe lands were re-divided every fourth generation or so, and the references to the later kings may have referred to confirmations of the original grant, rather than to these grants themselves.

The list of Churches extant and extinct given in B.G. and F. IV 237-239 (article - Teilo) includes churches in every S.Wales County but Cardigan and really support the view that Teilo succeeded to Dubricius's episcopal jurisdiction, even if he did not claim possession of Dubricius's property in Archenfield. The political history of South Wales is that of the growing power of the rulers of the S.W. the descendants of Rhodri Fawr (d.877), and before him of Ceretic son of Cunedag of the Saxon Genealogies. An eighth century descendant seized N.W. Carmarthen and a century later their domains included Gower. A marriage in the 10th century gave them the S.W. from Carmarthen to St.Davids; and the Norman Conquest found them ruling all S.Wales except Glamorgan and Monmouth. One can parody an old expression "cujus regio-eius religio" thus "cujus regio, ejus episcopus"; and as the domains of the Kingdom of St. David expanded, so did the Spiritual sway of his bishop; and as on the other hand, that of Llandaff contracted, so did the spiritual jurisdiction, until the Norman Conquest deprived it of its oldest members, the Churches of Dubricius himself. The struggle between the two Sees of Llandaff and St. David's in the 12th century was one between two ages. St. David's insisting on the status quo, and the territorial conditions of the past few centuries, and Llandaff on the traditions of the sixth century. Both were right in their point of view, Llandaff in its insistence on the wide jurisdiction enjoyed by Teilo and Dubricius; St. David's in its demand for the recognition of its more immediate rights, and St. David's proposed^v victorious, but it signalised its victory by an attempt to capture antiquity in addition, and to claim a jurisdiction for the 6th century as extensive, if not more so, than that which it enjoyed in the 12th.

A due recognition of the place held by Dubricius and Teilo does not bind us to the Anachronisms and inventions of the Liber Landavensis, which in the case of the Life of Teilo Re-echoes Ricemarchus. The Jerusalem pilgrimage is a palpable fiction, and the Liber out-herods Ricemarchus in the description of Teilo and David's schooldays. Its ascription of archiepiscopal dignity to Dubricius and Teilo is as unhistorical as that to David. But a genuine historic tradition underlies it and can be trusted, provided that St. David's is excluded from its thought. The record of Churches had every appearance of being genuine even if any of the Charters are undoubted forgeries (in reality they are explanations of fact rather than inventions of the objective fact) and we are left with the impression that in his day Teilo occupied a place second only to Dubricius. His work lay in the same regions, and he extended and consolidated the work. If his work was the more episcopal, David's work was the more monastic. Teilo chose as his headquarters the most important strategic point in S. Wales; whereas David chose the most important for strategic contact with countries outside Wales. Teilo appears to have died comparatively soon after his return from Brittany, whereas David probably survived all the great figures of the heroic age and left behind him a more vivid impress of his personality. Ireland seems to have retained a more grateful recognition of David's life and work than Wales. Irish chronicles and Irish biographies mention him far more than do the Welsh - and his Welsh biographer was the son of a Scholar who had spent 13 years studying in Ireland.

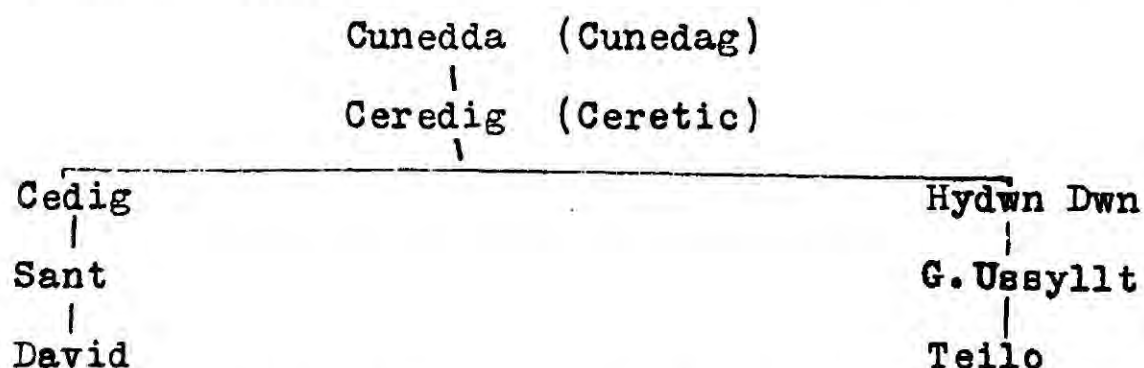
Even under peril of repetition the question of the early date of St. David's death must be briefly discussed. Usher (B.G. and F. II p.306) gives it as 544 A.D. His authority presumably is Geoffrey of Monmouth. In Book XI Chapter 3 Geoffrey states that "Malgo King of the Venedotians" commanded him (St. David) to be buried in his Church. Malgo is apparently to be identified with Maglocunus. William of Malmesbury follows Geoffrey and gives 546 as the date. He and Geoffrey in a sense were collaborators (vide Geoffrey Book XII c.20 where Geoffrey in taking farewell of his work relegates the subsequent Welsh history to Caradoc of Llancarvan "my contemporary as I do also the Kings of the Saxons to William of Malmesbury" &c.) and both enjoyed the patronage of Robert Earl of Gloucester natural son of Henry I (Birch History of Margam p.278) Ussher accepts Gildas's date for "Malgo" doubtless, and quite consistently places David's death before the latter's death in the yellow plague of 547. But Geoffrey is not consistent with himself. In Book XI C.2. Arthur gives up the Crown of Britain to Constantine in 542. In the next Chapter (XI. 3.) he says then died St. Daniel the pious prelate of the Church of Bangor. At the same time died David the pious Archbishop of Legions at the City of Menevia in his own Abbey. (The Annales Cambriae (Harleian MS 3859) give 584 as the "Dispositio" Danielis Bancorum); King Constantine is made to die in three years although the Annales Cambriae records his conversion in 589. Two other reigns follow and then comes another Malgo a King of Britain of whom history knows nothing. But it is

significant that Geoffrey places the death of King Constantine, Daniel and David near each other and the *Annales Cambriae* places Daniel's death in 584. Constantine's conversion in 589 and David's death in some "anno CXLVII" whether of his age or some "computatio". One can only conjecture here, and the only conjecture possible is that as Maglocunus (Mailcun, Malgo or which ever form of his name is to be preferred) was being introduced into the legend of every Saint, Geoffrey of Monmouth felt himself justified to add to the glory of St. David by bringing the King into the narrative of his funeral arrangements. There is no historical warrant for associating the Saint and King Maglocunus.

The same consideration which would militate against David and Teilo being fellow pupils of Paulinus would also operate here. If Lloyd's date for his birth be accepted i.e. C.520-523. David would have been a very young man at the time of Maglocunus's death. It is likely that Ussher thought the early date for his death justified, in view of Ricemarchus's suggestion for his date of birth. 30 years after Patrick's departure for Ireland is 462. It is true that the dates 462 and 544 are very satisfactory and plausible for the duration of a man's life, but the date of birth is much too early if the Saint is to be equated with Gildas (died 570 Ann. Camb.) Dubricius. Aidan of Ferns (died 625 or 633 B.G. & F. I 125) ST. Finbarreef of Cork (usual date for death 623 B.G. & F.III 23). The Legend of St. Kentigern (B.G. & F. II 236) states that St. David died

during the former's stay at St. Asaph (C.550-574) but this legend (B.G. & F.II 231-240) simply teems with anachronisms and is a product of the 12th century. It is probable that it contains some truth, but to introduce the names of Maglocunus and his father into a legend of 550-574 is quite unhistorical. The Liber Landavensis (pp 109 and 352) makes David die during Teilo's lifetime but there is a motive for this early date, which also may have been derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth. The author of the Life of Teilo (where the statement is found) is anxious to prove that Teilo had jurisdiction over St. David's, and its date can be dismissed as unhistorical. The evidence of the Irish annals is too conclusive and the dates C.520-589 may be accepted as the most reliable for St. David's Life.

Another point to be elucidated to the parentage on the father's side of both David and Teilo. Baring Gould and Fisher (Vol. 1 p.93 in the genealogical tables of the family of Cunedda) make them both descendants of Cunedda (Nennius's Cunedag) through his son Ceretic (from whom Cardigan derives its name). The pedigree is given there as follows :-



The pedigree is discussed in Baring Gould & Fisher's Articles in David II p.286 and Teilo IV 227. Both pedigrees are highly unsatisfactory. When we consider that of Teilo (as being most briefly dismissable) the

astonishing fact stands out that this Saint supposed to be closely connected with the ruling family of Cardigan has not a single church in the country and his name is most closely associated with that part of the principality which alone succeeded in withstanding the expansion of the descendants of Cunedda i.e. Glamorgan But it was necessary to explain why Teilo's name figured in the royal manor of Dynevor in Carmarthenshire and an explanation was found which was complimentary both to the dignity of the Saint and the traditions of the royal family. Was not the family of Cunedda Wledig (Cunedag) one of the three great saintly pedigrees of Britain (Triad 42 Myvyrian Archaeology Gee's Edition p. 391)? and one of the three royal residences of Wales, Dynevor was actually situated in a district called Maenordeilo - Teilo's Manor? Teilo must therefore have belonged to the said Royal Family and to the Southern west branch of it i.e. that of Ceredig. The old tradition that N.W. Carmarthen between the Gwili and the Towy had not been conquered by Cunedda's descendants until the 8th Century was not discovered until Lloyd's researches revealed the fact (It was unknown to O.M. Edwards when writing his "Wales" for the "Story of the Nations Series" in 1901) But all that is known of Teilo places him as far as possible from the region of Cunedda. He is born near Tenby in Pembrokeshire and his associations with Dubricius and the Britons are impossible to reconcile with the descent provided for him by Baring Gould and Fisher.

It is the same in David's case. There is a great variety in the names provided for David's father and

grandfather. The Breton tradition (Vie de Sainte Nonne) give Ceredig as his father; and the Welsh, Sant son or grandson of Ceredig. When these contradictions are compared with the clear evidence of the N. Wales relationships within the family of Cunedda, it is impossible not to doubt them. Lloyd rightly says (op cit I p. 154) "better evidence than we have at present is needed to prove that St. David was of royal blood and grandson of Ceredig of Cunedda". The oldest pedigrees of the reigning families of Wales (Genealogiae Hoeli Harleian MS. 3859) give the descent from Ceredig through a son IUSAY a grandson SERGUILL and a great grandson BODGU so that the Sanctus Cereticae gentis rex of the N.C. text of Ricemarchus or the Sanctum regem Cereticae regionis of the Vespasian text (Chapter IV in each case) or the "Kereticae regionis princeps" of Giraldus III 379, is only a fiction of the Middle Ages to explain his ecclesiastical preeminence in those regions. But the foundations bearing the Saint's name must be accounted for.

The two undoubted indisputable foundations are St. David's and Llanddewi Brefi; and if Wade Evans (Notes on Chapter 3 and Chapter 57 (Life of St. David's SPCK pp. 65 and 113) can be relied upon both of them, lay within the bounds of the "Irish" domains in S.W. Wales. Llanddewi Brefi is on the E bank of the Teivy and is one of the very few parishes in Cardiganshire on that bank. But apart from these two areas all dedications bearing the name of David exhibit evidence of motive i.e. the establishment of a district cult at the expense of the other Saints.

In Pembrokeshire Llanddewi Velfrey is the centre of Teilo's foundations

In Cardiganshire Llanddewi Brefi was given Llanbadern Odwyn as a Chapelry.

Llanddewi Aberarth is the next Parish to
Llanbadarn Trefeglwys

In Brecknock Llanddewi'r Cwm rivals Llangynog

In Radnor Llanbadarn y Garreg is completely
dwarfed by David's foundations around
Glascwm and Cregrina.

Llanddewi Ystradenny is situated between
Llanbadarn Fawr and Cunllo's Churches to
the North

It is the same with his Mother's dedications.

In Cardiganshire Llanon - rivals Llansantffraid (St.
Bridget of Kildare)

In Carmarthenshire Llannon rivals Llandebie (a
daughter of Brychan)

In Pembrokeshire St. Bride's Bay has St. Bride's on
its Southern extremity and St. Non's
Chapel on its Northern

It is significant to note than when the Normans came they
tried to repeat the process.

Llanddeur Velfrey has its next neighbour Lampeter
Velfrey

Llanddewi Brefi has as a near neighbour Lampeter in
Cardiganshire

Abergwili near Carmarthen has near it St. Peter's
Carmarthen

Llanbedr in Randorshire lies between the two groups of
Dewi Churches.

Baring Gould and Fisher (II. 317-318) are
prepared to admit that the Churches dedicated to David
in Archenfield are probably dedicated to another David.
The Liber Landavensis records among the names of
witnesses to Charters supposed to have been issued to
a "Bishop" Ubeluui a Dewi filius Circan sacerdotis
(pp 153-407) and a Deuri summus sacerdos filius Curan

(p.154 - 408) In the former instance a Meircham Dewi filius is also mentioned.

The fact that for centuries, beginning most probably with the first conquest of N.W. Carmarthen by the rulers of Cardigan about 730, the fortunes of David's foundations were intertwined with those of the most powerful family in S. Wales, only the more easily explains the possibility of such an expansion. The Liber Landavensis is sufficiently honest to give us the actual stages in the case of the expansion of Llandaff and it is most unfortunate that we have not a similar connection of documents to illustrate the growth and expansion of St. David's.

The nature of the evidence above adduced, and any possible deductions from it, need not minimise our estimate of David's position and influence in his own time. He still stands forth as one of the great personalities of the religious life of the sixth century, and under him his monastery acquired such a predominant position in the South West as ultimately to attain to the ecclesiastical suzerainty of the most considerable in area of the Welsh Kingdoms, and even to make a powerful claim for the supremacy in all Wales.

THE RETURN FROM BRITTANY.

Baring Gould & Fisher (II 304 & IV 233) state that in all probability David returned from Brittany in 551 and Teilo in 555. For the latter date they have the evidence of the *Liber Landavensis* for the duration of the stay in Brittany (seven years and seven months - pp 107 & 350); in the case of the former, they assume that David returned as soon as the plague had ceased; there is no confirmatory evidence produced. There is no significance to be attached to any difference in these dates :- nor any deductions to be drawn. On the evidence of the two lives, each saint returned to his own Monastery and his work. David apparently returned to *Vetus Rubus* (if we are to identify the period spent in Brittany with the journey through England in chapter 13) and ultimately moved to St. Davids'. Teilo likewise returned to his home and if the grants in the *Liber Landavensis* are any guide, spent the remainder of his life in consolidating the work in the districts occupied by Dubricius.

The question of the site of the Vetus Rubus old Menevia is an instance of the difficulties attending any study of ecclesiastical origins in Wales. Baring Gould & Fisher (II 292. 294) place it near St. Davids. Wade Evans (*Y.Cymmrodor* XXIV p.39 note (1)) finds it in the same place and adds very severely "On this clever and ingenious exegesis of our renowned Archdeacon (*Giraldus Cambrensis* iii 384) are erected all the stones of Dewi Sant's connection with Henvynyw and Moderu Cardiganshire", But in his *English Life of St. David* (S.P.C.K., published 10 years later than the Latin Life) he draws quite the opposite conclusions from the same evidence "These passages in Gerald and the Welsh Life from the sole ground known to me for the attempts made from time to time

to fix Hen Vynyw in the immediate neighbourhood of St. David's (S.P.C.K. Life pp. 86 & 87).

Hen Vynyw and Llanddewi Aberarth are two parishes in which the Town of Aberaeron in Cardiganshire stands, - the river Aeron which flows through the town being the boundary between the two. The next parish to the North of Llanddewi Aberarth is Llansantffraid (St. Bride's or St. Bridget's) and it contained a chapel of St. Non, from which the large village of Llanon has derived its name. So that, just as in the extreme West of Pembrokeshire, so also in mid Cardiganshire the four names are grouped together. Hen Vynyw (Old Menevia, Vetulus Rubus), David, Non, and Bridget. It is useless trying to speculate as to the origin of the cardiganshire names. But the evidence of Ricemarchus as to Non living in Demetia is conclusive, and the Black Book of St. David's gives no evidence as to the Bishop of St. David's possessing any land in the parish of Henvynyw (South of the Aeron) whereas at Llanddewi Aberarth and Llanon such possessions are recorded. This militates against Wade Evan's second thoughts, as expressed in the S.P.C.K. Life p. 86 & 87. The language of Ricemarchus would suggest that there was not much distance between the Vetus Rubus and the New Rubus. There is really no evidence to connect St. David with any part of Cardiganshire N or W. of the River Teivy. (the reading of LINHENLANNU and its identification with Henllan in S. Cardiganshire being found in one MS only-the Vespasian A XIV & omitted in the other ten, and in the Three Versions)

The remainder of Ricemarchus's Life is concerned with the Saint's monastery at St. David's (if we accept the mythical journey to Jerusalem and the express summons to the Synod of Brevi): and we may add, more with Irish disciples

than with Welsh. This point cannot be too strongly and too frequently stressed. The nature and scope of St. David's work was dictated by the strategic position of St. Davids' - it lay equi-distant between Cornwall & Ireland, and in touch with all the Countries of the Celtic World. If the evidence adduced by Lloyd, Zimmer, & Rhys, is to be accepted Pembrokeshire was inhabited by an Irish speaking race and Vortipor's tombstone has abilingual inscription i.e. the Latin Memoria Vorteporigis protictoris and the Goidelic Ogam Votecorigas. (Lloyd 132). So that David would be naturally more drawn to Ireland than Britain.

We know nothing of Teilo's paternal relatives, but apparently the neighbourhood of Caldey was a resort of refugees from all parts. Bretons, fugitives from the S & E, and possibly from Ireland; but, just as David apparently looked towards the West, Teilo looked towards the East and from his headquarters at Llandilo Vawr above Carmarthen he dominated the strategic roadways into all S. Wales, and Herefordshire, as from a central and commanding position.

The Liber Landavensis after the Life of Teilo records grants of Churches given to him. These grants include three in Upper Gwent in Monmouthshire (Llanarth, Llantilio Crossenny, and Llantilio Pertholey), Brunus, near Abergwilli in Carmarthen, and several churches near Penally (near Tenby in Pembrokeshire) and in the Taf Valley, together with one near Fishguard and one near the Teivy. With the exception of Mathry there is nothing antecedently impossible in the list. The Churches in Archenfield are not granted to him, but the Vita claims that the disciples of Dubricius submitted to him (Lib-Land 108, 122, 350-369). With respect

to the founding of Llandaff itself, the Liber records no grant of its founding but on pp 111 and 355 one entire section is devoted to the privilege of Teilo & his Church of Llandaff. The document is admittedly late and no King's name is mentioned in connection with it. Wade Evans (Life of St. David S.P.C.K. IV 87 & 88) forgetting that Ricemarch's Life was written "in the interests of St. David's" waxes Satirical over the Life of Teilo "written in the supposed interest of the episcopal See of Llandaff" and that there is no evidence 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" (intro pp 87 & 88)

Rees's Edition of the Liber Landavensis no-where records the granting of the site of Llandaff to Oudoceus, and the only mention of Oudoceus's name in connection with Llandaff is in his Life C II pp 128 & 377

... Transibat .. versus ecclesiam Suam Landaviae which is only natural, the Liber a few pages previously having mentioned his succeeding Teilo, Baring Gould & Fisher (IV 231 & 232) states that "Teilo was episcopal Abbot of Llandaff from the very foundation of the Monastery. This explains many things that otherwise are puzzling. In after years the bishop of the diocese was generally known among the Welsh as Esgob Teilo "Teilo's Bishop"....

The Church of Llandaff was Eglwys Teilo "Teilo's Church" Similarly the Book of Llandaff is called "Llyfr Teilo"

Teilo's Book .. and the Charter of the rights and privileges of Llandaff is "Teilo's Privilegium" (quoting Newell's Landaff S.P.C.K. pp 18 & 19) ... The Common

mediaeval appellation for the Diocese was Flwyl Teifo "Teilo's plebs". Teilo became convertible with Llandaff. There can be no doubt whatever that Teilo was the founder and original patron of Llandaff".

Further evidence of Teilo's connection with Llandaff is afforded by the "Gospels of St. Chad" which formerly belonged to Llandaff but which before the year 973 was taken to Lichfield. This is the earliest extant document relating to the Welsh Church. On the margin of the MS. are written (in a hand which experts say is of the early part of the ninth Century) various memoranda of grants made to the Church, (Willis Bund Celtic Church in Wales pp 227 & 374. Gwenogvryn Evans's Edition of Liber Landavensis Introduction pp XXIV - XXVII) These marginal references in 9th Century Welsh state.

- (1) The Gospel was given to God & St. Teilo upon the Altar
- (2) Land belonging to the Monastery is called the "Land of Teilo" and this entry is witnessed by "tota familia Teliavi"
- (3) Nobis Episcopus Teilliau & Saturguid sacerdos Teilliau witness the fifth grant (Extracts from Book of St. Chad Lib. Land pp 272 - 274. quoted also in Baring Gould & Fisher IV 232)

These extracts prove clearly that in the 9th century the Church at Llandaff was as closely connected with Teilo., as was that of Menevia with David (Asser in his Life of Alfred the Great, mentions the Parochia Degul in connection with his invitation to Alfred's Court). Wade Evans has proved too much and the ninth Century entries in the margin of the Book of St. Chad are only a further evidence of the honesty underlying the records of the Liber Landavensis; and in this case, the former anticipates the latter and vindicates it.

Teilo then some time between 555 and his death founds

Llandaff and three churches between the Usk and the Wye in North Monmouthshire, - in lands formerly occupied by St. Cadoc, and from which Dubricius and his disciples had apparently been excluded. Lloyd (p.273) argues a change of Dynasty, - the old family of Glywys and his sons having for some reason or another disappeared, The extensive foundations of Cadoc in Glamorgan and Monmouth might suggest that the family had all taken to the monastic life. Cadoc apparently appointed a certain Meurig to rule in Gwynllwg (B.G. & F II. 30) But on the other hand many saints of the family of Brychan including Cadoc's reputed brother are found in North-East & East Cornwall (B.G. & F I p.36); & Bugi Cadoc's brother and father of Beuno is recorded as living on the Severn somewhere in the vicinity of Welsh-pool in Montgomeryshire (B.G. & F I p.210 & note 4). On the one hand, the plague which drove Teilo to Brittany may have driven them to Cornwall; and on the other the native inhabitants, who had been conquered by Glywys two generations previously may have rebelled; and it is also possible that a dynasty from Archenfield may have stepped in. Baring Gould & Fisher II 375 gives a genealogical table establishing a connection between the reigning family of Archenfield (with which Dubricius was connected) and that which subsequently reigned for several centuries in S.E. Wales. The latter's generosity to Teilo and his monastery (the presumptive successor of Dubricius as Bishop in S. Wales), can be best understood on these grounds i.e., that they were assisting the same succession of bishops as their ancestors. Whether the change was the result of the monastic withdrawal, or a flight from the plague, or a

conquest, we are not in a position to assert; but undoubtedly a new dynasty arose and the name of the new king is popularly associated with Teilo in the founding of Llandaff Meurig ap Tewdrig. Lloyd places this king about 630, but a date at least fifty years earlier would better suit the ecclesiastical evidence (Lloyd p.273)

It is to this period that we would assign the coming of the community of Illtyd to Glamorgan and the abandoning to oblivion of the old site near Tenby (i.e. Caldey). There would be advantages. A new dynasty which favoured the bishop who had been in contact with them, would tell materially in their favour. There would be room for expansion in Glamorgan where possibly there might not be in Pembrokeshire. It is from this time that we have the continuous tradition of Illtyd and his community not only, in the great monastery itself but in the other Churches dedicated to him, i.e. Llantrisant the Mother Church of all the hill Country of Glamorgan has Illtyd as one of its founders.

Teilo appears to have been accompanied by members of the family of Gildas. The Welsh Genealogies called them the Sons of Gildas. (B.G. & F I p.94) We can imagine that such a relationship would be repugnant to the authors and supporters of the two monastic lives. Williams inclines to the view that Gildas remained in Britain until after the outbreak of the plague and that the "De Excidio" states that his monastic career lay yet in the future. His brothers have Churches dedicated to them in Anglesey, but he has not; and his strong views as to the dissolubility of the marriage tie, vis-a-vis the monastic vow (see his condemnation of Maglocunus) leave us no doubt, that when convinced of the

reality of his vocation to the monastic life, he would gladly leave home and family. The question is, as to whether the evidence of the Lives (which state that he went to Rhuis at 30 years of age) or the Excidio (which states that in 544 his great desire was to join the few men whom he so much admired) is to be accepted. If the former then the old Tradition of the Sons of Gildas is to be rejected; if the latter then we can accept the tradition and find in it nothing incompatible with the fact that Gildas did finally embrace the Monastic life. On the whole we incline to the latter view, and accept William's estimate i.e. that Gildas in all probability did not turn monk until some time after 544 or even 547, when he was about 45 to 50 years old; and that it is quite possible that he had children. In Gower two of these "sons" are Commemorated in Llangennith and Llanmadoc. Two "brothers" of Gildas figure in the neighbourhood of Teilo's dedications. A Maelog or Mailocus is commemorated in Llandyfaelog near Carmarthen (whose ancient Church Llandeulyddog yn y Gaer (i.e. Llandeulyddog in Castris) was appropriated by Teilo.) He has two other Churches between Brecon and the Wye. Llandefaelog Fach & Llandefaelog Tre'r Graig; and in the bend of the Wye between Builth and Hay (i.e. the region of Radnor called Elvel) the Church of Llowes is dedicated to him, although it figures in the Liber Landavensis as having been given by King Meurig to Bishop Oudoceus. His brother Cewydd also figures in these localities. There is a Llangewydd (formerly a church now a farm house) near Bridgend in Glamorgan. He is the Patron Saint of Dissert and Aberedw (near Builth, but in Elvel in Radnorshire) & Cusop is also his. Its ancient spelling was Ceushope. If it be borne in mind that Dubricius's great centre was Moccas near Clifford; and if Teilo succeeded to his influence,

(Teilo himself had a Church in these Districts of Radnorshire at Llandeilo Graban near Builth), then it does not seem strange that Gildas's brothers are found near his dedications in mid-Wales, as Gildas's sons are in Gower. One of these brothers Maelog is also found in Anglesey at Llanfaelog; and two other sons Noethon and Gwynog near Llangwm in Denbighshire on Telford's road from Corwen to Bettws y Coed) Gwynog is also found at Llanwnnog in Montgomeryshire (near the Railway Junction of Moat Lane) Another member of the clan Gwrai or Garai (described variously as Son of Gildas (P.G. & F III 377) Son of Caw brother of Gildas (B.G. & F.111 207 & 8) and Son of Cewydd and nephew of Gildas (P.G. & F.111 43 & 4) is found as Patron Saint in Penstrowed the neighbouring parish of Llanwnnog; and he is represented as having assisted the Breton Llonic in the latter's foundation of Llandinam (B.G. & F.111 377); but there are chronological difficulties in this case.

No reasons can be given for this dispersion of the clan of Gildas from Anglesey. It is generally assumed that the publication of the De Excidio so angered Maglocunus that the entire clan fled for safety. It is just possible that those whose names survive in the Severn Valley of Montgomeryshire found it necessary only to escape into the neighbouring kingdom of Powys. Whilst the others in some way or other found themselves in Brittany, or in some other region associated with Teilo. The only conclusion possible is that this association enabled them to return to Wales and to take up religious work in these areas in Teilo's sphere of influence. Another inexplicable fact is the association of "Stephen" (Stephan or Ystyffan) of the royal race of Powys with Teilo. He was a nephew of Brochwel King of Powys and yet his two Churches of Llanstephan are found near

Teilo's Churches. Llanstephan near Carmarthen has Llandilo Abercowin near by and Llanstephan in Radnor near Builth has Llandeilo Graban near at hand.

If our estimate of Teilo after the return from Brittany is correct, then it attributes to him the work of reconstruction and reorganisation in S. Wales. The Community of Illtyd followed him to Gower and Glamorgan. The Family of Gildas and a scion of the family of Powys are placed in possession of the Wye Valley from Builth to Clifford. The disciples of Dubricius are left in undisturbed possession in Archenfield. Apparently his own clan are stirred up in the lands between Milford Haven and Carmarthen...& Teilo himself from his seat at Llandilo Vawr is able to direct the entire work.

We have no direct evidence for such a scheme of operations only such circumstantial evidence as is afforded by an examination of place names. It is principally a priori and also to a certain extent, based on the Liber Landavensis. But such an examination of circumstantial evidence may lead to conclusions which enable us to arrive at a satisfactory explanation of the development of the Church in S.E. Wales. It may be objected that such an explanation savours too much of the Monarchic Episcopate of the twelfth century. But this is not necessarily the case. Even in the most chaotic state of Celtic ecclesiastical non-organisation a great personality would attract disciples or neighbours, and all the evidence we possess, points to Teilo's having been as strong a personality as David. The terms used to describe the Community of Llandaff & St.David's are identical (the monastery & parochia of Degui; the monastery and the plebs of Teilo) the one turned his eyes to Ireland, and the other in the spirit of Dubricius followed the lines of his predecessor. Wade Evans and others have spared no pains in ridiculing the pretensions of Llandaff to a claim in the succession of Teilo. Llandaff

stands in precisely the position of Durham. The Bishop of Durham claims to be the successor of Aidan and Cuthbert notwithstanding the fact that the Community moved in 883 from Lindisfarne and settled in Chester-le-Street; and further about 990 came to Durham. There was a similar migration from Lichfield to Chester & Coventry before the final return was made to Lichfield. Other English Sees have witnessed similar transferences. So Llandaff can look back to Dubricius the first Bishop in South Wales although his principal seat was in Archenfield and to Teilo who is justly regarded as his successor as Bishop in South Wales, although the Liber Landavensis (pp 110 & 353) admits that his residence was at Llandilo Vawr where he died. Llandaff nevertheless became the final home of his community, (his family (familia), and the seat of his bishop, although it was his successor Oudoceus who is considered as having finally settled in the South East.

We have no record as to the time of Teilo's death. The grant of Llan Teliau Cressinnych (Lib. Land pp.116 & 361) mentions a Saxon raid into Monmouthshire, but the dates given by the Anglo Saxon Chronicle before 600 A.D. or even after it are so unreliable that they afford no help (Haverfield Roman Occupation 1924 edition pp.276,277). The record of the battle of Tintern would almost throw doubt upon it. (Lib. Land. 133-5 383-5). This seems to be the first raid of the Saxons across the lower Wye, and the old father of King Meuric is still alive and falls in the battle. The Saxons figure in the later legends as Maglocunus in the earlier, viz: as the enemies of God whose fall and defeat brings rewards to the Saints. If the dates of the Anglo Saxon Chronicle could be proved reliable we might assign it to the neighbourhood of the year 580 but in view of the impossibility of that date we might have to assign it to an even earlier period.

THE SYNOD OF BREFI.

Williams, in his edition of Gildas from the Cymmrodorion Society of London - (pp 150-154) remarks that the De Excedio had certainly gained the ear of the Clergy of Britain; and that from the years immediately following its publication a new era set in in Britain & Ireland. Gildas was undoubtedly assisted by the coming of the Mortalitas Magna - or Pestis Flava - or whatever name we may assign to the Great plague of 547. - & the magnitude of the Catastrophe might well vindicate the irascible saint's reputation as a prophet, & point the moral of his exhortations David & Teilo on their return from Brittany immediately set about re-organising religion in S. Wales & it is to this period that we must assign the Synod of Brefi.

Baring Gould & Fisher (II p.301) prefer a date c. 544-545 so as to allow of Dubricius's having been present (Ricemarchus's Life c.50). Dubricius is generally considered to have ceased functioning as "Bishop" only a little before the plague of 547, as Teilo- (according to his life in the Liber Landavensis), had only recently taken up the responsibilities involved. Therefore Teilo's "Succession" is given under 546 and the Synod of Brefi under 544 or 545.

The unhistorical and panegyric tone of Ricemarchus's Life renders it a very unsafe guide, & there can be little doubt that Dubricius & Daniel were introduced into the narrative of the Synod of Brefi only to exalt David above them. There are reasons why it is very unlikely that such a Synod could have been held before the return from Brittany. The "Synod" movement is undoubtedly a result of the reforms urged by Gildas's "De Excedio". His overwhelming onslaught on the gentle & apathetic clergy of his

day, which takes up the principal part of what may be termed the third portion of the De Excedio (ie. cc 64-109) could only take effect after the removal of such a King as Maglocunus. In addition, to make such a movement effective a "training period" would be necessary, where all who were to take part in such a movement could be brought together in preparation for such a work. This could only be found in Brittany. The general flight from Britain into new surroundings, the disappearance of the old enemies; the intercourse in Brittany possible not only between the exiles and refugees, but also with such leading disciples of Illtyd as Samson, Paul Aurelian, Maclovius, & Gildas himself, would furnish precisely the circumstances which would best promote such a revival of religion. It is also possible that during their stay in Brittany they would learn something of the value of Synods or Councils for concerted action. Gildas does not mention a single synod in the De Excedio. He does not even rebuke the Bishops & Clergy for not having called one. His invective seems to be directed against them for lack of personal responsibility rather than for negligence in assuming a policy of corporate action. (Williams Gildas pp. 153 & 4). But in France - such councils & synods had been very frequent - sixteen having occurred between 451-479 & in the very decade we are discussing. Samson of Dol attended a Council of Paris & signed its decrees as "Samson peccator Episcopus". It is impossible to assign an exact date for this Council of Paris. Taylor (SPCK Life of St. Samson p.XXX.) gives only the outside dates between 556-573. Lloyd (p.147) gives 555 or 557. Baring Gould and Fisher (IV 166) gives the date 557. It may seem strange that a British Bishop should take part in a Frankish Council; but as a matter of fact the Bretons and the Franks maintained very friendly relations until 558, when the Breton leaders

interfered in the family quarrels of the Frankish Kings; and both Bretons & Franks cared little for the Gallo-Roman towns. It is also possible that until 567, when the Archbishop of Tours officially commanded the Breton Church not to ordain Bishops without his consent (Taylor op cit. p.XXX), the Breton Churches were officially at peace with the Bishops of Gaul, and it was possible for one like Samson, who had been already consecrated Bishop in Britain to attend their Councils. After the Metropolitan of Tours had claimed jurisdiction over Brittany, circumstances would no doubt change; but until 567 such conciliar intercourse was at least possible, - & we can well believe that Samson was present; & we can also believe that Samson's presence at a Synod would open the eyes of the British fugitives in Brittany to this means of re-vivifying the Church life in the Principality. A consensus of the above authorities would place this synod within the years 555-557.

A gathering, partaking of the nature of a Synod had already taken place in Brittany. Commore the regent of Dumnonia had seized the power, & had endeavoured to establish himself all the more firmly by a policy of assassination. The rightful heir. Judwal had fled to Paris, and was imprisoned there. The rulers of Cornouaille and Bro Weroc were themselves very apprehensive of Commore's policy. The Saints of Brittany, principally the British immigrants, assembled on the Monts d'Arrets north of the Aulne in Finisterre for a "Conjuration" of Commore of Dumnomia - or as it would be termed today a "Com-mination" or solemn excommunication. Samson himself went to Paris & brought back the young prince of Dumnomia with him to Brittany & in the same year the regent was defeated slain on the same Monts d'Arrets. Both the "Conjuration" and the death of Commore are assigned to the year 555, and Baring Gould and Fisher

consider that Teilo was involved in the movement. (See BG & F III pp. 122. 421 & 2. 485. IV 84 & 162. For Teilo's share (which is conjectural - see BG & F. IV 234. See also Taylor SPCK Life of Samson pp 53-58). Willis Bund (Celtic Church in Wales pp 257-260) gives a list of similar synods from the Liber Landavensis which various Bishops of Llandeiff from Oudoceus to Herwald (d. 1104) summoned to enforce righteousness on the rules of Glamorgan and Gwent. It is certainly interesting and significant to note the parallel between the sixth century "Conjuration" and the series of excommunicatory synods in Llandaff; and the parallel suggests a policy which owed its origin to Teilo's experiences of the value of such a procedure, during his sojourn in Brittany.

There are therefore cogent reasons why a "Synod movement" could not have been held before 547., and why it could have been held after 555-557. The policy of Gildas could not possibly operate during the lifetime of such kings as Maglocunus, whereas there was every opportunity for such after the return from Brittany. We therefore incline to the view that the synod of Brefi must be assigned to the early years after the return e.g. anytime between 557 & 569 when a second Synod is reported as having been held.

The place where the Synod was held was no less significant. Some ten miles or so, above Lampeter on the river Teivy, in Cardiganshire, is the site of the Roman fort of Llanio, guarding the passage of the Teivy (Lloyd p.74). Northwards the road led through Cardiganshire to N. Wales and Southwards over the hills past the gold mines of Caio to Llandovery, whence one road led to the Usk Valley and another down the Towy to Carmarthen. It was admirably situated for a gathering, which has been described as the most representative ecclesiastical assembly of the British race. The account given by Ricemarchus enumerates 118 bishops besides a countless multitude of others (c.49); but

his statement need not be taken too literally; and his account of the miracle of the hill which arose under David during his sermon, may imply no more than that the Synod was transferred from the neighbourhood of the fort to the site of the hill on which stands the Church of Llanddewi Brefi, (next to St. David's itself - the most important of his foundations). We have no knowledge of the personnel of the Synod. North Wales was apparently unaffected by the flight to Brittany but no conclusion can be drawn from this surmise, which would exclude the Saints of the North. Deiniol of Bangor is commemorated at Llanddeiniol (6 miles S. of Aberystwyth): one of the line of Powys, Ystyffan or Stephen is associated with Teilo; and as we shall see later, there is a remarkable association between the Saints of Radnor and Montgomery, & South Cardigan. This would suggest that, as Teilo obtained the co-operation of Illtyd's Community for Glamorgan, & Gildas's clan for the middle Wye Valley - so that the co-operation of the Bretons of the Upper Wye and the Saints of the Severn Valley was enlisted on behalf of South Cardiganshire. This is only a conjecture - but it is an interesting and a significant one - and in view of the existence of Churches dedicated to such "Powys" Saints as Tyssilio, in North Pembrokeshire and South Cardiganshire, - it supplies an explanation for it, and also some idea as to the area influenced by the Synod. If Padern or his Community were represented at the Synod (and there is a Llan-badarn on the Western side of the valley as this spot - facing the Llanddewi on the Eastern) it is not likely that the Breton Communities of North Wales were over looked. Thus, although we lack corroborative evidence, yet the moral earnestness of the men who had spent the years of exile in Brittany and had learned the lessons of the De Excedio

makes it very probable that all Wales was represented here.

Ricemarchus further assures us that the Synod was occupied with the Pelagian heresy, and he has been followed by many, who repeat his statement, Gildas however, has no complaint to make against the Christians of Britain on this score; (Williams Gildas p 151). There is no heresy or schism - only complete laxity of life. The influence of Constantius Life of Germanus is evident in the description of the Synod - as it was in the account of Paulinus in C.10, and also in the Chapters of the "Historia Brittonum". The early Welsh writers seem to have been most anxious to claim a relationship between Germanus & the British Church ; He appears as the source and fount of all authority ; and the British Church is portrayed as carrying on his work by disciples such as Illtyd and Paulinus, and by such Councils, as the Synod of Brefi. The legend of this relationship may have originated in the days when the British Church was regarded as beyond the pale of Christendom. The obvious retort was that on a far distant occasion Germanus himself visited Britain, and the British Church was still the same organisation and derived everything from him.

But if Williams is correct in regarding Gildas and his De Excedio as the immediate inspiration of the renewed religious life of Britain and Ireland (see Gildas pp 150-154 272-4, 416) and if we are correct in regarding the Synod of Brefi as the first step in that renewal, then we should expect its decisions to deal with moral questions rather than with theological.

Ricemarchus in Chapter 55 records another Synod. Deinde succedente temporum serie, alia collegitur synodus cui nomen Victorie Ex his gitor duabus synodis omnes

nostrae patriae ceelesiae modum et regulam ... acceperunt.
(Y Cymmrodor XXIV p 24); & Baring Gould & Fisher (II p.301)
assign this to the year 569 on the authority of the
Annales Cambriae, under the name of Synodus Luci Victoriae
Synod of the Grove of Victory. It is very significant
that Williams in his edition of Gildas on pp. 286 - 288
has printed, after the Penitential of Gildas three
short extracts entitled

- (1) Incipiunt excerpta quaedam de libro Davidis
- (2) Incipit nunc Sinodus Aquilonalis Britanniae
- (3) Incipit altera sinodus Luci Victoriae.

These three extracts all deal with the ecclesiastical
punishments for stated offences. They were taken from
the same MS as the "Penitential of Gildas" and deal with
the same question. It is astonishing to find the names
of Gildas and David coupled with these two Synods, of
which one is called the Synod of North Britain. But the
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle always uses the named North Welsh
to signify the Welsh of Wales, as distinguished from
the West Welsh of Cornwall. (Oman England before the
Norman Conquest p. 486 note) - and this suggests the
same procedure in this instance i.e. that the North
Britain of this Synod is really Wales - and that this
Synod "Aquilonalis Britanniae" is none other than the
Synod of Brefi. The "Orders of Irish Saints" (William
Gildas p. 416 and assigned by him to the year 730)
traces the second order to David Gildas and Docus Britons.
Finnian of Moville has left us a "Penitential"; and
there are extant extracts of letters from Gildas to him
respecting these matters. The Irish revival of religion

therefore is to be traced to Wales and the Welsh Saints; and the Penitential Canons of these two Synods could very well be the authentic Canons of Brefi, and of the Subsequence Synod of 569 Williams (Gildas p.178 and 9 - notes) admits the possibility of such an identification -- "perhaps the senedd Vrevi perhaps the Synod of Brefi of the Welsh Life" -- Bevan (S.P.C.K. History of the Diocese of St. David's) unhesitatingly identifies the two Synods with the two of Ricemarchus's Life. Gildas visited Ireland in 565 and died 570 A.D. These two Synods would therefore fall within his lifetime and one of them might coincide with his passing through S. Wales on his way to or from Ireland.

The identification is a question of cumulative evidence. The effect of the De Excidio, when reinforced by the lessons of the Great Plague, the seven years' stay in Brittany of Teilo, and the example of the gathering of the Breton Saints to condemn Conmore, and the possibility of the Council of Paris being held during his stay, the total absence of any reference to heresy in the De Excidio, and the continuous condemnation of moral offences, the reference of Ricemarchus's Life of two Synods, one of which is named in MS B of the Annales Cambriae, the discovery of the Canons of two Synods in a MS containing Gildas's Penitential - and the fact that one of these bears a name strongly suggesting the second Synod of St. David's Life, and the other refers to a part of Britain

described as *Aquilonalis*, an adjective generally used by reference to Wales, and that the Synods met before the death of Gildas; all this evidence is cumulative and points to the identification of the *Sinodus Aquilonalis Brittanniae* with that of Brefi - and the *Sinodus Luci Victoriae* with Ricemarchus's *Sinodus Victoriae*.

St. Cadoc's legend informs us that he was absent from Britain during the session of the Synod of Brevi, and that he was exceedingly annoyed at its having been held in his absence. (Baring Gould and Fisher II 25 and 26). The editor's determinations to place the Synod before the death of Dubricius compels them to multiply Cadoc's absences, for they make him flee to Brittany in 547 and found his settlements near Belz - to return later to Glamorgan.

This fact if reliable would compel a date for the Synod of Brefi as near 557 as possible. We have nothing definite of Cadoc's Life after this. He is thought to have visited Ireland about 565 when David, Gildas and he are supposed to have refounded the "Irish Church". An impossible journey to Beneventum and a Martyrdom at that place follows ; but the Saint's body was in Llancarvan in Glamorgan in the ninth Century (BG & F. II 36 & 37). Both Cadoc and Teilo belonged to an earlier generation than David: and in all probability the Synods marked the end of their lives, as they marked the beginning of a new era in S. Wales.

NORTH WALES from 547 - 574.

(1) The Early Migration of the Saints.

North Wales from the commencement of the Sixth Century followed its own line of development. Whereas in South Wales the influence of Dubricius seemed paramount, and passed on to Teilo, who from Llandeilo Vawr in Carmarthenshire apparently exercised an episcopal supervision if not authoritative jurisdiction, in North Wales it was the influence of Illtyd that apparently prevailed, and the great foundations of Cadfan in Towyn (Merioneth) and Bardsey, of Cybi in Holyhead. Seiriol in Penmon near Beaumaris almost rivalled that of Deiniol in Bangor, although tradition records the latter alone as Bishop in North Wales. One reason for this unique position is the fact that Deiniol was (with the exception of Seiriol) the only native of North Wales among the founders of the great monastic foundations of the first half of the Sixth Century. This is one consideration which has frequently been overlooked. Dubricius Teilo, David, Deiniol are all natives of the area over which they bear rule. The only non-native bishop who has been hitherto considered is Padarn and his position is decidedly singular; whilst that of Kertigern will be discussed presently.

We have no record of the effect of the Great Plague of 547 on the inhabitants of N. and Mid Wales. There is no record of a flight to Brittany. Cadfan has a few dedications in the N.W. of Brittany (B.G & F.II.8) but they are not associated with any immigration or flight from Wales. The drift of dedications in N. Wales is Eastwards towards Chester and Shrewsbury, and in the regions north

of the River Dee this drift takes a curious direction. It seems to avoid the coastal regions of Denbighshire altogether and to ascend the Conway Valley, to cross over to the Dee at Bala Lake, and then descend the latter valley. At Corwen, there is a parting of the ways - one section descending to the coast by way of the Clwyd Valley, and the other following the Dee down to the plains.

This is quite in keeping with what Gildas states about Cuneglasus and his provoking with frequent injuries the lamentations and sighs of saints, whom he has corporally afflicted (Gildas De Excidio c. 32) But we have no date to help us in fixing the comparative times of Cuneglasus and Maglocunus, which of the two survived. Wade Evans (Archaellogia Cambrensis 1918 pp. 808) states that Cuneglasus ruled from Dineirth in Rhos (near Llandudno) and prevented any great monastic foundations in his domains between the Conway and the Clwyd, although the founders of Bardsey (with Cadfan) and Penmon were his brothers.

An ancient Welsh tradition associates the great Maglocunus with the Rhos district, giving Degannwy near Conway as the site of his residence and Eglwys Rhos (on the other side of the promontory) as his burial place. (Lloyd p.129) It seems hardly probable that two such masterful men as Maglocunus and Cuneglasus could be found reigning in such very close proximity. They may have been contemporaries in life and in evil, but they could scarcely have been equals, and it is possible that Cuneglasus may have survived Maglocunus, and have carried out the policy of excluding the monks after the latter's death. The only ground possible for such a conclusion is the tradition assigning to both rulers, "Capitals" in the same confined

area.

It is exceedingly interesting to note Deiniol's foundations in N. Wales. He has Bangor Cathedral in Carnarvonshire, Llanuwchllyn and Llanfor at both ends of Bala Lake, in Merionethshire, and the two ancient Chapelries of Bangor iscoed near Wrexham i.e. Worthenbury and Marchwiel (B.G. & F. II p. 329-330), thus associating him with the founding of the Chester Bangor. The Annales Cambriae calls him Daniel Bancorum i.e. Daniel of the Bangors (Cymmrodor IX 152-171 and quoted in Williams Christianity in Early Britain p.412).

Also in the "Rhos" district there is a Llandrillo and there is another between Bala and Corwen in the Dee Valley, pointing to a similar avoiding of the direct route through the coast lands of N. Denbigh. We have yet a third, - the Church of Corwen is dedicated to two Breton Saints Mael and Sulien. These two are also commemorated in Cwm near St. Asaph, (B.G. & F. III p. 400). This apparent choice of a circuitous route, coupled with the fact that no early dedications are met with in N. Denbighshire certainly supports the view advanced above. The death of Maglocunus may have caused a stampede in the North, as the plague caused it in the South, but the flight appears to have taken an Eastward and not a southern nor an overseas direction.

(2) Appearance in N. Wales of Refugees from the Lothians and Strathclyde.

There must have been an additional reason for the direction of their flight, and this could have been nothing more or less than a new orientation of policy. Gildas gives a picture of security from external invaders, and a series of civil wars within. The legends of the next

decade give us quite a new state of affairs, and speak of a racial alliance extending certainly from Strathclyde to North Wales. Lloyd (p.164) states that it was during this struggle that the name of Cymry (which remains to this day the native equivalent of the English designation Welsh!) originated. The Legend of St. Kentigern (B.G. & F II 231-240) mentions the equivalent of a civil war. A.O. Vaughan. "The Matter of Wales" pp. 86-99 describes with an amount of circumstantial detail, a civil war between Strathclyde and Cumbria, beginning with the Capture of Carlisle c.540, (which became the Capital of the whole Kingdom) and ending with a battle of Armtirid, which again re-established the two Kingdoms, under different branches of the same royal family. Vaughan has not produced sufficient evidence for his conjectures, but there is nothing impossible in an outbreak of Civil War in the North. It is quite in keeping with what Gildas tells us of conditions between the Mersey and the English Channel, and with the whole course of the history of the Celtic peoples.

But Nennius, mentions one other fact. In Chapter 61 we read as follows: "Ida filius Eobba tenuit regiones in sinistrali parte Brittanniae, id est Umbri trans et regnavit annis duodecim et iunxit Dinguardi Guurth Berneich. Both Oman (p.242) and Lloyd (p.263) assign this to the years (547-559) and both are agreed, that it points to an extension of the Anglian Kingdom in the North. If Bernech is the equivalent of Bernicia - and is to be derived from Brigantica, the region of the Brigantes - this region would extend only so far North as the Tyne, Northwards from the Tyne to the Forth lay the tribe lands of the

Otadeni (the Guotodin of Welsh tradition). The Historia Brittonum states that he added "Dinguardi" or "Dinguarwy" (which in chapter 63 is equated with Bebbanburg i.e. Bainborough) to Bernicia, thus pointing to an extension northwards across the Tyne.

This may not have been the first English Settlement in these regions. Nennius c.38 mentions Vortigern as having given lands near the Northern Wall to the sons of Hengist, Oman (p.241 & 2) finds it quite possible that scattered settlements existed along the coast since the early years of the fifth century. Ida may have accomplished north of the Tees, what Ceawlin accomplished in the Thames Valley - a conquest of the other Teutonic Settlements and an enforced combination, which paved the way for future victories. We have no means of knowing whether Bamborough (Dinguarwy, Dinguardi, of Bebbanburg) was in British or Teutonic hands, but its possession by Ida gave him an impregnable base of operations and afforded him a line of advance either up the Tyne or the Tweed. The British Compiler of Nennius's Saxon Genealogies fixed on this occupation with an unerring instinct, as laying the foundations of Northumbria's future greatness. The Northern Britons of these years realised it also, and a very bitter warfare commenced, which ended only with Oswy's Victory in 655. Whether it were Northern Civil War or Northern English advance, the North Wales princes were drawn into the struggle, and such an alliance as Lloyd portrays in his History (pp.162-171) was the result. An external indication of such an alliance can be found in the presence of several of the Lothian Clans in N.Wales during these years. Lleuddun Luyddog, from whom the

Lothians derive their name appears in N. Wales with his daughters, and their husbands; Urien called Urien Rheged; and the clan of Dingad the son of Nudd Hael; and Llywarch Hen. Their settlements are found mostly in the North East. Cynfarch, the father of Urien is commemorated at Llanfair near Ruthyn in the Clwyd Valley; St. Kertigern of the same clan at St. Asaph (Cathedral) and Llanasa near by. Llywarch Hen and his mother appear in the Dee Valley, East and South of Bala Lake. A daughter of Lleuddun marries Bugi possibly a South Wales exile, living near Welshpool and their son is the famous St. Beuno. A daughter of the great Maglocunus Eurgain is stated to have married another of the exiles (Elider Muynvawr) and to have given her name to the Church at Northop in Flintshire (B.G.& F. II 474). But all these settlements are dwarfed by the monastery of Bangor iscoed in Flintshire the fame of which is even recorded by Bede (Eccl. Hist II. 2.)

If the ecclesiastical centre of N. Wales during the reign of Maglocunus was to be found in the regions west of the Conway, it must certainly be sought for in the lands between the Clwyd and the Dee during the succeeding half century.

We have confirmatory evidence from the pedigrees of two clans, which have furnished 'Saints' in successive generations. The clan of Caradog Freichfras which apparently came from Cornwall in the time of Padarn and Cybi (before 540) was represented in the first generation by 'Cadfarch' of Penegoes in the Dovey Valley (in the midst of a group of Breton dedications), and Cawrdaf, and Tangwn in S.E. Anglesey near Beaumaris and by MAETHLU in N.W. Anglesey opposite Holyhead. The third generation is

found in two Churches in the Clwyd Valley - Dyfnog at Llanrhaiadr-yn-Cynmerch and Cynhafal at Llangynhafal. The clan of Seithenin (by whose carelessness the submerged territories were inundated by the waters of Cardigan Bay) were represented in the first generation by Merin and Gwynhoedl (of Bodferin and Llannor and Llangwnadl, respectively - on the mainland opposite Bardsey) Tudclyd at Penmachuo in the upper Conway Valley, Llibio at Llanllibio in Anglesey, (on the borderland between what may be called Cybi's influence and that of Gildas's kinsmen) and Tudno at Llandudno. The next generation are found in the Clwyd Valley. Teyrnog at Llandyrnog, Marchell (a daughter) at Denbigh and Whitchurch, and Diefer (a son) at Bodfari near St. Asaph

(3) First Native Developments of Religion in Powys.

It was in all probability during this period that Powys seems to have felt the religious impulse which had been gradually spreading all over Wales, Cadfan, and Tydecho had reached the upper valleys of tributaries of the Severn from that of the Dovey. Other Bretons had occupied the main Valley at Llandinam, members of Gildas's clan had arrived at Penstrowed. In the north Silin (who is identified with the Sulien of Corwen and Cwm, St. Asaph,) had reached Llansilin near Oswestry, and Trunio, another Breton, is commemorated at Llandrinio. But there is no recognisable trace of any native dedication before the end of the sixth century. No reason can be assigned for this with any degree of probability. It may be that Powys was dependant ecclesiastically upon some such centre as Uiriconium, and that a bishop in that city regulated the

Christian life and worship of the district. So little is known that nothing can be inferred. Until the time of Tyssilio, we are absolutely without any record of the inner life of the Kingdom. Tyssilio was the son of the King of Powys, near whose royal residence of Meifod an anchorite - Gwyddfarch by name - had fixed his hermitage; and the young prince, who had no desire for a military life, fled to him (B.G. & F. II 219-220) and took up his residence with him and finally succeeded him.

Before we can fix the approximate time of Tyssilio, there are a few comparative relationships to be borne in mind. He is represented as the son of Brochwel Ysgythrog King of Powys, and also as fleeing to Brittany to escape being compelled to rule over Powys, after the Battle of Chester in 613. Oman (p.253) identifies the Brocmail of Bede, Eccl. Hist. II. 2. with the King of Powys himself and the father of Tyssilio, but Lloyd (pp.179-181) in his account of the battle argues that the King of Powys is the Selim filius Cinan of the Annales Cambriae's CLXIX Annus (Gweith Cair Legion, et ibi cecidit Selim filius Cinan, quoted in Williams Christianity in Early Britain p.414).

The life in Baring Gould & Fisher IV 296-305 depends upon fragments of a lost Breton 'Life'; and excerpts from Bede and Geoffrey of Monmouth XI 13. Bede only states that "one Brocmail was appointed protector" of the monks who had come out to pray for victory; and Geoffrey and Baring Gould & Fisher, identify this Brocmail with Brocmail King of Powys, and they are followed by Oman (p.252), Although Lloyd (p.181) admits that the Harleian Genealogies throw Brocmail father back by two generations he prefers the evidence of the genealogies and the Annales Cambriae,

according to which Selim, son of Cinan, son of Brocmail fell in the Battle of Chester 613; The Irish notices (referred to by Lloyd Loc.cit) refer to him as the most notable of the slain. The genealogies trace the succession of the Kings of Powys through his brother Eliud, and not through any son. The genealogies in Baring Gould and Fisher I. 95. make Brochwel's sister Sanen marry Maglocunus. These royal spouses in the genealogies are generally most unreliable and no exception can be made in this case. Lloyd points out (p.180 note 75) that the name Brocmail was a very common name and the tenth century evidence (to give it its terminus ad quem) of the Harleian MS 3859 is much more likely to be correct than Geoffrey of Monmouth's twelfth century inventions, which underly more than one 12th century Breton ecclesiastical Life (the historical background of the Vie de Sainte Nonne is also Geoffrey of Monmouth).

It is quite probable that this identification of Brochwel King of Powys, with the Brocmail of Bede and Geoffrey which underlies the Legenda of Deiniol of Bangor and make him found Bangor iscoed first and then flee to Carnarvonshire after the battle of Chester. These 'Legenda' are a sixteenth century production and are worthless from an historical point of view.

In addition, Brochwel is supposed to have married an Aunt of Deiniol. The Annales Cambriae give Deiniol's death in 584 and in all probability the Carnarvonshire Bangor was founded sufficiently early to allow Comgall time to reside there and to return to Ireland and found the Irish Bangor in 558. Whilst admitting that Brochwel's marriage may be mythical, it is certainly no less mythical to

prolong his life until 613 in face of the evidence adduced by Lloyd. The general historical background of the Legend of Tyssilio in Baring Gould and Fisher (iv. 296-305) is distinctly erroneous, although the statement that he fled to Brittany to avoid being compelled to rule can be easily accepted. He could easily have been the senior male member of the royal family. His brother Cinan in all probability was already dead. Cinan's son Selim fell in the battle and as he left no issue, it is quite possible that he was young. The perilous state of affairs demanded a ruler with some experience of life, and men's eyes would naturally turn to the hermit prince.

It requires no great stretch of the imagination to assume that Tyssilio must have been between 40 and 50 at this time and to fix his birth at some point between 560 and 570. The various sites of his Churches are differently accounted for. The little Church bearing his name on an island near the Menai Suspension Bridge (Llandyssilio) is generally supposed to have marked his first flight from home; and it corroborates a suspicion, that the influence of Bangor on the Dee had a great deal to do with the quickening of the religious life of Powys. This little Llandyssilio is not only within the territories of Gwynedd, the most powerful state in North Wales, but it is within two miles of Deiniol's other great Monastery of Bangor. The King of Powys may or may not have become reconciled to his son's preferring the monastic life, and we have no indication as to the date of his Powys foundations. But the saint has two Churches in S.Wales Llandyssilio-gogo near the Cardiganshire New Quay, and a Llandyssilio slightly to the east of the Pembrokeshire Newport. One remarkable feature of the revival of religion

in the South West is the part played by Saints from the North East and this may easily be assigned to the influence which St. David acquired at and after the Synod of Brefi. These two foundations may have been acquired during his first exile, and before establishing the Powys settlements; and we have nothing to assist our conjecture; but when linked up with other similar foundations, they suggest an earlier rather than a later date. St. David died in 589 and the great influence in the S.W. would have been thereby removed. The second of the Synods is assigned to 569. We have these two dates as termini for Tyssilio's visits to the South. It is possible, to say the least, that we have accepted too late a date for his birth (560 and 570). Precise dates are impossible and the only course left therefor is the choice of approximate dates, and in this case a date before 589 is much to be preferred for Tyssilio's visits to N.West and S.West Wales.

The Legend of Beuno (B.G.& F. I 208-221) may assist us in this quest. Beuno's mother is represented as the daughter of one of the exiles from the Lothians. He is born near Welshpool, and sent to be educated to Caerwent - the ancient Venta Silurum in Monmouthshire. Beuno left Caerwent and proceeded northwards. He left his name at Llanveyno in the Dore Valley in Herefordshire, where he remained for some time (the account given in B.G.& F. I 210 introducing Ynyr Gwent into the legend creates insurmountable difficulties. The Dore Valley lay outside Gwent, and a different dynasty is reported as ruling there). Beuno hears of his father's illness and proceeds to his old home, near Welshpool. The old man dies soon after his arrival.

Beuno is given land for a foundation at Berriew near Newtown, which became the ecclesiastical head of this district, as Tyssilio's Church at Meivod did of the region farther north. His benefactor appears as a brother of Brochwel King of Powys (B.G.& F. I.211) and his stay here was terminated only by the first appearance of the English on the other bank of the Severn. Whether this took place between 577 and 584 there is no ascertaining. So much doubt has been thrown upon the dates and entries in the Anglo Saxon Chronicle by scholars such as Chadwick (Origin of the English people) Leeds (Archaeology of the Anglo Saxon Settlements), that a positive identification of the course of the West Saxon advance from Deorham is impossible. Nor can Fethanleag - the site of Ceawlin's defeat in 584 - be identified. Some of Ceawlin's allies - the Hwicci - settled in what could be identified as the extent of the old undivided diocese of Worcester. In this event Ceawlin may have raided up the Severn Valley and finally destroyed Uiriconium and pushed on towards Chester only to fall back. It is this supposition which has led to Beuno's legend of his hearing the Englishman cheer on his dog. This event could be placed in 584. Tyssilio is represented in his legend as being firmly established by this time and his wanderings in N. and S. Wales happily terminated. Baring Gould and Fisher (I.211) state that Beuno left the Severn Valley for the Dee Valley where he settled at Gwyddelwern near Corwen. One of his disciples turned southwards to Cardiganshire. Llwochaiarn whose church is Llanllwchaiarn near Newtown and whose foundation in Cardiganshire is Llanllwchaiarn near New Quay. Another whose name figures in both Counties is Tyssil - whose one foundation is

Llandyssil near Montgomery and whose other church is Llandyssil on the Teify some fifteen miles S.E. of Lampeter. Beuno's cousins the sons of Dingad the son of Nudd Hael (one of the emigrants of the North) also appear in the Teify Valley presumably about this time. Nudd Hael is identified with the NUDUS LIBERALIS of the Yarroe Inscription. His son Dingad is placed by Baring Gould and Fisher with much hesitation at Dingestow near Monmouth (op.cit. II 244). Two of Dingad's sons betake themselves to the North, where Baglan appears in Llanfaglan near Carnarvon and Eleti in Eglwys Rhos near Llandudno - the place of Maglocunus's burial. One son and a daughter Tyfriog and Tygwydd are found in Llandyfriog and Llandygwydd near Cardigan; and another son Lleuddad or Llawddog is found commemorated in Cilgerran, Cenarth, Penboyr and Llanllawddog in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire. His legend also makes him go north and succeed Cadfan in Bardsey. In the case of Tyfriog this legend is contradicted by that of St. Brieuc and there is no evidence by which we can judge between the two. Similarly in the case of Lleuddad or Llawddog there are difficulties. The first is one of chronology. Cadfan arrived in N. Wales before 540 and was the head of a great Breton movement. Lleuddad was one if not two generations later and was the son of a North British exile. With the evidence of the Life of Samson of Dol before us, in no conceivable circumstances can we conceive of the possibility of the North British exile succeeding to the position of the great Breton Abbot, even though Welsh tradition consistently vouches for it. Cadfan had a near relative of the same name Lleuddad son of Alan Fyrgan (B.G. & F. III 369-374). The Iolo MSS and Rees (Welsh Saints) agree in making the Breton Lleuddad succeed his cousin Cadfan; whereas the Welsh Lives (16th and 17th century) and a Welsh poem (of the mid 15th century) all support the succession of the North British. It seems exceedingly probable that the latter

have confused the two men.

The life of St. Samson of Dol (C.XVI) gives an idea of the succession in these monasteries and implies that Samson left Illtyd because of the jealousy of two nephews who wanted to make sure of the succession. St. David is regarded as having succeeded an Uncle Guistilianus, Teilo in Llandaff was succeeded by a nephew Oudoceus, and there is Irish evidence in abundance to support the Welsh and Breton. The probability is therefore that the second Abbot of Bardsey was the Breton and not his North British namesake, whose dedications cover an extensive area south of the Teify in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire.

A curious signifi- cance appears upon an examination of neighbouring dedications. Of the four dedicated to Lleuddad, one, Cenarth is also assigned to Teilo of Llandaff. (Lib. Land. 122-369) and the Parish immediately to the south of Cenarth is Cilrhedyn - which is also dedicated to Teilo (Lib. Land 117) (Laun Teliau cil retin in emlin) and 364 (Llan Deilo Cilrhedyn in Emlyn). The Father's church in Monmouth, Dingestow has as neighbours two of Teilo's churches - Llanarth and Llantilio Crossenny (Llan telian Cressinnych of Lib Land 116-361); and it thus appears as though the sons had been settled in West Wales by Teilo's suggestion, if not with his assistance.

This section cannot be terminated without a further reference to St. Kertigern (his life is to be found in Baring Gould and Fisher II 231-240 under the title Cyndeyrn the Welsh form of his name). His experiences illustrate the characteristics of the entire section under discussion. His mother was miraculously preserved at his birth in circumstances closely regarding the mother of Dubricius. The child was adopted by St. Serf and remained with him until compelled to leave by the jealousy of his fellow pupils (in this instance Samson's story

is paralleled). He leaves, crosses the Forth and comes to Carnock, where he remains with a certain Fergus until his death, and finally he brings his body to Glasgow for burial. The King of Strathclyde who is called Morken, at first receives him, and procures his consecration as Bishop by Irish bishops, but afterwards changes his attitude. Kentigern in consequence abandons Strathclyde and reaches Carlisle, where he spends some time Christianising the hill-folk. He continues his journey south and eventually reaches N.Wales, where he settles in St. Asaph. In 573 Civil War broke out in Strathclyde and Rhydderch defeated his enemies in the battle of Armterid, and immediately recalled Kentigern to Glasgow. The legend as reproduced in Baring Gould and Fisher contains difficulties. The King who befriended him in N. Wales is identified with Caswallon Lawhir - the father of Maglocunus. This is absolutely impossible. Maglocunus himself appears in the Legend. St. David's death is reported as having taken place during Kentigern's stay in N. Wales (Geoffrey of Monmouth's influence is seen here).

On the other hand the constant mention of Morken as the King of Strathclyde whose attitude changed - agrees with the Morcant who appears in B.G. & F. II 237, as the enemy of Rhydderch.^x It almost appears as though the first revolution had taken place during Kentigern's stay in Glasgow and that he had fled to Carlisle in consequence of bad treatment at the usurper's hands. His departure from the Forth to Glasgow can be best understood in the light of an English advance. The flight of the Lothian rulers to N.Wales was not merely the result of Civil War, as some of them in all probability remained in N.Wales and did not return. Kentigern's life thus corresponds with an Anglian success, a revolution in Strathclyde, an exile in N.Wales, and a restoration to his home in the North. It is as it were an epitome of the National life during those years.

Lloyd 166.

KENTIGERN'S STATUS at ST. ASAPH.

It has been confidently asserted that Kentigern was the first Bishop of St. Asaph and that with him begins the succession of Bishops of St. Asaph. (B.G. & F II 236, Thomas. History of St. Asaph & S.P. C.K. Diocesan History of St. Asaph Ch. I). There is nothing improbable in his having been consecrated Bishop in Strathclyde by Irish Bishops (B.G & F II 235). and that he finally fled for refuge to N. Wales, settling down at the Confluence of the Clwyd and the Elwy, where the Cathedral of St. Asaph's now stands. But there is no proof beyond reiterated assertion that he exercised episcopal jurisdiction or even supervision beyond the confines of his own church. It has not been sufficiently appreciated that the genius of the Celtic Church would not tolerate more bishops than kings. In the years preceding the Synod of Whitby and the reorganisation of Theodore of Tarsus, the Celtic Dioceses in England corresponded with the realms. Skene (Celtic Scotland) states that the recovery of independence by Strathclyde was always accompanied by ecclesiastical independence & the setting up of a Bishop. In Celtic Scotland during the later monarchy until the reign of Malcolm Canmore there was only one Bishop in Scotland i.e. at St. Andrews - within the bounds of the old Kingdom of Fife. (The Celtic Churches (the plural is used advisedly) are too often conceived of under the analogy of Ireland and Irish influence. This has tended to minimise the worth and influence, even of Non-Columban Missions in Scotland).

If we examine N.E. Wales from this point of view. Daniel or Deinoil who was Bishop in or of Bangor in Carnarvon was also the founder of Bangor is Coed. It is barely possible

that the Royal Clan of N. Wales would have allowed a second and rival Episcopal Establishment within their dominions. If Kentigern had any authority, it could only have extended to the foundations of other refugees in the near neighbourhood, and after the model of the British Colony at Bretona in Spanish Galicia (B.G. & F. II 34 Quoting Haddan & Stubbs Councils Vol. II pt. 1 P.97-101) During the same years in which Kentigern was residing at St. Asaph. two synods were held in that part of Spain, which are referred to as follows.

569. Council of Lugo. when it is found to have a bishop *Ad sedem Britonorum* (pertinent) *ecclesiae quae sunt intra Britones una cum Monasterio Maximi et quae in Asturiis sunt.*

At the Council of Braga in 572 the last of the signatures of the Suffragans of Braga "Item ex Synodo *Lucense*" is Mailoc "Britonensis Ecclesiae Episcopus".

This British Church continued to exist till 830, when a royal decree merged the See of Bretona in that of Oviedo (B.G. & F. II 34).

This extract gives us a distinct parallel & analogy in these same years & would suggest that any jurisdiction which Kentigern would have in N. Wales would extend only to his compatriots from the North.

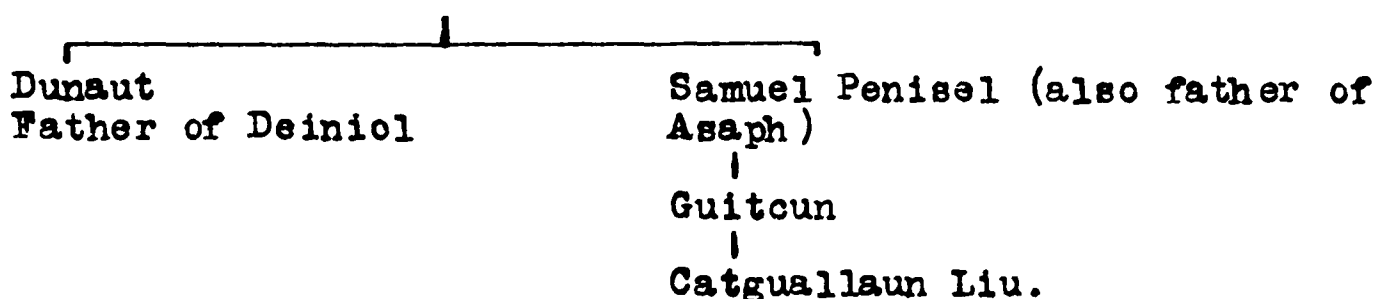
The association of Asaph (the Cousin of Daniel) with him in the foundation not only of the Cathedral but also of Llanasa near by raises an additional problem. Was it designed to prevent the churches from passing out of the hands of the N. Wales tribesmen, and did it correspond with the Co-arb principle in Ireland. Baring Gould & Fisher II 125 in dealing with the founding of Saighir by Ciaran, argues that the founder was compelled to take as pupil and prospective

Successor, a grandson of the King of Munster & Ossory. Cardiganshire provides another instance somewhat similar. Padarn of Llanbadarn Fawr, near Aberystwyth appears in tradition as the first bishop in these parts, but another bishop appears very soon after his time, an Afan who is contemporary with and equally descended from Cunedda as Maglocunus. This Afan is regarded as the founder of Llanafan in the Ystwyth Valley 9 miles E of Aberystwyth; and is generally styled Afan Bualt or Afan of Builth (i.e. not the present town but that part of Modern Brecknockshire which lies North of the Irfon.) Here in the Church of Llanafan Fawr, a tombstone is shown with the words in lettering of the 14th or 15th century. Hic iacet Sanctus Avanus Episcopus (B.G. & F. I 114 & 115) Did he succeed to the jurisdiction (if not to the Monastic property) of Padarn? There is no evidence either way but it remains an interesting conjecture, and affords a way by which the supreme jurisdiction in secular and religious spheres could be confined to the members of the same family. Likewise, was Asaph a Co-arb of Kentigern; and associate and successor to prevent any diminution of tribe lands. Certainty is impossible, but appearances certainly point in that direction.

Baring Gould & Fisher in dealing with the stay of Kentigern afford an instance of their most characteristic weakness of treatment. In II 235 when dealing with Kentigern (under the Welsh form of his name Cyndeyrn) they merely report that the Saint's fame had reached Cathwallanus in N. Wales & give the Red Book of St. Asaph's identification of that prince with Cadwallon Iawhir. On the next page they refer to Jocelyn of Furness's account of the Saint's intercourse with Maglocunus. In Vol. I p. 178 in their

article on Asaph they state "St. Asaph's nephew Cadwallon Llyw (or Llew) may possibly be identical with the Cathwallanus of Jocelin's life of S.Kentigern c.23 who granted that Saint land to found his Monastery at Llanelwy (i.e. the Welsh name for Saint Asaph) This Cadwallon Llyw is found in the Harleian Genealogies (table 19) as follows :

Pappo Post Priten



We can only conjecture as to the presence of the clan of Deiniol in the Clwyd Valley & in Carnarvon & Anglesey. They may have accompanied Cunedag in his first attack. Some of them may have assisted Maglocunus's father in the conquest of the West. Deiniol and Asaph would apparently be contemporaries of Maglocunus (he dies in 547 of the plague in the prime of life. Note the contrast between Gildas's description of him & of Vortipor) Deiniol dies in 584. The fathers of the two Saints - Dunaut & Samuel are contemporaries of Maglocunus's father - Catgollaun Lauhir - the conqueror of Anglesey. The conjecture does no violence to pedigree or chronology. If Catguallaun Liu of Harleian 3859 (table 19) be the Cathwallan of Jocelin's Life (B.G. & F.I 178) it is most intelligible, that he should give a refuge to the Saint from the North, and it is also most intelligible that he should guard against a diminution of his clan territories by having his own relative Asaph associated in the foundation. The total silence respecting Catguallaun Liu in the Article on Kentigern (or Cyndeyrn) however is most exasperating.

Did Aspah succeed to Kentigern's Episcopal jurisdiction or supervision? Baring Gould & Fisher (II 177-185) mention

him as Bishop. The Victory of Rhydderch at Armtirid .573 led to Kentigern's recall, and his reputed father and grandfather are both mentioned among the heroes of North Britain. The entire clan may have returned and consequently Kentigern's jurisdiction may have disappeared with their return.

Archdeacon Thomas in his two histories of St. Asaph names five Bishops of St. Asaph before the eleventh Century (Longer history pp 209-210 S.P.C.K.History 113).

560	Kentigern or Cyndeyrn
574	Asaph
600	Tyssilio
800	Renchidus
928	Cebur

Asaph's Episcopate depends entirely upon Jocelin's Life of Kentigern and its chronology is impossible. It assumes (B.G. & F.II 180) that Asaph was a young boy and Kentigern a full grown man. If Asaph was Deiniol's Cousin and had a nephew who could be the Catguallaun who welcomed Kentigern into Wales, the Life is hopelessly incorrect. Deiniol died in 584 having founded the two Bangors, one of which must have been in existence some years before the Irish Bangor of 558. The Life was written to glorify Kentigern and the mediaeval Latinist's sole conception of a disciple was that of one very much younger. The Celtic Lives have numerous instances of disciples who are older than their Masters. The description of Asaph's Consecration on p. 181 (op cit) is utterly unhistorical, and better evidence is needed.

Of Tyssilio's consecration there is no evidence whatever. Baring Gould & Fisher IV 296-305 are silent. He has no church in the Clwyd Valley and only one in the Dee Valley, - Llantysilio near Llangollen. His chief sphere

of work lay near Welshpool where his great church of Meifod dominated the Vyrnwy & Severn Valleys.

Renchidus Episcopus is mentioned only in three Latin manuscripts of Nennius's *Historia Brittonum*; - Stevenson's G.K. & L. (G.- Burney 310, K- Corp. Christi Cambridge 139 L - Cambridge University ff. 1. 27.2.) These MSS & the Irish versions probably deriving from an Archetype of G, - after Chapter 56 and instead of the Saxon genealogies-have the following. *Ida filius Eobba tenuit regiones in Sinistrali parte Humbrī maris XII annis et junxit arcem id est Dinguerin et Gurbineth. Quae duae regiones fuerunt in una regione, id est Deur a Berneth, Anglice Deira et Bernicia. Elfled filia Eduini XII die post pentecost-em baptismum accepit cum innumerabilibus hominibus, de viris et mulieribus cum ea. Et haec prima baptizata est. Eduinus uero postea in sequente Pascha baptismum accepit et XII milia hominum in uno die baptizati sunt cum eo. Si quis scire voluerit quis baptizavit eos., sic mihi Renchidus episcopus et Elbodus episcoporum Sanctissimus tradiderunt, Run map Urbeghen, id est Paulinus Eboracensis archiepiscopus eos baptizavit.* (Zimmer Nennius Vindicatus Ch. 4 S.47.) In Chapter 8. S.85 Zimmer states "We know nothing of Renchidus Episcopus"

Renchidus was associated with St. Asaph because the "Elbodus Episcoporum Sanctissimus" was undoubtedly associated with Bangor, and for no other reason. It was assumed that as there were two Bishops in North Wales in the 12th Century and these three MSS of Nennius mentioned two Bishops, one of whom could be fixed at Bangor, the other could only have belonged to St. Asaph. But Zimmer (quoted above) sums up the whole position in the words "we know nothing of him", and his conjectural episcopate of St. Asaph must vanish likewise.

Cebur appears in the "Dimetian Code of the Welsh Laws of Howel the Good. Lambert Bishop of Menevia Mordad Bishop of Bangor. Cebur Bishop of St. Asaph. Blegywryd Archdeacon of Llandaff, went to Rome with the King to obtain papal approbation and Sanction before the promulgation of the Laws.

(a) In the first place as Lloyd rightly states (History of Wales p.335note 55.) "it is highly improbable that papal authority was ever given to laws which so frequently run counter to those of the Church". "There are also Chronological objections. The compilation of the code belongs to Howel's later years not to the early period of his reign for he was not in a position to undertake the task until 942".

(b) In the second place The Liber Landavensis known nothing of Archdeacons of Llandaff. There were priests of Teilo and arch-priests, but no archdeacons until the diocese was reorganised after the Continental model in the reign of Henry I.

(c) Further in his book of Bards & Bardic Lore of Ancient Wales (the book is written in Welsh and is entitled BEIRDD a BEIRDD - RIN CYMRU FU) Mr. Timothy Lewis-Celtic Research Professor at Aberystwyth - finds in Blegywryd (the name of the anachronistic archdeacon of Llandaff.) not only a personal name but a legal title of a high standing. - in fact the Welsh equivalent of the gallic Vergobretos of Caesar's Aedui in the Gallic War.

(d) Lloyd (in his history of Wales pp. 354-356) devotes a special note (Note B to Chapter X) to MSS and Editions of the Welsh Laws. In this note he states that "No progress can be made with the study of the subject until it is recognised that the Welsh MSS fall into three distinct groups representing three recensions of the original law of Hywell. The Venedotian, the Dimetian and the Gwentian

Codes, to use the names commonly applied, must be separately dealt with in any edition of the laws which is to be of any service to the historical student.....

In spite of the age of the oldest MS i.e. C.1200 A.D. the Venedotian Code appears to embody a late recension of the laws of Hywell.....

It may well be the case that the code was compiled at the bidding of Llywelyn (1195-1240) who desires to emphasise the supremacy of Gwynedd by the issue of the Laws in a distinctly Venedotian form.....

This version of the laws (the Dimetian Code) embodies legislation by Rhys ap Gruffydd of South Wales, and its compilation must therefore be ascribed to the period 1150-1250.... The special references to S.W.Wales quite justify the title which has been bestowed upon it of the Dimetian Code.

The so called Gwentian Code is found in a Group of MSS of which the oldest are U (Penarth MS 37) and V (Harleian MS 4353) The compilers of this Code brought the old law of Hywell into a version resembling the Dimetian Code but shorter and more concise. The Code is older than 1200 but the age of Hywell was already, when it was drawn up, a distant past.

.....

The Latin versions would appear to have been made for the benefit of the ecclesiastical landowners and judges who did not know Welsh It thus becomes clear that no MS in Welsh or Latin preserves for us the original code of Hywell. The Latin, no less than the Welsh MSS, speak of the time of the Great Legislator as a "bygone age".

The above extracts from Lloyds History of Wales are really necessary in order to obtain a proper value of the

next two pieces of evidence. The journey of Hywell (a Howel to Rome is mentioned in the MSS of two out of the three Codes. i.e. in the Dimetian and the Gwentian.

The Dimetian Code (quoted in Haddan & Stubbs Vol 1.p.219.

"After the Law had been all made and completely written, Howel the Good accompanied by princes of the Cymru - Lambert Bp. of Menevia. Mordad Bishop of Bangor. Cebur Bishop of St.Asaph Blegywryd Archdeacon of Llandaff went to Rome.
The Gwentian Code (quoted in Haddan & Stubbs)

"Howel the good son of Cadell, King of all Wales went to Rome and three bishops with him Martin Bishop of Menevia Mordaf. Bishop of Bangor Marchlwys Bishop of Teilau; and Blegwyd son of Owain chief of the Court of Llandaff, brother to Morgan King of Glamorgan accompanied them". (N.B. ⁽¹⁾ The Lib.Iand. pp 236 & 510 inserts a Marchluid Episcopus between Gwgan & Bledri Page 510 note 2 gives Godwin De Presulibus, as making him succeed Libiau &, as being Gwgan's predecessor)& Goodwin and the Welsh Chronicle in the Myvyrian Archaeology (Gee's edition.) p.690 make him die in the year 943.

N.B.(2) The two other Chronicles in Gee's Edition of the Myvyrian Archaeology give under the decade 940-950 the death of Morcheis Bishop of Bangor. p.603 and 657. The first Chronicle bears the name of Caradoc of Llancarvan the friend of Geoffrey of Monmouth; but he was the only Llandaff Chronicler of the three. The date is not important but the fact that there was a Bishop of Llandaff named Marchluid)

A comparison of the Extracts from the two codes shews that the Dimetian knew nothing of the Bishop of Llandaff: and the Gwentian, nothing of the Bishop of St.Asaph. Moreover both notices were written two hundred years after the event, and as the paragraphs contain so much that is historically impossible it is more than likely that the mention

of the Bishop of St. Asaph is as apocryphal as the other entries. The conclusion seems inevitable that there is no record at all of any diocese of St. Asaph prior to the Norman Conquest; and Henry of Huntingdon omits the See of St. Asaph in his list of the Welsh Bishops in 1135. It is in 1143 that the first Norman Bishop of St. Asaph is consecrated.

When it is remembered that Asaph and Deiniol were first cousins, and that Deiniol was the founder of two such monasteries as the Bangor in Carnarvonshire and the Bangor on the Dee, and was also a Bishop - one can hardly resist the conclusion that the greater swallowed the lesser, and that in times of danger and difficulty the three communities became one; but that possibly the tribe lands were still held although the status of the monastery had decreased. Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, who ruled N. Wales from 1039-1063 fixed his capital at Rhuddlan and according to the good old rule of Ubi rex ibi episcopus - it is possible that the North Wales Bishop of the time transferred the seat to St. Asaph and that the recollection of a Bishop of St. Asaph may have led to the establishment of the See in 1143. The boundaries of the two North Wales dioceses were very complicated from 1143 until 1836. Bangor retaining two "island deaneries i.e. Dyffryn Clwyd and Kinmerch at the very threshold of St. Asaph's Cathedral, & Arwystli - the lands of the Upper Severn Valley between St. Asaph's and St. David's dioceses and practically touching the English border.

The more the question is dispassionately considered, the more remote does the existence of a pre-Norman diocese of St. Asaph become. Not only is the list of Bishops fictitious in the sense that any connection on their part with St. Asaph is impossible, but the monastery which dominated Powys in the first century of its existence was Bangor is coed

(i.e. Bangor on the Dee) It was actually founded in Powys (whereas St. Asaph was never part of Powys but of Gwynedd). At the battle of Chester when the fate of the great Abbey was sealed, the battle was fought between the men of Powys and Northumbria and the King of Powys was killed. Tyssilio the first prince of Powys to feel the call to a monastic life, escaped first to the neighbourhood of the Carnarvonshire Bangor Oman (p.252) acknowledges that Gwynedd was the overlord of Powys at this time; in fact it is only from about 950 - 1081 that Powys is strong enough to dictate to the other Kingdom in North Wales. Brochwel King of Powys and father of Tyssilio had married into the ecclesiastical clan of Deiniol, and this would enhance the reputation of the Great Eastern Abbey. Baring Gould & Fisher (I.p.211) see in the departure of Beuno from Mid-Montgomery (the Newtown district) the impossibility of "two such shining lights as Beuno and Tyssilio" being able to abide together in Powys; so Beuno betakes himself to Gwyddelwern near Corwen, which despite B.G. & F.I. 212, was not in the principality of Powys but in that of Gwynedd. On his departure from Berriew. Beuno leaves Powys finally; and if we accept the above suggestion, it points to the hegemony of Tyssilio in the Severn Valley, and if of Tyssilio then also of Bangor on Dee. In view of the evidence it is not too much to say that the paramount influence in North Wales in Gwynedd & Powys was Deiniol and that there never was a diocese of St. Asaph nor a Bishop in or of St. Asaph as such from the days of Kentigen until the consecration of the Norman Gilbert in 1143. This consecration was due to a misreading of the past. It was assumed that because a bishop had resided in St. Asaph he must have been Bishop of Asaph and not a Bishop of Bangor residing in an Episcopal Manor

in St. Asaph. The political supremacy of Powys in the days of Gruffyddap Llewelyn and his half brothers, helped to afford the necessary corroboration to the assumption and to provide an independent jurisdiction for the new diocese.

Kentigern appears as Bishop in St. Asaph with a jurisdiction - if any - only over his fellow refugees from the North. When they returned, he returned and the return seems to have ended the independent existence of St. Asaph as a jurisdictionary centre. The probability is, that the nearness of Mercia and the great raids along the coast - if not the mere fear of invasion - may have caused St. Asaph to dwindle away, like the Eastern Bangor, with the result that all the clan of Deiniol concentrated around and in the surviving foundation - the Bangor in Carnarvonshire.

THE SAINTS OF NORTHERN DENBIGHSHIRE.

In a previous section it was pointed out that in all probability the lands between the Conway and the Clwyd and North of the Dee basin, belonged to the Cuneglasus of Gildas - the persecutor of the clergy : N.B. the curious way in which the dedications of the churches point to a careful and calculated avoiding of this region. Deiniol, Trillo and others seem to have preferred the circuitous route via the Conway Valley and the Dee Valley to the more direct sea coast journey Eastward. The evidence of the Churches is most significant. The presence of North British dedications in St. Asaph's Cathedral (S. Kentigern) and in other churches, intimated that it was with the founding of this monastery, that the new religious life began to make its presence felt in these parts. Members of the younger generations of such families as Caradog Freichfras appear in the dedications of Llanrhaeadr (Dyfnog) and Llangynhafal (Cynhafal); and of Seithenin, in those of Denbigh (St. Marchell) Llandyrnog (Tyrnog) and Bodfari (Diefer) ;

whereas the older generations were to be found West of the Conway. But between the valley of the Clwyd and the peninsula ending in the great Orme, lay a wild mountainous district which appears to have been the last part of Wales to be occupied by the representatives of the new regime. The only intelligible evidence we have is supplied by the Legend of St. Winifred, which although some five centuries later than her life, need not be rejected as altogether fiction - in its broad outlines, although the miracles recorded are typical of the later middle ages. (B.G & F. III 192-193). Several of the dedications cannot be identified. B.G & F. record that four parishes in this area are reputed to belong to children of Brychan of Brecknock, but that the names of their founders do not figure in the earliest lists of his children. This ascription is therefore most doubtful. Cynbryd (B.G & F. II 228-9) is the patron Saint of Llysfaen between Colwyn and Abergele on the Coast. The next parish Llandulas commemorates a Cynfran (B.G & F. II 246) who also is in some way connected with St. George's Abergele. To the South East is the parish of Llannefydd (See B.G. III 3.) Nefydd is represented as being either the Son, grandson or great grandson of Brychan; whilst between Denbigh and Ruthin on the right bank of the Clwyd - is Llanychan - (B.G & F. III 286) the Settlement of another reputed son. Nothing however is known of the four and consequently no light can be thrown on the development of this portion of Denbighshire. The districts immediately to the South of these unknown dedications are all brought into the legend of St. Winifred (See under Gwenfrewi - B.G & F. III 185 - 196) Winifred's mother was Gwenlo Beuno's sister, and her father is described as Tenyth son of Eylud (B.G & F. III 188) described in the second life as next in importance to King Eleuth. Baring

Gould & Fisher state that no such King in Flintshire is known of that name from other sources: but the Harleian Genealogies (MS 3859) of the descendants of Catell Durnluc give an Eliud as the grandson of King Brochwel of Powys, - the brother of the Selim son of Cinan who fell in the battle of Chester, and nephew of Tyssilio). It was through this Eliud that the later rulers of Powys descended. We have no means of knowing in which of the two Northern Kingdoms Gwynedd or Powys, lay Tegeingl - the Northernmost corner of the modern County of Flint. The Mold Valley which lay immediately to the South belonged to Powys, whilst across the Clwyd were lands definitely associated with the names of Cunedda's sons. But there is no evidence as to the political associations of the Holywell district.

The main incidents of St. Winifred's life began with a visit to her parents by Beuno - her maternal uncle, who was at that time settled at Gwyddelwern a few miles north of Convent, on the borders of the modern Counties of Denbigh and Merioneth. This circumstance would place the visit at any time between 584 and 613 [The terminus a quo is dictated by Beuno's leaving the Severn Valley after hearing the Englishman's voice - which might have happened during the great raid up the Severn Valley after the Battle of Deorham. The terminus ad quem is fixed by the fateful consequences of the Battle of Chester].

Baring Gould & Fisher III 192 quote the Vita Prima of St. Winifred as stating that she was a young girl when Cadfan was King. Cadfan is represented in the Genealogiae Hoelii of the Harleian MS.3859 as the son of the Jago ap Beli whose "dormitatio" the Annales Cambriae of the same MS give as occurring in 613, the year of the Battle of Chester. He

is also the father of the Cadwallon whose contest with the Kings of Northumbria from Edwin to Oswald raised the warfare between Briton and Angle to epic heights. He is also credited with having provided a refuge for Edwin during the earlier part of his exile. - [from 604 A.D. In 616 Edwin is at the Court of Redwald of East Anglia] (Oman p. 243 Lloyd p. 183) Lloyd goes so far as to state (loc.cit) that Edwin had fled from Court to Court to escape the "ruthless enmity of Ethelfrith. If this statement can be correct, then it explains why Ethelfrith apparently abandoned any advance on Wales after his victory at Chester - although Bede admits that the Northumbrian army suffered considerable loss despite its victory (non sine magno sui exercitus damno" quoted in Lloyd p.180 Note 71.) It also explains why Ethelfrith apparently left to Edwin the conquest of the British Kingdom of Elmet and Loidis between the Ouse and the Pennines; It also explains why he embarked on his last campaign against East Anglia - only four years after the Battle of Chester (Oman p.251.) to fall himself a victim to his own vendetta. Apparently the desire to exterminate the royal family of Deira weighed the most in his mind and dictated his policy.

Lloyd (p.181) has remarked that "dormitatio" as an equivalent for death is applied only to ecclesiastics, so that apparently Jago ap Beli had retired from the throne leaving it to Cadfan. But the latter could scarcely have been ruling in 588. when the infant Edwin was carried away from Deira into safety (Oman p. 243) Some period after 604 would agree much better with this supposition - as Ethelfrith was in a better position to deal with his "domestic" troubles after his victory over Aedan the Scot at Daegsastan than before.

But we have no precise dates to help us to determine

either Cadfan's accession or death. He was probably ruling in 613. He may have been so in 604. Some accounts fix his death in 616. E.W.B. Nicholson (*Archaeologia Cambrensis* 1908 p. 63 ff) gives 613 as the year of his death. B.G. & F. III p.192 bring it on to 630 A.D. But this date is much too late. Lloyd's words (p. 182) "The memory of his great duel with Edwin of Northumbria carried on with marked ill fortune for many years", make a struggle of only three years an impossibility.

A more or less vague estimate is all that is possible. The only absolute certainty is that he was reigning some time previous to 613 and for a few years after it. And this vague indefinite period is the time of St. Winifred's youth in Holywell.

Beuno visited Holywell and acceded to the request of Winifred's parents to train her for the monastic life, only on condition that they should make him a grant of land from their possessions. This necessitated a visit to the King, for royal permission was regarded as a *sine qua non* before any portion of the tribe lands could be alienated. The Royal Consent was finally obtained for a diminished grant. During the father's absence at the royal court, occurred the incident of Winifred's beheading by a disappointed Suitor and the consequent restoration of life by Beuno, who had apparently occupied the land pending a satisfactory settlement of the question of the grant.

The "Lives" of Winifred (B.G. & F. III 189) state

that soon afterwards Bueno removed to Clynog in Carnarvonshire; and that Winifred went first to Bodfari - to Diefer, and was transferred by him to Eleri and Sadwrn of Henllan near Denbigh, who were settled at Gwytherin in the uplands in North West Denbighshire.

It was therefore in these years i.e. some time between 584 and 613 that the Saints occupied this part of North Wales and they represent the last wave of the movement which centred round the founding of St. Asaph. The first stage, was the founding of the Abbey and the temporary settlement of the exiles. The second was the attraction into the Clwyd Valley of the younger generations of the clans of Seithenin and Caradog Freichfras; and now we have one of the Northern clans - Eleri son of Dingad ap Nudd Hael appearing in Gwytherin - Eleri was a distant connection of Winifred's - a first cousin of her mother, and this may have been the reason for her going to him.

The departure of Beuno for Gwynedd, and - by implication - (if we accept the evidence of the legends of St. Winifred) her departure to Gwytherin from the Holywell district, introduces a new era into the Ecclesiastical Life of North Wales. Before this question can be dealt with the progress of religion in the extreme South East of Wales must be followed.

OUDOCEUS IN LLANDAFF.

Oudoceus is considered to be the nephew and successor of Teilo, who is himself reputed to be the first bishop who resided in Llandaff, even if he was not Bishop of Llandaff in the modern sense. His dates are exceedingly difficult to estimate. Teilo is generally considered to have been consecrated about 546 (he was bishop for an exceedingly short space of time before the outbreak of the great plague of 547), and if the foundation of Llandaff was his by the grant of King Meurig ap Tewdrig and if also the terms of the grant of Llantelïau Cressinnych can be accepted, then the closing years of his episcopate coincided with the first years of the Saxon raids up the Severn Valley i.e. between 577 & 584. According to his Life in the Liber Landavensis (123-132 & 170-381) Oudoceus was the son of a Breton prince who when in exile in Pembrokeshire had married Teilo's sister; Teilo in turn went to him in Brittany during his flight from the Plague, and brought back to him his nephew Oudoceus who succeeded him on his death.

Before his life work can be considered, his chronological position must be assured. A.O. Vaughan (The Matter of Wales 1913 Educational Publishing Company, Cardiff) has made a powerful attempt to place him in the first half of the 9th century. (Vaughan op. cit. pp 68-73) He depends upon the records of two grants supposedly made to Oudoceus of Lann cors and Launguruaet in Breconshire by Awst, King of Brecknock and his sons (pp 138 & 146 & 388, 397) Another entry in the time of one Gutuan (or Gurfan) episcopus accords a fatal quarrel between Tewdur son of Rhmn and Elgystyl son of Aust both of them reguli in the

Usk Valley. By comparing pedigrees he comes to the conclusion, that these princes lived about the middle of the 9th Century, and he therefore concludes that Oudoceus flourishes also in that same age, and that the Liber Landavensis is grossly mistaken, to say the least, in attempting to find him in the late 6th and early 7th. In the sections succeeding the life i.e. pp. 132-151 381-404, we have the records of twenty two grants given by various rulers in S.E. Wales to Oudoceus and the Church of Llandaff. Of these two belong to Brecknock, one to Radnor, five to Monmouth, three to Gower, and four can be identified with the remaining part of Glamorgan, & some cannot be identified. But with the exception of the two Brecknock grants practically all the others mention Kings of Glamorgan and Gwent, and the kings are Meuric son of Tewdric (who is generally associated with Teilo's founding of Llandaff) Liliau, Athruis, Frioc his sons. Morcant (or Morgan) son of Athruis who apparently succeeds his grandfather, and Morcant's son Iudhael or Ithel. Oudoceus therefore, if the Liber Landavensis's grants in the districts nearest Llandaff itself are considered, appears to have succeeded Teilo. It is most unfortunate that Vaughan should have ignored the twenty and built his case on the two isolated instances.

Baring Gould and Fisher (Vol.II p. 375) give the following pedigree of the Kings of Glamorgan as based as the evidence of the Liber Landavensis

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      Teudiric
      |
(Mouric) Meuric = Onbrawst
      |
Athruis (K. Morganwg)  Frioc murdered by Morcant
      |
Morcant (Mwynfawr)
      |
Ithael K. Morganwg and Gwent &c.

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J.E. Lloyd p. 274 agrees with the above and gives the first Kings of Glywysing in the Seventh Century as follows:-

"A new dynasty represented about 630 by one Meurig ap Tewdrig"

"In due course Meurig was succeeded by his grandson Morgan ap Athruis" (Athruis does not seem to have ruled himself p. 274 note 256)

"Morgan was succeeded by his son Ithel. Ffernfail ab Ithel who died in 775.

Zimmer Nennius Vindicatus §106 & 107 quotes very ancient Royal Welsh pedigrees from the Oxford Jesus College MS 20 fol. 31a-41a (published by Phillimore in Y Cymmrodor VIII 83-90) The pedigree begins with Morcant Hen who flourished about 850 A.D. His pedigree runs as follows:

Morcant filius Eweint fili Howel fili Rees fili Arthuael fili Gwryat fili Brochuael fili Rees f Nudhael (read Iudhael) fili Morgant fili Adroes fili Meuric fili Theudric fili Llywarch (&c. Y Cymmrodor VIII. 85)

The four underlined names are the names of the Kings who figure in the Glamorgan Monmouth and Radnor grants to Oudoceus in the Liber Landavensis. If there is an error in the records it would be much more likely to occur in a part dealing with Brecknock than with Glamorgan and Monmouth

The date given by Lloyd (p. 274) for Meurig ap Tewdrig i.e. about 630 is rather late, especially if this relates to the death of his father at the battle of Tintern, and his founding of Matherne for Oudoceus. (Lib. Land 133. 383) There was peace between Mercia and Wales until 655 and there is no record of any advance between 584 and the campaigns of Wulfhere c. 670 in S. Wales.

There is no record in the Liber Landavensis of any Saxon attacks from the Tintern battle (when old Tewdrig was alive although he had ceased ruling) until the reign of Ithail is reached, and the episcopate of Berthguin. (Lib. Land 182.442). If the order of the grants is any indication, the Mathern grant is the second belonging to Oudoceus out of twenty two - whilst the grant of King Ithael, referring to Saxon depredations on the Wye is the twenty fourth to Bishop Berthguin out of twenty seven. The Liber Landavensis appears to place the Tintern attack at the very commencement of Oudoceus's episcopate and the S. Herefordshire grant at the very end of Berthguin's - This would certainly suggest the earlier date for Tintern and for the commencement of Meurig's reign. Meurig was Ithael's great grandfather and this would suggest a considerable period between the two events.

Vaughan (Matter of Wales p.68 & 9) refers the ravaging of Southern Britain in the time of Oudoceus to the days of Cyngen of Powys and Mervyn Vrych (818-844 A.D.). His calculation is based upon his preference for the two isolated Brecknock grants to Oudoceus, and his disregard for the twenty others. There were two such raids on the borders of Wales, one in the years 577-584, and the other in the third quarter of the seventh Century, when we find a new district beyond the Severn in the hands of the English, with a sub regulus who was the Vassal of Mercia, and (a little later) a bishop of its own. This was the land of the Magesaetas or Hecanas which comprised the modern Herefordshire, with South Shropshire and the Forest of Dean. It was more probably the work of Wulfhere, whose brother Merewald is recorded to have been the first alderman or subking of the Hecanas,

the founder of the Abbey of Leominster and the father of the two sainted Nuns Mildred and Mildgyth (Oman pp.296 & 297) Lloyd (pp.195 & 196) is in thorough agreement with Oman, and would place the conquest of Hereford and the land between the Worm, Dore and Wye by the English, even in the first half of the Seventh Century. Vaughan's thesis that Oudoceus and the conquest of this region both belong to the Ninth Century is therefore untenable.

Whilst the twofold record of an invasion in the times of Meurig ap Tewdrig and in the times of Ithail ap Morcant ap Athruis (Meurig's great Grandson) militate against Meurig and Oudoceus's being placed so late as 630. *Liber Landavensis* p.183 (& 443) state "Sciendum est quod eveneunt magnae tribulationes et vastationes in tempore Telpaldi et Ithaili Regum Britanniae, et a Saxonica gente infidelissima, et maxime in confinibus Brittanniae et Angliae versus Herefordiam &c. This is referred to the episcopate of Berthguin, the successor of Oudoceus.

We are therefore justified in dating the commencement of Oudoceus's authority and jurisdiction to the neighbourhood of 584 and (if the records of the *Liber Landavensis* even approximate accuracy), it is extended through Meurig's reign, his grandson Morcant's reign, and even reached the early part of Ithail's reign. He may well have been alive about 630 A.D. but we have no clear and definite evidence.

It has been already remarked that Teilo's episcopate in all probability coincided with a change of dynasty in Glywyssing and that in some way or other the old family to which Cadoc belonged had ceased to bear rule, and had been followed by that of Meurig ap Tewdrig, which was still

ruling in 950. This accounted for the founding and the privilege of Llandaff, and in all probability for the coming eastwards of the community of Illtyd. Teilo's death accounts for no further record of grants in Glamorgan; he only appears in Upper Gwent between Abergavenny and Monmouth. Oudoceus however consolidates Teilo's work and makes Llandaff supreme in the S. East. Three grants (Sections 2, 5, 6) record his settlements in Gower where he was able to recover from Illtyd's Community ancient lands formerly granted to Dubricius, Section 10 finds him establishing his control in Llowes in S. Radnor, in territories where the "Sons of Gildas" had worked some years previously. Sections 11, 18 & 20 bring him to the neighbourhood of Chepstow (where Laun Cinfarch had formerly witnessed to the foresight of Dubricius) and Llandogo 10 miles up the Wye - remains as the one Church which bears his name, Section 21 records his possession in the Valley of the Olway in Upper Gwent between Usk and Monmouth.

Sections 13 & 22 find him in the neighbourhood of Gabalfa across the River Taff from Llandaff. 17 & 19 record settlements in the Ely Valley to the N.W. of Llandaff, and if Section 8 is correct in its equating of the spellings Nantavan and Nadavan and the lake of Rufinus then he has brought to the source of the little River Thaw in Glamorgan between Cowbridge and Llantrisant Junction. There are several grants which cannot be identified. But there is one, Section 15, which is of great importance as stating the claim of the Bishop of Llandaff to be the Supreme ecclesiastic in the ancient region of Glywyssing. This requires separate treatment. Even if we omit the two sections dealing with Brecknock

we have yet records of the extension of the authority of Llandaff in Gower, in Penychen (East Glamorgan), in the regions between Taff and Rhymney, in Lower and Upper Gwent, and in Radnor. The only regions which are exempt are Gorfynydd (between the Thaw and the Neath Valleys), Gwynllwg between the Rhymney and the Usk, and Archenfield. The first named region contained Llantwit Major: the second was the homeland of Cadoc: and the third was the homeland of Dubricius: Wade Evans only states the exact truth when he ascribes to Oudoceus, the final establishment of the superiority of Llandaff in the S. Eastern Corner of Wales.

Section 15 of the Liber Landavensis (pp. 143-5 & 395-7 (Rees's Edition) records a surrender made by Morgan King of Glywyssing to the Bishop of Llandaff of all his rights over the three monastic communities of Llantwit Major (Illtyd) Llancarvan (Carbani Vallis, Cadoc) and Llandough (Docwinni) near Penarth, as a penance for the Murder of his Uncle Frioc - Clamavit tres congregatione Catoci, Ilduti, Docuuni, liberas ab omni regali servitio Deo et Sanctis Teliauo. Dubricio, Oudoceo et omnibus successoribus suis (pp.145 & 397). This grant does not seem to have handed over to Llandaff the properties of the three Abbeys, which remained intact until they were variously alienated at the Conquest to the Abbeys of Tewkesbury, Gloucester and Bristol. The record of the endowments of Llancarvan was preserved and what remains has been printed by Seebohm as an appendix to his "Tribal System in Wales".

In addition there is a very significant omission of the two Monmouthshire Abbeys. Caerwent and St. Woollos Newport (the present Pro-Cathedral Church of the Diocese of Monmouth). The omission is still more striking, because

the Liber Landavensis itself refers to the Community of Caerwent several times in the following terms.

a. pp. 212 & 479. Grant of Caer Nonou to Bishop Pater.

Among the witnesses to the grant is
Guorgonui filius Guruetu Abbas Guentioniae
Urbis.

b. pp. 232, 234 & 506 & 508. Grants of Lancarvan and

Lannvihangel Lechrit to Bishop Gucaunus
Amongst the witnesses occurs. Eidef lector
Urbis Guenti.

c. pp. 259 & 541. Privilege granted by King Gruffydd
to Bishop Herwald (1059-1104).

The following sign as witnesses:

Iouanaul, Novis, Elinui, Cinon, Iudhail
Presbiteri Tathiu

(Rees interposes a comma between Presbiteri and Tathiu
Lloyd (p.279 note 282) quoting Gwenogvryn Evans
edition) omits the comma and makes better sense of the
passage, and renders the last two words Clergy of
Caerwent.

The advowson of Caerwent passed into the hands of the
Chapter of Llandaff only in 1337. Previously it had
belonged to the Manor (Bradney History of Monmouthshire
Vol. IV Part I. The Hundred of Caldicot p.141) There
is therefore no known connection between Caerwent and
Llandaff Cathedral prior to 1337.

The Liber Landavensis is silent respecting St.Woollos
Newport which lay in the Cantref of Gwynllwg, the region
between the Usk and the Rhymney in Cadoc's own patrimony.
But Lloyd (pp.278 (& note 276) & 313 note 136) quotes the
Evidence of The Vita Sancti Gundlei respecting the Community
and its head who is called 'decanus ecclesie'

The omission of Caerwent from the grant is striking

because both East and West of it there were Manors and Churches belonging to the Cathedral, - even from the early days of Oudoceus. For some reasons or other. Wentloog (Gwynllwg) and Lower Gwent escaped the "Supremacy" of the Bishop who yet holds a synod there in 955 (pp.210 & 477) All that the Grant would appear to imply would be that within the domains of the Kings of Glamorgan, the Bishop would hold the same position relative to the three Abbots, as the King would hold in relation to the Chiefs of the clans. The Church would be an imperium in imperio, even in the somewhat lax state of affairs composed within the Celtic Tribal Communities. There may be a real foundation for the frequency with which the Bishops invite the abbots of the three great monasteries to consult, and to witness charters, especially as Glamorgan and Gwent, appear as a very self contained region. It is too often argued that all the Celtic Churches conformed to one distinct type & formed one homogeneous Celtic Church. But this is based on an assumption of a cultural unity. Lloyd (p.308) in dealing with early Welsh Institutions notes one difference between Welsh and Irish custom extending as far back as the days of Gildas, the status of the king in the administration of justice, and he attributes this to the effect of Roman Tradition. Ireland had a vernacular literature before Cogitosus composed his Latin life of St. Bridget. The earliest record we have of anything approaching "written" Welsh are the entries in the margin Gospels of St. Chad and the glosses of the "Juvencus Codex" Gildas and Nennius write in Latin. If Lloyd's observation is true for the whole of Wales it must be most true of the S.E., the Counties of

Glamorgan and Monmouth which were longest in contact with what remained of Romano-British Civilisation; and where the old ideas of Government and order would survive longest. We cannot dismiss this grant summarily as an invention of later days. Did it involve a claim to the property of Cadoc, we might suspect it; but as it implies no more than Episcopal Suzerainty and a right to protect the three abbeys from the lawlessness prevalent in those days; the record may well be authentic.

THE LOSS of LLANDAFF'S WESTERN CHURCHES.

With the Grants to Oudoceus the Liber Landavensis ceases to refer to any Churches in those parts of Wales west of the River Towy. Attention is apparently focussed on Gower, Brecknock, Archenfield, Glamorgan and Monmouth. The Life of Oudoceus (Liber Land 128 & 377) seems to suggest an abandonment of Llandeilo Fawr in Carmarthenshire (where Teilo died) and a journey from that place to Gower through the region of Kidwelly i.e. the Coastal region between the Towy and the Loughor (the town of Kidwelly took its name from the district as did also such towns as Brecon, Pembroke and Cardigan). The presence of the body of Clergy with relics, aroused the cupidity of the inhabitants, who were only miraculously prevented from plundering Oudoceus and his Companions. This incident and the abandonment of the West are recorded in the first two Chapters of the "Life"; so that the Llandaff Chronicler apparently thought that Oudoceus never had any connection with Teilo's homeland. The real nature of the tenure of ecclesiastical property in tribal Wales

is obscure and we can no more than conjecture as to the reason for the separation of Teilo's property. Teilo himself was a native of the West and the Kings of Demetia might feel that any property granted to him would be in no danger of alienation from the tribe. Possibly with the advent of Oudoceus, a Breton, conditions might have changed and the royal favour was consequently withheld, Lloyd (p.311 - dealing with early Welsh Institution - the Kingship) observes that the Welsh "King" was treated as the universal heir in respect of movable property - in default of children. In Gwynedd (N. Wales) no man could bequeath anything, and even the goods of a Bishop (save his books and official vestments) passed on his death into the royal hands (Lloyd p.312 & note 131) Did the King of Demetia sequester all Teilo's property because his next heir was a Breton? and what became of his monastic settlements? If only there had been a St. David's equivalent of the Liber Landavensis we might obtain the necessary information.

But the times were once more perilous for the Irish speaking inhabitants of Wales. At some time during the sixth century a wave of Brythonic invasion pressed up the valley of the Irfon (from Builth past Llanwrtyd to Llandovery) and conquered the lands between Carmarthen & Swansea (Lloyd p.121) "This might explain the undoubted fact that few Latin inscriptions have been discovered between the Towy and the Tawe, - and also the story as to the conquests of Cunedda in Gower and Kidwelly" (Lloyd loc. cit.) Such a circumstance might account for the loss of the West; - the Demetian rulers fearing that any intercourse with Glamorgan might enable the intervening invaders to break into the remaining territories. The

impossibility of Governing the Church from Llandeilo Fawr might have led Oudoceus to prefer Llandaff, and the favour of the new dynasty in Glamorgan. It is significant that Oudoceus obtains no grants in the lands between Carmarthen and Gower. The whole story of this region is one of suspended intercourse. Teilo was left in undisturbed possession of all South Wales. Oudoceus is confined to the Eastern portion. The time indicated, i.e. soon after the death of Teilo (any time between 560 & 580) would corroborate the old tradition that this conquest was the work of the exiles of the north, that it was Urien of Rheged (the Urien of the Saxon Genealogies) who led the invaders (Lloyd p. 165 & note 14), but nothing can be determined with any degree of exactness. The most that can be said is that at some time in or about the third quarter of the sixth century an invading army conquered this region from the Irish speaking inhabitants, and that whether for this or another reason, the connection between the Eastern and Western foundations of Teilo was broken, never to be resumed. The recollection of the past was all that remained, and even the names of the kings are curiously jumbled; for with Aircol (fl. 500 - 520) we find Meredydd ap Rhun (Margetud filius Rein p.118 & 364) fl. c. 730 - 750) and Noe filius Arthur (73 & 321) fl. c. 630 - 650. Whether the Llandaff Chronicler confused the first Rhun (or Rein) with the son of Maglocunus (fl. c. 550 - 560) and the Arthur with the Great Arthur whom the Chronicles believed to have died c. 537 we do not know; but Noe filius Arthur is mentioned in the grant of Penn Alun to Dubricius & Margetud filius Rein, in that of Brunus to Teilo. If he did - then the latter would have been a contemporary of Dubricius and the

former of Teilo. But the Chroniclers were entirely mistaken. The genealogy of the Kings of Demetia in the Harleian MS. 3859 proves that conclusively; and it also proves that the editor of the Liber Landavensis was entirely out of touch with the state of affairs in West Wales.

Another question arises out of this the attempt to discredit the Liber Landavensis as a record of grants because of the attempt made by Bishop Urban of Llandaff to gain authority over all the Churches dedicated to Teilo even in the West. A.O. Vaughan (The matter of Wales pp.63 - 67) goes so far as to suggest that during a time of Supremacy of the Kings of Glamorgan over the remainder of South Wales, the records of the possessions of the Western "Teilo" Churches were "looted" and brought back to be added to those of the Eastern Llandaff. Two names are given in connection with this supremacy - Aeddán ap. Blegywryd (who was killed with his four sons in 1018, after a reign of uncertain length - Lloyd p.347) and Rhydderch ap. Iestyn (King of South Wales 1023 - 1033 - Lloyd p.347) But Vaughan adduces no evidence in support of his suggestion that these two Kings ruled over Glamorgan and all Gwent. Lloyd (pp.347 & 361 note 7) limits their possessions at this time to Erging (Archenfield) and Upper Gwent. The Charters they attest in the Liber Landavensis refer to lands in the Monnow Valley in the neighbourhood of Monmouth. Lloyd explicitly excepts Glamorgan from the calamities which distracted the rest of Wales during the first half of the eleventh Century (p.347), and states that it was ruled almost undisturbed by one dynasty from the beginning of the 10th until the coming of the Normans

into S.Wales. For a few years they were expelled but they returned again. The Kings of Gwent are also recorded in the Liber Landavensis from about 950 - 1043 when they are displaced by the rulers of Glamorgan (Lloyd pp. 347 & 348). In brief there is no warrant whatsoever for Vaughan's statement that there were kings of Glamorgan and Gwent who ruled over S. Wales, and who enabled the Church of Llandaff to loot the Western records. The two conquerors he mentions do not belong to Glamorgan, but to Archenfield; and the Liber Landavensis's record of Grants is once more characterised by an unusually careful adherence to historic fact. The Llandaff tradition was based upon the evidence of the Life of St. Samson of Dol, that Dubricius had a general authority over South Wales, although the true import of the evidence of that life was never (until very recently) realised; viz. that Dubricius actually had a monastery in Pembrokeshire where also Iltyd's monastery must be placed (Williams Gildas pp.318 & 319) But the Liber records the granting of Penn Alun (Teilo's birthplace) to Dubricius, even though the King's name is totally wrong (Noe ab Arthur C. 630 - 650) The tradition is vindicated by Dr.William's conclusions. Dubricius exercised an authority from Pembrokeshire to S. Hereford. Teilo appears as succeeding to this authority His ecclesiastical possessions appear mostly between Tenby and Llandovery. Dubricius's disciples submit to him. The Archenfield settlements nowhere bear his name. The only Churches dedicated to him are the two Llantilios near Abergavenny and Llandaff Cathedral where the Community is called familia Teliaui as early as the 9th Century. When Teilo dies and Oudoceus succeeds, for some reason or other the Western settlements are alineated and

Llandaff becomes the headquarters of the Eastern portion only. The charge that the Llandaff records are an ex parte statement comes with a bad grace from those who uphold the full and plenary inspiration and inerrancy of Ricemarchus Life of St. David, and of the Vespasian A XIV text of that life. Such people fail to distinguish between the records themselves and the constructions placed on them, and the conclusions deduced from them, Bishop Urban's case against the Bishops of Hereford and St. David's rested as much upon the record of Consecrations and ordinations of Bishop Herwald (1059 - 1104) as upon the more ancient documents, if not more so. He merely claimed the extent of jurisdiction enjoyed by his predecessor. The failure of Bp. Urban to win his case in no way invalidates the substantial accuracy of the facts contained in the records of the Liber Landavensis even if the editor has garnished and embellished them according to the literary Canons of his age. There is no evidence to prove that the Llandaff records were ever doubled by the appropriation of those of a more Western Church. The Eastern Kings who ruled over the chaotic S. West did not include Glamorgan and Lower Gwent in their domains. Even if they had, it is not likely that they would have wish to alienate the minds of their Demetian subjects by promoting the supremacy of Llandaff, especially as they were called in to prevent the domination of N. Wales rulers such as Llywelyn ap Seisyll (1018 - 1023) and Gruffydd ap Llywelyn (1039 - 1063) Despite Vaughan's statement that to the author of the life of St. Ouduceus in The Liber Landavensis "anything that horns was his cow to milk" (op. cit. p.67) in the sense that everything possible was included, whether sure and

certain or not, and the political and historical background of the "Life" is substantially correct. It was a period of Saxon raids on the East, of Brythonic raids on the West; of a shrinkage of ecclesiastical dominion; of the succession to men of a more heroic mould by those who were merely vicious. The records bear witness to this. If we have no record of the inner life of the community we have ample evidence of the circumstances against which it had to fight; and if the other communities in Glamorgan; of Llantwit, Llancarvan, and Llandough - preferred the co-operation and supremacy of Llandaff, to being exposed to the wrongs inflicted by the lawless princes of the time there is nothing improbable in such a course of action. All that can be urged against it, is that such things were not done in Ireland at that time. But between Ireland and South Wales there was not merely the fixed gulf of the Irish Sea, but also that between a native aboriginal culture and civilisation on the one hand and on the other a culture which had been modified by traditions ultimately derived from the great Empire of the West. It was therefore during the episcopate of Oudoceus that what eventually became the diocese of Llandaff took a definite form. The political realm was more or less consolidated under one dynasty and was sharply marked off from the neighbours. The position of the Bishop was no less clearly defined. The area under his supervision coincided more or less with that of the King's jurisdiction and the three great abbeys appear, not as subordinate, so much as "junior

partners" There is no record of submission or appointment, only of co-operation for protection and spiritual power. There appears no break with the tradition of the past. It is the picture of Dubricius & Illtyd, as described in the Life of St. Samson of Dol, reproduced. The circumstances of the Pembrokeshire of the early sixth Century re-appear in the Glamorgan of the late sixth and early seventh Centuries. The circumstances of the early history of Llandaff and of Durham are singularly parallel. In the one case Chester le Street succeeded to Lindisfarne and itself gave way to Durham. In the other Mochros in Hereford yielded first to Llandeilo Fawr in Carmarthen and Llandaff in Glamorgan. There was a like shrinkage in the area of the episcopate. What had for a time been the Mother Church of all the lands between the Humber and the Forth found itself confined to the Counties of Durham and Northumberland with portions of Yorkshire. As we have seen Llandaff experienced similar diminution. But the process which took centuries to materialise in the Case of Durham was accomplished in the case of Llandaff in one short century - if we except the remarkable expansion and final contraction of Llandaff between 1060 and 1130. It may be confidently affirmed that the history of the early years of Llandaff can be best understood only after a study of the pre-conquest history of the see of Durham. Durham despite its change of Cathedral site still remains the see of Aidan and Cuthbert. Likewise Llandaff remains the see of Dubricius and Teilo and perpetuates their traditions.

DAVID'S SUCCESSOR at MENEVIA (or MYNYW.)

All the earliest lists of the succession of the Bishops of St. Davids give CYNOG as St. David's Successor (Bevan (S.P.C.K. Diocesan Series) - St. David's p. 249 - quoting Jones & Freeman's History of St. David's) see also Giraldus Cambrensis Itinerary through Wales (Book II C. I pp 95 & 96) which is apparently the source of Jones' & Freeman's list) A Cinauc Episcopus is referred to in the Annales Cambriae (Harleian MS 3859) as dying in 606 (Dispositio Cinauc Episcopi), and it is thought that as this Chronicle was certainly drawn up in St Davids from about 800 onwards that this Cinauc Episcopus could very well have been Bishop of St Davids, and St. David's immediate successor. Geoffrey of Monmouth (De gestibus regum Britanniae XI c. 3 p. 271 C.Giles (six old English Chronicles) makes this Cynog already Bishop of Llanbadarn near Aberystwyth - "He (David) was succeeded in the Metropolitan see by Cynoc bishop of the Church of Llan-Patern who was thus promoted to a higher dignity". Geoffrey is followed by the Welsh Brut Gruffydd ab Arthur (Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales - Gee's Edition p.547a) but not by the Welsh Brut of Tyssilio which omits the passage, although recording both the preceding and the succeeding entries. Unfortunately the relation of these "Bruts" to each other and to the Latin work of Geoffrey has never been worked out. But it is an a priori impossibility that the head of Padarn's Monastery in a British speaking region governed by Cunedag's descendants, should succeed to Dewi's great foundation in an Irish speaking region; and during times when the racial animosity must have been further stirred by the Conquest of the lands between Carmarthen and Gower. The "translation" is still more impossible because it involves the idea of a territorial episcopate and a metropolitanical Constitution of the Church with Provinces and Archbishops, which never existed in Celtic Christianity, Geoffrey's "fond inventions" must be dismissed

as must also those of the Liber Landavensis (pp 109 and 352) "De quibus Hismalem consecravit (Teliau) in episcopum, mittens illum ad consulendum ecclesiam Minuensem, et jam viduatam pastore; nam Sanctus David ad Dominum Migraverat," This statement likewise seems to have been derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth XI 3 p. 271 where David's death is placed before that of Maglocunus, who orders the Saint's burial in his Monastery at Menevia. In all probability Teilo died first, and the statements both of Geoffrey and the Liber Landavensis are without historical foundation - A third Statement without foundation in connection with the Succession at St. Davids is that of Giraldus. (Itinerary, pp 95 and 96 (Dent's Everyman's Series) making Teilo the third Bishop at St. Davids- i.e. to succeed Cynog in 606 (David Cenauc, Eliud who was also called Teliaus) This is impossible chronologically and his name is omitted from the list of Bishops of St. Davids compiled for the 1930 Edition of the "Official Handbook of the Church in Wales p. 57. Such statements appear to be merely deductions from the names of founders of prominent Churches in the modern and mediaeval diocese of St. Davids. The amended succession of David, Cynog (Cinauc or Cenauc) Ceneu, i.e. of the Welsh Church Official Hand Book" is the nearest approach to correctness; and any attempt to find Cynog a previous Episcopate is foredoomed to failure from lack of evidence.

PART IV.

NORTH WALES - THE FINAL MIGRATION WESTWARD.

It has already been observed that the most marked feature

of the period of Church life beginning with the death of Maglocunus was an easterly movement of the Saints of North Wales due partly to two causes, - a flight from the great plague which had raged in the Court of Maglocunus and a new orientation of policy due to an alliance between the house of Cunedag and the British princes of the North, in opposition to a renewing of the English advance under Ida of Bernicia and his sons. Previous to 550 we hear of Saints and Churches only to the West of the Conway and the Great Orme Peninsula, but afterwards we read of new foundations in the Clwyd and the Dee Valleys, the Great Abbeys of St. Asaph and Bangor-is-Coed and the other Churches which sprang up in their neighbourhood. This is also the period of the first great Saint of Powys - Tyssilio of Meifod (near Welshpool) and also of the coming of Beuno to the Newtown District of Montgomery, and his consequent migration to Gwyddelwern near Corwen in the Dee Valley. This second period came to an end with the Battle of Chester 613 A.D. The fact that Ethelfrith did not follow up his victory but made East Anglia his next objective, seems to corroborate the supposition that it was the thought of Edwin and the house of Ella, which dominated his attitude towards his neighbours, rather than any question of Northumbrian or even of English predominance. (Lloyd p. 183 "ruthless enmity of Ethelfrith") But the North Welsh were quite unaware of this. To them the victory portended only the ever advancing tide of conquest and the panic which had apparently driven Beuno from the Severn, years before, again makes its appearance. Serious discrepancies have been already noted between the Article in B.G. & F. IV 296 - 305 and the Genealogies in Harleian Ms 3859. The article (B.G.& F) relies on French and Breton Sources and makes Brochwel (the father of Tyssilio) lead the Britons at Chester, and a son Jago to succeed him and die within two years - Jago's widow determines to marry Tyssilio, who is the senior surviving member of the race of Catell

Durnluc, and on his refusal so persecuted him, that the Saint flees in Brittany. According to the Annales Cambriae and the Genealogical Hoeli (both from Harleian M.S. 3859) the King who led the forces at the battle of Chester was Selim son of Cinan son of Brochwel i.e. Tyssilio's nephew and not his father, and the Annales state that he fell in the battle. The succession of the Kings of Powys was carried on by Selim's brother Eliud until it was finally carried by marriage into the family of Rhodri Mawr (844-877). The realm of Powys did not suffer from lack of heirs. But when the general migration of Saints Westward is observed Tyssilio can easily be accredited with a lack of courage and hope. There may have been a feeling of resentment of Powys if he refused to assume the leadership expected from him, as the oldest member of the Royal family. The family of Powys seems to have been the least attracted by the religious life of all the great families of Wales in the heroic age; and there may have been a genuine foundation for the belief that family complications finally compelled his flight, even though the dynastic details were wrongly recorded. The Article in B.G. & F. denies that he ever returned to Wales and the remainder of his life has therefore no connection with the development of the religious life of Wales

No dates or other time indications are given for the abandonment of Bangor-is-coed but it cannot have been long delayed. Four years later - 617 - the Victor of Chester was himself defeated and slain at the Battle of the Idle, and Edwin ascended the throne of Northumbria. Following the precedents of former English conquerors he first subdued the neighbouring English Kingdoms and in 629 turned his Arms against North Wales. Lloyd (pp. 184-5, 251, and note 123) records the furious struggle which extended from the Severn to Anglesey and ended eventually only with Cadwallon's death at Heavenfield in 634. To judge by Beuno's previous flight, Bangor-is-coed would have been abandoned in 613 and St. Asaph certainly before 630. The

invading Army seems to have marched along the Coast of North Wales and to have co-operated with a fleet. St. Asaph was directly in the path of such an army, and there was no questions of any method of safety but flight, even if they had not fled before.

An examination of the North Wales dedications which can be presumed to belong to this period illustrates this westward flight. The most important of the migrating Saints was Beuno who left the neighbourhood of the Clwyd Valley for the North West coast of Carnarvonshire (B.G. & F. 212 and 213) Saint Winifred removed from Holywell and settled at Gwytherin in Denbighshire within a few miles of the Conway Valley (B.G. & F. III 192 & 3) Nidan a nephew of Kentigern appears at Llanidan in Anglesey, Grwst a member of the same clan founds Llanrwt on the Conway Elaeth Frenin settles at Amlwch in North Anglesey and Buan a grandson of Llywarch Hen (one of the emigres of 550) at Bodfean in West Carnarvonshire. Beuno is accompanied by disciples from the East - Aelhaiarn and Cynhaiarn both appear in Carnarvonshire and the clan of Caradog Freichfras of Cornwall is once more represented - Cwyfan (a great great grandson) is found first in the Clwyd Valley and then at Llangwyfan in Anglesey and Tydweiliog in West Carnarvonshire in both areas very near Beuno's foundations.

The chronology of the migration is fixed (approximately) by Beuno's legend - The Saint apparently reaches Gwynedd and is given land for a settlement at Gwredog in Carnarvonshire. He discovers that the land is not the King's to bestow and forthwith confronts the King with his wrong doing. Peace is made by a Cousin of the King's giving land at Clynnog Fawr, where the Saint built his last and greatest foundation, and from whence he and his disciples spread over parts of Carnarvon and Anglesey B.G. & F. is not consistent in this connection The King's name is given as Cadwallon, the great opponent of Edwin of Northumbria (B.G. & F. I 213) His father Cadfan (the

protector of Edwin for some time when in exile) is reported in B.G. & F. I 212 to have died in 616, but in III 192, (Article Gwenfrewi Winifred) to have died in 630.

The latter date cannot be correct Lloyd (p.184) and Oman (272-277) both state the War between Cadwallon and Edwin to have broken out at latest 629 - Edwin's conversion and baptism (c.627) was at the end of his English Conquests, although we hear in 628 of a battle between the two West Saxon Kings and Penda at Cirencester. Oman thinks that this battle marks the end of West Saxon predominance in the lower Severn basin for many years. If Edwin's position respecting the other English Kingdoms is so powerful as early as 627 or 628 that he can turn his attention to the Britons, then such a state of affairs as the Beuno legend portrays, a time of comparative peace in North Wales with Cadwallon as King - must have been possible only some considerable time before 630. If we have to choose between the two dates of B.G. & F. the earlier date is preferable i.e. 616 as given in the Beuno legend (B.G. & F. I. 212 and 213), E.W.B.Nicholson (Dynasty of Cunedag and the Harleian Genealogies (Arch:Camb: pp.63ff) would place it in 613.

The earlier date 616 would be much more in keeping with Beuno's departure from the East i.e. as soon as possible after the news of the Battle of Chester. The Royal favour which Beuno obtained is strikingly seen in the fact that the Church of the Royal Manor of Aberffraw in Anglesey, the principal Court of the Kings of North Wales, is dedicated to Beuno; and also the neighbouring Church of Trefdraeth. His Churches on the mainland of Carnarvon are Clynog, Penmorfa, Bottwnog, Carngiwoh and Pistyll. The date of his death is not recorded and apart from a few typically Celtic legends (such as the restoration of decapitated individuals) we have no further information. Of the other Saints we have no more than the names and dedications, Beuno fittingly closes the succession in upper

Gwynedd In Gwynedd below the Conway the only information extant is that St Winifred spent her last years at Gwytherin, in Denbighshire. Her "second life" reports that she left Holywell some seven years after Beuno's departure. There is no means of testing the accuracy of this statement but it would imply a date of about 623 A.D. Gwytherin was remote and inaccessible, and a convenient retreat from the beaten track of armies. She died at Gwytherin and was buried by Eleri who apparently survived her although he was much her senior in age.

One other clan remains to be considered that of Helig Foel ap Glannog whose domains between Penmaenmawr and Anglesey were lost by an inundation of the Sea. The islet of Priestholm or Ruffin is called in Welsh Ynys Lannog - presumably after Helig's father. According to the Articles in Baring Gould and Fisher (I 223, 224, 303; II 104; III 232;) Helig had twelve sons who embraced the Monastic life after losing their patrimony. Only five have left their names to be recorded by posterity. Boda, Bodfan, Brothen, Celynin and Gwynin. Boda and Gwynin (B.G. & F. I 223 & 4 and III 232) are commemorated at Dwygyfylchi (Penmaenmawr) Bodfan at Aber near Bangor (I 303) and Celynin at Llangelynin near Conway (II 104) In addition Gwynin appears at Llandegwning near Bardsey and Celynin at Llangelynin near Towyn in Merioneth. The presence of all five Saints in the strip of land between Bangor and Conway argues a period either before the death of Maglocunus or after the Battle of Chester. Baring Gould and Fisher distinctly prefers the latter period. According to an old Welsh legend Helig the father, was responsible for the murder of one of the Northern British Leaders of 550-574 Elidir Mwymawr (the legend is recorded in Vaughan "The Matter of Wales" pp.163-5 but its period is brought down to the 9th Century) This Elidir was a contemporary of Rhun the son of Maglocunus-Vengeance for the murder was delayed for several generations (Rhys Celtic Folklore pp.414-5) Apparently Helig must have been a young man at the time of the murder

Baring Gould and Fisher (I 223 and 4) make the sons of Helig attach themselves to the Chester Bangor until its destruction and then emigrate to the Western Bangor, and even farther west. No precise chronology is possible, but if a comparative chronological method is followed and the current of the dedications be noted, there are only two alternatives open, i.e. the earlier period when owing to the influence of Maglocunus, Gwynedd, west of the Conway, came under the influence of Bardsey Holyhead Bangor and Penmon: or the last period of all when after the Battle of Chester Beuno came West and many Celtic Saints followed his example. Gwynin's coming to the neighbourhood of Bardsey is only in keeping with the actions of Beuno Cwyfan Buan and others. There is no discernible reason for Celynin's preferring a more southerly home. What evidence we have would appear to make the sons of Helig contemporaries of Beuno and they would therefore belong to the last period of the Celtic Monastic period.

The outbreak of War between Wales and Northumbria in the third decade of the 7th Century brings to a close the golden age of the Celtic Church in Wales. In other parts of Wales it had already ended. The death of St. David in 589 deprived the S.W. of its leading personality; whilst presumably Cardigan had sunk to the level of uneventfulness with the death of Iadarn some time previously. The departure of Tyssilio for Britanny soon after the Battle of Chester and that of Beuno and his disciples together with that of the Saints of Kerry (Tyssil and Llwchaiarn) for Cardigan, had deprived Iowys of its leading men of religion. The Battle of Chester had brought about not merely the division of the British peoples but an abandoning of the Eastern march by the Saints who apparently flocked once more to the lands West of the Conway. In the S.E. a vigorous monarchy seems to have asserted itself on both banks of Eye and as far as Gower, Elvel in Radnor, the Usk Valley, Archenfield with the whole of the Modern Glamorgan, and Monmouth, seem to have felt the hand directly or indirectly of Meurig King of Glamorgan;

and his Bishop asserted "protective rights" over the other Monasteries, in addition to securing land for settlements in practically every region of his domaine.

The Britons of North Wales were weakened and impoverished by the War which lasted from 629 to 655 and soon after the War another outbreak of plague broke out in which Cadwaladr son of Cadwallon died (c.664) (Lloyd p.230 and notes 7 & 9) One unforeseen result of this war was the expansion of Mercia which soon after 660 marched with the Welsh Kingdoms from Hereford to Chester. The acceptance of the Roman date for Easter by the Southern Irish in 634 (Bright, Early English Church History p. 431) immediately cut off all intercourse between St. Davids and South Ireland Zimmer (Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland) waxes eloquent about the language used by the Abbots of S.Ireland to describe those who refused to conform with them, and we can be sure that St. Davids would receive similar treatment. With the surrender of the Northern Irish in 704, the Picts in 710, and Iona in 716, the Britons of Wales and Cornwall were left totally isolated. If the evidence of Baring Gould and Fisher III 178 can be received, Brittany never had a Paschal Controversy. The full intercourse existing between the Bretons and the Franks amounting to the presence of men like Samson of Dol at Councils of Frankish Bishops, would have been impossible had they been so divided. We may assume this to be true of the Churches of the Britons in Spain; had there been a Paschal Controversy there the presence of Maillocus Episcopus Britannorum would not have been permitted. The controversy was apparently limited to the British Isles and to Irish Monasteries on the Continent. In Wales agreement was not reached until 755-777 when by the influence of Elbod described as Archbishop of Gwynedd, the Continental reckoning was adopted. Elbod was presumably Bishop of Bangor and died in 809 He is of great interest as having been the Master of Nennius If Duchesne is correct in his Nennius Retrtractatus

(Revue Celtique XV and XVII) then Nennius used as the basis of his work, Gildas, a Frankish Genealogy, and a legend of St. Germanus. The work as Nennius left it contains large extracts from chronicles of the Picts and Scots. If Nennius regarded Elbod as his Master, it is very probable that he derived this knowledge from him, and that he - Elbod - in turn had derived his knowledge from Ireland. The traditional attitude of the Briton towards his English neighbours, would make any intercourse between them impossible; whereas what evidence we have points clearly to the change of Easter in Wales having been effected, through Irish influence. The invitation of Alfred the Great brought Asser from St. Davids to Wessex to assist in the King's Scheme of re-organisation in Church and School; and from that time there seems to have been a spirit of co-operation. Welsh Bishops of Llandaff and St. Davids were consecrated by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, although there is no evidence of any oath of submission and canonical obedience. It was left for the more logically minded Normans to infer, that where there had been consecration there must of necessity have been an oath of canonical obedience; and this paved the way for the subjection of the Welsh bishops.

Within the bounds of Wales there was likewise a gradual progression. The pressure of external circumstances made for a certain uniformity of Government. The rulers of Ceredigion (Cardigan) about 730 overran and annexed all Carmarthenshire North and East of the Gwili and the Towy (The Gwili joins the Towy one mile North of Carmarthen town). The dividing line between the two Kingdoms roughly corresponds with the modern railway line between Carmarthen and Pencader Junction on the route to Aberystwyth. It is assumed that this conquest marked the end of the existence of the bishopric of Llanbadarn. The two areas - the old kingdom and the new conquest - became known as Seisyllwg and the chief seat of the Kings became Dynevor.

in the region known as Manordeillo, between Carmarthen and Llandovery. But if the Kings seized upon the fortress, extensive lands in the neighbourhood formed a Manor of the Bishop of St. Davids (Lloyd p.268). The last Bishop of Llanbadarn to be recorded was Idnerth, who apparently met a violent death at Llandewi Brefi (Bevan S.P.C.K. Histories - St.David p. 31 and 32) about the year 720. It seems probable that he may have tried to appropriate St. David's Monastery at that place, precisely as his King had appropriated the Kingdom, and that the local patriotism had so resented this, that a riot broke out in which he died. St. David must have become the dominant Saint on the Towy Valley by this time, as otherwise the new Conquerors would never have found it necessary to propitiate the members of his foundations. He may well have succeeded to the position of Teilo in the West when the Brythonic invasion swept down the Eastern bank of the Towy, and severed the Irish speaking peoples into two separate parts. Oudoceus consolidated the eastern portion under Llandaff; the Kings of Demetia may well have handed the Western possessions to St. David, and so have laid the foundations of the later See. The new Kings were statesmen enough to propitiate their new subjects and the old See of Llanbadarn shrinks into the position of one of the greater Abbeys. With the inclusion of the South in the domains of Rhodri, who ruled over all Wales except the South East and the South West, the prestige of St. David grew - Asser states boldly that the Community of St Davids were anxious for him to accept King Alfred's invitation, because of the added security it would give them (Asser's Life of King Alfred - Giles six Old English Chronicles Bells Edition p.72) The marriage of Howel King of South Wales to the heiress of Demetia and its subsequent incorporation in the South Welsh Kingdom, secured its predominance and even enlarged its boundaries at the expense of Llandaff, which in succession lost Brecknock, Radnor, Gower and in 1063 Archenfield

For North Wales we have no information apparently Bangor in Caernarvonshire remained the Ecclesiastical Capital. Elbodeus

or Elbodugus who is twice referred to in MSS of Nennius (i. e. C. 2 Ego Nennius Sancti Elbodugi discipulus, C. 57 abridgement of Saxon genealogies "Si quis scire voluerit quis baptizavit eos, sic mihi RENCHIDUS episcopus et Elbodeus episcoporum sanctissimus tradiderunt &c -) is connected in the Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales (Gee's Edition p. 425) and BG & F II 431-3 with Holyhead; and upon this foundation an argument has been built denying his connection with Bangor any historic predominance in North Wales. But the forms of the name in the Myvyrian Archaeology do not correspond with those in Nennius. The latter has ELBODEUS and ELBODUGUS whilst in the former the following variations occur. ELNOG ELNOC ELWAD ELUOC. These forms cannot be closely connected with those in Nennius - Baring Gould and Fisher II p. 432 have "The following entry occurs in Peniarth MS 75 p. 20 (16th Century) Elwad sant ap kowlwyd esgob kaergybi, a gwenfrewi ferch Tyvid ap Evnyd ei fam (Saint Elwad Bishop of Holyhead, son of Kowlwyd, his mother was gwenfrewi daughter of Tyvid son of Evnydd or Eunydd) This entry is most suspicious. If one letter be altered his mother's name and pedigree are those of St Winifred of Holywell. Gwenfrewi daughter of Tyvid ap Eylud (B.G. & F. III 188) the V and the U are frequently interchangeable in the pedigrees: Elwad's father's name is equally suspicious. Kowlwyd is one of the epithets of Caw father of Gildas two of whose brothers were associated with Cybi of Holyhead, Caffo and Maelog. These dubious points in the pedigree and the very late date of the MS in which it appears reduce its value to a minimum. The varieties in the form of the name are also a point of weakness and can have no relation to the form as given by Nennius. The conclusion is inevitable that the Saint described above can have no connection with Elbodugus. He may or may not have a real existence, and with him goes the evidence which makes Elbodugus a Bishop in Holyhead who moved his seat to Bangor. Bangor was the only great foundation on the mainland of Carnarvon, Bardsey and Holyhead were on islands and even Seiriol's

foundation was at the extreme end of Anglesey. Its founder was also regarded as the founder of the other Bangor; and from the Monastery went the founder of the Irish Bangor in 558. His Abbey secured in the North the predominance shared by St. Davids and Llandaff in the South and it is probable that a diocese of St. Asaph was created only because of the tradition of a bishop's residence there.

Gruffydd ap Llywelyn ruled N. Wales from Rhuddlan from 1039 until 1063 King and Bishop in Celtic lands were very frequently together, and during this period the Bishop of Bangor may very well have lived at St. Asaph - Asaph was a younger member of the same clan. The territories in the Vale of Clwyd were very curiously divided between the Bishops of St. Asaph and Bangor in the Middle Ages,- the whole of the Middle portion forming the deaneries of Kinmerch and Dyffryn Clwyd and belonging to the Diocese of Bangor. Likewise the head waters of the Severn and Wye formed part of the Diocese of Bangor. Lloyd (p. 456 and note 239) is of the opinion that during the first portion of the twelfth century Southern Powys was probably attached to the See of St. Davids. Ricemarchus's brother Daniel is described as being Archdeacon of Powys, and as his father Sulien had been bishop of St. Davids, the connection between Powys and St. Davids is clear. To Henry of Huntingdon there were only three Welsh Sees. The evidence would point to the Dee Valley and the North Coast having been attached to Bangor and the Severn Valley to St. Davids. It was the chrystallising of Mediaeval Wales into the Kingdoms of Gwynedd Powys and Debenbarth in the mid twelfth Century and the desire of Powys to be independent of the other Sees, that finally led to the establishment of a bishops seat at St. Asaph The Plynlimmon district adhered to Bangor from fear of Powys. Possibly the Deaneries in the Vale of Clwyd remained to

Bangor because they had escaped the grasping hand of the Norman Robert of Rhuddlan (Lloyd p. 337) When the new diocese was constituted, all the neighbouring lands from the Conway to the Dee Estuary and from the Irish Sea to the Severn excepting only Arwystli were transferred to it. The older diocese of Bangor was allowed only the Ancient Snowdonia and the portions of the Modern County of Merioneth lying to the West of the Watershed together with the two outlying portions described above.

THE BRITISH CHURCH and the SEE of ROME.

Before terminating this study with a summary and conclusions notice must be taken of the attitude of the British Church to the Church of the West J.C. MacNaught (in his "Celtic Church and the See of Peter, Blackwell Oxford 1927) states (p.XV) that he is "led to the conclusion that the Celtic Church was in Communion with the Bishop of Rome and acknowledged his claim to be the visible Head and Supreme Pastor under Christ on Earth". In the previous page (XIV) he quotes Skene's Celtic Scotland as saying "Questions of Ecclesiastical supremacy did not emerge till the Empire was broken up". It is difficult to reconcile these two statements. If "questions of ecclesiastical supremacy did not emerge" how could the Celtic Church have acknowledged the Bishop of Rome to be the Visible Head and Supreme Pastor under Christ on Earth"? When Mac Naught's List of Works quoted or Consulted" is examined we note the following omissions (a) Bright (1) Early English Church History

(2) Canons of the First Four Councils

(b) (1) Christianity in Early Britain

(2) Gildas

Williams is the one British Scholar who has examined the Ancient British Church from within - i.e. from a Welsh stand point and his edition of Gildas (incomplete in respect of an introduction owing to the author's lamented death) is a scholarly

work throwing a wonderful light on the evidence afforded by Gildas, as to the nature of the British Church. Bright has examined the case of the British Church as against the Roman from the stand point of the Canons of the First Four Councils. MacNaught dismisses the "British Church" in the Sixth Century in two short pages - thirty six lines in fact, & of the thirty six lines, only the following quotation based on Gildas's *De Excedio* are relevant.

To Gildas St. Peter "is the Prince of the Apostles" "the Key bearer of the Kingdom of heaven". He condemns the Simoniacal practices of some of the British Clergy, who, after sending messengers before them, cross the Seas and travel over spacious regions, that even at the cost of all their substance, they may obtain possession of benefices; and on returning home stretch forth violent hands upon the Most Holy Sacrifices of Christ. As the only Bishop outside Britain who ever claimed jurisdiction over the British Church was the Bishop of Rome it would seem that these unworthy clerics had recourse to Rome in order to gain the object of their ambition. Their conduct reprehensible as it was testified, to their belief in the Pope's jurisdiction over the British Church (*op.cit* pp.18 - 19) The words above quoted from "He condemns the Simoniacal practices" so far as "the most holy sacrifices of Christ" are referred to in a note at the bottom as being denied from *Epistola Gildae*, Haddan and Stubbs Councils &c Vol 1 p. 76 Migne P.L. LXXIX 369. They are taken from Gildas *De Excidio* Chapter 67 (Williams Edition pp.170-173) "Etenim eos si in parochiam resistentibus sibi et tam pretiosam quaestum denegantibus severe comessoribus hujusmodi margaritam invernire non possint praemio:is ante sollicite nuntiis transnavigare maria terrasque spatiosas transmeare non tam piget quam delectat ; ut omnino talis species inaequiparabilisque pulchritudo et ut verius dicam, zabolica illusio vel venditis omnibus copiis comparetur

Dein cum magno apparatu magnaue fantasia, vel potius insania
repedantes patriam ex erecto erectiorem incessum pingunt ...
.... violenter manus non tam venerabilibus aris quam flammis
infernæ ultrocibus dignas, in tali schema positi sacrosanctis
Christi sacrificiis extensuri.

Since if they could not find the kind of pearl, because
fellow labourers resisted them in a diocese, and sternly refused
them so profitable a business, they are not so much grieved as
delighted, to send messengers before them to cross seas and
travel over broad countries, so that in any way, such display
and incomparable dignity, or to speak more truly, such diabolical
mockery, be acquired even by the sale of all their substance.
Afterwards with great state and magnificent show, or rather
foolery, they return to their own Country and show their haughty
gait more haughty

their purpose is to stretch forth their hands violently upon
the Holy sacrifices of Christ ; hands worthy not so much of the
venerable altars, as of the avenging flames of hell, because
they are men placed in a position of this kind (Williams
translation on same pages).

In explanation of the above passage MacNaught writes
"As the only Bishop outside Britain who ever claimed jurisdic-
tion over the British Church was the Bishop of Rome, it would
seem that those unworthy clerics had recourse to Rome in order
to gain the object of their ambition. Their conduct
reprehensible as it was, testified to their belief in the
Pope's jurisdiction over the British Church" Apparently MacNaught
had never heard of Brittany, or of the emigration thither of
such Bishops as Samson, Malo & Paul Aurelian. Had he read the
Life of Samson of Dol he would have noted the route followed,
from S. Wales to Padstow and thence down the Tamar and along
to Fowey crossing over to Brittany, Williams (pp 154-5) sees

in this Chapter 67 a reminiscence of chapter 25 which informs us that those parts beyond the Seas had secured an Asylum for many from the Sword of the Saxons. These passages (25 & 67) presuppose a long and well established Community whose churches might be strong, and individual Bishops influential. Such a place these ambitious men would find in Armorica

The Council of Tours in 567 thought fit specially to determine that Bishops should not be ordained in Britain (Brittany) without the consent of the Metropolitan and his comprovincials. i.e. Abp of Tours- (Quoting Gregory of Tours) and there can be no doubt that judged by canonical usage the three ordinations described in the Life of St Paul of Leon in Armoric Damnonia must have fallen under like censure"

There is no record that the Bishop of Rome ever asserted a primacy over the British Church before Augustine advanced his claims, .. and if Macnaught had included works dealing with Britain (Wales and Cornwall) and Brittany in his reading, he would have discovered that Gildas was describing a state of affairs which could have well happened within the confines of those regions. The inclusion of Rome as aiding and abetting Simony within the limits of the British Church is altogether unwarranted by the evidence to hand. The extract from Gregory of Tours underlined above is sufficient proof that "unauthorised consecrations were of frequent occurrence in Brittany".

It is quite true that to Gildas St. Peter is the "Prince of the Apostles" princeps apostolorum Petrus (c 106 Williams pp. 240 and 241) and the "key bearer of the Kingdom of heaven" (c. 73 clavicularius ille caelorum regni idoneus Williams p.186-7) but also to Gildas, the Bishops [(c. 66 Sacerdotes habet Brittainniae sed incipientes (Williams pp. 162 and 163 also 163 note 2.) Sacerdotes in the sense of Cyprian as implying bishops (see Benson Cyprian p.33 and note 3)] are

those who "sedem Petri apostoli inmundis pedibus usurpantes
 c. 66 Williams pp. 104 and 105 and note 1. Every bishop is a
 successor of Peter - every Bishop's chair is a sedes apostolica
 (C.92 p. 214 and Note) In fact the whole position of Gildas
 is that of Cyprian and Tertullian Benson (in "Cyprian p.196")
 The Divine reality of such their unity (i.e. of the Bishops)
 had been taught typically in the respective charges of the
 Lords to Peter and to the Twelve. The authority and power
 committed is the same to each several Apostle but for the sake
 of shewing (such is Cyprian's interpretation) that many
 Apostles did not make many churches but one only therefore
 the first declaration of the foundation of a universal Church
 is couched in language addressed to one only St Peter - For
 that one occasion the words are to one, but the meaning is for
 ever to all.

As nothing limited it in space, but the authority
 belonged to all the Apostles wherever they went so in time
 also after they were departed nothing limited that authority
 to Peter's successors among the successors of them all. Though
 the charge to Peter appears among the earliest of Cyprian's
 Christian ideas, as does also the obedience due to Bishops,
 yet Peter's successors are nowhere mentioned or hinted at by
 Cyprian as necessary to the Church's Unity. But the successors
 of the other Apostles are, and of them it is said that the
 power given by Christ to them in equal measure with St. Peter,
 passed on to the Churches which they established and to the
 Bishops who everywhere succeeded them" To this paragraph
 is appended a very significant note 196 Note 6.

"This, Ritschl himself confesses. It will be understood
 that he plays the dangerous game of maintaining presbyterianism
 against episcopacy by trying to saddle Cyprian's
 Episcopacy with the papacy as its necessary deduction" (The
 Work of Ritschl referred to is "Cyprian von Karthago und die

Verfassung der Kirche Gottingen 1885 Benson p.625) Although MacNaught does not include Benson's Cyprian or Ritschl in his bibliography yet his attitude is essentially that of the latter. He approaches his study with a bias against episcopacy because of the seemingly imminent inevitability of the papal claims. He assumes the part of a Ritschl to Gildas's Cyprian.

MacNaught's next chapter (pp. 20-26) deals with the British Church and Augustine and on p.22 and 23 occurs this sentence "To this it may be replied that the rejection of St. Augustine as their Metropolitan does not necessarily imply that those British Bishops rejected the Pope as Primate and Visible Head of the Catholic Church". The best answer to this sentence is found in Bright's Early English Church History p.64"

Gregory says of the British Bishops in contrast to the Gallic that they are all committed to the care and authority of Augustine. Here he was asserting a claim which those bishops, as we shall see ere long, would not admit. They recognised the primacy and precedence of Rome, but did not deem themselves under subjection to its supremacy the eighth Canon of the Council of Ephesus had forbidden any bishop to assume power over any province that had not originally been under his jurisdiction." This original jurisdiction of Rome did not even extend to North Italy (Bright canons of the First Four General Councils Ephesus VIII p.139). The British Bishops represented the old provincial synod of the diocesis of the Brittanniae and they were merely asserting the old claim against those of the Papal aggression. The position of Gildas has not been clearly appreciated, that up to 547 (including the time in which the De Excidio was written) the Church in Western Britain was a territorial church (governed by Bishops Priests and Deacons) and was not a typically Celtic Church governed by Abbots. The Bishops who met Augustine must have numbered amongst them men

who knew in their own experience of life, the traditions of the old Church and its provincial independence; and to such men the arrogant assumption of Augustine were contrary to all their traditions. MacNaught has failed to grasp the difference between supremacy and primacy (in the sense of an honorary precedence such as was granted to Jerusalem and Constantinople) This honorary precedence became a Supremacy only by decree of a General Council. There is no record of such a decree converting the Primacy of Rome in the West into a Supremacy. Bury (Life of St. Patrick p.64) states definitely that the honorary precedence (the primacy of honour) would never have become a supremacy if Pope Leo had not gained the ear of the Emperor In A.D.445 one of the greatest dates in the history of the growth of the Papal Power the Emperor Valentinian III conferred on the Bishop of Rome sovran authority in the Western Provinces which were still under imperial sway "But Britain had been lost to the Empire before 442. The Gallic Chronicle under 442 reports (Brittannae) in dicionem Saxonum rediguntur Bury accepts this date; other Scholars would place it as early as 428 or even earlier; so that even in terms of the extent of the Roman Empire in 445, Britain would be independent. The position of Constantinople was secured by Canon 28 of Chalcedon, the Asian Metropolitans acquiescing from fear of Roman aggression; but Rome obtained her sway as a result of imperial donation.

It is difficult to understand a position which implies loyalty to Rome and a disregard of instructions from Rome; a loyalty to Gregory and disobedience to Augustine.

The position of the British bishops in respect of Augustine and Gregory is essentially that of the Anglican position at the present time. They represented an ancient synod of the Catholic Church, which whilst reverencing the seat of St. Peter regarded itself as perfectly competent to manage its own affairs and as owing allegiance or canonical obedience to no patriarch.

Although irrelevant to this discussion it is interesting to note that on p. 70 MacNaught states that the Gallican Church in the time of Columbanus (585-615 see Stokes and Lawlor Ireland and the Celtic Church pp. 130 and 148) still followed the Paschal Cycle of Victorius; and the Burgundian Bishops who appeared so scandalised at the Irish reckoning were themselves following a different computation from that in use in Rome and the East. This considerably diminishes the value to be attached to the statements of Augustine and his companions. During the next Century when Wilfred of York was waxing so eloquent about the dangers of separation from Rome, the Metropolitan of Aquileia and the Bishops of Istria were themselves in a position of estrangement from the Papacy. The schism was not healed until 698-701 (Smiths Student's Ecclesiastical History p.374) The English and Irish admirers of the Roman order were so carried away by the newness of their experience that they had no means of examining the order from a historical stand point; they assumed that what they saw had always been the usual custom everywhere; they could not know that the Roman Easter was really the Easter of Alexandria and not of Rome; & that it was adopted by Rome only after a stubborn refusal to face facts for two centuries; and that even the Gallican Church refused to follow Rome at this time.

This was the attitude of the British Church a preference for the "Ancient ways" Williams (Gildas pp.154-5) states 'British ecclesiastical life thus transferred quietly to a new soil (Brittany) stood in bold contrast with the more developed life of the native Gallic Church - the same in essentials - yet different because of an older life The British (in Brittany) lived a life apart, tenacious of ways that had become antiquated in the country to which they had migrated" The points of dispute between Augustine and the British Bishops (according to Williams, Christianity in Early Britain

pp. 473 480) all turned on the same difficulty - an attachment to the usages of a world which had largely disappeared. Spain and Sardinia apparently followed customs similar to those of the British Church and in the case of Sardinia, Rome had to give way. "Thus in 594 Gregory allowed in Sardinia a custom which Augustine in 603 was insisting that the Britons should abandon".

The whole problem of the relations of Augustine with the British Church is complicated to the emergency of the nationality and supremacy questions. The differing usages need not have created any more difficulty here than on the continent, and even the nationality question need not have arisen to the degree of intensity. Although from 361 until about 430 the Irish and the Picts had ravaged the Britons pitilessly, and had constituted the greatest danger to the province, yet Ninian and Patrick went among these ancient enemies preaching the Gospel - and Patrick in particular found the way prepared for him by the British Captive women who had married in Ireland (Bury - Life of St. Patrick). Likewise Ninian the Strathclyde Briton planted stations across Scotland from Galloway, Ayr and Glasgow as far as the Shetlands along the East Coast (Scott, Ninian Apostle of Britons and Picts). One cannot help feeling that had they been given time the Britons would have done the same in the case of the Saxons. Had Augustine handled them tactfully, had he not alienated them by his exhibition of Papal Authority, this country would have been spared the painful sight of an unchristian antagonism between the two churches. It is true that Gildas paints the Saxons in lurid colours but so he does the Scots and his own countrymen; in fact his account of the Britons has been gleefully accepted as correct by all ecclesiastical writers from the days of Bede. Edwin of Northumbria must be held primarily responsible for the bad feeling between the races and the churches. With the first Christian King of Northumbria

must lie the onus, for, fresh from the baptism at the hands of Paulinus he turns to ravage mercilessly the homes of those Christian Britons who had sheltered his infancy and youth from the "ruthless enmity of Ethelfrith". When we think of the un-Christian acts of Cadwallon in Northumbria in 633-4 we must be just to his memory, and recall the equally unchristian acts of Edwin in North Wales from 629-633. Was Paulinus responsible for this attitude? He was Augustine's disciple and it was he who baptised Edwin. Can it be that he gave to a racial antagonism the sanctions of an ecclesiastical controversy. There is no need to palliate the conduct of the Britons in Northumbria - but they had been more sinned against than sinning.

Behind all these problems lie Augustine and the Papal Supremacy (not the mere Primacy as MacNaught would have us believe) but Supremacy, and against this Supremacy and the arrogant assumption of Augustine that he was necessarily right, and they equally necessarily wrong the British Bishops set their faces like a flint. We need only read between the lines of the account of the Synod of Aust in Bede's Ecclesiastical History II 2. Their attitude towards the Catholic Church in general and towards the Bishop of Rome in particular is precisely that of Cyprian in the third Century, and of the Gallic and North African Bishops who repudiated the aggressive claims of Pope Zosimus in the early fifth Century. The whole Church revered the See of Peter; they asked its advice in the forms of appeals - but did not consider themselves bound by its judgment.

When such judgments were in accord with their wishes they accepted them; if otherwise, they disregarded them. To Gildas and his contemporaries in the British Church Rome may have the See of Peter - the Prince of the Apostles - the key bearer of the Kingdom of Heaven - but at the same time every bishop sat in the Seat of Peter and was a successor of the Apostles. The Churches were independent of external authority. The claim of the British Church in respect of the See of Rome was that of Cyprus in respect of Antioch; only there was no General Council to endorse its independence; and a question which would have earned the deliberations and vindication of the whole church Universal in the Synods of the Eastern Mediterranean has been contemptuously dismissed as the product of a two centuries' isolation from the great world of religion and civilisation. But time has brought with it its own vindication. The attitude of the Church of England at, and since the Reformation - the attitude of Eastern Christendom all along the ages - is in essence only that of the seven Bishops of the shrunken Province of Britain who met Augustine at Aust. The problems of discussion then as now, were immaterial, what mattered most was the assumption demanded on the one hand, and refused on the other, that Catholic unity was not a unity so much as a submission.

SUMMARY and CONCLUSIONS.

1. Modern Wales emerges from the wreck of the Roman Empire with the conquest from Irish Immigrants by a Chieftain named Cunedag (or to give the name its more modern form Cunedda) and his sons of all Wales North and West of a line following the course of the Clwyd the Dee and the Teify. The Sons of the Conqueror divided the spoils of War and "called the lands after their own names". With his conquest are associated as concomitants or consequences a revolution in Powys a submission on the part of two dynasties between the Severn and the Brecknock Beacons (in the upper region of the Wye after warfare; in the Usk Valley apparently without it) and a conquest of the lands between the Usk on the East and the Loughor on the West.

This conquest took place between 452 A.D. and 473 A.D. preferably in the latter half of this period. Evidence from Irish sources and from Welsh genealogical sources (the families of Cunedag - of Coroticos of Strathclyde, of Catell Durnluc of Powys, of Glywys in Glamorgan, and Brychan in Brecknock) tends to confirm the conclusion that the date previously accepted and vouched for as early as the *Genealogiae Saxonum* in the *Historia Brittonum* C.62 (i.e. 685 A.D.) - viz. 146 years antequam *Mailcunus* regnaret - somewhere between 383 and 400 A.D., is probably due to a confusion between Maximus's abandoning of the Northern defences of the Province and the Southerly march of Cunedda.

There are no clear proofs of a pre-Cuneddan Christianity in Wales. The old traditions of a Caratacus

and his sons, of King Lucius and the Pope, of a See of Caerleon on Usk, of a founding of Glastonbury by Joseph of Arimathea, of Patrick's birth in Wales, and of visits by St. Germanus, and a settling of disciples by him in Wales, are all without foundation. There may have been a Church in Caerwent) (Venta Silurum) but there is no evidence beyond bare foundations. Of a Cuneddan Christianity we have traces in the inscribed stone at Penmachno with the Chi-Rho monogram and a few dedications in Carnarvonshire, Glamorgan and Monmouthshire which do not fit in with the scheme of historical pedigrees. It is only in Pembrokeshire that we meet with a vigorous Christianity presumably of an Irish origin, which flourishes as early as the End of the fifth century, and can apparently owe nothing to the disturbed condition of Britain, but must have been an indirect offshoot of the Patrician mission in Ireland.

2. A consecutive religious tradition in Wales as distinct from sporadic and isolated memories begins only with the association of Illtyd and Dubricius in the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. Dr. Hugh Williams has proved conclusively that the locality of this association must be identified with the Tenby district of Pembrokeshire rather than with the Vale of Glamorgan, and this is the view adopted in this study. The evidence of the Breton lives of Gildas, Samson, Paul Aurelian all place Illtyd in Demetia and an early tradition associates Dubricius with Teilo's birthplace at Penally near Tenby. Gildas singles out a ruler of Demetia for castigation in his Excidio but there is no mention made of any ruler of Glamorgan.

Dubricius's headquarters was first at Hentland near Ariconium. The number of Churches in this area of S. Herefordshire founded by his disciples prompts the thought that it was a very populous area and that Ariconium may have been the seat of Bishops in the later days of the Empire, and that Dubricius may have handed on to the new world the last traditions of the old. He moves to the neighbourhood of Hereford and apparently plants a chain of Christian stations along the Usk Valley and the Towy Valley as far as Tenby. In all probability the land of Brychan owes its organised religion to him, as the great Saints of Brecknock are all figures of the sixth century and their Churches border on those of Dubricius's known disciples.

Kings play their part in Wales as in England. Augustine is associated with Ethelbert of Kent; Paulinus with Edwin of Northumbria and Aidan with Oswald. So Illtyd and Dubricius are apparently associated with Airool of Demetia the bonus rex who was the father of that nequam filius, the Vortipor of Gildas.

Airool is succeeded as royal patron of religion by another of Gildas's unfortunate associates, the Great Maglocunus, under whose auspices the disciples and compatriots of Illtyd enter N. Wales. Maglocunus's repentance led him into the cloisters for a time - and however much he may have given way to his own vices after resuming his former life, parsimony never seems to have been part of his nature; and we may attribute to him the marvellous development of religion in the N. and West of the Conway (if we include with it the peninsula of the Great Orme). Cadfan the Breton, founds Towyn

in Merioneth and Bardsey off Carnarvon. Cybi the Cornishman founds Holyhead; Seiriol the King's Cousin (whose brothers aid Cadfan in the foundling of Bardsey) founded Penmon; and Deiniol founded the greatest of all the monasteries of Gwynedd, in Bangor and he appears alone as Bishop. From these monasteries went forth others until their influence extended up the Dovey Valley into the Severn; from Llanbadarn Fawr near Aberystwyth over the Plynimmon Watershed into the Upper Wye and all its tributaries.

Royal Policy and Alliances witnessed to a further development in the North. Maglocumus's son Rhun apparently formed a defensive alliance with the Northern Britons who were faced with a fresh aggression. Many refugees came South; the Abbey of St. Asaph formed a centre and rallying ground for a new outburst of religious fervour in the Clwyd Valley, and many "religious" migrated eastward, carefully avoiding the lands still apparently ruled by Gildas's Cuneglasus. The route followed is via the Conway and Bala Lake and the Dee Valley. The great defensive alliance is further illustrated by the founding of the most famous of all N. Wales Abbeys. Bangor-is-coed, on the Dee, from which in all probability came the inspiration of religion to Powys and the Severn Valley.

If the monastic ideals of Illtyd were carried North by his Breton associates, the episcopal ideals of Dubricius were handed on in S. Wales by Teilo who became the paramount Bishop in S. Wales about 546 A.D. The Yellow Plague of 547 drove him to Brittany and together with him went St. David, then an unknown young man (if Lloyd's date for his birth is approximately correct

i.e.C.520) and in all probability the community of Illtyd. On their return to Wales an attempt was made at re-organising religion. To these years belong the Synods of Brevi and Lucus Victoriae, although the account of the Synod of Breti given in Ricemarchus's life of St. David is an obvious piece of special pleading. St. David would appear mainly as an Irish Monastic type of Bishop, whereas Teilo on the contrary would seem to follow the lines of Dubricius. The former, if his biographer is to be trusted, was concerned more with Irish disciples than with Welsh, and at the present stage of Welsh Church life only two centres can be fairly ascribed to him, - St. David's and Llanddewibrefi, above Lampeter the site of the Synod. Teilo apparently re-organises the Church life in his homeland from Milford Haven, N. to the Teify and N. East up the Towy Valley to Llandovery. His principal centre is Llandeilo Fawr in the strategic heart of S.W. Wales; whose importance was in after years recognised by being regarded as the royal residence par excellence in the South. He succeeded to Dubricius's influence in Brecknock and Archenfield. He extends North to Radnor and South to Upper Gwent between Usk and Monmouth, and founds Llandaff apparently at the end of his life. A remarkable feature of his re-organisation is the help he receives from "Sons of Gildas" who take over the work in the Wye Valley from slightly North of Builth to the neighbourhood of Hay and Clifford.

An equally interesting development is seen in S. Cardiganshire, occurring in all probability at the same time. Saints from the Severn Valley in

Montgomeryshire and the Wye basin in Radnorshire all appear in Cardiganshire. Tyssilio near New Quay and Llwchhaiarn in the same district (Tyssilio came from near Welshpool and the latter from near Newtown) Cynllo from Radnor appears in two Churches near Cardigan and four members of a North British Clan (whose father apparently settled at Dingestow in Monmouth, near two Churches of Teilo) appear in the Teivy Valley also in the neighbourhood of Churches of Teilo.

It really seems as though this re-organisation was the result of the Synod of Breteuil, which in all probability was concerned with carrying out the ideals of Gildas than with dealing with such moribund topics as the Pelagianism of the time of Germanus.

The death of Teilo occurred at a very important period for the life of S. Wales. The British speaking tribes were once more on the aggressive and it was probably at some time in the neighbourhood of 570-580 that they conquered the lands between the Towy and the Loughor; thus severing into two separate portions, not only the Irish speaking tribes, but also the churches which Teilo had ruled from Llandeilo Fawr. Oudoceus who succeeded Teilo found himself restricted to the Eastern portion and made Llandaff his headquarters. He carried on the re-organisation of his predecessor and extended his influence into Lower Radnor and Lower Gwent. It is in his time that we first find the community of Illtyd in Llantwit Major and not only does Oudoceus extend his own foundation but he seems to have acquired certain protective and visitatorial rights over the three great Glamorgan Abbeys to whom he stands in the relation of king

to chieftains of clans, in the political and social side of the Welsh tribal order.

A second very important event in the life of the S. East was the disappearing of the dynasty of Glywys which had conquered this area about 480-500 and to which Cadoc had belonged. Its place is taken by that of Meurig ap Tewdrig which reigns until 950. Meurig ap Tewdrig plays the role of Aircol and Maglocunus, as patron of religion and undoubtedly the influence of Oudoceus and Teilo were largely owing to his assistance.

The result of the separation of Teilo's Western Churches from the Eastern and Oudoceus's association with the latter is not known. But when David is known to have died in 589, in all probability some time after Teilo, it is not at all unlikely that he would have succeeded to the position held by Teilo - especially as his great foundation of Llanddewi Brei lay immediately to the N. of Teilo's settlement at Llandeilo Fawr. Just as Meurig ap Tewdrig advanced the position and cause of Llandaff, and Oudoceus, to preserve the same parallel order in Church and state, so it is perfectly natural to believe that the rulers of Demetia would do the same. David was the outstanding personality in his domains after Teilo's death. The removal of the latter and the course of political events would leave the latter's churches and presumably the Churches of the whole realm without a head. What more likely than that the eyes of all would turn to the survivor, and that he would succeed to the influence and the dignity? At any rate by 730 A.D. when this part of the country fell into the hands of the

Cuneddan dynasty of Cardigan, the position of David was so assured that his influence speedily overcame that of the North Cardigan Church of Llanbadarn and the way lay open to his ecclesiastical supremacy in the South.

It can almost be said of the last phrase of Church Life in N. Wales that its course runs parallel to the life of Beuno born near Welshpool of a father presumably an exile from South Wales and a mother an exile from the Lothians, he is said to be educated at Caerwent in Monmouthshire where his Uncle Cadoc had been educated. He is summoned North by the news of his Father's illness, and although he remains in the Dore Valley of Herefordshire long enough to leave his name at Llanveyno, he arrives home in time to see his father alive. He then settles at Berriew near Newtown where he remains until the English reach the Severn Valley presumably about the year 584. He finally migrates North, spends some little time with Tyssilio at Meifod near Welshpool and settles at Gwyddelwern between Corwen and the Clwyd Valley. In all probability he remains here until the date of the battle of Chester 613, when he migrates West to Carnarvonshire where his final settlement is at Clynnog Fawr not far from the Western end of the Menai Straits. Beuno's attraction to the neighbourhood of the Clwyd Valley and to Holywell is typical of the general migration to these parts in the years between 550 and 613 and his final removal to Clynnog is equally typical of the migration Westwards from the advance of the English to the foot of the Welsh mountains.

Of the internal organisation of the Church it can

be said with Dr. Hugh Williams that up to 847 (if Gildas is any evidence in its behalf) that its organisation in no way differed from that of Gaul. It was an episcopal, rather than a monastic church. The monks as yet were very few and had little, if any influence in the Church. After the return from Brittany circumstances may have altered, but the tradition of Llandaff (if it be accepted in the *Liber Landavensis*) proves that the extent of the diocese varied with the extent of the Kingdom, but that within the bounds of the Kingdom, the bishop exercised an influence corresponding to that exercised by the Celtic King in Wales, with the Abbots as Chiefs of the Clans in relation to him. They were not territorial bishops so much as "Kingdom" bishops: their influence waxed and waned as that of the Bishop of Lindisfarne varied, with the extent of the Kingdom of Northumbria in the seventh and eighth centuries. His diocese contained not so many square miles as so many subjects of the King whose bishop he was.

Apparently again, the King could not make him bishop, but he could make him "his bishop" and decide whether he was to be obeyed by "his" subjects. Thus it may well be that St. David succeeded to the sphere of influence of Teilo west of the River Towy and that his distant successor succeeded to that of Padarn's North of the river Teify in 730.

In North Wales apart from the Severn Valley, Deiniol and his foundations appear to have predominated down to the era of the Norman Conquest. In the early twelfth century the Severn Valley appears as an Archdeaconry of Powys attached to St. David's. There

is no evidence for a diocese of St. Asaph beyond the fact that a bishop had resided there. The bishop may well have been the bishop of Bangor, as Asaph the co-founder with Kentigern, was a junior member of the Clan of which Deiniol was the head. Bede mentions seven bishops of the Britons who met Augustine. Many conjectures have been made as to their sees, but it is an impossible task without any hope of solution. Some may have been diocesan bishops; others episcopal abbots. Their real status and titles cannot be determined.

In spite of the efforts of Scholars to find one homogeneous Celtic Church in the West, the evidence we have is not in accord with such an idea, which is based upon a universal application of conditions peculiar to Ireland. We have no evidence as to the condition of things in Pictish Scotland. Northumbria was converted from Iona, but the social order was quite distinct and the Celtic Church was a decidedly diocesan Church rather than purely monastic. The organisation of the Church reflected the social structure of the people. Whereas in Ireland there were clans within clans, and a carefully graded system of reguli and sub-reguli, possibly a government by Abbeys and monasteries was the only solution. England was monarchic and the government of the Church was by bishops whose jurisdiction until 669 (with two exceptions), corresponded with the Kingdoms. Wales like England was a land settled by Conquest and in addition it derived its ecclesiastical traditions from the old Imperial provincial life. The social conditions would militate against a Church government of the Irish order. Lloyd in his study of legal institutions notes differences between the Irish and Welsh ideas of Kingship (a correspondence between Kingship and episcopal status existed before the days of James I of

England); and there is every reason to believe that there was a corresponding difference between Welsh and Irish ideas of the episcopal status. The grants in the Liber Landavensis may refer not to the attempts of the bishops to secure a more extensive jurisdiction, but to free church lands from the usual tenure of tribal law. The progressive history of the dioceses corresponds to the history of the great political divisions up to the conquest, when the rise of the fourth power, Powys, on the ruins of the Wales-wide realm of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, leads to the creation of the fourth diocese of Wales - St. Asaph.

The Celtic Churches, if not strictly homogeneous and if varying according to the nature of the social and political order of their countries, were yet very closely bound. Mutual intercourse bound them together and they preserved a common front to the rest of Western Christendom for many years. The protagonist in any struggle would of necessity be the British Church, and in its conferences with Augustine, it stood on its ancient ground of provincial independence. Dr. Hugh Williams has examined the question exhaustively and is convinced that Gildas reflects the attitude of Cyprian, that the British Church clung to usages and customs which were merely antiquated. He and also MacNaught state that the British Church was not alone in its attitude of non compliance with Augustine's demands. There was no such thing as uniformity in the West. Gaul Spain and Sardinia followed local customs differing from those advocated by Augustine and in some cases they were similar to the customs of Britain. The Patriarch

of Aquileia and his suffragans of Istria held no communion with the Pope during the very years that Wilfrid of York was ridiculing the Celtic Church for the same thing. The very brilliancy of the Roman advocates in England during these years, and the success of their labours for the re-organisation of religion has blinded the eyes of posterity to the fact that, they like the Britons were nationalist advocates, but unlike the Britons they had no ancient traditions of an independent province of the Catholic Church. They were recent converts, and enthusiasts for those through whom they had derived their spiritual blessings. They saw everything through the eyes of their teachers, and were captivated by the glamour of the capital of Western civilisation. Rome to them was the Eternal City - ever unchanging, and the Britons a mere handful of rebels now as in the past (so much had Bede absorbed from Gildas's presentation of Imperial history) but one is left wondering what would have been the result, had the British Church been able to prove, that in the points at issue between them, it was Rome the unchangeable that had changed, not once but frequently, and that they in their isolation represented the standpoint which Rome had once maintained, but had not long since abandoned.