



Clynnog.



Interior of Clynnog.

*To face p. 69.*

# “Three Old Foundations”.

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Anglesey.*

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They passed not with the passing day,  
The great ones that are gone:  
Their bodies fell beside the way,  
Their spirit leads us on.<sup>1</sup>

WHETHER or not our title is too comprehensive, remains to be seen. There is no question but that all three are old, and that they are foundations, and in addition, that in spite of, or because of, vicissitudes they have a tale to unfold. They are three churches which during last year, after undergoing extensive repairs and renovation, were re-opened for public worship. For the moment, attention need not be called to their *πρεῖμα*, but their *ψυχὴ* is so inviting that it conjures up thoughts and invites enquiry and reflection.

A foundation which can point to thirteen centuries of history is surely worthy of notice and attention. Dynasties and houses, crowns and thrones, came and went, but these still remain in their seclusion, isolation, and modesty, as so many parables and symbols of warning, encouragement and solace. The trio are the church of St. Beuno, in the village of Clynnog, that of St. Rhychwyn, near the better known village of Trefriw, and that of St. Ccinwen, near the hamlet of Dwyran. The first two are in Carnarvonshire; the third is in Anglesey.

NOTE.— All the Illustrations are from photographs taken specially by Mr. W. Aspden, Photographer, Bangor, North Wales.

<sup>1</sup> *The Life and Times of Nicholas Ferrar*, by H. P. K. Skipton (1907), p. 182.

To every lover of ancient fanes their restoration, or rather their reparation and refurbishing, must be a source of gratification. The names Beuno, Rhychwyn and Ceinwen are typical of what we have in Wales at our very doors to tell us of the past. Moreover, these are thoroughly Welsh in every feature of their life and story. Sometimes we meet with an Armorican, at other times with an Irish (children of the same family) dedication, but these three were home Saints,<sup>1</sup> natives of the soil.

#### *Difficulties and Values.*

Never were neighbourhoods where poverty was so pinching, and means were so lacking even to encourage the initiation of schemes for reparation, but in each case people were found who thought upon their stones, and who were grieved to see them in the dust.<sup>2</sup> We read very lately of means which were discovered to appeal for more pretentious and better known edifices in the country,<sup>3</sup> and so it is the more creditable to all concerned that the total sum of £10,000 was obtained in these poor, out of the way, far from everywhere, country places to accomplish what was so necessary for their preservation. Each spot is so inaccessible that a visit involves and claims a day's travelling. Had Wales followed the example of Ireland under similar conditions, and in present circumstances, we would have reverently and with sorrow dismantled the three churches. But what a loss to Wales that would have spelt!

In these buildings are the webs and strands of history, and entwined with their fabrics are not only local, but a

<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly at first the word "saints" was used in the New Testament sense, but later, saintship was subjected to an elaborate system of classification and canonization.      <sup>2</sup> Psalm cii, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Such as the funds collected for St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, and Lincoln Cathedral.

general compendium and epitome of the happenings, incidents and events of larger and more portentous occurrences. In addition they visualize the halo of ideals, conceptions and imaginings of individuals as well as of communities.

*Foundations and Dedications.*

Rice Rees in "An essay on the Welsh Saints",<sup>1</sup> points out that a foundation took its title from its founder, and this general principle the authors of the "Lives of the British Saints"<sup>2</sup> accept with a slight modification. Besides, the naming involved proprietary rights. With respect to these three foundations, whether judged by subsequent history, or tested by the scant material to hand, it is doubtful whether it could even be suggested that the persons named could not be identified with the building and site, or that there had been a change in the dedication during the passing of the years. Dr. Silvan Evans used to assert what had actually happened in the case of Llanwrin.<sup>3</sup> Originally the dedication of his parish church was to Ust and Dyfnig, but at a later date it was changed to Gwrin. In a notice of this character and length dependence has to be placed to some extent on the inferences and gleanings of others. Still, much delight and pleasure would be lost if our information were exact and minute, and all details were reproduced with the precision and grimness of a diary.

There are three main and constant factors in history which should be borne in mind if justice is to be done to any period or personage. Human nature in all climes

<sup>1</sup> *An Essay on the Welsh Saints*, by Rice Rees (1836), p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *The Lives of the British Saints*, by S. Baring Gould and John Fisher (iv vol's., 1907), i, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Upon what information Silvan Evans founded his assertion is not known.

and countries varies but little. The actors were men of like nature to ourselves. What we call common sense (for the want of a better term) is not the prerogative or the special attribute of any race or time. It is just as precious, and equally rare and valuable, in every century. Very possibly the most important clue to a right knowledge of a movement is the discovery of the motive which was in view. It is what constrained men which most of all enhances their work, and the fruit of their labours, and not the mere cataloguing of their opportunities and abilities. Providence preserves what is worth preserving be it a name or a site, though the Psalmist appears to cavil at those who call their lands after their own names.<sup>1</sup>

*Parish of Clynnog, and its Neighbourhood.*

Clynnog still retains the name for its parish and village which it obtained from the Goidels, many years before the advent of Beuno. Attempts have been made to derive the name from Celynnog<sup>2</sup>—a place of holly-trees, but it has no more connection with that tree than Holyhead has with holly. Neither the soil nor the geographical situation of Holyhead, or Clynnog, is favourable to the growth of the holly, and the shrub is conspicuous by its absence from both districts. Six miles to the south of Clynnog lie the

<sup>1</sup> Psalm xlix, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *A History of Wales*, by J. E. Lloyd (ii vol's.. 1911). i, 235 (note). Possibly by false inference the "e" has crept in from Celleiniog the name of a township in Llan Ceinwen (see *Arch. Camb.*, 1846, p. 312). It was Lewis Morris who first suggested "holly" as the meaning of Clynnog. It is interesting to notice that Leland, who, thanks to Rowland Griffiths his mentor possibly, has some wonderful meanings to Welsh names never ventures on a derivation for Clynnog. He invariably spells the name Clunnok. Leland, gives *magna turba militūm* for Llanfaethlu, *Og an harow* for Llanfwrog, and *tawny* for Llanrhyddlad (see *Leland*, p. 131)! See also Fenton's *Tours in Wales* (1917), p. 324.

remains of Tre'r ceiri, the famous Iberian settlement on a spur of the Rivals (Yr Eifl). Undoubtedly the final departure of Maximus in 387<sup>1</sup> created a new situation in the country generally and especially in this particular neighbourhood. The Roman army had sheltered and protected, and when circumstances compelled the Roman evacuation, the countryside and its inhabitants were laid bare to marauders. These at the time came principally from Ireland, and for many years formed colonies along the sea-board. It may be accepted as a fact that for several centuries, really till the Norman period, there were numerous and great movements of the population<sup>2</sup> as well as emigration, once the Roman forces had left these shores.

#### *Coming of Christianity.*

The year 387 is a land-mark in many ways. If, as it is alleged, that Peblig was a son of Maximus,<sup>3</sup> and that Peblig was the real founder of the church which now bears his name at Caernarvon, Christianity had already been planted in this district. We note that both Camden and Gibson are extremely careful when they refer to any church, for they invariably use the word dedicated rather than founded.<sup>4</sup> It is now generally assumed by historians that Christianity was introduced into this country by the effort of individuals who were members of the Roman army of occupation, and by merchants who traded from the Continent, rather than, as it was once maintained, by some of the Apostles and their companions who came on what might be termed a missionary enterprise. In this

<sup>1</sup> *A History of Wales* (J. E. Lloyd), p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> *The Lives of the British Saints*, iv. p. 86. *Tours in Wales* 1917, (Fenton), p. 321.

<sup>4</sup> *Britannia* by William Camden, revised by Edmund Gibson (ii vol, 1722), ii, 825.

connection attention might be called to the views of Bishop Richard Davies which he expresses in his remarkable address to the Welsh people, which he wrote in 1567 as an epilogue to the first New Testament in Welsh.<sup>1</sup> Following a synod of the Bishops of Gaul in 429<sup>2</sup> we find that a visit is paid to this country by Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes for the purpose of combating the Pelagian heresy. When the records of this visit are examined it is found that these Gallican Bishops met an organized body of believers. Reference is made to the presence of heretics at their assemblies, but not to any great body of heathenism. There was some lack of true faith but not of the want of faith. We mention this in our endeavour to show that the story of Peblig and his foundation is probably true and that this part of Gwynedd had already adopted Christianity. The gap between 387 and 429 was much too short, and opportunities were far too few, to allow for a wide propaganda in the meantime. For the next hundred years the country was in a state of great turmoil. There were dissensions within and attacks from without.<sup>3</sup> Raid followed raid, battles were frequent, and the inhabitants were disciplined in the stern school of necessity and hardship. The Latin language was no longer heard in the land, and people were confused by the clash of Celtic dialects. Still, through such a distracting period the country maintained a hold on its ecclesiastical terms for the details of worship and ritual. Words which savoured of the Latin days, clothed perhaps in homely garb, yet were reminiscent of the peace and tranquility which reigned when the people lived under the protecting wings of the Roman army. This transition period is im-

<sup>1</sup> *A memorandum on the legality of the Welsh Bible, etc.* (1925), p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> *A History of the Welsh Church* (E. J. Newell, 1895), p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> *A History of Wales* (J. E. Lloyd), i, chap. vi.

portant. The years of the Roman occupation were just as many as those of the domination of organized monastic settlements,—from the days of Giraldus Cambrensis to their dissolution in the reign of Henry VIII. Yet the first period left seemingly a greater impression on the spoken language than the latter. Such words as *allor*, *offeiriad*, *esgob*, *Nadolig*, *Garawys*, *Pasc*, *pylgain* and *gospwr*,<sup>1</sup> only to mention a few in current use, and more especially when we compare them with their equivalents in Cornish and Breton, tell of a living Church even in the dark and troublous days between 387 and the coming of Gildas. This writer, indirectly and meagrely it must be confessed, throws much light on the history of Wales in the sixth century.<sup>2</sup>

#### *The Golden Age.*

This was the golden age of saints<sup>3</sup> and founders. Then flourished David, Cadoc, Dyfrig, Teilo and Padarn. Two men from the North appeared in North Wales, and Deiniol formed a religious centre at Bangor which in time became the seat of a bishop, and Kentigern, his contemporary, followed on similar lines at St. Asaph. The former is said to have died in 584,<sup>4</sup> and Kentigern in 612.<sup>5</sup> This was the period when Cybi and Seiriol came on the scene. Cybi, the Cornish man, after a long trail, settled finally at Holyhead on the extreme western coast of Anglesey, while Seiriol made his home in the eastern corner of the island.

“ In the bare midst of Anglesey they show  
Two springs which close by one another play ;

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix III.

<sup>2</sup> *Gildas*, Hugh Williams (1899). *The Works of Gildas and Nennius* (J. A. Giles, 1841).

<sup>3</sup> *A History of Wales* (J. E. Lloyd), i, chap. v.

<sup>4</sup> *Annales Cambriae*, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

And, "Thirteen hundred years ago", they say,  
Two saints met often where these waters flow".<sup>1</sup>

Cybi died in 554.<sup>2</sup>

*The Mission of the Roman Church.*

Augustine, the head of the Roman mission, with his band of workers, arrived in 597. His conference with the Welsh Bishops was held in 602 or 603,<sup>3</sup> and then began a new period of confusion and misunderstanding which culminated in the itinerary in 1188 of Archbishop Baldwin, Ranulph de Glanville, "privy counsellor and justiciary of the whole Kingdom",<sup>4</sup> and Archdeacon Giraldus Cambrensis. For close on six hundred years of keen controversy, more political than religious, the country passed through a prolonged contest, for supremacy on the one hand, and for peace on the other. Augustine, through his close associations with the new-comers, the Angles and Saxons, appeared to the Welsh people as an enemy, and it is to be feared that Canterbury itself in consequence remained for many years under a cloud of misapprehension and suspicion to the ordinary Welshman.

*Beuno.*

In 615 occurred the disaster of Chester,<sup>5</sup> when Æthelfrith won his famous victory over the Britons. In consequence Gwynedd, which apparently had not taken part in the battle, was flooded with refugees from the east, and among them Beuno, who came to the court of Cadfan at Caer Saint, the old Segontium of the Romans.

Beuno was a Powys man, and was probably born at

<sup>1</sup> *East and West*, Sonnet by Matthew Arnold.

<sup>2</sup> *The Lives of the British Saints*, ii, p. 211.

<sup>3</sup> *A History of Wales* (J. E. Lloyd), i, p. 174.

<sup>4</sup> *The itinerary through Wales*, Giraldus Cambrensis (Dent & Co.), p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> *A History of Wales* (J. E. Lloyd), i, p. 179.

Llan-y-mynach,<sup>1</sup> in Montgomeryshire. After an early training at Caerwent, at the time famous as a seminary, he commenced his ministry in Ewyas (Hereford). We follow his path by churches dedicated to him, which even to-day recall his name. Berriew and Bettws Cedewain in Montgomery, and Llanycil and Gwyddelwern in Merioneth, all have churches bearing Beuno's name. His interview with Cadfan was not altogether a success, but eventually he found and obtained what he required at Clynnog. It is a secluded beauty spot midway between Caernarvon and Pwllheli, about ten miles from both places, and at the foot of Gern Goch (1,607 feet high), the central height of a group of three hills. It was an ideal site for a religious centre. Over the water were the broad acres of "Môn mam Cymru", to the North was Arfon, to the East Eifionydd, and to the South, Lleyn. Not far, was an old Roman castellum called Dinas Dinlle, and quite near were the ancient Iberian villages which probably left many effects on the countryside, both linguistic and moral. Clynnog itself in its name retains such a trace for it appears to be "Cluanóg", Cluanog, meaning a secluded place,<sup>2</sup> and it is cognate with Cloyne in Ireland. This is a perfect description of the place, for though the tower of the present church is 75 feet high, yet it is not observable till one approaches quite close to the church. Eben Fardd, the schoolmaster and bard of Clynnog, called this part of the parish "Llawr y llan".<sup>3</sup> If Beuno came in 615, and died in 635, his period of activity at Clynnog must have been only twenty years. Such a short period of time would scarcely have permitted him to accomplish the great and important work with which he has been

<sup>1</sup> *The Lives of the British Saints*, i, p. 210, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> From *An Irish-English Dictionary*, by O'Reilly and O'Donovan (Dublin).

<sup>3</sup> *Cyff Beuno*, Eben Fardd (1863), p. 23.

credited. It not only meant settling down at Clynnog but led to ramifications in other districts, for we find that there are two dedications to Beuno in Anglesey—at Aberffraw and Trefdraeth, and also at Penmorfa in Eifionydd, as well as at Carngiwch, Pistyll, and Bottwnog in Lleyrn. A good view of these six parishes is obtainable from the summit of Gern Goch. Though the authors of “The British Saints” give, in their genealogical table of Beuno,<sup>1</sup> 635 as the year of his death, yet apparently they were not quite satisfied, and later in their notice of Beuno suggest 642,<sup>2</sup> in order to reconcile it with the falling of Low Sunday in that year, and to allow for Beuno’s association with Ynyr Gwent. Such a calculation undoubtedly would give more time to Beuno at Clynnog.

#### *Llan Rhychwyn.*

Conditions at Llan Rhychwyn are in sharp contrast with those obtained at Clynnog. Here, because of its close proximity to Trefriw, and its inaccessibility, much of its glory has passed away. In early days this church served a much larger area of country, and included not only the now Trefriw district, and Bettws-y-Coed,<sup>3</sup> but also a portion of Capel Curig.<sup>3</sup> The mesh of paths and lanes which lead to the church from every direction is just like the sheep tracks along the mountains of Snowdonia.

#### *Rhychwyn.*

As a dedication Rhychwyn stands alone in Wales. From the east end of the church can be seen Moel Rhychwyn, on the other side of the river Conway in Denbighshire, and beyond the Foel, Mynydd Bôd Rhychwyn, but

<sup>1</sup> Page 209.

<sup>2</sup> Page 221.

<sup>3</sup> On Bettws and Capel, see *A History of the Welsh Church* (Newell), p. 147.



Llan Rhychwyn.



Interior of Llan Rhychwyn.

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apparently there is no family connection between the three Rhychwyn's. The founder of the church is described by some authorities as the son of Hael the Breton, but more often, and looking at the site of the church, with every semblance of probability, as the son of Helig ab Glannog,<sup>1</sup> whose land was inundated by the sea. This territory is said to have been "from Bangor vawr yn gwynedd to Gogarth and soe to Tyganwy or Gannog Castle".<sup>2</sup> If Rhychwyn was the son of Helig, the place would be ideal, if a man required a spot to which he could retire for meditation and contemplation after such a harrowing experience. He had three brothers who founded other churches—Boda or Bodfan, at Aber between Bangor and Llanfairfechan; Gwynin, at Dwygyfylchi (Penmaenmawr), and at a place eight miles beyond Pwllheli<sup>3</sup>; and Brothen, near Portmadoc. The foundation of Rhychwyn would be unlike that of Beuno. In the latter case there would be a "clas", or community of men and women working in co-operation and leading a common life under a rule and an acknowledged head and leader, and naturally the outlook on life would be wider and more extensive than that of the lonely cell above Trefriw. In course of time the abba would become the abbot. Hence, would offshoots and branches be organized which would look to the old centre for inspiration and guidance. As time crept on, the lesser leaders became founders, and so the system developed and expanded. Thus we find the names of Cwyfan, Aelhaiarn, Twrog and Buan associated with that of Beuno in the neighbourhood of Clynnog. In similar cases to Rhychwyn we find a lonely cell where the saint would occupy his time in religious exercises.

<sup>1</sup> *An Ancient survey of Pen Maen Mawr*, by Sir John Gwynn of Gwedyr (1859). New Edition, 1906, p. 8. Also, *The History of the Gwydir Family* for inundation, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Llan Dygwinnin.

A little wyde  
 There was a holy chapell edified  
 Wherein the hermit dewly went to say  
 His holy things each morn and even tyde.<sup>1</sup>

In accordance with the practice of the British Church his final settlement was not lightly undertaken. The site having been selected, with due regard more especially to a good water-supply, then would follow a period of forty days for fasting and prayer before the saint considered that the place was sufficiently hallowed for his purposes.

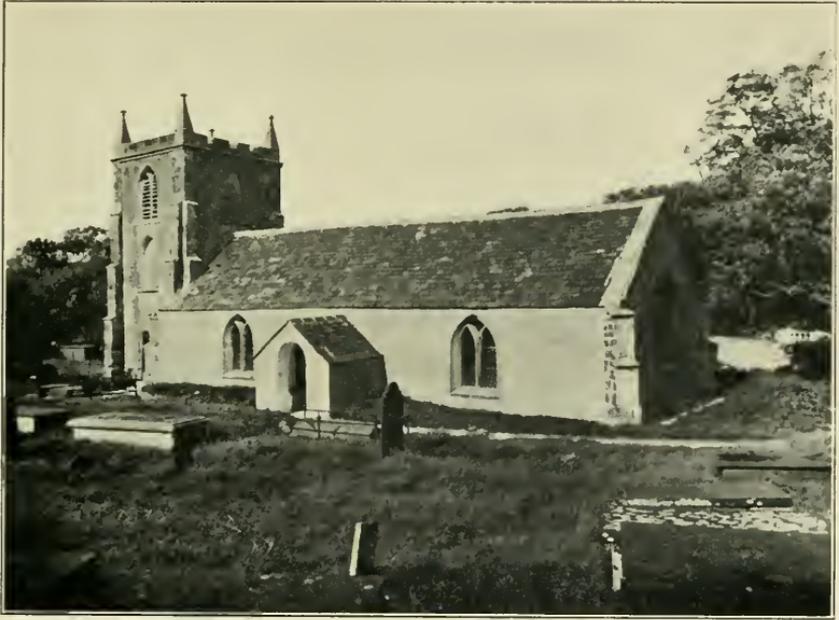
*Llan Ceinwen.*

With Ceinwen we observe another characteristic of the early days of Christianizing the country. Here is neither a community nor an isolated cell, but assistance vouchsafed by a member of a family to propagate the ideals in which she had been nurtured, so it was a natural expression to realize in practice what she had always been taught, and with which she was thoroughly familiar. Her parish of Llan Ceinwen is conterminous with that of her sister, Dwynwen. In both cases the termination "wen" is generally accepted as equivalent to "blessed".<sup>2</sup> In Cein (possibly Cain) and Dwyn we have the Mary and Martha of Anglesey. Cain had chosen the good part, and her foundation to-day is intact, whereas that of Dwyn, alas! has all but disappeared in the waters of Caernarvon Bay. The sea has made such inroads that, though in 1500 Llan Dwyn was a rich prebend which afforded a substantial income to the then Dean of Bangor,<sup>3</sup> to-day there is neither church nor parsonage, but a few scattered stones which mark the spots where they formerly stood, and for

<sup>1</sup> *Fairie Queene* (Spenser), Book I, Cant. i. St. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *The Lives of the British Saints*, ii, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. vi (printed 1834), p. xxxiv. Also *A History of Anglesey* (Anon., 1775), p. 44; and *A Book of North Wales*, p. 81.



Llan Ceinwen.



Interior of Llan Ceinwen.

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ecclesiastical purposes, what is left of the parish is added to the adjoining parish of Newborough. Six miles distant from Llan Ceinwen is another parish called Cerrig Ceinwen, but we are unable to make any suggestion why it is so called.

Anglesey has many dedications to female saints. Of the ninety-two churches on the island, no fewer than twelve recall females, and these do not include the twelve dedicated to Mary. The British names are those of the oldest foundations, then come those named after Saint Michael the Archangel (there are four Llanfihangels in Anglesey),<sup>1</sup> and after that, those called after Saint Mary. Most of these of the last category are of the Norman period. It is a striking fact that where we find a castle in North Wales, we have in almost every case a church dedicated to Mary—Denbigh, Rhuddlan, Conway, Caernarvon, Beaumaris and Harlech. When Prince Llewelyn, for the sake of Joan his wife,<sup>2</sup> built Trefriw church to take the place of Llan Rhychwyn, we find that the dedication of the new church was to Mary.

If we were asked to place these three foundations under our notice in the order of the time of their formation, we would suggest the following:—Ceinwen, Rhychwyn, Beuno. Apparently there was some connection between Ceinwen and Cybi. The latter died 554, and was associated with Caffo the brother of Gildas.<sup>3</sup> Ceinwen in the neighbouring parish to Llan Caffo would form her settlement soon after his time. Rhychwyn, like Beuno, was a victim of the disaster at Chester,<sup>4</sup> and as he re-

<sup>1</sup> Llanfihangel Tre'r beirdd.  
Llanfihangel Din Silwy.  
Llanfihangel Ysceifiog.  
Llanfihangel yn Nhowyn.

<sup>2</sup> *The Old Churches of Snowdonia*, Harold Hughes and North, 1924, p. 99.    <sup>3</sup> *Lives of the British Saints*, ii, 50.    <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 224.

turned to his old neighbourhood he would more readily discover a site for his cell. Beuno seems to have appeared before Cadfan to plead for a home, and through the death of Cadfan<sup>1</sup> had to renew his petition before Cadwallon, the son and successor, and undoubtedly his initial application was not favourably received.

#### *Church of Rhychwyn.*

Just as these churches vary in the character of their creation so also do they differ in their *σῶμα*. It will be readily understood that the present buildings were not erected by their founders. The earliest churches in all probability were rude wattle work and daub, and those in which we are concerned are the third or even the fourth of a series. The oldest is Llan Rhychwyn. This contains three distinct and noticeable parts built at three long intervals. In the south aisle we discover a portion which is generally claimed by competent authorities to have been erected before 1200,<sup>2</sup> and this seemingly was afterwards lengthened to provide for a chancel. Between these parts is a low step which is the line of demarcation. This aisle with its addition is known as Llewelyn's (died 1240) old church. Parallel to this aisle is another of equal length (39 feet), and a foot wider (15 feet), which was added by Meredydd ap Ieuan of the Gwydir family (died 1525) about 1520.<sup>3</sup> Altogether we obtain a double aisle church very similar to what we often see in the Vale of Clwyd. The altar is placed at the east end of Llewelyn's old church, and the Communion rails bear the date 1616. The reading desk and pulpit are at the east end of Meredydd's aisle, and are of the date of 1691. The Gwydir family

<sup>1</sup> *A History of Wales* (J. E. Lloyd), i, 181.

<sup>2</sup> *The Old Churches of Snowdonia*, p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> *The History of the Gwydir Family* (1827). p. 93 (note).



Lych-Gate of Clynnog.



Lych-Gate of Llan Rhychwyn.

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in its time and day appears to have been noted church builders. The above-mentioned Meredydd, in addition to an aisle at Llan Rhychwyn, had to his credit the old parish church of Dolwyddelan, built 1512.<sup>1</sup> The portion of Llanrwst Parish Church called Gwydir chapel was added in 1633 by Sir Owen Wynn,<sup>2</sup> and Sir Richard Wynn in 1673 built a private chapel to serve his family in the wood above Gwydir Castle.<sup>3</sup>

#### *Church of Beuno.*

The next in age is Clynnog. This was new in the days of Leland,<sup>4</sup> whose account is dated 1536-39, and the suggestion is made that it was built somewhere between 1480 and 1500. A charter had been granted by Edward IV to Galfrid Trefnant,<sup>5</sup> who at the time was head of the community at Clynnog, to confirm and ratify all endowments<sup>6</sup> which from time to time had been made to the Church of Beuno. There is no allusion in the document to any rebuilding, and none such would be expected. The chapter at Clynnog in this respect would be independent, and it is questionable whether any faculty was required or sought. Probably the ratification of the endowments was for the purpose of sales of the lands in the possession of the corporate body at Clynnog,<sup>7</sup> and that the present edifice was built with the proceeds. Clynnog had been a rival of Bangor Cathedral from its inception, and it is not surprising that, due to various causes, like other capitular

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94, and Fenton's *Tours in Wales* (1917), p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xiv. and Fenton's *Tours in Wales* (1917), p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> *The Old Churches of Snowdonia*, p. 110, and Fenton. p. 173.

<sup>4</sup> See *The Itinerary in Wales of John Leland* (1906, Lucy T. Smith), p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> *The Record of Caernarvon* (printed 1838), from E. Codice MSS, Harleiano 696 descriptum, p. 257.

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix I.

<sup>7</sup> A similar step was taken at Bangor for the repairs of the cathedral at that place, see *Browne Willis (Bangor)*, pp. 56, 183.

bodies, they should claim at Clynnog the exclusive right of jurisdiction over their own domestic affairs. It was this policy of claiming exemption from episcopal control which afterwards became the principal cause of the abolition of all monastic establishments in this country. Among old manuscripts will be found three odes to Clynnog, and all are of the years 1480-1500. One of these odes seems to be in laudation of a feast held in celebration of some notable event in connection with Clynnog, and this might well have been, though it must be admitted that it does not contain any direct reference, the opening of the new church.<sup>1</sup> This poem was written by a cleric of the name of Sir John Leiaf (there was a John Fechan, vicar-choral of Bangor in 1504). This suggestion of the date of rebuilding has the merit of not being antagonistic to other factors in the calculation. In addition there is to be found at Clynnog what is called a Mazer Bowl of the highest interest and importance, of dark maple wood, mounted with silver-gilt band, engraved with the inscription in black letters :—

" I.H.S. nazarenus rex iudeorum fili dei miserere mei "

Its date is said to be " circa 1480-90 ".<sup>2</sup> This again would be in agreement with our suggestion. We would number the church among the best seven ecclesiastical piles in Wales. St. David's, Llandaff, and Bangor Cathedrals would come early in the list. Wrexham has always been considered one of the seven wonders of Wales, Margam and Ewenni Priory are fine churches, yet Clynnog, with its tower, transepts, rood-screens, and one item which belongs to few—a miniature chapel which nestles under

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II. The Richard Kyffin mentioned in the ode, and known as the Black Dean (see *Browne Willis*, p. 124), was Dean of Bangor, 1480-1502. See also *Browne Willis (Bangor)*, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *The Church Plate of Bangor*. E. Alfred Jones (1906), p. 72.

its shadow, forming a part of, and yet quite separate from the mother church—will bear comparison with the best. In these days we speak of side-chapels, but in few churches have we anything like “*eglwys y bedd*” which represents the oratory, the chantry, the pantheon and bede-house of the past. We look in vain for similar buildings at many of our cathedrals and larger churches. It is true that St. Asaph Cathedral possesses one in its parish church, but alas! in the case of the Cathedral of Bangor the site of Capel Mair garth Edgar frenin only is known and that marked by a beautiful yew tree. Canterbury has such a chapel, and Exeter Cathedral has several guild chapels in its immediate vicinity. The little known church of Llan Eilian on the northern coast of Anglesey, as well as the old Collegiate church of Holyhead, have additional edifices similar to that of Clynnog.

The length of Clynnog church from east to west is 138 feet, and its width across the transepts is 70 feet. The height of the walls of the body of the church, the transepts, and chancel, to the top of the battlements, is 36 feet 8 inches, which is just half of the height of the tower. Both the heights of church and tower exceed those of Bangor Cathedral.

#### *The Moral of Beuno's Church.*

Looking at the size of the church and the needs of a country parish, with a population at the present time of 1495, without a doubt it is much too large for what is required. The adjoining building would suffice for all the general purposes of the parish. The church itself fills the imagination with a grand idea of the glory of God it is true, and this renders valuable service in the face of the rich variety of human life. There stands a wonderful and ancient fane which for over four hundred years has been

a monument to the passer-by of a conception of religion which is infrequently obtained elsewhere! We forget these days the primary intention of such an edifice. It was built on the highway of the many pilgrimages which processed so frequently in those far-off days from all parts to Bardsey. It afforded a resting place physically, morally and spiritually. To-day, during the summer months, the church re-echoes with the footsteps of English visitors, who arrived may be by char-a-banc, and have been carried willy-nilly to view a large empty church in connection with which are many legends and fables, forgetting that we have here a famous pilgrim church, and where used to be queues of pious-minded persons waiting in silence after a long and tiring journey on foot, for permission to enter the sacred building for spiritual refreshment. Clynnog church was not built to be a home of congregational worship as we understand the term to-day. An attempt should be made to resuscitate some of the primary and original intentions of the foundation. As it is, the burden of guardianship and responsibility is much too great for one man, however diligent and industrious he may be. It is not exactly the arduousness of the task, especially now that the fabric has been so well restored, but something more is needed. The times require a fresh outlook and vision, and schemes and plans should be mapped out for a new lease of service, reviving, where necessary and possible, some of the old life, and utilising what is to hand in a direction that would realize some of the old dreams. We are aware that much of this work should be the task of the mother church of the diocese, yet there is room for Beuno's foundation. As the first step to secure this the old chapter should be revived. It consisted of five members. Till 1536 the members were duly and canonically elected and instituted. It was in the sixteenth century

that Clynnog saw for the first time what we call a sole Vicar. Though Clynnog is not numbered among the monasteries suppressed by the Act of Henry VIII, yet we find that the election of prebendaries fell into abeyance about this time. Surely four of our leading clergymen, with the incumbent of Clynnog as provost or warden, would be a useful board of management for such purposes. In consultation and collaboration schemes would be devised that would carry out some of the ideals of the church of Clynnog. There are already fourteen prebendal stalls in its choir, and with the incumbents of all churches dedicated to Beuno, in conjunction with such a committee, they would form an ample and practical council for further developments. The enthusiasm and zeal which were shown when the church was re-opened on the second of July of last year were expressions of an interest as unexpected as it was remarkable. Whether or not a concourse so large and so representative would come together again under other auspices is problematical. Still, an attempt should be made. The church affords every facility as a place for the holding of a festival of sacred music. The fact that it has no organ would be in these days in its favour rather than to the contrary. With a well-devised programme of lectures it would conceivably prove a great attraction at least once a year. Pilgrimages might well be organised in the summer time. All this would not preclude that which we are so accustomed to in Wales, and possibly we are so inured to them that we cannot conceive of any other form of religious diversion and edification,—a simple congregational service with Welsh sermons. Pious visitors sometimes are pained by the apparent lack of any regard for the place as primarily a house of prayer, yet, even so, it is possible to believe that a good secondary use might be made of such a consecrated

building. The possibilities are great with a modicum of patience and diligence.

*Church of Ceinwen.*

Great is the contrast between the above two and the church of Llan Ceinwen. Llan Rhychwyn's atmosphere is simplicity, primitive, and native. Every stone of Clynnog breathes forth the word ecclesiastical. In Llan Ceinwen it is far different, for the present building was only erected in 1812<sup>1</sup> on the old foundation, and its tower was added in 1838-9.<sup>2</sup> Inside, with the exception of its font, was nought to be found but what is generally termed "Churchwardens' restoration". It possessed before its present reparation what was called a "three decker",—there are now only two left in Bangor diocese. It will be remembered that during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century it was quite fashionable to have such erections in churches. On the ground level was a desk for the clerk, above this was the reading-desk for the clergyman, and still higher was the pulpit where the sermon was delivered. In the case of Llan Ceinwen this was most unfortunate owing to the low roof, for the preacher, more especially if he happened to be tall, had his head literally in the roof. All this has been changed, and the church has been refurnished throughout in oak. We excepted the font, which is extremely beautiful. It is of early thirteenth-century workmanship and there is no other instance of similar design in the neighbourhood. It bears a marked resemblance to some of the earlier carving at Valle Crucis Abbey, which was not commenced till about 1200.<sup>3</sup> The font at Llan Rhychwyn apparently is

<sup>1</sup> *A History of the Island of Mona*, Angharad Llwyd (1833), p. 275.

<sup>2</sup> From a tablet in the church.

<sup>3</sup> *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. lxxii, part i; Seventh Series, vol. ii, p. 76.



Font of Clynnog.



Font of Llan Ceinwen.



Font of Llan Rhychwyn.



one of the earliest forms found in this country,<sup>1</sup> and is older than that of Llan Ceinwen. At Clynnog, what on first inspection might be considered to be a very recent addition to the church, a font is found which cannot be said to accord with the large edifice. It gives the appearance of being insignificant, but on the authority of a reference<sup>2</sup> it is said to be of the year 1622. It is remarkable that the foundations which were brought under Latin influences possess more striking and more imposing fonts than those which retained their local and primitive colouring. Such would be that of Conway. We ought to mention that an ancient doorway of the eleventh century was discovered at Llan Ceinwen during the course of the restoration. This shows that when the church was rebuilt the entire building was not taken down.

#### *Communion Vessels.*

These always are of value in connection with the history of every church. Clynnog, in addition to the Mazer Bowl to which reference has already been made, possesses an Elizabethan silver chalice of the date of 1574, with a paten-cover of the same date; also, another chalice of a larger capacity, which has the London date-letter for 1636-7, and inscribed on it, "Calix Ecclesie de Clynnocke. Ex dono Olivi Lloyd LL.D. rectoris ibm". The paten-cover of the chalice is of the same date and has the inscription, "Operculum calicis Ecclesie de Clynnocke ex dono Ioannis Griffith clerici Vicar ibm". The "Oliver Lloyd" mentioned was a Montgomeryshire man, and died Dean of Hereford in 1625.

At Llan Ceinwen will be found a very interesting

<sup>1</sup> *The Old Churches of Snowdonia*, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> The present vicar of Clynnog (Rev. John Davies) supplies the information that at one time the date was to be found on the font, but though careful search was made, yet it could not be discovered.

chalice and paten-cover. The paten is plain but the chalice is inscribed, "Ex dono R. White Lhan-ginwen Rectoris regi a sacris qui alienarit anathema sit 1613". Robert White, D.D., was of the Fryars, Beaumaris. He was Prebendary of Pennynydd and Worcester, Archdeacon of Merioneth (he succeeded Edmund Prys) and Norfolk, and sinecure Rector of Clynnog, at different periods in his life. He died in 1657, and was buried in the adjoining parish of Llan Caffo. They have also at Llan Ceinwen a paten which has inscribed on it "The gift of the Rev<sup>d</sup> Thos Holland of Berw, Rector of the church of Llangeinwen, 1736". He was the son of John Holland of Caernarvon and Berw. He was instituted to Llan Ceinwen in 1708, and died in 1746.

Owing to the somewhat peculiar circumstances at Llan Rhychwyn, due to the building of Trefriw church, the silver vessels here are few. It possesses a fine silver chalice with the inscription, "Ex dono Randall Lloyd", and bears the London date-letter for 1614-15.

### *Parochial System.*

It is now generally maintained that parishes (*Παροικιαί*, neighbourhoods) were formed in this country during the Archiepiscopate of Theodore of Canterbury (668-693) because of a reference found in his "Penitential",<sup>1</sup> but it is clear from Bede's "Epistle to Egbert", Archbishop of York (734-767), that the system had not at that time been universally adopted. Rowlands in "*Mona Antiqua*"<sup>2</sup> mentions an earlier date, and attributes the parochial divisions to Archbishop Honorius (627-655), and sagely remarks, "But in the British churches at that time his injunctions could be of no force". The ministerial serv-

<sup>1</sup> *The History of the Church of England*, H. Olfley Wakeman (1896), p. 48. <sup>2</sup> *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*, Henry Rowlands (1723), p. 151.

ing of the various parishes was at first two-fold, which began as supplementary, but tended to become antagonistic. These were the parochial system, as we know it to-day, and the monastic system. In the parochial the "persona ecclesiae" was appointed and collated to his cure by the Bishop of the particular diocese in which the parish was situated, and in the other case it would be an appointment by the monastery of which the cleric was a member, but he had to be admitted to his parochial charge by the Bishop of the diocese, and in addition he would be inducted into the "real, actual and corporeal possession" of the parish by the Archdeacon. It appears that Llan Rhychwyn was an ordinary parochial charge, and the case as such presents no difficulty, but with Clyn-nog it is not easy to decide what was really the position. In the Register of Bishop Benedict Nicolls of Bangor (1408-17) it states :—

"Item xviii<sup>o</sup> die mensis Aprilis anno domini proxime scripto idem Reverendus pater contulit domino Lodowico ap Iore ap Dd vicariam de Klennokvaur vacantem per mortem domini Kenenarth ap Teg et ad ipsius collacionem spectantem et ipsum instituit juxta formam constitucionis dominorum Ottonis et Ottoboni quondam apostolice sedis in Anglia legatorum iuratum, etc., Et scriptum fuit Archidiacono Bangorensi vel eius officiali pro ipsius induccione, etc."<sup>1</sup>

When an appointment was made by the Bishop in his own right, the admission was by collation, but if the right of presentation did not belong to the Bishop, the admission was by institution.

The following entries are given in order to make the above, if possible, more explicit :—

"Item xviii<sup>o</sup> die mensis Julii ejusdem anni in hospicio suo Londoniensi idem Reverendus pater admisit magistrum Walterum Medford in utroque jure Bacallarium ad posituram

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<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Seventh Series, vol. ii, p. 92.

Ecclesie Collegiate de Castro Kebii ad quam per excellentissimum in Christo principem et dominum donimum Henricum dei gracia Regem Anglie et Francie illustrem presentatus extitit et ipsum instituit et investivit canonice in eadem cum suis juribus &c. Et scriptum fuit Archidiacono Anglesey vel ejus officiali pro ipsius installacione, &c. et prestitit obedienciam, &c."<sup>1</sup>

"Item xix<sup>o</sup> die mensis Septembris in hospicio suo Londoniensi idem Reverendus pater admisit dominum Iohannem Nugent capellanum ad vicariam perpetuam Sancti Peblicii cum capella de Caernervan vacantem per mortem Iohannis Schorlache ultimi vicarii ibidem ad quam per priorissam et conventum Cestrie veras diete vicarie patronas presentatus extitit et ipsum instituit juxta constitutionem dominorum Ottonis et Ottoboni<sup>2</sup> canonice in eadem cum suis juribus et pertinentiis universis. Et scriptum fuit Archidiacono Bangorensi pro ipsius induccione, &c."<sup>3</sup>

In the case of Holyhead the King had become the patron for that turn, and so the Bishop institutes and invests. With regard to Caernarvon also he institutes as the Prioress and Convent of Chester had appointed and presented the candidate for institution.

#### *Patronage of Clynnog.*

A word on this will enable us to understand the character of the church at Clynnog. Rowlands in "Mona Antiqua" calls the head of Clynnog "Praefectus monachorum",<sup>4</sup> but we do not find in any record a reference by which he was justified in ascribing to him this title. In the Register of Bishop Benedict Nicolls of Bangor (1408-1417), Clynnog is invariably called the "Collegiate Church of Clynnog Fawr". In Pope Nicholas's Taxatio<sup>5</sup> (1291) the following will be found:—

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Seventh Series, vol. ii, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> For Otto and Ottobon, who were Cardinal Deacons and were Legates *a latere*, see "*A collection of the laws and canons of the Church of England*", by John Johnson (1851), vol. ii. The former took a prominent part in the Council of 1237 (Henry III), and the latter in that of 1268, and hence these orders and forms.

<sup>3</sup> *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. lxxvii, part i; Seventh Series, vol. ii, p. 95.      <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 152.      <sup>5</sup> *Browne Willis (Bangor)* 1721, 202.

“Portio Magistri<sup>1</sup> Aniani Rusi in Ecclesia de Kelynock-vawr ix m et dim.

Portiones Wilhelmi parvi et Obventiones, viij m.

Portio Matthei Capellani in eadem vij m et dim.

Portio David Capellani in eadem vij m.

Portio Magistri Iohannis Capellani in eadem vij m et dim.”

A copy of this Taxatio will also be found in the “Record of Caernarvon”,<sup>2</sup> and is called a “Transcriptum Rotuli de pticulis Taxaconis &c” (A transcript from a Roll in the Exchequer, containing the particulars of the Taxation of the Spiritual and Temporal possessions of the clergy in the diocese of Bangor). Here again the head of Clynngog is simply called Magister, and the parish is included among the ordinary parishes of the diocese.<sup>3</sup>

On the death of Bishop John Swapham (or Swaffham) of Bangor in 1398, an inventory of the Extent of the temporalities of the See was taken.<sup>4</sup> This will be found in the “Record of Caernarvon”.<sup>5</sup> Here, in addition to the property attached to the Bishopric and the Cathedral, will be found a list of the Spiritual and Temporal possessions of all the religious houses in Bangor Diocese. These were Conway, Cymmer, Bardsey, Beddgelert, and Penmon, and for some reason which is not apparent Cwmhir and Strata Florida, but it will be noticed that neither Clynngog nor Holyhead is mentioned among them. All these religious houses were called Abbeys and their heads Abbots.

<sup>1</sup> “The title *Magister* was generally given in the case of men holding University degrees.” See *The Diocese of Bangor in the Sixteenth Century*, Arthur Ivor Price (1923), p. vii. <sup>2</sup> p. 226.

<sup>3</sup> In “Bishop Merick’s Return of his Diocese to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Anno 1561” (*Browne Willis—Bangor*, p. 262), the names of the clergy are given:—

D. Henry Symons, Priest, Parson of Clenoke-vawr [Clynngog-vawr (*sic*)] not resident, where he remaineth uncertain.

D. Morgan Apres, Priest, Vicar of Clynockvaur aforesaid, resident and kepeth house.

<sup>4</sup> See *Browne Willis (Bangor)*, p. 205.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 228.

In 1537 a Commission of enquiry was held at Caernarvon with respect to the patronage of Clynnog<sup>1</sup>:—“ Apud Caernarvon xiiij die Novembris anno regni regis Henrici viij, xxix<sup>o</sup> ”. Even in the time of Henry VII a similar commission had been appointed to enquire for and into all the King’s patronage in the three shires of North Wales. The verdict of the 1537 Commission was that the appointment to Clynnog was in the patronage of the King because it was alleged by all the witnesses who were called to give evidence that Matthew Pole was appointed to be “ prepositorius of Clenock Vaure ” by Prince Arthur (son of Henry VII).

In the “ Record of Caernarvon ” is a declaration<sup>2</sup> by Edward King of England, in which he confirms all gifts made and all privileges granted to Clynnog, including that of sanctuary. The editor of the Record (printed 1838) suggests that it was Edward IV (1461-83).<sup>3</sup> It recites all donations of land, and this list will be found in our Appendix I with the suggestions of Eben Fardd as to their locality.<sup>4</sup> This declaration appears to be a reply to a petition presented by Galfrid Trefnant, at the time head of Clynnog. He is entitled in this document as “ prepositus sive rector ” of Clynnog. (In the 1537 enquiry at Caernarvon there are many references to this confirmation of donations). When the document refers to Beuno he is invariably called the Abbot of the Abbey of Clynnog. There is another authority to which we might have expectantly turned for further information with respect to Clynnog. This is what is called the “ Valuation of Norwich ”,<sup>5</sup> which is so named because the

<sup>1</sup> *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xix, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> *Record of Caernarvon*, p. 257.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. v.

<sup>4</sup> see p. 106

<sup>5</sup> *The Valuation of Norwich*, edited by W. E. Lunt (1926).

then Bishop of Norwich took a very important part in the collection of the tenths which gave rise to the Valuation. The other collectors were the Bishop of Chichester and the Abbot of Westminster. Unfortunately, though very minute accounts are given for the rest of Bangor diocese, the folios which contained the deanery of Arfon, in which Clynnog is situated, are missing. The "Valuation of Norwich" is generally dated 1254. In the case of the Diocese of Bangor the valuation is made up on the whole in accordance with the various townships (and so often bear the names of farms which to-day even are recognisable), and not in what are now known as parishes.

#### *General Inference for Clynnog.*

In its inception and origin it was a monastery where there was a community and a head. Very early in its history it became more of a centre of learning and education than a mission station for evangelistical work. The various names of tenements which to-day are to be found in the neighbourhood of the church could well have been species of hostels for young men and women who came to Clynnog for their education. At such an institution some provision would have to be made not only for the students, but also for casual visitors both distinguished and otherwise. It was also one of the most prominent places for sanctuary in Gwynedd.<sup>1</sup> Cae'r gwrddy, cae'r bw'sant, and even monachdy gwyn,<sup>2</sup> point this way. The long list

<sup>1</sup> *Mona Antiqua* (1723), pp. 131-132. *Welsh Tribal Law and Custom in the Middle Ages*, T. P. Ellis (1926), i, 194, ii, 249.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly "Gwrddy" is a mutilated form of *Gwryfydy*, which would be an equivalent for men's hostel.

Bw'sant > Bwth y sant.

Gwyn might be white but it may have some connection with "blessed". The fact remains that there is no reference to Clynnog in Zimmerman's *Monumenta Historica Carmelitana*.

of endowments which were made at various times by prominent people appears to support the contention that the educational side of the work of Clynnog had been developed rather than its religious. In connection with such an institution we would expect to find that its governors would be learned men, and that records and documents would be kept to give some account of the life in the place. We find in several directions evidence that such was the case. In the Venedotian Code of the Laws of Howell Dda<sup>1</sup> we are told that with respect to the Privileges of the men of Arfon if any doubt existed "the community at Bangor, and that of Beuno shall uphold them". Also,<sup>2</sup> "that the Court of country and law in Gwynedd is constituted in this manner, to wit; the head of the Commote unless the Prince himself be there: a maer, chancellor, one judge by office, the priest of Clynnog, or one of Bangor or Penmon to write pleadings". These laws were codified about 940.<sup>3</sup> In 1537 existed a book called "Graphus Sancti Beunoni".<sup>4</sup> It was also sometimes referred to as "Llyfr Twrog" and "Tiboeth".<sup>5</sup> It purported to be the Act Book of Clynnog. Dr. Thomas Williams of Trefriw mentioned it in 1594, but since that year this priceless book has disappeared. The fact that

<sup>1</sup> *Myvyrian Archaeology*, (1870), p. 1030.

<sup>2</sup> *History and Antiquities of Clynnog*, J. E. de Hirsch Davies, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Hywel Dda* (1928).

<sup>4</sup> Public Record Office. *Miscellanea of the Exchequer*, 10, 29; and *Y Cymmrodor*, xix, p. 78.

<sup>5</sup> *Antiquae Linguae Britannicae*, John Davies (1632). Under Tiboeth, "Y gelwid llyfr Beuno sant oedd yn Eglwys Gelynnog yn Arfon, a maen du arno; yr hwn a'sgrifennasai Twrog yn amser Cadfan frenhin, ac a ddiangodd pan losgodd yr eglwys (q.d. Diboeth, ἀχαισος) Hwn a welais i, medd T[homas] W[illiams] anno 1594. Llygad fal glain cawad coeth, Tebyg i faen y Tiboeth. S. Kyf".

Tiboeth: this was the name of Beuno's Book which was in the Church of Celynog in Arfon with a black stone upon it; it was written by Twrog in the time of King Cadfan, and escaped destruc-

in 1346 at Llan Dewi Brefi<sup>1</sup> a manuscript was written which contained a history of Beuno seems to point out that, though over six hundred years had elapsed since the death of the saint, still his fame remained, and we might also infer that his principal foundation and his successors there had befittingly upheld the reputation then acquired. Rowlands in "*Mona Antiqua*" maintains that it "continued a place of education and literature".<sup>2</sup> If we may rely on the testimony of "*Brut y Tywysogion*"<sup>3</sup>, in 978, for the second time, the grove of Celynog Fawr was devastated by Hywel ap Ieuan and his Saxon allies, and that the church, among many others, was destroyed. After such a catastrophe it may be gathered that, though the place would still be associated in the minds of the people with learning and piety, yet such a disaster with all its concomitant consequences would at any rate for a long period appear to be irreparable. The endowments would remain, but the duties of those in charge would have disappeared. We associate this time with the deflection of the character of the establishment. Though some effort was made to resuscitate the work, yet it never recovered its former glory. In 1188 Archbishop Baldwin and Archdeacon Gerald must have passed through Clynnog when they made their itinerary,<sup>4</sup> for they were at Nevin one day and at Caernarvon the following, but they do not refer

tion when the church was burnt down. "I saw this book", said Thomas Williams (of Trefriw), "in the year 1594". An old poet refers both to the book and to the black stone upon it, as follows:—"An eye like a polished rain-stone, like the stone of Tiboeth". It is said that this book was commenced by Twrog, the amanuensis of Beuno.

<sup>1</sup> See "Life and Miracles of S. Wenefrede", Bishop Fleetwood (1713), *Llyvyr Agkyr Llandewivrevi*, printed in 1894, and edited by J. Morris Jones and Rhys.

<sup>2</sup> *Mona Antiqua*, p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> *Myvyrian Archaiology*, p. 692.

<sup>4</sup> *The Itinerary through Wales* (Dent & Co.), p. 116.

to the place. Why this silence? We can hardly believe that with such endowments Clynnog had sunk into utter insignificance. At Llan Padarn the conditions of Church life were severely criticized, and the Archdeacon found fault with the old tribal custom of patronage which was then obtained at the place. When he reaches Aberconway he mentions that a small religious community had recently settled on the banks of the Conway, but he travels through Clynnog without a comment. This is almost inexplicable unless we attribute the silence to the obsession of Gerald in St. David's. He was not prepared to accept even a rival to his own ambitions with respect to that place. There are three references which might rightly describe the place of Clynnog in the life of Gwynedd. First, there is the legend about Beuno that it was his hatred of the Saxon which caused him to leave Powys-land.<sup>1</sup> Then, we find that in the life of Beuno, found in the book of the Anchorite of Llan Dewi Brefi, there seems to be a strong anti-Saxon bias<sup>2</sup>; and lastly, the many gifts of land by Welsh Princes from time to time to Clynnog, which exceeded in number and value those given to Bangor, Penmon and other religious houses in North Wales, tend to intimate that this place was more closely associated with Welsh ideas and aspirations than other institutions of a similar character. It may be that Archdeacon Gerald only saw in the place a simple country parish church without any special feature to attract attention. If our contention that its glory as a place of learning had disappeared is correct, and that by now the staff of the college had dwindled to two, and though there were three others who were admitted as Chaplains<sup>3</sup> in name, but performed duties elsewhere, such a state of affairs, judging from the

<sup>1</sup> *Lives of the British Saints*, i, p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i, p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> *Browne Willis*, p. 202.

Archdeacon's attitude in like conditions at other places, would not altogether be disconcerting to his conscience or sense of the fitness of things. By the time of Henry VIII this had actually been realised. From the "*Valor Ecclesiasticus*"<sup>1</sup> we find that the three Chaplains to whom attention has already been called were in addition incumbents of the daughter churches in which Clynnog had an interest. These were:—

1. Capella de Llan Unda et Llan Vaglan.
2. Capella de Llan Gelynyn [in Merioneth].
3. Ecclesia de Llan Keynwen et Llan Kaffo.<sup>2</sup>

This is why the five clergymen in connection with Clynnog were called portionists. Superficially it appears quite simple, but when the position is examined it opens out difficulties of all kinds. A. Neobard Palmer in the "*Archæologia Cambrensis*"<sup>3</sup> has written very lucidly and at great length on the anomalous position of a portionist. All the five were portionists of Clynnog, and were instituted by the Bishop as vacancies occurred. One was called the *Præpositus*, another Vicar, and the other three Chaplains. This institution by the Bishop covered the three daughter incumbencies which are mentioned above, and so no record of any separate institution to the daughter churches are to be found. Time and space do not permit of a survey of Clynnog as given in the "*Valor Ecclesiasticus*"; it would be interesting though complicated. The references in the "*Valor*" are many in number. The importance or rather the value of the patronage of Clynnog is apparent as it involved five appointments. When the Commission of 1537 adjudicated the patronage of Clynnog to be in the possession of the King, naturally it would not be acceptable to the Bishop, and so in 1541 we

<sup>1</sup> *Valor*, xx.

<sup>2</sup> *Browne Willis*, p. 202.

<sup>3</sup> 1886, 5th series, vol. iii, p. 175.

find Bishop Arthur Bulkeley petitioning the King<sup>1</sup> to permit him to appeal to the Court of the Marches on the question. The Bishop was personally concerned in the decision for he had been admitted in 1537 by Bishop John Capon of Bangor as a prebendary of Clynnog.<sup>2</sup> When Bulkeley became Bishop in 1541 he forthwith petitioned. It was ultimately decided to uphold the finding of the Commission and we find that the Earl of Pembroke became patron, but whether by purchase or favour is not known. Before the court had finally given its verdict in favour of the King, there were vacancies in two of the daughter churches in 1543, and Bishop Bulkeley appointed John Puleston to Llanwnda,<sup>3</sup> and Edward Keble to Llangelynin,<sup>4</sup> but we discover that the Earl of Pembroke afterwards made good his rights for he appointed to Llanwnda in conjunction with Clynnog in 1564,<sup>5</sup> and also likewise to Llangelynin.<sup>6</sup> It is much to be regretted that the questionable transactions which unmistakably took place at this time in such matters as Church patronage, not only at Clynnog but throughout England and Wales, were general, and deserve every stricture and condemnation possible. It was an age which was golden in more senses than one. The glories of the times were many, and the misdeeds were equally as numerous. Even as late as 1829<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Browne Willis*, p. 260.

<sup>2</sup> *Letter from Sir Richard Bulkeley to Thomas Cromwell, dated May 8th, 1537*. In letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, xii(i), No. 1154.

*Browne Willis (Bangor)*, p. 101, gives August 8th, 1525, as the date of Bulkeley's institution as Prebend of *Clynoc Vachan*, but we find that this should have been August 7th, 1537 (see "*The Diocese of Bangor in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 8).

<sup>3</sup> *The Diocese of Bangor in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>7</sup> This information is found in an interleaved copy of *Mona Antiqua* which belonged to the Rev. J. H. Williams, Rector of

a Mrs. Hughes of Trefan paid £6,000 for the advowson of Llan Ceinwen with Llan Caffo and presented her son-in-law, the Rev. William Wynne Williams, to the benefice. Such cases in Bangor Diocese were fortunately few. Justice compels us to add that the clergyman appointed in 1829 was an exemplary parish priest and even to-day his name and labours are recalled with affection and respect. It should also be mentioned that until 1836, when the "Tithe Apportionment Act" was obtained, the stipends in Wales were unquestionably small and often led to amalgamation and unjustifiable schemes which probably otherwise would not have been entertained for a moment. In course of time the five portions of Clynnog were separated, and eventually the Rectorial tithes of Clynnog, as well as those of Llanwnda, as also the presentation, came into the possession of Jesus' College, Oxford, and the first appointment was made by the College on March 8th, 1676-7,<sup>1</sup> but the patronage of Llan Ceinwen till 1918 continued to be the property of the highest bidder after the then Earl of Pembroke had disposed of the rights of presentation.

#### *Clynnog Fechan.*

So the parish of Llan Ceinwen is called in the "Valuation of Norwich" in 1254 by Professor Lunt,<sup>2</sup> but actually the title in the manuscript is "Ecclesia de Kellenauc". In the report of the Commission of 1537, to which reference has already been made, we find "Clynnog Fechan" is mentioned.<sup>3</sup> In the "Valor Ecclesiasticus" of 1534 it is called "Klennoc Vechan".<sup>4</sup> To-day, Llangadwaladr, Anglesey. See *A Chapter in the History of the Welsh Book of Common Prayer*, iii, 326.

<sup>1</sup> From the *Bangor Diocesan Subscription Book*.

<sup>2</sup> p. 192. See also *Arch. Camb.*, 1846, p. 312 and 392.

<sup>3</sup> See *I' Cymmrodor*, xix, p. 78.      <sup>4</sup> *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, xxiii.

only separated by a field from the church of Llan Ceinwen is a small country mansion still called "Clynnog Fechan". The close connection between Llan Ceinwen and Clynnog has already been pointed out. It is suggested that Clynnog was called Fawr because Bangor was called Fawr, and that Llan Ceinwen was called Clynnog Fechan to distinguish it from the mother-church of Clynnog Fawr.

In the "Record of Caernarvon" the place is spelt Clennok, Klynnoc, and Clenock. In the copy of the "Valuation of Pope Nicholas" (1291), as found in "Browne Willis", it appears as Kelynock.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Epilogue.*

The whole atmosphere of these three old foundations is most intriguing. Looking at Llan Rhychwyn as it stands among the hills in its isolation and simplicity, the mind pictures Llewelyn the Great and Joan his wife entering the building by the very door as does the ordinary worshipper of to-day—Llewelyn the hero of Wales and of many battles; the benefactor of religion and of his country; the man with the poetic afflatus which prompted him to bestow land (Maes-y-porth) in the parish of Llan Ceinwen for the upkeep of the gateway of the Abbey of Conway.<sup>2</sup> Up the same steep hill climbed the redoubtable Sir John Wynn of Gwydir—the plotter and the schemer—to worship in the church to which his forefathers had contributed so liberally. Occasionally, may be, he was accom-

<sup>1</sup> *Browne Willis (Bangor)*, p. 202. It is interesting to notice how Leland describes Llan Ceinwen in his list of Anglesey Churches as found in his *Itinerary*, p. 131: "Rent Llan Kainwen (Caina pulchra) cum annex, a prebend of Clunnoc vanr". Angharad Llwyd in her *History of the Island of Mona*, p. 275, has improved on Leland's "Caina pulchra", and has given "Blanch Fair" (*sic*) as an equivalent to Ceinwen!

<sup>2</sup> *A History of the Island of Mona*, p. 276.

panied by the learned Dr. Thomas Williams of Trefriw, William Morgan afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, or perhaps Archdeacon Edmund Prys. Gwydir was the family which claimed descent from Gruffydd ab Cynan (died 1137),<sup>1</sup> the man who never acknowledged defeat. He was the leader who knew Clynnog Fawr in the old days when he was glad to procure sanctuary for his defeated forces after Bron-yr-erw (1075).<sup>2</sup> This was a sanctuary that was always available for "justos et injustos, latrones et silvaticos".<sup>3</sup> Often had the shore been invaded, and frequent was the clash of arms, yet the bell still rang,

—ei wŷs hên  
I wasanaeth Duwdod.<sup>4</sup>

Across the waters was the daughter church of Cain, also with her troubles and anxieties. Sometimes the parish was terrified by the venturesome black Dean<sup>5</sup> plotting at Llan Dwyn, for the old story of Tal-y-foel<sup>6</sup> was often told by the fireside on a winter's night, of how—

<sup>1</sup> *A History of the Gwydir Family*, p. xv, and Fenton's *Tours in Wales* (1917), p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> *Cyff Beuno*, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> *Record of Caernarvon*, p. 258.

<sup>4</sup> From Eben Fardd's *Awdl ar adgyweiriad hen Eglwys ardderchog, Celynog Fawr yn Arfon* (1862). In 1863 was published *Cyff Beuno*, which contains the bulk of the prose and poetry of Ebenezer Thomas (Eben Fardd). In 1873 a more ambitious work was produced which purported to be a complete issue of all his poetical writings, but by some strange Nemesis it omits his ode to Clynnog Church. However, the late Sir Owen M. Edwards saved it from oblivion, and found a place for it in the *Cymro* for January 1911, with the note "this splendid ode found a place in *Cyff Beuno* of 1863". See also *Arch. Camb.*, 1846, p. 407.

<sup>5</sup> *Browne Willis (Bangor)*, p. 124. *A History of Anglesey* (Anon.), 1775, p. 45. *A History of the Island of Mona*, p. 224. *Arch. Camb.*, 1847, p. 133. Fenton's *Tours in Wales* (1917), p. 270.

<sup>6</sup> *A History of the Island of Mona*, 24, 25.

The old ferry of Talyfoel was in the parish of Llan Ceinwen, as was also that of Abermenai.

Slaughter after slaughter, gleaming with the clash of spear  
 on spear,  
 And drive on, drive, in pain extreme, in drowning so to drown,  
 And Menai without ebbing from a flood of rippling blood!<sup>1</sup>

Bosworth Field was fought and won, and the black Dean was vindicated, and at length Wales with honour came within the pale. Clynnog is raised from the dust, and a building is erected which still holds its own even in these days of wealth and prosperity. But peace was not yet the lot of the new church. Ambitious men, embittered by defeat and allured by Mammon, as Dr. Ellis Price,<sup>2</sup> cast their sordid nets over the gifts devoted by religious men to the honour of God and Beuno. Denuded of its glory, bare because of its poverty, forsaken by all but a few, yet it has been our pride and privilege lately to renew the old church. Old customs have disappeared giving place to new. The kine of Clynnog may still bear the mark of Beuno,<sup>3</sup> but alas! its possession does not enhance their value at the neighbouring Smithfield. The old coffer<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is part of a translation of the Ode of Gwalchmai son of Meilir to Owen Gwynedd, after the battle called Gwaith Tal y Foel, in 1158, which was the handiwork of Evan Evans (Ifan Brydydd Hir). It appears to have been written for Dr. Percy, the Bishop of Dromore about 1763. The ode appears also in Welsh in Evan Evans's *Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Antient Welsh Bards* (1764). Another translation will be found in the *Cambro-Briton*, 1819-20, vol. i, p. 231, with a note as to the locality and date of battle.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Ellis Price was an unsuccessful candidate for the Bishopric of Bangor in 1566 (see *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xxxix, p. 168). See *Calendar of State Papers*, May, 1589, vol. 224, No. 74, about the information given by Mr. Price of certain idolatries and superstitions practised by the people in North Wales; the sacrifice of bullocks at Whitsuntide to Beuno, the patron saint of the parish of Clynnog in the Bishopric of Bangor.

<sup>3</sup> *The Welsh Outlook*, June, 1929, *Studies of Rural Wales*, also *A Book of North Wales*, S. Baring Gould (1903), p. 123.

<sup>4</sup> This had actually become a proverb in the neighbourhood—"Cystal i chwi geisio tori Cyff Beuno," (you might as well try to break Beuno's Chest), in reference to anything of unusual difficulty.

still remains, but it is now empty and affords a biding place for the canker-worm. Still the southern breeze wafts the sound of the bells of Clynnog across the bay to tell of the renewal of life and inspiration, and to call upon her daughters in Anglesey to greater and keener efforts to up-lift the present, and remember the old, for the old is better.

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## APPENDIX I.

From the "Record of Caernarvon", Page 257, and  
"Cyff Beuno", Page 61.

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The lands in possession of the Collegiate Church of Saint  
Beuno in 1461-83, with the names of the donors.

Clynnog Fawr (given by Gwyddaint).

Graianog—one of the townships of the parish of Clynnog (King  
Cadwaladr).

Porthamel—in Anglesey, opposite Portdinorwic (King Tegwared).

Carngiwech—six miles south of Clynnog (Prince Mervyn).

Bodvelion (Bodweiliog?) and Bodfel—in Lleyn (Cadwgan ab Cyn-  
felyn).

Deneio—present parish of Pwllheli (Rhodri son of Prince Mervyn).

A third of Maesdref—in Lleyn (Gruffydd son of Tanglwm).

Penrhos—near Pwllheli? (Idwal).

A third of Neigwl—beyond Abersoch (Rhodri).

Derwyn—one of the hamlets in Clynnog parish (Greang).

Botelog or Bodellog—a hamlet in Clynnog (Rhodri son of Idwal).

Llanllyfni and the weir of Abersaint—Llanllyfni is an adjoining  
parish, and Abersaint possibly near Caernarvon (Gwyddaint son  
of Tridog).

Cilcoed—hamlet near Clynnog (King Cadell).

Clynnog Fechan—near the church of Llangeinwen (Idwal).

The weir of the river Gwyrfaï—the northern boundary of the parish  
of Clynnog, and it limits the gift *a silva usque mare* (Tridog).

Aber y Braint—possibly the weir of the river Braint in Anglesey  
(Idwal).

Brynhydagen (?)—(Cadell ab Rhodri).

Ysgallen in Creuddyn—the peninsula formed by the Great and Little  
Orme's Heads near Llandudno (Anarawd son of Rhodri).

Bottwnog and Llwyndynwal [Eben Fardd suggests Llandudwen for  
the latter]. (Cadell).

Pryscol (? Pistyll) and Nant Soch in Lleyn. (Rhodri ab Mervyn).

Ethinog—a township in Llanllyfni. (Cadell).

Llannor in Lleyn (Rhodri).

Bodelias in Lleyn (Cynan son of Hywel).

Bodegwyn (Anarawd).

Dolbebyn (? Dolbenmain)—(Anarawd son of Rhodri).

- Dolcoedog (Greax son of Iwon).  
 Aber Llisin (? Llyfni)—(Gruffydd son of Llewelyn).  
 Maesog, on the boundary of Clynnog parish (Elived son of Madoc).  
 Llechedern in Lleyn (Jaco son of Idwal).  
 Boderyr (Gruffydd ab Cynan).  
 Treffwyn (Trahaiarn son of Caradoc).  
 Bryneryr—in the parish of Clynnog (Jaco son of Idwal).  
 Y Faenol—(Gruffydd ab Llewelyn).  
 Llanfawr in Lleyn—(Cadwaladr).  
 Trefriw—(Gruffydd ab Llewelyn).  
 Hirdref in Lleyn—(Lunlion son of Llawfron).  
 Bodegroes (in Lleyn)—(Ionas).  
 Moweddus (in Clynnog)—(Rhodri son of Mervyn).  
 Penhyddgen (in Lleyn)—(Cadell son of Rhodri).  
 Treflech—(Gruffydd son of Llewelyn).  
 Penrhos in Twrcelyn (Rhodri).  
 Two parts of Llecheiddior (Hywel son of Cadell).  
 Rhoswen Isaf—(Gruffydd ab Llewelyn).

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 APPENDIX II.

## Cywydd i Beuno Sant, yn Nghelynog.

Beuno gynt yn beua gwr  
 Bened ail ben adeiliwr  
 Porthi'r oedd pawb wrth raid  
 Dri chanwr heb drychweiniaid  
 Cynta'n ngwaeth cant yn gweithiaw  
 Can-wr llys cawn win o'r llaw  
 A thros ben ar a henwynt  
 Y porthes dair gormes gynt  
 Llowarch Hen a llu menig  
 Ag Elen ddwys galon ddiig  
 Fe'r Gyndrwyn farchog win-draul  
 Fwyd tri yn fyw eu traul  
 Gwr o'i fodd fu'n Mangor Fawr  
 Yn Ial Wynedd yn flaenawr  
 Daw Rhisiart gwr ar deir-sir  
 Gyffin hael i'w goffa'n hir

*Three Old Foundations.*

Sel aur fawr sy ar ei law fo  
 Sel bonedd sy ail Benno  
 Mae'n gwario mwy na'i geraint  
 Mal aur Siob ar demlau'r saint  
 Talm yw'r gost talu mae'r gwr  
 Draw a chynnal dri chanwr  
 A phorthi tri er nad rhaid  
 Wr moesol o ormesiaid  
 At wr o gler Gutto'r Glyn  
 Yw Llowarch i holl Lëyn  
 Bwyttawr mawr o bwyty'r meirch  
 Bwyd di-ferf, bwyttai for-feirch  
 Howel Grythor callor cig  
 A'i llai Mon na llu Menig  
 Yswr hen ddas o'r henieir  
 Ysai ych fel asau ieir  
 Gwawr fai o law Gwerfyl wen  
 Oleu loer yw ail Elen  
 Haela un ferch, hael win fau  
 Howel Fychan hael fachau  
 Roland wall o chwsg allan  
 Oerfel ar wir Werfyl lân  
 Y'mhoen a ddaeth mae'n hen ddig  
 Yn dilyn y Nadolig  
 Lle bo pant rhusiant y rhai'n  
 Ddilyd rhif ddiawliaid Rhufain  
 Dau remwth a droi amydd  
 Dwy ffrïw cawr dau Pharo cyd  
 Dau'n gwibio dau hen geubal  
 Dau Og, Magog, deg mwy gwâl  
 Disiau'r gler dau yswr gwledd  
 A dyfr gwin dirfawr Gwynedd  
 Lluniant i'w tyb llanwant hwy  
 Ysu can-ych is Conwy  
 Ni allwn ddwyn ei wyllys  
 Dawn a rhodd i'r Deon Rhys  
 Llawer i'w ford lliw ar fwyd  
 Llys seigfawr lliosogfwyd  
 Llawer amryw aderyn  
 Llawer saig ar lliw siwgr gwyn  
 Llawer anrheg o'r gegin  
 Llawer rhyw a lliw ar win  
 Llawer i bob oferwr  
 Llaweroedd gwyl llareiddia gwr

Llawena gwr Lleon gost  
Lliwid ofydd llew difost  
Llwydo'r gwallt fel callo'dr gwydd  
A'r lliw hwn yw'r llawenydd.

Sir John Leiaf ai cant.

From "Y Geninen" for 1900, p. 143. It has a note attached to it that Sir John Leiaf flourished 1450-90.

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## APPENDIX III.

	Altar	Priest.	Bishop.	Lent.	Easter.	Christmas.	Mattins.	Evensong.
LATIN.	Altar	Sacerdos	Episcopus	Quadragesimae	Pasqua	Dies Natalis Christi	Matutin	Vespertin
GREEK.	Θυσιαστήριον	Ἱερεὺς	Ἐπισκοπος	Νηστεία	Πάσχα	Χριστογεννα	Πρωινή	Ἑσπερινή
WELSH.	Allor	Offeiriad	Esgob	Garawys	Pasc	Nadolig	Pylgwin	Gosper
BRETON.	Aoter	Beleg	Eskob	Koraiz	Pask	Nedeleg	Mintin	Gousperou
CORNISH	Altor	Oferiat	Escop	---	Pask	Nadelic	Metin	Gorthuer
IRISH.	Altóir	Sagart	Easbóg	Carais	Caisg	Nodlog	Madjin	Easpairt
GAELIC.	Altair	Sagart	Easbhuig	Carnhas	Là Caisge	La Nodhlaid	Urnigh Mhaidne	Urnigh Fheasgair
MANX.	Altar	Saggart	Aspick	Kargys	Yn Chaisht	Ollick	Madjin	Aspyrt
FRENCH.	Autel	Prêtre	Evêque	Careme	Pâque	Noël	Prière du matin	Prière du soir